FRANCIS BACON
OF
GRAY'S INN

FRANCIS BACON

Emery Walker Ph.

Fr. Bacon

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FRANCIS BACON

THE COMMEMORATION OF HIS
TERCENTENARY AT
GRAY'S INN

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Introduction

IN the autumn of 1908 the Benchers of Gray's Inn observed with appropriate festivity the tercentenary of an event which appears in the records of the Society as having taken place at a Pension held on 17th October 6 James I:

> *Sir Francis Bacon Knight Sollicitor to ye King is elected Tresorer of this house off Graies Inn nowe after ye decease of Sir Cuthbert Pepper Knight.*

In further commemoration of this occasion [1] they de-

[1] In connection with the tercentenary Dr. W. Aldis Wright presented to the Society a valuable collection of Bacon's works, including the following:

The Essaies. Sixth edition (Jaggard). 1613.

The Essaies. Eighth edition (Jaggard). 1624.

3 copies The Essaies. Newly written. (First complete edition.) 1625.

The Essaies. First Italian edition. 1618.

A Declaration of the . . . Treasons . . . committed by Robert, late Earle of Essex. First edition. 1601.

The Wisedome of the Ancients. First English edition, trans. by Sir A. Gorges. 1619.

The Historie of Life and Death. First English edition. 1638.

The Naturall and Experimentall History of Winds. First English edition, trans. by R. G. Dent. 1653.

cided upon the erection of a statue of their greatest Treasurer in South Square, and the work—executed by Mr. F. W. Pomeroy—was unveiled on 27th June 1912 by the Right Honourable A. J. Balfour, M.P. On the precise day of the anniversary a speech was made, after a luncheon in the Hall, by Master H. E. Duke, K.C., M.P., at that time Treasurer of the Inn, and at the unveiling of the statue Mr. Balfour delivered an address. On both occasions a large company of members of the Honourable Society and of distinguished guests was present. But for the sake of the still larger company of those to whom Bacon bequeathed his memory and fame, it was resolved that these two tributes to him should be preserved in a commemorative volume, along with two of the famous essays in which he seems to have been reminiscent of Gray's Inn doings. The Benchers honoured me with a request for an explanatory foreword.

The speech of Bacon's successor in the office of Treasurer related chiefly to the connection of the great lawyer and thinker with Gray's Inn. It may be of use if some of the entries in the Pension Book to which Master Duke referred be here collected. It stands recorded that on 27th June 1576:

> *Ad hanc pentionem admissi sunt Anthonius Bacon Franciscus Bacon Willielmus Bowes Thomas Balgey et Rogerus Wilbraham et predicti Anthonius Bacon Franciscus Bacon et Willus Bowes admissi sunt de societate magistrorum et ceteri de mense clericorum.*[1]

[1] The difference corresponded more or less to that which existed between the ordinary pensioners at a college and the sizars. Students admitted as "masters" paid a higher fee, and fared better in Hall than those admitted as "clerks." The latter, moreover, waited on the "masters" (Pension Book, vol. i, p. 137).

In the ensuing term an order was made admitting the brothers of Francis to their father's chamber, and at the same Pension (21st November 1576) we read:

> *It is forther ordered that all his [the Lord Keeper's] sonnes now admitted of the housse viz.:—Nicholas, Nathaniell, Edward, Anthonye and Francis shalbe of the graund company*[1] *and not to be bound to any vacacions.*

On 13th May 1580 an order was made that:

> *Mr. Francis Bacon in respect of his healthe is allowed to have the benefitt of a speciall admittance with all benefitts and privileges to a speciall admittance belonging for the fyne of xl*[s].[2]

On 27th June 1582 occurs the entry:

> *Mr. Francis Bacon, Mr. Edward Morison, Mr. Roger Wilbraham and Mr. Laurence Washington utter barristers*[3] *at this pention.*

Less than four years later (10th February 1586) we have record of an exceptional favour:

> *At this penčon it is allowed that Mr. Francis Bacon maie have place with the Readers att the Reders table but not to have any voyce in penčon nor to wynne ancientie of any that is his ancient or shall read before him.*

In the following May his name is for the first time recorded as having been present at a Pension, though he

[1] *I.e.*, they were to sit at the Ancients' (Senior Barristers') table in the Hall and became eligible for the office of Reader and so for the dignity of the Bench.

[2] This enabled him to send to the buttery for his commons and take his meals in his chamber instead of coming into the Hall.

[3] A student was anciently known as an inner barrister. For the derivation see note on p. 5, vol. i, of Pension Book.

would, of course, have taken no part in the discussion of, and decision upon, the business.

On 3rd November 1587 an order was made in which it was set forth that John Brograve, Attorney-General of the Duchy of Lancaster, who had been chosen to read during the ensuing Lent vacation, had been respited till the Lent next after that:

> *et Franciscus Bacon Armiger electus est in officium lectoris pro tempore quadragessimali proximo sequenti. Et ejus assistentes Thomas Broxolme Edmundus Poley.*

Accordingly in Lent 1588 Bacon gave his reading, exercised the Reader's customary hospitality and presided after supper during that "learning vacation" at the customary moots.[1] Having performed his task, he became, in accordance with the custom of the period, a full Bencher.

In the following November the "whole buildings and several romes" whereinto Francis Bacon, with others, "stood admitted" were, in confirmation of a grant made some nine years earlier (*i.e.* just after the death of Sir Nicholas Bacon), leased and demised to the new Bencher and his brother Anthony for the term of fifty years, and leave was given them to build additional rooms over those which they had held "as well as over and above the library."[2] They did, in fact, build two new stories, making four in all. About the same time, Francis entered

[1] See the quotation pp. 4 and 5 of the Pension Book, vol. i, from a document drawn up by Nicholas Bacon and others in the reign of Henry VIII. Two assistants (Benchers) were always at this period appointed.

[2] See vol. ii of Pension Book, p. 437, as to the situation of the Library prior to 1788. Unfortunately, "Bacon's Buildings" were burnt down in 1684.

upon the office of Dean of the Chapel which he held for a year. It was, perhaps, not without connection with his tenure of this post that during the year he wrote his "Advertisement touching Controversies in the Church of England." That he continued to attend Gray's Inn Chapel long after this time, appears from a letter of 27th August 1610, in which he invites Sir Michael Hickes to the funeral of his mother and adds "I dare promise you a good sermon to be made by Mr. Fenton, the Preacher of Gray's Inn, for he never maketh other." The phrase can hardly be taken not to imply that he had frequently "sat under" Fenton, who began his ministry in 1599.

An order of 28th January 1594 mentions a payment made "to Mr. Bacon, one of the treasurers of this house." Bacon seems, however, to have been but an acting-treasurer at this time, though he had been appointed at the end of 1590 "Receiver of the Admittance money."

Under the date 9th November 1599 we have:

> *Att this pencon Mr. Francis Bacon Esquire is chosen Double Reader for this next Lent and time is given unto him untill next pencon to be advised whether it shall please him to accept of the same and then to give his answer.*

It did please him to accept, and the reading he gave—on the Statute of Uses—was afterwards published.

Before this, however, Bacon had begun an enterprise in which he clearly took a keen interest as well during, as before, the period of his greatest political and literary activity. Aggas' map of Gray's Inn, reproduced on another page, cannot be regarded as having been at any time accurate, but it serves to illustrate the fact, established by other evidence, that the buildings of the Society were, in the earlier days of Bacon's membership,

bordered on the north and west by rough pasture ground. When, during the reign of Elizabeth, the piles of chambers had spread northward and southward of the single original court which covered the southern part of what is now Gray's Inn Square, the property still included, besides three courts—Coney Court, Chapel Court, and Holborn Court—a section of ground, roughly square, to which the most northern row of buildings formed the southern side, and an oblong field on the west, bordered where it adjoined the other section by a row of elm trees.[1] The former bore the name of "the Panyerman's close"; the latter that of "Gray's Inn Close," or "field." The Panyerman's close had in 1579 been granted, subject to a rent payable to the Panyerman, to Sir Edward Stanhope, a Bencher of the Society, who had covered it with stables and "base cottages." Of Gray's Inn close a small portion had been enclosed to form a "walk," and in 1583 it contained nineteen elm trees, but the rest was untouched.

There can be little doubt that it was Bacon who was chiefly responsible for the decision reached as to the use to which it should be put. Now that he had his voice in Pension there was no more chance for anyone to set squalid buildings under the windows of the Inn. In 1591 we find a committee, of which he was a member, appointed to consider the enclosure of "parte of our back feild," and mention is made of a loan from one Bencher to the house "towards the making of ther walks." For a time, indeed, the roadway and gate into Holborn occupied the attention, and engaged the subscriptions, of the Society,[2] and it was not until 1596 that the enclosing walls were put in hand. But by 1598 Bacon had begun

[1] See Pension Book, vol. i, p. 57.

[2] Pension Book, vol. i, pp. 98, 99, seq.

"plantinge of trees in the walks," and it is clear from the following account that he had obtained the authorization of his brother-Benchers to proceed with the project—with which he must be particularly identified—of turning "our back feild" into gardens, celebrated during two following centuries for their beauty.

The Accompt of Frauncis Bacon Esquire of Money laide out & disbursed for Graies Inne Walkes taken & agreed upon the xxiiii of Aprill An° Eliz: xlii^{do}.

Imprimis to the carpenter for the stayres & rayles	viii^{li} x^{s}
Item for lxvi elmes at ix^{d} a piece	xlix^{s} vi^{d}
For viii Birche trees at xviii^{d} the tree	xii^{s}
For xvi cherrye trees at xii^{d} the tree	xvi^{s}
For cclxxxvi bundles of poles & stakes at iiii^{d} ob the bundle	v^{li} vii^{s} iii^{d}
For iii^{m} iiii^{c} great oziers at xiiii^{d} the C	xxxix^{s} viii^{d}
For xx^{m} of quicke setts at iii^{s} viii^{d} the M	iii^{li} xiii^{s} iiii^{d}
For small Bindinge oziers	xxxv^{s} i^{d}
For i^{m} vi^{c} of woodbines at vi^{d} the C	viii^{s}
For iii^{m} vii^{c} of eglantyne at xii the C	xxxvii^{s}
For cxxv standerds of roses	xii^{s} vi^{d}
For xx^{m} of privye at ii^{s} the M	xl^{s}
For pincks violetts & primroses	vii^{s}
For cuttinges of vynes	ii^{s} vi^{d}
For car: wharfinge & toll of all the stuffe & for barrowes trestles brooms &c	xxii^{s} iiii^{d}
For the principall gardiner & his mans wages at 3^{s} per diem xxix daies & a halfe	iiii^{li} viii^{s} vi^{d}
For other gardiners at xviii^{d} the daie clxi days	xii^{li} i^{s} vi^{d}
For gardiners at xvi^{d} the daie lxxviii daies	v^{li} iiii^{s}
For labourers at xii^{d} per diem cxxvi daies & a halfe	vi^{li} vi^{s} vi^{d}
For weeders wages	xiiii^{s}
Sm̃a total:	lx^{li} vi^{s} viii^{d}
Rec: of the Steward	xl^{li}
Sic rem: claro computant:	xx^{li} vi^{s} viii^{d}

Wch twenty pounds sixe shillings eight pence is the 28th of Aprill 1600 paidd by me Robte Coates for my Mr. John Brograve Esquire to Frauncis Bacon Esquire

Pro me Robt Coats

Auditores { Edward Stanhope / Nichas Fuller.[1]

The expenditure of the Society during 1599 included the following additional items:

Item to Slowman in full payment of the Northe Brick wall	ix[li] vi[s] viii[d]
To the gardiner of the Temple for the Walks	vii[li] xv[s] iiii[d]
To Mr. Bacon by the appointment of the Readers towards the seats in the Walks·	vi[li] xiii[s] iiii[d]

For the next few years little or nothing more was done. But in 1605 we find a long Pension Order in which the ill use made by Sir Edward Stanhope of the Panyerman's Close is rehearsed, and declaration made of the resumption of the ground by the Society, "the former order of demyse notwithstanding"; in June 1608 an order was passed that it should be cleared of the stables and other buildings placed there by Stanhope, and, soon after Bacon's election as Treasurer, he went to work upon the planting of the new space and the further beautifying of the old. Here are some further items of his expenditure, containing reference to the mount he erected where No. 5 Raymond's Buildings now stands and to the summer-house with its "type," or canopy, of which Master Duke speaks on p. 34.

The accompt of Sr. ffrancis Bacon knite the Kings Solicitor gener. and Treasuror of Graies Inn of all the disbursments ffrom the 12 of August 1608 untell the 26 of November 1610.

	£	s.	d.
To Brooks towards the makinge of the Mount	2	0	0

[1] The facsimile of this account appears below.

To Thomas Goodwyn for the timber and carvinge of the Griffin on the Mount in the Walks	1	10	0
To Mr. Poultney for 30 beeches att 8*d.* apeece and 5 elmes att 10*d.* apeece	1	4	2
To John Mortimer gardiner for 150 stakes for the trees, for 100 standerds of roses, for 200 red rose plants	1	17	6
To John Mortimer ye 3 of December 1608 for roses sweet bryar setts &c.	4	0	0
To Richard Talbott for playsteringe the Mount in the Walks	5	4	2
To Thomas Bourkley 12 Febr. 1608 for priminge and stoppeinge the Type in the Walkes	1	10	0
To Mr. Underwood ye 10 of Marche 1608 for 100 of Sicamore trees	4	11	8
To ye sayd Mr. Underwood for 21 beeches and 8 elmes	1	0	8
To Mr. Maudesley ye slater for slatinge ye tipe in the Walkes	6	13	2
To Mr. Abraham ye 9 of Aprill for pavinge the tipe in the Walkes	4	3	4
To Brooks for makinge of the Bowlinge alley	2	13	0
To Brooks for hearbes, seedes and worke done in the walkes	3	5	7
To Thomas Bartlett for paintinge ye railes and seates and gildinge the Griffin ye 13 Maii 1609	5	13	3
To Slowman 26 Maii 1609 in full payment of all the worke done in the Walkes	56	13	11
To Brooks 2 Jan. 1609 for 30 sicamore trees	1	6	0
To Brooks 11 Jan. 1609 for 18 apletrees and 200 eglantynes, 1000 red roses and 200 oziers	7	15	0
To Brooks 27 Oct. 1610 for sicamore trees	1	15	0

The space at command was not so much as a third of the thirty acres desired in the essay for a "princely garden." But in many respects the garden of the essay

represents that which he had actually brought into being between 1598 and 1612. Of the copious lists of flowers given for all the months "for the climate of London" there were, at least, at Gray's Inn for February primroses, for March violets and sweetbriar, for April blossoming cherry trees, for May and June pinks and roses, for September vines and apple trees, and for October "roses cut or removed to come late." The Society had in its Walks, we may well suppose, an approach to *ver perpetuum*. There was also "green grass kept finely shorn" than which "nothing is more pleasant to the eye"; there were "frames of carpenter's work," "alleys spacious and fair" yielding "a full shade, some of them, wheresoever the sun be," and there was, as has been said, "a fair mount" with a "fine banqueting house."

The connection of Bacon's life at the Inn with the subject he takes in the other essay reprinted below must be more briefly indicated. Of the plays and shows presented in the Hall during his time, as of the "sports and shewes at the court before the Queen's Majestie," the orders in Pension tell us too little. But from other sources we gather that he bore in many of these entertainments an active part, devising dumb shows for Candlemas 1587, writing speeches for the mumming of 1594, taking the lead in furnishing a masque for the Court at Shrovetide in the following year. Later on, again, he aided the ordering and presentation of Beaumont and Fletcher's "Masque of the anciently allied Houses of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn, Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple," at the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth. In 1614 he bore the cost of the performance by a company of Gray's Inn men of "The Maske of Flowers," and after he was Chancellor we hear that on Candlemas Day he "dined at

Grayes Ynne to give countenance to their Lord or Prince of Purpoole and see their revels."

Of Bacon's share in the administrative work of the Inn Master Duke has spoken fully. Owing to the system under which the records were kept we have no exact knowledge of the part taken by the greatest of the Benchers in those meetings of Pension at which he was for so many years so regular an attendant. But enough appears to indicate that he was as much concerned for the educational efficiency and discipline of the Inn as for its amenity. Rarely, if ever, I should think, has any single Bencher of any Inn of Court done so much, on so many sides, for his legal *alma mater*. Whatever defects have to be acknowledged in Bacon's emotional capacity, enthusiasm for Gray's Inn must be reckoned to him.

There is strong testimony upon the extent to which the place was to him a true home in the fact that it was to Gray's Inn that Bacon, after his condemnation, retired. It was, says Chamberlain the letter-writer, "the fulfilling of the prophecie of one Locke, a familiar of his of the same house, that knew him *intus et in cute*, who seeing him go thence in pompe and with the great seale before him said to divers of his friends, We shall live to have him here again." Higher criticism will find in this prophecy no foresight, but a friend's knowledge of Bacon's affection for the place he had done so much to beautify.

If but few words be devoted in this Introduction to the second of the addresses which form the main body of this volume, that is only because I can claim no such particular qualifications for illustrating its theme as were acquired in reference to Master Duke's main subject in the course of my work upon the records of the Honourable Society. Mr. Balfour's address may leave hot partisans unsatisfied. There have been, ever since Bacon's time,

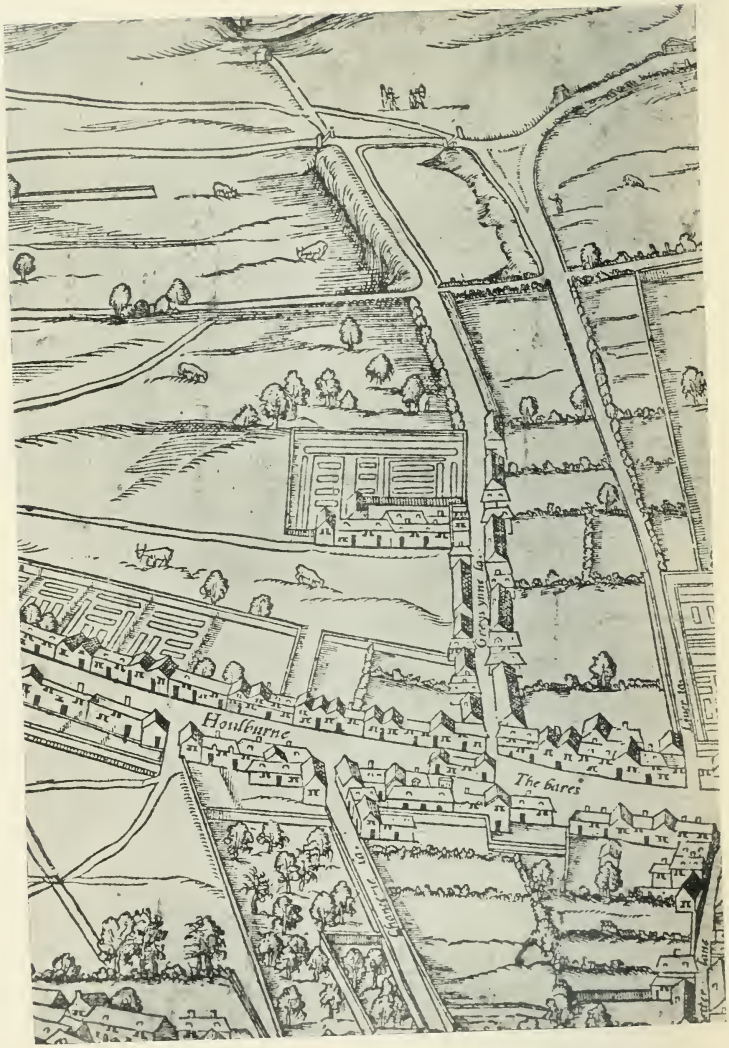
those who have belittled his services to thought and, in Mr. Balfour's words, "grossly exaggerated the shadows upon Bacon's character." There have been, and are, those who have paid him an exaggerated homage. But it may be humbly conjectured that the main body of cultivated people will find a welcome expression for their view of him in the claim made by Mr. Balfour that he was the seer and prophet who beheld, and pointed out, and called his posterity to enter upon, a land of milk and honey which was to be won by laying aside "the fluttering fancies of men" and humbly observing "the imprint stamped upon things by the Divine seal." How much precisely in the rise of that new attitude towards nature which has characterized modern philosophy and made possible the growth of modern science was due to his single mind is a question upon which wise men will not dogmatize. If the debt of the race to him cannot be expressed in figures, its weight will not be felt the less by informed and impartial minds.

It may be hoped that we shall not always stand deprived of Mr. Balfour's views upon Hegel's assertion that Bacon is "the special representative of what in England is called philosophy and beyond which the English have not yet advanced," and the contemptuous addition that we "appear to be that European people which, limited to the understanding of actuality, is destined, like the class of shopkeepers and workmen in the State, to live always immersed in matter and have actuality but not reason as object." In this connection it deserves to be noted as an eloquent fact that almost exactly coincident with Bacon's membership in Gray's Inn was the lifetime of Jacob Boehme. The bifurcation of modern philosophy may be said to have had its beginning—perhaps we should say its ante-natal beginning—

at that wonderful period. Mr. Balfour has aptly indicated what Bacon would have thought of Hegel. It may well be recalled, in addition, that the German thinker's criticism was written before the great scientific advance of the Victorian era had done so much to recommend for German imitation "that which in England was called philosophy." Perhaps, too, it is pertinent to this matter to confess that English writers of the eighteenth century had said of the works of Bacon's German contemporary, the mystic who would seem, in some respects, to have been Hegel's philosophic ancestor, that they were "sublime nonsense" and even that they "would disgrace Bedlam at full moon."

It will be observed that the authors of both addresses confess to dealing with but a part of the wide and varied field which lies open to anyone who takes Francis Bacon as his topic. The reader, however, will require no apology on the score that there is ground uncovered. At the tercentenary commemoration the Benchers of Gray's Inn invited the representatives of English culture to join with them, not in compiling an annotated catalogue of qualities and accomplishments, but in honouring the greatest name on the long roll of their Ancient and Honourable Society. Naturally, therefore, the object of the speakers was to focus the thoughts and feelings of those who accepted the summons upon the central services which Bacon rendered to the Society which nurtured him and to the human race. For their achievement of this object I am sure that readers of the ensuing pages will be grateful.

REGINALD J. FLETCHER.



GRAY'S INN AS IT APPEARS IN THE MAP OF RALPH AGGAS

"The Memory of Francis Bacon"

AT an Assembly in Gray's Inn Hall on Saturday, October 17th, 1908, the 300th anniversary of the day of the election of Francis Bacon as Treasurer of Gray's Inn, the Treasurer, MASTER H. E. DUKE, K.C., M.P., after the toast of "Domus" had been drunk, proposed "The Memory of Francis Bacon." He spoke as follows:

Mr. JUNIOR, there is a wholesome tradition of this house which prohibits anything of the nature of speechmaking in this place. Except that Francis Bacon, when he was Attorney-General, found it necessary to come here once in the course, apparently, of a visitation of the Inns of Court at the instance of James the First, with a view to the restoration of their efficiency and the reformation of some of their excesses, and made

a notable speech, there are few instances, indeed, of speeches in this Hall.

Our colleagues have thought fit to-day to entrust me with a toast—not one of the customary toasts that were honoured here by our forefathers, but one of an exceptional and unique kind, and they have so far honoured the old tradition that they have taken care not to provide me with a speech.

I am reminded, when I find myself in that predicament, of a famous precedent on the North-Eastern Circuit. There was a celebrated leader whose habit it was to relieve his professional labours by going about spreading true religion among those in whose neighbourhood he found himself. At one of these excursions some of his comrades at the Bar were found in the front row at a roadside chapel awaiting the utterances of their learned brother. When he rose to speak he eyed them, and he said, "My friends, I see my brother So-and-So is here; he will lead us in our devotions." I do not know what was the result. But it occurred to me whether I might not look round this table, and, casting an eye upon men who represent pre-eminently the veneration which Englishmen have come to have for Bacon, and who speak with authority in respect of those distinguished centres of learning from which they come, might have bidden them to address you. Names will occur to you of many who know and

love Bacon, and are here to-day, who could undertake this toast far better than myself.

My Lords and Gentlemen, the Inn thanks you for your presence, because it recognizes in you the expression of a feeling and a conviction with regard to Bacon common to the minds of English-speaking men, and of men beyond English speech, which justify the saying of Macaulay that the day would come when the name of Bacon would be spoken with reverence by thoughtful men throughout the intellectual world. Whether I should refer to that seat of learning from which he came to this house, and which he adorned, and which he left, no ungrateful student, or whether I should refer to his labours in the House of Commons, where from the time he was twenty-three until the time when he became Lord Keeper he was an ornament of what was even then a great expression of the English mind, or whether I should glance into the world of letters, or whether I should dwell upon those chapters of his life which associate him with the Bar and with the Bench, I know that I could find here men who would be glad to say with regard to Francis Bacon, "We are all his debtors, and of his debtors I am chief."

I should not presume to search those higher regions of intellectual activity in which Bacon was a master and a pioneer. Men of sound judgement have linked him with Plato. I believe the

opinion of our own age places him before Plato. A just sentence of a censorious critic describes him as the Moses of an unexplored land. He was the Pizarro of more fruitful conquests than Pizarro. And for my part I can only echo those words in which a great Englishman spoke of another great Englishman when he coupled those two names which I have ventured to associate, and bracketed in immortal words, "Plato the wise and large browed Verulam, the first of them that know."

I have said he was no ungrateful student. Let me add with regard to Cambridge that when I read that first fallacious allegation in the great essay upon him, that he came away from Cambridge with a supercilious mind, I remember the association with this Inn of Whitgift, who was Master of Trinity, and to whose care Francis Bacon was committed by his father, the Lord Keeper. You remember the unsparing language in which Whitgift also was held up to the contempt of posterity. Now, when Francis Bacon had attained a pre-eminent position in this house, and the old Master of Trinity, his old tutor, became Archbishop of Canterbury, Whitgift was enrolled among the Fellows of this house, and one of the first acts which followed was an act to which Bacon was a party, by which the gatehouse of the Inn was assigned to Whitgift for his lodging. The man who held Bacon up to censure,

which would have been just if it had been true, with the suggestion that he came away disdainfully from Cambridge, where his mind had become so stored with learning that the wealth of his learning astonishes the students of his works to-day—came away with a supercilious thought of his university and college—the man who made that mistake could not have made it had he known the regard in which Bacon held his old tutor, Whitgift.

These are general topics. But there is one of the general topics with regard to Bacon which I have not touched upon, and one which, to my mind, and I venture to say, to the mind of every man who has ever dipped into English literature, puts Bacon into a place apart; the recollection of the sensation with which the lad who reads Bacon's "Essays" completes their perusal. It is as though he had walked in company with Sinbad or Aladdin, and had found his pockets filled with gems. Those treasures are imperishable, they attach to the mind; and in that respect those of us who know little of Plato, and who have no profound study of Bacon's works upon which to found deeply the gratitude which we know is due to him—in that respect, we all of us feel the debt which we owe.

But it is not in any of these respects, and not because we here in Gray's Inn think that we can speak on behalf of the admirers of Bacon in

regard to any of those matters which are public property, that we have asked you to come here to-day to join with us in celebrating this anniversary. It is because for the twenty-five most difficult years of Bacon's life he was student, he was Barrister, he was Bencher, he was the regenerator of this Society, and the intimate friend of those who were his fellows in it, and because during those twenty-five years Gray's Inn was bound up with the difficulties of his life, and with that long period of his adversity, as no other English place was. Here, in this Hall, here in this Inn, Bacon came and went, a Brother, and a Master; and it is because Bacon was here so long a brother of our students, a brother of our barristers, a Master of this Bench and ultimately Treasurer of this Society for, I think, the almost unprecedented term of nine years; and because during those years his mind was bent upon that colossal task which he undertook and which he achieved; because during that time often it seemed that to his expectations, so long delayed, must succeed the destruction of his hopes and the sterility of his powers—because of these things we claim in this place a share in the possession of the name and the man which we do not grant to any other English society, or to any society.

It was a strange fate which linked Bacon with this house, where he found and kept a secure foothold during years when the eye of power

regarded him very jealously. His father had been Treasurer fifty years before him. This hall had been built during his Treasurership. Nicholas Bacon, Cecil, and Walsingham had been students and ancients here together. Thomas Cromwell had been their predecessor. When Francis Bacon was on the point of leaving Cambridge, and when in all human probability the practice of the law, the utility of the law, was to him a matter of entire indifference, just as Nicholas Bacon had previously entered three sons of greater age, he brought here his two younger boys, Anthony and Francis, and here together, when Francis was fifteen years of age, they were entered. We know that it could have been as to Francis little more than a courtesy to the Inn, because in that year Francis Bacon set out upon what seemed to be his destined career in public life, in the suite of Sir Amyas Paulett, the Ambassador in Paris. Sir Nicholas Bacon chose for his sons a master —one Richard Barker[1]—among the younger barristers of this Society, and Richard Barker's name is recorded in our books in the eulogy upon him of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, but we know that Francis Bacon at once left the Inn and

[1] "Forasmoche as on Richard Barker an honest an toward student in learning of your howse for good respects & com mendable partes in him, was chosen by the late deceased L. Keper to be an Instructor to his two sonnes my nephewes." —*Burghley to the Readers of Gray's Inn. Pension Book*, 1579.

in spite of his youth gained a name for himself in France. Bacon had embarked upon a career which must have severed him from us when in 1579 his father's life came to an untimely close. His father's will left him, not penniless, but wholly dependent, and it was then, and under these circumstances, that Francis Bacon came back to Gray's Inn, and took the place of Anthony Bacon in his father's old chambers, where No. 1, Gray's Inn Square now stands.

It was during the years which followed what seemed so dire a calamity that Francis Bacon coming back to this Hall devoted himself here to that severe course of oral exercises which was the lot of the law-student of his time, and he so laboured as to be in three years so sufficiently a master of the learning of the Common Law as to gain his call to the Bar. Three years more and the Benchers of his day—men of whose names some stand high among the Judges and Advocates of England—when he was not ripe to become a Bencher, called him to this table to sit among the Readers. The happenings of these early years bound him to the end of his days and with an indissoluble tie to this Society. And those years devoted to the law brought to Bacon one conspicuous piece of knowledge which he pithily expressed—"Themis will have no bedfellow." That adage of Bacon's is itself racy of the life of the Inn. It speaks of the rule whereby, as

chamber accommodation was scanty, every occupant of chambers must take a companion to share his lodging, who in a kind of legal cant was called his bedfellow. It assures us of Bacon's early realization that Themis is a jealous mistress, and emphasizes the disability which knowingly and deliberately Bacon accepted in his devotion to Learning.

When I read the second great fallacy of the famous Essay and am told that Bacon sprang suddenly into great practice as a young man, I remember the letters in which year after year Bacon besought aid in many quarters, representing that he must get a livelihood so that he might go on with the great task of his life, the Advancement of Learning. When I know, from records which the essayist had not before him, that Bacon's first appearance in the Court of King's Bench dated twelve years after his call to the Bar in this House, and that his candidature for the office of Solicitor-General was greeted with a chorus at the Bar that "he hath not come into the field at all," then I realize how unjust is the imputation upon Bacon that during those early years of his life he was gathering and squandering great gains in his work at the Bar. It was not until he had been for eight years a member of this Bench that he was taken into the public employment at all, and then came the chance to justify what no doubt was his own confidence in

his training in the law, to justify his declaration that in the technicalities of the English Common Law he was Coke's equal, if not his master. The justification is the even struggle between them for mastery continued during long years. Every lawyer knows how abundantly Bacon held his own against his great rival, that man in many respects of unmatched greatness in his own domain of the law, Lord Coke.

The great and declared object of Bacon's life from his boyhood—his pursuit of learning profitable to the human race—colours his whole life in this Society. But he spent here twenty-five years of that part of his career in which there was no material splendour, and any of you who will take the "Essays" or the "Apophthegms," which throw so much light into his pursuits, or still more will take Spedding's "Life" of him, and then study the Pension Books of the Inn, which I am glad that we have published, and the varied records of his labours and attendances in this Society, will see with perfect clearness how Gray's Inn is bound up with the noblest parts of his life, and will understand why it is that Gray's Inn regards him as peculiarly its own, and regards Gray's Inn as peculiarly his debtor.

I am not to be an apologist or a biographer, but there are many phases of his life in the Inn upon which I might dwell. One is the part which Bacon took in setting in order the community into

which he came. He found time when he was penning and preparing his great works to devote a vast deal of attention to the everyday doings of this Society. Few men who have not been engrossed in the affairs of the Inns know the precise form which the life of an Inn of Court took in the days of King James. You had here a little commonwealth governed by custom and remarkably free from external interference. Bacon came at a time when to this Hall the nobility and gentry of the land resorted for the learning of the law, but when it was still necessary to lay down strict rules as to coming armed into hall, as to scuffling and striking, violence and disorder. Bacon applied himself to amend and enforce wholesome discipline. He applied himself also to maintain and even to increase the stringency of the courses of study through which he had himself come. They were no holiday tasks which were set here in Bacon's days. This Hall was a place of trial. The inner barristers searched the knowledge of the outer barristers, the ancients searched the knowledge of the inner barristers, the Readers searched the knowledge of them all. Bacon evidently attended to the studies pursued in this Hall, and was a diligent attendant. Read the passage in the "Apophthegms" which relates the discourse of Mr. Howland with the student, and let me tell you that Mr. Howland was an ancient in this Inn, and that the scene must have occurred here. Read

also Bacon's speech in 1614 on the discipline of the Inns, and you will see how Bacon and his colleagues made Gray's Inn the model of a place of legal education.

I shall not ask you to-day to visit the gardens of this Inn, but we have included in the little book given to you a facsimile of a page of accounts in which the responsibility of Francis Bacon for the care of the Gardens first appears at some length. The interest of the transcript is that if you read the essay "Of Gardens" side by side with the transcript, you will see how every word of the essay comes from the practical knowledge of Bacon and the application of the practice of his own life. His chambers overlooked the Gardens. He made them. There had been walks before his time, but no Gardens. He inclosed and laid out the fields of the Society, and for two hundred years at least after Bacon's time, as Charles Lamb tells us, they were a delight to the people of London. Our predecessors were under the necessity of building on material parts of them, and they present little to you to-day of the Gardens as Bacon created them. That they were then beautiful was due to his genius and his care. His association with the Gardens went on for twenty years, up to his treasurership and during his treasurership. It was in the Gardens of Gray's Inn that Bacon chiefly enjoyed the friendship of his numberless friends. Read the "Apophthegms,"

and you will see how much his everyday life was associated in his mind with the use of the Gardens he had made.

There is one instance of his association with the Gardens which I do not think is well known, and which does so much honour to that kindly heart which Bacon possessed, that I mention it to you. In the "Apophthegms" you will find more than once the record of the witty sayings of one "Mr. Bettenham." "Mr. Bettenham said," or "Mr. Bettenham used to say," is the phrase, and the topics of conversation are illuminating. One was the uses of adversity, and another the uses of wealth. Mr. Bettenham was a fellow Reader of Bacon's, who had preceded Bacon in the Treasurership. For many years of Bacon's residence they co-operated in the work of this Inn. Mr. Bettenham was a learned lawyer, but he was also a man of whom our records show that he had "been no great gainer by the law."[1] The position of Mr. Bettenham toward the Society was discussed when he came to his Readership, an occasion of amazingly great expenditure in those days, and Bacon and his colleagues made a grant to Mr. Bettenham. Their association was closer than that of colleagues. Bacon says in his essay, as you will remember,

[1] "Hath byn a continuall and diligent keper of learning in the house and was called a year before hys tyme & hath byn no great gayner by the lawe & hath chargeably & learnydly performed his reading."—*Pension Book*, 1590.

that in every garden there should be a mount, and such a mount he had caused to be formed in our Gardens. Raymond's Buildings stand on its site now, but you will find it represented in one of the pictures in the little book. Now, if you could have walked in the Gardens two hundred years ago, you would have found a summer-house on that mount, and upon the summer-house an inscription setting forth that it was erected by Francis Bacon, Solicitor-General to the King, in memory of Jeremy Bettenham, late a Reader of this House, whose executor he was, "a man innocent and contemplative."[1]

I might bring before you other glimpses from the records of Gray's Inn of this distant time. They have much to say on many topics. But what I think is the dearest recollection of the men of this Inn in the career of Bacon is that when the day of calamity came, when within three months in 1622 the Bacon of Ben Jonson's glorious verse became the Bacon of the Confession to the House of Lords, Bacon came back to this House, and here in this House the first act of his old colleagues, from whom, of course, his high office had separated him, was to extend the grant of

[1] The inscription was as follows: "Franciscus Bacon, Regis Solicitor generalis Executor testamenti Jeremiæ Bettenham, nuper Lectoris hujus hospitii, viri innocentis abstinentis et contemplativi, hanc sedem in memoriam ejusdem Jeremiæ extruxit An. Dom. 1609."

Bacon's lodgings which he had erected on the old chambers of his father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, so that he might have in those chambers a saleable interest. Macaulay and Spedding record of that period an almost prophetic word by Prince Charles, afterwards King, to the favourite George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, for whom Bacon was sacrificed; for the lawyer who has looked into these matters will know of the loopholes which Bacon could have sought, and which he disdained to use because his conduct had been contrary to the standard of justice and judgement which he had set up. At that time, when Bacon's attached friends, whom poverty and adversity did not divide from him, rode with him on his way from Gorhambury to this House, Prince Charles wrote to Buckingham, "Do what we will with this man, he will not go out in snuff," or "will not go out in a snuff." Either version serves. Bacon does not "go in snuff" to-day. He was not suddenly extinguished, and he cannot be extinguished. Among the shadows of that great age the name of Bacon stands forth with fact about it, with public service about it, with character about it, in spite of all the errors of his time, and all the weakness of his nature, and these things make his name increasingly a treasure of the English race.

Mr. Junior, what he wrote in his will was, that he left his memory "to the charitable speeches of mankind, to foreign nations, and to the next age."

Three hundred years are gone, and we have thought here to-day that the time was ripe when we might declare our gratitude to Bacon, when we might challenge the judgement of Englishmen upon the whole, and in a broad view, as to the memory and services of Bacon.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I ask you to be upstanding and to drink with us to the toast of "The Memory of Francis Bacon."

Sir. Nicholas Bacon

List of Benchers and Guests

Present at an Assembly in Gray's Inn Hall upon the 300th Anniversity of the Election as Treasurer of Francis Bacon

A'Beckett, Mr. A. W.
Allbutt, Sir Clifford, K.C.B., F.R.S.
American Ambassador, His Excellency The.
Amery, Mr. L. S.
Astbury, Mr. J. M., K.C., M.P.
Atkin, Master J. R., K.C.
Bacon, Sir Hickman, Bart.
Balfour-Browne, Mr. J. H., K.C.
Ball, Sir Robert, F.R.S.
Ball, Dr. W. E.
Bankes, Mr. J. Eldon, K.C.
Barnard, Master W. T., K.C.
Barnes, The Right Hon. Sir Gorell (*President of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division*).
Beeching, The Rev. Canon H. C.
Bigham, The Hon. Mr. Justice.
Birrell, The Right Hon. Augustine, K.C., M.P.
Borrajo, Mr. Edward M.
Bosanquet, Sir Albert, K.C. (*The Common Serjeant of London*).

Bowen, Mr. Ivor.
Bremner, Mr. A.
Brown, Mr. J. W. Ross.
Brown, Mr. R. Weir (*Bacon Scholar*, 1878).
Buckley, The Right Hon. Lord Justice.
Bunting, Sir Percy.
Burgis, Mr. E. C. (*Bacon Scholar*, 1902).
Byrne, Master W. P., C.B.
Campbell, Master The Right Hon. J. H. M., K.C., M.P.
Cassel, Mr. Felix, K.C.
Castle, Mr. E. J., K.C.
Cecil, Mr. Evelyn, M.P.
Cherry, The Right Hon. R. R., K.C., M.P. (*Attorney-General for Ireland*).
Clarke, Sir Edward, K.C.
Clayton, Master Edward.
Cohen, The Right Hon. Arthur, K.C.
Collins, Master Sir Arthur, K.C.
Collins, Sir William J., M.P.
Corbet, Mr. F. H. M.
Courtney of Penwith, The Right Hon. Lord.
Coward, Master Lewis, K.C.
Cozens-Hardy, The Right Hon. Sir H. (*Master of the Rolls*).
Crichton-Browne, Sir James, M.D., F.R.S.
Cripps, Mr. C. A., K.C.
Cunningham, The Ven. Archdeacon, D.D. (*Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge*).
Danckwerts, Mr. W. O., K.C.
Darling, The Hon. Mr. Justice.
Deans, Mr. R. Storry.
Dewar, Sir James, F.R.S.
Dicey, Professor A. V., K.C.
Dicey, Master Edward, C.B.

Dickens, Mr. H. F., K.C.
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F., Bart., M.P.
Dodd, Mr. Frank.
Douthwaite, Mr. D. W. (*The Under-Treasurer*).
Dugdale, Mr. J. S., K.C. (*Treasurer of the Inner Temple*).
Duke, Master H. E., K.C. (*The Treasurer*).
Durning-Lawrence, Sir E., Bart.
Ellison-Macartney, The Right Hon. W.
Evans, Sir Samuel, K.C., M.P. (*Solicitor-General*).
Exeter, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of.
Farleigh, Mr. E. A. (*Bacon Scholar*, 1894).
Farwell, The Right Hon. Lord Justice.
Finlay, The Right Hon. Sir Robert, G.C.M.G., K.C.
Firminger, Mr. F. L.
Fletcher, The Rev. R. J. (*The Preacher*).
Frankland, Professor P. F., F.R.S.
Fulton, Sir Forrest, K.C. (*Recorder of London*).
Goddard, Mr. Charles.
Gomme, Mr. G. L.
Gratwicke, Major G. F., V.D.
Greenwood, Mr. George, M.P.
Griffith, Master Henry.
Harrison, Mr. English, K.C.
Hawtin, Mr. W. G.
Haysom, Mr. George, C.C.
Headlam, The Rev. A. C., D.D. (*Principal of King's College, London*).
Healy, Mr. T. M., K.C., M.P.
Henson, The Rev. Canon Hensley, D.D.
Herbert-Smith, Mr. C.
Hill, Sir John Gray.
Holland, Professor T. E., K.C.
Howe, Mr. J. J. (*Bacon Scholar*, 1900).
Huggins, Sir William, K.C.B., O.M., F.R.S.

Ilbert, Sir Courtenay, K.C.S.I.
Inglis, Mr. James.
Joyce, The Hon. Mr. Justice.
Kennedy, The Right Hon. Lord Justice.
King, Mr. G. Welby.
Lampard, Mr. Forder.
Lee, Mr. Sidney.
Lush, Master Montague, K.C.
McCall, Mr. R. A., K.C.
McCarthy, Mr. J. W.
Macdonell, Sir John, C.B.
Mackenzie, Sir Alexander, Mus. Doc.
Macmillan, Mr. F. O.
Magnus, Sir Philip, M.P.
Manisty, Master H. F., K.C.
Matthews, Sir William, K.C.M.G. (*President of the Institution of Civil Engineers*).
Mattinson, Master M. W., K.C.
Morris, Mr. Henry (*President of the Royal College of Surgeons*).
Moulton, The Right Hon. Lord Justice Fletcher.
Moyses, Mr. J. W.
Mulligan, Master His Honour Judge, K.C.
O'Connor, Mr. B.
O'Connor, Mr. T. P., M.P.
Owen, Sir Isambard (*Deputy Chancellor of the University of Wales*).
Pochin, Master W. J. R.
Pollock, Sir Frederick, Bart.
Pomeroy, Mr. F. W., A.R.A.
Poyser, Mr. A. S.
Proctor, Mr. John.
Raleigh, The Hon. Sir Thomas, K.C.S.I.
Ramsay, Sir William, K.C.B., F.R.S.

Reichel, Sir Henry (*Principal of the University of Wales*).
Reid, The Hon. Whitelaw (*The American Ambassador*).
Ridley, The Hon. Mr. Justice.
Robson, Sir W. S., K.C., M.P. (*Attorney-General*).
Roscoe, Sir Henry, F.R.S.
Rose, Master John.
Russell, Master Charles A., K.C.
Russell, Mr. Cecil H. (*Treasurer of Lincoln's Inn*).
Scott, Mr. C. C.
Sharpe, Mr. Montagu.
Simon, Mr. J. A., K.C., M.P.
Stanford, Sir Charles V., Mus. Doc.
Strathcona, The Right Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., F.R.S. (*Chancellor of the University of Aberdeen*).
Taylor, Mr. R. S.
Terrell, Master Thomas, K.C.
Treasurer, The (Master H. E. Duke, K.C.).
Vaughan-Williams, The Right Hon. Lord Justice.
Verulam, The Right Hon. The Earl of.
Walsh, Mr. Cecil.
Ward, Dr. A. W. (*Master of Peterhouse*).
Warmington, Sir Marshall, Bart., K.C.
Watt, Mr. F.
Wilberforce, The Ven. Archdeacon, D.D.
Witham, Mr. Philip.
Woods, The Rev. H.G., D.D. (*Master of the Temple*).
Wright, Dr. W. Aldis (*Vice-Master of Trinity College, Cambridge*).

Francis Bacon

Francis Bacon

A Speech delivered by the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P., on the occasion of the Unveiling of the Bacon Statue at Gray's Inn on Thursday 27th June 1912

FROM the very moment at which I rashly undertook to take a leading part in this ceremony I have been occupied in repenting my own temerity. For, indeed, the task which the members of this Society have thrown upon me is one which I feel very ill qualified to perform; one, indeed, which has some aspects with which many present here to-day are far more fitted to deal than I.

For the great man whose introduction into Gray's Inn some three hundred years ago we have met to commemorate was a member of this Society through his whole adult life. Here he lived most of his days before he rose to the highest legal position in the country; here, after

his fall, he returned again to his old friends and dwelt again among his earlier surroundings. It was to this Inn that he gave some of his most loving work, adorning it, regulating it, and taking a large share both in its pleasures and its business. It would seem, therefore, to be fitting that the man who unveils the Memorial of this great member of Gray's Inn should himself be a member of Gray's Inn, and that a man who speaks in praise of a Lord Chancellor should himself know something of the law.

I possess, alas! neither qualification. But I am told by those who are more competent to form a judgement on the subject than I am that Bacon showed, as we might expect, great mastery of legal principles, and that although he did not equal in learning that eminently disagreeable personage, Sir Edward Coke, his great rival, yet that his views upon law reform were far in advance of his time, and, according to some authorities, had even an effect upon that masterpiece of codification, the *Code Napoléon*.

However this may be, I clearly have no title to say, and do not mean to say, a single word of my own upon Bacon as a lawyer. Upon Bacon as a politician it would not be difficult, and it might be interesting, to dilate. Although I think he lacked that personal force which is a necessary element in the equipment of every successful politician, he yet possessed a breadth of view, a

moderation of spirit, which, had his advice been taken, might have altered the history of this country and even of Europe. It might be an attractive task for those who like drawing imaginary pictures of the historical "might-have-been," to conceive a man of Bacon's insight inspiring the policy of a Sovereign who had the power and the wish to act upon his advice. Had such a combination existed at the beginning of the seventeenth century we might well have seen a development of Parliamentary and constitutional institutions effected at a less cost than civil war; and all the bitterness of political and religious strife, which so greatly hindered our progress at home, and so effectually destroyed our influence abroad, might happily have been avoided.

But all this is a dream—a dream that could never have come true under a sovereign like James the First. Am I then to turn from the part which under happier circumstances Bacon might have played in public affairs, and discuss the part which in fact he did play? I confess that the subject does not attract me. Anybody who goes to the study of Bacon's life, remembering how his fame has been darkened by the satire of Pope and the rhetoric of Macaulay, must naturally desire to find that these great writers have grossly exaggerated the shadows upon their hero's character. And, indeed, they have exaggerated. Bacon was not a bad man. He was not a cruel man.

I believe he loved justice. I am sure he loved good government. And yet, though all this be true, I do not think his admirers can draw much satisfaction from any impartial survey of his relations either with his family, his friends, his political associates, or his political rivals. Much worse men than Bacon have had more interesting characters. They may have committed crimes, both in public and in private life, from which Bacon would have shrunk in horror. We condemn them, but we are interested in them. I do not think we ever feel this about Bacon the politician. Neither his relations with Essex, nor with Salisbury, nor with Buckingham, nor with Queen Elizabeth, nor with James the First, put him, however we look at the matter, in a very attractive light. He had not a high courage. I doubt his capacity for uncalculating generosity. I could have wished him a little more pride. I suspect, indeed, that his deficiencies in these respects militated even against his worldly fortunes. Such men are used in public life, but they are not greatly loved nor greatly trusted.

But do not let us talk of Bacon as though his career were a great tragedy. It was nothing of the sort. He was a successful man, tried by any worldly standard you choose. He was a philosopher, and he was a statesman; and in the age in which he lived there were no two professions which promised the certainty of a more uneasy

life or the chance of a more disagreeable death. His first patron, Essex, died on the scaffold. His second patron, Buckingham, was stabbed by Felton; and if you turn from statesmen to philosophers, how uneasy was the life of Descartes, how unhappy the career of Galileo, how tragic the end of Giordano Bruno. Well, these were Bacon's contemporaries—these were the politicians with whom he was most closely connected, and the philosophers who made his age illustrious. How much more fortunate was his career than theirs! He had not to fly from place to place for fear of persecution, like Descartes. He suffered no long imprisonment, like Galileo. He was never threatened with the executioner's axe, or the assassin's dagger. Nor did he go to the stake, like Bruno. And however dark be the view we take of hereditary honours, everybody will, I think, admit that it is better to be made a viscount than to be burnt.

If I now pass from those aspects of Bacon's life, with which, for one reason or another I am either unqualified, or unwilling, to deal, I am left by a process of exhaustion to consider Bacon as a man of letters, an historian, or a philosopher. He was all three—a writer of most noble prose, one of the men most happily gifted for history that this country has produced, and in the character of a philosopher marking the beginning of a great epoch. As a philosopher his fate has been mixed.

He has been magnificently praised, both in this country and abroad, by men whose praise is worth much; he has been violently abused by men whose abuse cannot be neglected; and—worst fate of all—his achievements have been vulgarized by some of his most ardent admirers. I do not think this is the occasion—perhaps, even, this is not the audience—appropriate to the delivery of a full and balanced judgement on the precise position which Bacon occupies in the history of European philosophy. He has been regarded both by enemies and by friends as the first father of that great empirical school of which we in this country have produced perhaps the most illustrious members, but which flourished splendidly in France during the eighteenth century. If this claim be good (I am not sure that it is) Bacon's philosophic position is, for that reason if for no other, a proud one. For whatever we may think of Locke and his successors, the mark they have made on the course of speculation is indelible.

I do not, however, propose to deal with these niceties of philosophic history. I shall probably better meet your wishes if I try to say in a very few words what I think was the real nature of the debt which the world owes to Bacon; and why it is that, amid universal approval, we are met here to-day to pay this tribute to his memory.

We shall make (I think) a great mistake if we try to prove that Bacon was, what he always said

he was not, a maker of systems. He had neither the desire, nor I believe the gifts, which would have qualified him to be the architect of one of those great speculative systems which exist for the wonder, and sometimes for the instruction, of mankind. But if he was not a system-maker, what was he? He was a prophet, and a seer. No doubt he aimed at more. He spent much time in attacking his philosophical predecessors, and took endless trouble with the details of his inductive method. Of his criticisms it is easy to say, and true, that they were often violent and not always fair. Of his inductive logic it is easy to say, and true, that he did not produce, as he hoped, an instrument of discovery so happily contrived that even mediocrity could work wonders by the use of it. It is also true that he over-rated its coherence, and its cogency. But this is a small matter. I do not believe that formal logic has ever made a reasoner nor inductive logic a discoverer. And however highly we rate Bacon as an inductive logician, and the fore-runner of those recent thinkers who have developed and perfected the inductive theory, it is not as a logician, it is not as the inventor of a machine for discovery, that Bacon lives.

It is, however, quite as easy to under-rate as to over-rate Bacon's contribution to the theory of discovery. There are critics who suppose him guilty of believing that by the mere accumulation

of observed facts the secrets of Nature can be unlocked; that the exercise of the imagination without which you can no more make new science than you can make new poetry, is useless or dangerous, and that hypothesis is no legitimate aid to experimental investigation. I believe this to be an error. I do not think that anybody who really tries to make out what Bacon meant by his Prerogative Instances and his Analogies will either deny that he believed in the unity of nature, and in our power of co-ordinating its multitudinous details, or will suppose that he under-rated the helps which the imagination, and only the imagination, can give to him who is absorbed in the great task.

I return from this digression on Baconian method to the larger question on which we were engaged. I called Bacon a seer. What then was it that he saw? What he saw in the first place was the evil results which followed on the disdainful refusal of philosophers to adopt the patient and childlike attitude which befits those who come to Nature, not to impose upon Nature their own ideas, but to learn from her what it is that she has to teach them. Bacon is never tired of telling us that the kingdom of Nature, like the Kingdom of God, can only be entered by those who approach it in the spirit of a child. And there, surely, he was right. There, surely, his eloquence and his authority did much to correct

the insolent futility of those verbal disputants who thought they could impose upon Nature their crude and hasty theories born of unsifted observations, interpreted by an unbridled fancy.

I do not mean to trouble you with many extracts. But there is one which so vividly represents Bacon, at least as I see him, that I believe you will thank me for reading it to you.

"Train yourselves," he says, "to understand the real subtlety of things, and you will learn to despise the fictitious and disputatious subtleties of words, and, freeing yourselves from such follies, you will give yourselves to the task of facilitating —under the auspices of divine compassion—the lawful wedlock between the Mind and Nature. Be not like the empiric ant, which merely collects; nor like the cob-web-weaving theorists, who do but spin webs from their own intestines; but imitate the bees, which both collect and fashion. Against the 'Nought-beyond' and the ancients, raise your cry of 'More-beyond.' When they speak of the 'Not-imitable-thunderbolt' let us reply that the thunderbolt is imitable. Let the discovery of the new terrestrial world encourage you to expect the discovery of a new intellectual world. The fate of Alexander the Great will be ours. The conquests which his contemporaries thought marvellous, and likely to surpass the belief of posterity, were described by later writers as nothing more than the natural successes of one

who justly dared to despise imaginary perils. Even so, our triumphs (for we shall triumph) will be lightly esteemed by those who come after us; justly, when they compare our trifling gains with theirs; unjustly, if they attribute our victory to audacity rather than to humility, and to freedom from that fatal human pride which has lost us everything, and has hallowed the fluttering fancies of men, in place of the imprint stamped upon things by the Divine seal."

There surely speaks the seer. There you have expressed in burning words the vehement faith which makes Bacon the passionate philosopher so singular a contrast to Bacon the cold and somewhat poor-spirited politician. There is the vision of man's conquest over Nature, seen in its fullness by none before him, and not perhaps by many since. There is recognized with proud humility the little that could be accomplished by one individual and one generation towards its consummation: yet how great that little was if measured by its final results!

It is no doubt easy to praise this ideal vulgarly, as it is easy to belittle it stupidly. It can be made to seem as if the Baconian ideal was to add something to the material conveniences of life, and to ignore the aspirations of the intellect. But this is a profound error. It is true that (to use his own phrase) he looked with "pity on the estate of man." It is true that he saw in science a powerful

instrument for raising it. But he put his trust in no petty device for attaining that great end. He had no faith in the chance harvests of empirical invention. His was not an imagination that crawled upon the ground, that shrank from wide horizons, that could not look up to Heaven. He saw, as none had seen before, that if you would effectually subdue Nature to your ends, you must master her laws. You must laboriously climb to a knowledge of great principles before you can descend to their practical employment. There must be pure science before there is applied science. And though these may now appear truisms, in Bacon's time they were the prophecies of genius made long before the event. I should like to ask those more competent than myself to decide the question, when it was that this prophecy of Bacon began in any large measure to be accomplished. I believe myself it will be found that it is relatively recently, say within the last three or four generations, that scientific research has greatly promoted industrial invention. Great discoveries were made by Bacon's contemporaries, by his immediate successors, and by men of science in every generation which has followed. But the effective application of pure knowledge to the augmentation of man's power over Nature is, I believe, of comparatively recent growth. You may find early examples here and there; but, broadly speaking, the effect which science has had, and is now having, and in increas-

ing measure is predestined to have, upon the fortunes of mankind, did not declare itself by unmistakable signs until a century and a half or two centuries had passed since the death of the great man who so eloquently proclaimed the approach of the new era.

You may say to me—Grant that all this is true, grant that Bacon, in Cowley's famous metaphor, looked from Pisgah over the Promised Land, but did not enter therein; or, as he said himself, that he sounded the clarion, but joined not in the battle;—what then? Did he do anything for science except make phrases about it? Are we after all so greatly in his debt? I answer that he created, or greatly helped to create, the atmosphere in which scientific discovery flourishes. If you consider how slightly science was in his day esteemed; if you remember the fears of the orthodox, the contempt of the learned, the indifference of the great, the ignorance of the many, you will perhaps agree that no greater work could be performed in its interest than that to which Bacon set his hand. "He entered not the promised land." True; but was it nothing to proclaim in the hearing of an indifferent generation that there *is* a promised land? "He joined not in the battle." True; but was it nothing to blow so loud a call that the notes of his clarion urging men to the fray are still ringing in our ears? Let us not be ungrateful.

This is a theme on which much more could be

said, but I am sure that this is not the time to say it. There was a magnificent compliment paid to Bacon's powers of speaking by Ben Jonson—a compliment so magnificent, that, in my private conviction, neither Bacon or any other speaker has ever deserved it. The poet alleges that the chief anxiety of those who heard the orator was lest his oratory should come to an end. This is not praise which in these degenerate days any of us are likely to deserve. But we need not rush into the other extreme: we need not compel our audience to forget all else in their desire that we should promptly sit down. That trial, at all events, I hope to spare you. I will not therefore dwell, as I partly intended, on such tempting subjects as the criticism passed on Bacon, and I may add, on Bacon's countrymen, by a great metaphysician of the last century. It may be enough to say that if Hegel thought little of Bacon, Bacon had he known Hegel would assuredly have regarded him as displaying the most complete example of what he most detested—the *intellectus sibi permissus.* Assuredly these great men were not made to understand each other; though for us the very magnitude of their differences, by making them incomparable, may allow us to admire both. However this may be, I shall have played my part if I have succeeded in showing reason why all who love science for its own sake, all who "looking with pity on the estate of man," believe that in science

is to be found the most powerful engine for its material improvement, should join with this ancient Society in doing honour to the greatest among its members.

Of Gardens

GOD *Almightie* firſt Planted a *Garden*. And indeed, it is the Pureſt of Humane pleaſure. It is the Greateſt Refreſhment to the Spirits of Man; Without which *Buildings* and *Pallaces* are but Groſſe Handy-works: And a Man ſhall euer ſee, that when Ages grow to Ciuility and Elegancie, Men come to *Build Stately*, ſooner then to *Garden Finely*: As if *Gardening* were the Greater Perfection. I doe hold it; in the Royall Ordering of *Gardens*, there ought to be *Gardens*, for all the *Moneths* in the *Yeare*: in which, ſeuerally, Things of Beautie may be then in Seaſon. For *December*, and *January*, and the Latter Part of *Nouember*, you muſt take ſuch Things as are Greene all Winter: Holly; Iuy; Bayes; Iuniper; Cipreſſe Trees; Eugh; Pine-Apple Trees; Firre-Trees; Roſe-Mary; Lauander; Periwinckle, the White, the Purple, and the Blew; Germander; Flagges; Orenge-Trees; Limon-Trees; And Mirtles, if they be ſtirred; And Sweet Marioram warme ſet. There followeth, for the latter part of *Ianuary*, and *February*, the Mezerion Tree, which then bloſſomes; Crocus Vernus, both the Yellow, and the Gray; Prime-Roſes; Anemonies; The Early Tulippa; Hiacynthus Orientalis; Camäiris; Frettellaria. For *March*, There Come Violets, ſpecially the Single Blew, which are the Earlieſt; The Yellow Daffadill; The Dazie; The Almond-Tree in Bloſſome; The Peach-Tree in Bloſſome; The Cornelian-Tree in Bloſſome; Sweet Briar.

In *Aprill* follow, The Double white Violet; The Wall-Flower; The Stock-Gilly-Flower; The Couſlip, Flower-delices, and Lillies of all Natures; Roſe-mary Flowers; The Tulippa; The Double Piony; The Pale Daffadill; The French Honny-Suckle; The Cherry-Tree in Bloſſome; The Dammaſin, and Plum-Trees in Bloſſome; The White-Thorn in Leafe; The Lelacke Tree. In *May* and *Iune*, come Pincks of all ſorts, ſpecially the Bluſh Pincke; Roſes of all kinds, except the Muſke, which comes later; Hony-Suckles; Strawberries; Bugloſſe; Columbine; The French Marygold; Flos Africanus; Cherry-Tree in Fruit; Ribes; Figges in Fruit; Raſpes; Vine Flowers; Lauender in Flowers; The Sweet Satyrian, with the White Flower; Herba Muſcaria; Lilium Conuallium; The Apple-tree in Bloſſome. In *Iuly*, come Gilly-Flowers of all Varieties; Muſke; Roſes; The Lime-Tree in bloſſome; Early Peares and Plummes in Fruit; Ginnitings; Quadlins. In *Auguſt*, come Plummes of all Sorts in Fruit; Peares; Apricockes; Berberies; Filberds; Muſke-Melons; Monks Hoods, of all colours. In *September*, come Grapes; Apples; Poppies of all colours; Peaches; Melo-Cotones; Nectarines; Cornelians; Wardens; Quinces. In *October*, and the beginning of *Nouember*, come Seruices; Medlars; Bulliſes; Roſes Cut or Remoued to come late; Hollyokes; and ſuch like. Theſe Particulars are for the *Climate* of *London*; But my meaning is Perceiued, that you may haue *Ver Perpetuum*, as the Place affords.

And becauſe, the *Breath* of Flowers, is farre Sweeter in the Aire, (where it comes and Goes, like the Warbling of Muſick) then in the hand, therfore nothing is more fit for that delight, then to know, what may be the *Flowers*, and *Plants*, that doe beſt perfume the Aire. Roſes Damaſk & Red, are faſt Flowers of their Smels, So that; you may walke by a whole Row of them, and finde Nothing of their Sweetneſſe; Yea though it be, in a Mornings Dew. Bayes likewiſe yeeld no Smell, as they grow, Roſemary little; nor Sweet-Marioram. That, which aboue all uthers, yeelds the *Sweeteſt Smell in the Aire*, is the Violet; ſpecially the White-double-

Violet, which comes twice a Yeare; About the middle of *Aprill*, and about *Bartholomew-tide*. Next to that is, the Muſke-Roſe. Then the Strawberry Leaues dying, which a moſt Excellent Cordiall Smell. Then the Flower of the Vines; It is a little duſt, like the duſt of a Bent, which growes upon the Cluſter, in the Firſt comming forth. Then Sweet Briar. Then Wall-Flowers, which are very Delightfull to be ſet vnder a Parler, or Lower Chamber Window. Then Pinks, ſpecially the Matted Pinck, and Cloue Gilly-flower. Then the Flowers of the Lime Tree. Then the Honny-Suckles, ſo they be ſomewhat afarre off. Of Beane Flowers I ſpeake not, becauſe they are Field Flowers. But thoſe which *Perfume* the *Aire* moſt delightfully, not *paſſed by* as the reſt, but being *Trodden upon* and *Cruſhed*, are Three: that is Burnet, Wilde-Time, and Water-Mints, Therefore, you are to ſet whole Allies of them, to haue the Pleasure, when you walke or tread.

For *Gardens*, (Speaking of thoſe, which are indeed *Princelike*, as we haue done of *Buildings*) the Contents, ought not well to be, vnder *Thirty Acres of Ground*; And to be diuided into three parts; A *Green* in the Entrance; a *Heath* or *Deſart* in the Going forth; And the *Garden* in the middeſt; Beſides *Alleys*, on both Sides. And I like well, that foure Acres of Ground be Aſſigned to the *Greene*; Six to the *Heath*; Foure and Foure to either *ſide*; and twelue to the *Maine Garden*. The *Greene* hath two pleaſures, The one, becauſe nothing is more Pleaſant to the Eye, then greene Graſſe kept finely ſhorne; The other, becauſe it will giue you a faire Alley in the Midſt, by which you may go in front vpon a *Stately Hedge*, which is to incloſe the *Garden*. But, becauſe the Alley will be long, and in great Heat of the Yeare, or Day, you ought not to buy the Shade, in the *Garden*, by Going in the Sunne thorow the *Greene*, therefore you are, of either *Side* the *Greene*, to Plant a *Couert Alley*, vpon Carpenters Worke, about Twelue Foot in Height, by which you may goe in Shade, into the *Garden*. As for the Making of Knots, or *Figures*, with *Diuers Coloured Earths*, that they may lie vnder the Windowes of the Houſe, on that

Side, which the *Garden* ſtands, they be but Toyes: You may ſee as good Sights, many times, in Tarts. The *Garden* is beſt to be Square; Incompaſſed, on the Foure Sides, with a *Stately Arched Hedge*. The *Arches* to be vpon *Pillars*, of Carpenters Worke, of ſome Ten Foot high, and Six Foot broad: And the *Spaces* between, of the ſame Dimenſion, with the *Breadth* of the *Arch*. Ouer the *Arches*, let there bee an *Entire Hedge*, of ſome Foure Foot High, framed alſo vpon Carpenters Worke: And vpon the *Vpper Hedge*, ouer euery *Arch*, a little *Turret*, with a *Belly*, enough to receiue a *Cage* of *Birds*: and ouer euery *Space*, betweene the *Arches*, ſome other little *Figure*, with Broad Plates of *Round Coloured Glaſs* gilt, for the *Sunne* to play vpon. But this *Hedge* I entend to be raiſed vpon a *Bancke*, not Steepe, but gently Slope, of ſome Six Foot, ſet all with *Flowers*. Also I vnderſtand, that this *Square* of the *Garden*, ſhould not be the whole Breadth of the Ground, but to leaue, on either ſide, Ground enough, for diuerſity of *Side Alleys*; Vnto which, the Two *Covert Alleys* of the *Greene* may deliuer you. But there muſt be, no *Alleys* with *Hedges*, at either End, of this great *Incloſure*: Not at the *Hither End*, for letting your Proſpect vpon this Faire Hedge from the *Greene*; Nor at the *Further End*, for letting your proſpect from the *Hedge*, through the *Arches*, vpon the *Heath*.

For the Ordering of the Ground, within the *Great Hedge*, I leaue it to Variety of Deuice; Aduiſing neuertheleſſe, that whatſoeuer forme you caſt it into, firſt it be not too Buſie, or full of Work. Wherein I, for my part, doe not like *Images cut out* in *Iuniper*, or other *Garden-ſtuffe*: They be for Children. *Little low Hedges*, Round like Welts, with ſome pretty *Pyramides*, I like well: And in ſome places *Faire Columnes* vpon Frames of Carpenters Work. I would alſo haue the *Alleys*, Spacious and Fair. You may have *Cloſer Alleys* vpon the *Side Grounds*, but none in the *Maine Garden*. I wiſh alſo, in the very Middle, a *Faire Mount*, with three Aſcents and Alleys, enough for foure to walke a breast; Which I would haue to be Perfect Circles, without any Bulwarkes, or Imboſments; And the *Whole Mount*, to be Thirty

Foot high; And ſome fine *Banquetting Houſe*, with ſome *Chimneys* neatly caſt, and without too much *Glaſs*.

For *Fountaines*, they are a great Beauty, and Refreſhment; but *Pooles* marre all, and make the *Garden* vnwholeſome, and full of Flies, and Frogs. *Fountaines* I intend to be of two Natures: The One, that *Sprinckleth* or *Spouteth Water*; The Other a *Faire Receipt* of *Water*, of ſome Thirty or Forty Foot Square, but without Fiſh, or Slime, or Mud. For the firſt, the *Ornaments* of *Images Gilt*, or of *Marble*, which are in vſe, do well: but the maine matter is, ſo to conuey the Water, as it neuer ſtay, either in the Bowles, or in the Ceſterne, That the Water be neuer by Reſt *Diſcoloured*, *Greene* or *Red*, or the like; Or gather any *Moſſineſs* or *Putrefaction*. Beſides that, it is to be cleanſed euery day by the hand; alſo ſome *Steps* vp to it, and ſome *Fine Pavement* about it, doth well. As for the other kinde of *Fountain*, which we may call a *Bathing-Poole*, it may admit much Curioſity, and Beauty; wherewith we will not trouble our ſelues: As, that the Bottome be finely paued, And with Images: The ſides likewiſe; And withall Embelliſhed with Coloured Glaſſe, and ſuch Things of Luſtre; Encompaſſed alſo with fine Railes of Low Statua's. But the Maine Point is the ſame, which we mentioned, in the former Kinde of *Fountaine*; which is, that the *Water* be in *Perpetuall Motion*, Fed by a Water higher then the *Poole*, and Deliuered into it by fair Spouts and then diſcharged away vnder Ground, by ſome Equalitie of Bores, that it ſtay little. And for fine Deuices of Arching Water without Spilling, and Making it riſe in ſeuerall Formes (of Feathers, Drinking Glaſſes, Canopies, and the like,) they be pretty things to looke on, but Nothing to Health and Sweetneſſe.

For the *Heath*, which was the Third Part of our Plot, I wiſh it to be framed, as much as may be, to a *Naturall wildneſſe*. *Trees* I would haue none in it; but ſome *Thickets*, made onely of *Sweet-Briar*, and *Honny-Suckle*, and ſome *Wilde Vine* amongſt; and the Ground ſet with *Violets*, *Strawberries* and *Prime-Roſes*. For theſe are Sweet, and proſper in the Shade. And theſe to be in the *Heath*, here

and there, not in any Order. I like alſo little *Heaps*, in the Nature of *Mole-Hils*, (ſuch as are in *Wilde Heaths*) to be ſet, ſome with Wilde Thyme; ſome with Pincks; ſome with Germander, that giues a good Flower to the Eye; Some with Periwinckle; Some with Violets; Some with Strawberries; Some with Couſlips; Some with Daiſies; Some with Red-Roſes; Some with Lilium Conuallium; Some with Sweet-Williams Red; Some with Beares-foot; And the like Low Flowers, being withal Sweet, and Sightly. Part of which *Heapes*, to be with *Standards*, of little *Buſhes*, prickt vpon their Top, and Part without. The *Standards* to be Roſes; Juniper; Holly; Beare-berries (but here and there, becauſe of the Smell of their Bloſſome;) Red Currans; Gooſe-berries; Roſe-Mary; Bayes; Sweet-Briar; and ſuch like. But theſe *Standards*, to be kept with Cutting, that they grow not out of Courſe.

For the *Side Grounds*, you are to fill them with *Varietie* of *Alleys*, Priuate, to giue a full Shade; Some of them, where-ſoeuer the Sun be. You are to frame ſome of them likewiſe for Shelter, that when the Wind blows Sharpe, you may walke as in a Gallery. And thoſe Alleys muſt be likewiſe hedged, at both Ends, to keepe out the Wind; And theſe *Cloſer Alleys*; muſt bee euer finely Grauelled, and no Graſſe, becauſe of Going wet. In many of theſe *Alleys* likewiſe, you are to ſet *Fruit-Trees* of all Sorts; As well vpon the Walles, as in Ranges. And this would be generally obſerued, that the *Borders*, wherein you plant your *Fruit-Trees*, be Faire and Large, and Low, and not Steepe; And Set with *Fine Flowers*, but thin and ſparingly, leſt they deceiue the *Trees*. At the End of both the *Side Grounds*, I would haue a *Mount* of ſome Pretty Height, leauing the Wall of the Encloſure breſt high, to looke abroad into the Fields.

For the *Maine Garden*, I doe not Deny, but there ſhould be ſome Fair *Alleys*, ranged on both Sides, with *Fruit Trees*; And ſome Pretty *Tufts* of *Fruit Trees*, And *Arbours* with *Seats*, ſet in ſome Decent Order; But theſe to be, by no Meanes, ſet too thicke; But to leaue the *Maine Garden*, ſo as it be not cloſe, but the Aire Open and Free. For as for

Shade, I would haue you reſt vpon the *Alleys* of the *Side Grounds*, there to walke, if you be Diſpoſed, in the Heat of the Yeare, or Day; But to make Account, that the *Maine Garden*, is for the more Temperate Parts of the yeare; And in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning, and the Euening, or Ouer-caſt Dayes.

For *Auiaries*, I like them not, except they be of that Largeneſſe, as they may be *Turffed*, and haue *Liuing Plants*, and *Buſhes*, ſet in them; That the *Birds* may haue more Scope, and Naturall Neaſtling, and that no *Fouleneſſe* appeare, in the *Floare* of the *Auiary*. So I haue made a Platforme of a *Princely Garden*, Partly by Precept, Partly by Drawing, not a Modell, but ſome generall Lines of it; And in this I haue ſpared for no Coſt. But it is Nothing, for *Great Princes*, that for the moſt part; taking Aduice with Workmen, with no leſſe Coſt, ſet their Things together; And ſometimes adde *Statua's* and ſuch Things, for State, and Magnificence, but nothing to the true Pleaſure of a *Garden*.

Of Maſques and Triumphs

THeſe Things are but Toyes, to come amongſt ſuch Serious Obſeruations. But yet, ſince Princes will haue ſuch Things, it is better, they ſhould be Graced with Elegancy, then Daubed with Coſt. *Dancing to Song*, is a Thing of great State, and Pleaſure. I vnderſtand it, that the Song be in Quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with ſome broken Muſicke: And the Ditty fitted to the Deuice. *Acting in Song*, eſpecially in *Dialogues*, hath an extreme Good Grace: I ſay *Acting*, not *Dancing*, (For that is a Meane and Vulgar Thing;) And the *Voices* of the *Dialogue*, would be Strong and Manly, (A Baſe, and a Tenour; no Treble;) And the *Ditty* High and Tragicall; Not nice or Dainty. *Seuerall Quires*, placed one ouer againſt another, and taking the Voice by Catches, *Antheme* wiſe, giue great Pleaſure. *Turning Dances* into *Figure* is a childiſh Curioſity. And generally, let it be noted, that thoſe Things, which I here ſet downe, are ſuche as doe naturally take the Senſe, and not reſpect Petty Wonderments. It is true, the *Alterations of Scenes*, ſo it be quietly, and without Noiſe, are Things of great Beauty, and Pleaſure: For they feed and relieue the Eye, before it be full of the ſame Object. Let the *Scenes* abound with *Light*, eſpecially *Coloured* and *Varied*: And let the *Maſquers*, or any other, that are to come down from the *Scene*, haue ſome Motions, vpon the *Scene* it ſelfe, before their comming down: For it drawes the Eye ſtrangely, & makes

it with great pleaſure, to deſire to ſee that, it cănot perfectly diſcerne. Let the *Songs* be *Loud*, and *Cheerefull*, and not *Chirpings*, or *Pulings*. Let the *Muſicke* likewiſe be *Sharpe*, and *Loud*, and *Well placed*. The *Colours*, that ſhew beſt by Candle-light, are; White, Carnation, and a Kinde of Sea-Water-Greene; And *Oes*, or *Spangs*, as they are of no great Coſt, ſo they are of moſt Glory. As for *Rich Embroidery*, it is loſt, and not Diſcerned. Let the *Sutes* of the *Maſquers*, be Gracefull, and ſuch as become the Perſon, when the Vizars are off: Not after Examples of Knowne Attires; Turks, Soldiers, Mariners, and the like. Let *Anti-maſques* not be long; They haue been commonly of Fooles, Satyres, Baboones, Wilde-Men, Antiques, Beaſts, Sprites, Witches, Ethiopes, Pigmies, Turquets, Nimphs, Ruſticks, Cupids, Statua's Mouing, and the like. As for *Angels*, it is not Comicall enough, to put them in *Anti-maſques*; And any Thing that is hideous, as Deuils, Giants, is on the other ſide as vnfit. But chiefly, let the *Muſicke* of them, be Recreatiue, and with ſome ſtrange Changes. Some *Sweet Odours*, ſuddenly comming forth, without any drops falling, are, in ſuch a Company, as there is Steame and Heate, Things of great Pleaſure; & Refreſhment. *Double Maſques*, one of Men, another of Ladies, addeth State, and Variety. But All is Nothing, except the *Roome* be kept Cleare, and Neat.

For *Iuſts*, and *Tourneys*, and *Barriers*; The Glories of them, are chiefly in the Chariots, wherein the Challengers make their Entry; Eſpecially if they be drawne with ſtrange Beaſts; As Lions, Beares, Cammels, and the like: Or in the Deuices of their Entrance; Or in the Brauery of their Liueries; Or in the Goodly Furniture of their Horſes, and Armour. But enough of theſe Toyes.

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