

Fernando Pessoa.

BACON'S NOVA RESUSCITATIO

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OR

The Unveiling of his Concealed Works
and Travels

BY THE

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ENTER BACON

CHAPTER I

A NEW FRENCH DISCOVERY ABOUT BACON

It was my good fortune a short time ago to purchase from a well-known bookseller in Paris a volume in which, to my great surprise, I found a good deal of information about Francis Bacon which struck me as quite new. Some special studies had made me fairly acquainted with Spedding's monumental work on our illustrious countryman, but there were several new and interesting statements in my French book of the year 1631 concerning Bacon which I felt almost sure were not to be found in Spedding. My next impression was that I must have overlooked these when I was going through the fifteen volumes to which I knew Spedding had devoted the best part of his life. For I had heard it said that what Masson did not know about Milton, or Spedding did not know about Bacon, was not worth

knowing. So a diligent search was made through the different volumes, and the result went to prove that the new French matter was not there. Thus a fresh interest was attached to my acquisition. But the questions arise at once: Of what authority is the book and its French author? What opportunities had he of obtaining any special information about his great contemporary? Had this Frenchman ever been in England? Well, from his dedication, it would seem that he had been over here with an Ambassador, and that he was possibly one of his suite, and that it was while he was in this position that he discovered certain manuscripts of portions of Bacon's works, and brought them to France with him. It may thus be worth our while to consider the book more in detail.

The name of the author is not given on the title page, and the dedication of the volume is simply signed 'D. M.'; but by referring to the 'Privilège du Roy,' which in France secures an author's copyright, and in this instance occupies more than two pages of the prefatory matter, we find the full name and titles. He is described as 'Pierre Amboise, Escuyer, Sieur de la Magdelaine;' so we have not a catch-penny volume to deal with, which is reassuring.

The work consists of a Dedication to the Lord Keeper of the Seals of France; an explanatory Address to the Reader; a short Life of Bacon, or, rather, as he terms it, 'A Discourse on the Life of Francis Bacon, Chancellor of England'; then follows an ode in honour of 'Monsieur Bacon, Chancelier d'Angleterre'; and last comes the body of the work, pp. 1-567, containing the translations which the author had made, being helped, as he gives us to understand, by Bacon's original manuscripts. How he obtained these precious documents he does not vouchsafe to tell us; but they are clearly part of those numerous 'collections' for natural history which occupied so fully the time and attention of the fallen Lord Chancellor shortly before his death. It is well known that Bacon's Chaplain Rawley was entrusted with much manuscript matter, which he published by degrees; and in 1627, the year after Bacon's death, Rawley published the 'Sylva Sylvarum,' and the 'New Atlantis,' an unfinished Utopian romance, was bound up at the end.

From the prefatory address of Pierre Amboise to his readers, he does not appear to be at all satisfied with the way in which Rawley presented Bacon's posthumous 'Naturall Historie' to the public in 1627. In his opinion Rawley made

quite a 'hash' of the manuscripts committed to his charge by Bacon. He even accuses the chaplain of sins of omission and addition, and declares that the confused mass of papers and notes was printed off anyhow, without due order or careful arrangement. This, and the fact that Amboise had access to some original Baconian manuscripts, seem to have been the inducements which prompted the publication of this unnoticed work. But I will give the author's own words :—

'Je serai bien aise aussi que le Lecteur soit averty qu'en cette traduction je n'ai pas suivi punctuellement l'ordre observé dedans l'original Anglois, pour avoir trouvé trop de confusion en la disposition des matieres, qui semblent avoir esté dispersées en plusieurs endroits, plutost par caprice que par raison. Outre qu'ayant esté aidé de la pluspart des manuscrits de l'Auteur, j'ai jugé necessaire d'y adjouster ou diminuer beaucoup de choses qui avoient esté obmises ou augmentées par l'Aumosnier de Monsieur Bacon, qui apres la mort de son Maistre fit imprimer confusement tous les papiers qu'il trouva dans son cabinet.

'Je dis cecy, afin que ceux qui entendent la langue Angloise ne m'accusent point d'infidelité, quand ils rencontreront dedans ma version beaucoup de choses qu'ils ne trouveront pas dedans l'original.'

It is quite certain that no one in this century will blame him for his 'infidelity' to Rawley's version. In fact, it is just this infidelity which is the charm and value of his book. If he had translated Rawley word for word in the printed order of the '*Sylva Sylvarum*,' and had put all into the best French of the period, in that case the result would have been worth hardly more than the paper it was printed on.

As matters stand the result is very different, and we find in a French book of 1631, which at first sight seems an abridged and inaccurate translation of one of the commonest of Bacon's works—a book which would hardly be picked up out of a sixpenny box at a bookstall, for it has no engraved title page to recommend it—we find things, I say, in this French octavo which neither Spedding nor anyone else, as far as I know, among Bacon's numerous biographers has ever referred to in a single passage.

I have little doubt that this special manuscript find was what really induced Amboise to prepare his work for the French public. For there was no great inducement, generally speaking, to translate Bacon into French in the reign of Louis XIII. It was by no means an office to be envied or sought after—for Bacon was, of course, a

heretic, and heretical publications then were severely condemned if their publishers could be proved guilty. It is amusing to read how André Maugars excuses himself for translating the 'De Augmentis' in 1624, and how he protests that the book is only concerned with the arts and sciences. If there should be found in it any apparent offence to the faith of Catholics, he declares that it is only put there by him as a translator, and he adds that, though he had been nearly four years residing among the English heretics, he protests that all he has heard or seen there has had no effect on his faith. He calls to witness those who have known him from his youth, and submits his translation to the judgment and censure of the Church.

Our translator does not make so many excuses or protestations as Maugars, possibly because natural history was not under nearly so great a suspicion of heresy as was philosophy.

How he obtained his Baconian manuscript is not told us, unfortunately, but we can hazard a conjecture, for we do know something about what happened to Bacon's manuscripts after his death.

Sir William Boswell, who was sometime English Minister in Holland, had a considerable quantity of Bacon's papers left to him by will. It is from

this source that, I fancy, the additional matter that Amboise gives us originally came. Rawley and Boswell between them had eventually the disposal of all the manuscripts and documents left by Bacon. As is well known, Rawley began to print some of the manuscripts almost directly, for in 1627 the 'Sylva Sylvarum' appeared in a handsome folio, and from time to time other manuscripts from the same source were given to the public, with short introductions by Bacon's former chaplain.

But Sir William Boswell seems to have acted in a very different manner with the treasures committed to his charge. He did not print any of them, and nothing was heard of them for some years. Eventually they were given by Boswell to Isaac Gruter, under certain conditions and reservations, and he published such parts of them as seemed expedient to him, and in agreement with Bacon's intention.

The most likely way for Bacon's manuscripts of natural history to fall into the hands of the Frenchman Amboise would be through Boswell. There are several little facts that point to him as the source. Thus, Amboise tells us he obtained them when he was with M. de Chasteauneuf's train during an embassy. Now, whether this

embassy was to England or to Holland, in either case there would be the chance of meeting Sir James Boswell.

There would be nothing, also, to prevent Boswell giving Bacon's natural history papers to any one who might be interested in them; for they were virtually done with, Rawley having published a much more extensive collection. Boswell could hardly suppose that anyone would think of publishing a short primitive draft of the 'Sylva Sylvarum,' when the almost perfected work of the natural history collections had been already given to the public by Rawley. No scruple would arise against giving *such* manuscripts of Bacon as a present to anyone who asked for them, they being in the circumstances little more than waste paper.

In some such way as this they may easily have passed into the custody of the French Ambassador's client and friend, either in England, as seems most likely, or in Holland. We know, too, that Boswell *did* give away some manuscripts that came to him from Bacon, and it was a fortunate thing he did so, for otherwise William Gilbert's 'Physiologia Nova' might never have passed the pikes of the press. Spedding tells the whole tale of this (Works, III. 3-8), but we have

more to do with Amboise and Chasteauneuf than with either Boswell or Gilbert, and therefore will return to them.

Unfortunately, I could find neither Amboise the author nor Chasteauneuf his patron in any dictionary of biography. I certainly expected to find the 'Garde de Seaux de France' in some of the excellent and voluminous French biographies, especially as he appeared to be an accredited Ambassador as well. However, feeling that it was in the first degree important to establish the fact that this French work of 1631 came from authorities who were fully worthy of credit, and also in a position to know the accuracy of what they stated about Bacon, I did not give up my search. Eventually I obtained what I required from the State Papers of France and England, and as it is interesting in itself, gives authenticity to the new Baconian matter, and is also outside the ordinary historical manuals, I will give the account as briefly as possible.

First, from the Calendar of State Papers, James I. (1629-1634), I gathered that M. de Chasteauneuf was for some time Ambassador Extraordinary from France to England, and a notable man in his day. The following dates and events are given concerning him :—

June 17, 1629.—A ship was sent from Dover to Calais to bring him over to England.

August 12, 1629.—Notice from James, Earl of Carlisle, to Secretary Dorchester, that the King expects that Chasteauneuf will visit Oxford, and hopes that the authorities will be informed of it, so that they may entertain him with due honour.

September 25, 1629.—M. de Chasteauneuf comes to Oxford, and is incorporated D.C.L.

September 28, 1629.—He visits Cambridge.

The French account is supplementary and corroborates the above, and is to be found in the 'Letters of Richelieu' published from the National Archives of France. We there learn he was recalled from England in January, 1630, but did not leave England till May, 1630.

The above notices, taken with the fact that Amboise professes to be the devoted servant and client of the Ambassador, and states that he had discovered the manuscripts while he was in England with him, stamp the French book with genuineness and authenticity, and its appearance so soon after Bacon's death gives it a contemporary and independent value. It is no compilation, but represents personal knowledge and information gathered from living sources—chiefly, no doubt, of the upper classes. It is a great pity our author

makes his account so short. With his sources of knowledge and hearsay, we could have listened to him eagerly on the subject of Bacon through several hundred pages more.

Having thus, as I hope, removed any suspicion that this Baconian fragment is a mere catchpenny publication without proper credentials, I will proceed to produce some of its contributions to our knowledge of Bacon's life and opinions. But let no one indulge the thought that there is going to be any revelation of Bacon's Great Secret out of this unnoticed French account. That is not so. We are nowhere told, though there was a good opportunity in the preface and elsewhere, that Queen Elizabeth was Bacon's mother; but what we are told is much more reasonable and credible. We are told more about Bacon's father than his mother, and one thing related in this connection is certainly very interesting, and fills up a gap in Bacon's life which historians had often wished to fill, but could not. It has been constantly asked, especially in recent years, 'Was Bacon ever in Italy?' But no one, not even Spedding, could give any account of or reference to such a visit; neither was Bacon ever known to allude to it in any of his letters or works. But we are told now, on this good contemporary

French authority, that, thanks to the thoughtful kindness and generosity of Sir Nicholas Bacon, his younger son, Francis, was purposely sent on his travels at an early age (in the train of the English Ambassador to France?), and that he went both to Italy and Spain, especially with a view to learn the laws and customs of the people, and their different forms of government, with their respective advantages and defects. This Bacon did with a view to prepare himself for such important offices of State as his abilities seemed to promise for him. Our author says rather loosely that these travels occupied 'quelques années de sa jeunesse,' so he clearly refers to the time Bacon was supposed to be with Sir Amyas Paulet, following the French Court in its travels, which was the only long period that Bacon was ever away from England.

But the thought at once arises, Where could this piece of information, which no one else refers to, have come from in the first instance? How could M. Amboise know of it? Well, I think the 'Privi-
lège du Roy' prefixed to his book gives us some clue, for therein we find that the original intention of Amboise was to publish some 'Letters of Bacon' along with this book. However, for some reason unexplained, these letters were not published with the book, although the King's privilege to print,

dated January 1, 1631, fully allowed them and referred to them. I suggest, then, that these private letters of Bacon, which had fallen into the hands of Amboise, most likely when he was with Chasteauneuf in England, contained the information which led to his disclosing to us young Bacon's early travels. It looks as if someone suppressed these letters; anyhow, they were not printed with the book, and the loss is ours, for they might have been of great literary interest by filling up gaps in Bacon's earlier life.

Before I conclude these remarks on the 'Travels' of Francis Bacon, I must also draw attention to a letter of May 29, 1652, from Isaac Gruter at the Hague to Dr. Rawley in London. Gruter finishes a long letter as follows:—

'Lewis Elzevier wrote me word lately from Amsterdam, that he was designed to begin shortly, an Edition in Quarto of all the Works of Lord Bacon in Latine or English . . . and he desired my advice and any assistance I could give him by Manuscripts, or Translations. . . . If you have anything in your Mind, or your Hands, whence we may hope for assistance in so famous a Design, and conducing so much to the Honour of those who are Instrumental in it, pray let me know it, and reckon me henceforth amongst the

devout Honourers of the name of our Lord Bacon and of your own Vertues.

‘ Farewel.

‘ I expect from you what you know, about the ancestors of the Lord Bacon, especially concerning his Father, Nicholas Bacon; concerning his Youth, his Studies in Cambridge, his Travels, his Honours, his Office of Chancellour, and his deposal from it by Sentence of Parliament. The former I will undertake in a more florid and free style, expatiating in his just Praises; the latter with a wary Pen, lest out of my Commentary of the Life of this most Learned Man, matter be offered of pernicious Prating, to Slanderers, and men of dishonest Tempers.

‘ FROM THE HAGUE,

‘ *May 29, 1652.*’*

I think this letter is deserving of notice, and, as is often the case, the postscript contains the most important part, for it clearly shows that Gruter wanted further information about Bacon’s ‘ Travels,’ and that by placing them directly after ‘ his Studies in Cambridge ’ he considered them to have taken place soon after Bacon left his *alma mater*.

Again, Archbishop Tenison seems to refer to

* ‘ Baconiana ’ (1679), pp. 229, 230.

Bacon's 'Travels' at this same period of his life ; for having referred to Bacon as being 'sent into France with Sir Amias Paulet,' and 'thence entrusted with a Message to the Queen, which he performed with much approbation,' and that afterwards he returned to France, he proceeds to say, 'After this, coming from Travail . . . he was seated in Gray's Inn,' etc.

Rawley seems to be Tenison's authority for this statement (*cf.* 'Baconiana,' p. 247), but in any case Tenison, who had the custody of much manuscript matter left by Bacon, endorses this statement about 'Travail,' and the travels seem to have been undertaken *after* his mission to the Queen. This certainly lends probability to the conjecture that the Queen or some high politician had entrusted him with a secret mission which took him to some of the political centres of the Continent. What if the clever young Francis did some foreign work for his country after the youthful example of Sir Philip Sidney? I cannot tell. If he did, it was kept a close secret.

But I must hasten to bring the contents of this French book before my readers, and will therefore only mention one more passage which seems to refer to Bacon's 'Travels' for political purposes.

It is to be found in Bacon's own words in the 'Apology for Essex' (1604):—

'It is well known, how I did many years since dedicate my travels and studies to the use and (as I may term it) the service of my Lord of Essex.'

This expression 'many years since' would be more applicable to the date 1578-1580 than to 1593, and I certainly think that, if Bacon saw the glories of the Continent, it was at the earlier date. His brother Anthony, coming home, after his long absence, about 1592, would probably recall in their frequent conversations the earlier Continental experiences of his gifted brother.

As the book is so rare, and practically unprocurable, it will perhaps be best to give a brief analysis of it, with such extracts as are new or may seem interesting to admirers of Bacon.

The work begins with an *Epistre* to 'Monseigneur de Chasteauneuf, Garde des Seaux de France,' who is told, in four pages of the usual complimentary character, that the work now printed is the fruit of a land where he had showed his prudence and diplomacy, and that there was no doubt that if 'Monsieur Bacon,' as he always calls him, had lived till now he would have taken the French Keeper of the

Seals as his great example and model. Such compliments were expected, and were hardly taken or given quite seriously.

Next comes the *Avertissement* to the reader, in seven pages. Here Bacon is praised as being far above the great names of antiquity, who merely repeated or slightly improved what their forerunners had handed down. But, says the *Avertissement*, Mr. Bacon was one who joined experience to argument and reasoning, and adds :—

‘ Et pour cet effet il avoit une maison de campagne assez proche de Londres qui ne luy servoit qu’à faire ses experiences. En ce lieu il avoit un nombre infiny de vases et de fioles, dont les unes estoient remplies d’eaux distillées, les autres d’herbes et de metaux en leur propre nature, quelques-unes de meslanges et compositions ; et les laissant exposées à l’air pendant toutes les saisons de l’année, il observoit soigneusement les diverses actions du chaud et du froid, du sec et de l’humide, les productions et corruptions des simples, et autres effets de la nature.’

I suppose this country-house where Bacon kept this scientific apparatus and these numerous bottles was Gorhambury rather than Twickenham, for I think Amboise is referring to the later years

of Bacon's life rather than the Gray's Inn period. One would almost imagine from the description given that Amboise had either seen the laboratory himself or spoken with someone who had been there.

Then follows his account of the reason that his translation differs so very much from the original English. This has been already noticed and quoted.

Next comes 'Privilege du Roy,' three pages, and then 'Discours sur la vie de M^{re} Francois Bacon, Chancelier d'Angleterre.'

This *sketch* of Bacon's career, for it is only that, begins with the advantages Bacon had in possessing such an admirable father. Sir Nicholas Bacon was a man very highly esteemed by the Queen, and, besides making him Lord Keeper, she entrusted him with the most important affairs of the kingdom. So says our French authority, and goes still farther when he asserts that Sir Nicholas Bacon was the chief instrument used by the Queen in establishing the Protestant faith in England. As a good Catholic, Amboise thinks the result bad and odious, but cannot help admitting the great dexterity shown by Bacon's father in conducting so momentous an enterprise successfully without upsetting or disturbing the

tranquillity of the State. The early education of Francis is then alluded to, and the great care taken by his father in ordering it—so great that it was hard to tell whether it was the son's ability or the father's special care which brought about such great results in later life. We are told, however, that the son's ability was transcendent, and that he surpassed all for his good judgment and remarkable memory; that he soon learnt all that Cambridge could teach him, and already at that early age was quite capable of taking 'des charges les plus importantes'—by which is probably meant political missions such as young Philip Sidney filled so satisfactorily. However, Sir Nicholas thought such an immediate plunge into political life would be too precipitate, and we are told that he decided that his promising boy should first get somewhat of the special experience which made Ulysses so wise a counsellor. Sir Nicholas wished young Francis to know somewhat of the manners of men and of cities, and we are told that Francis followed his father's plans very aptly. It is here that we are let into the carefully concealed secret of Bacon's early travels:—

'Il employa dans les voyages quelques années de sa jeunesse, afin de polir son esprit, et façonner

son jugement, par la pratique de toute sorte d'étrangers. La France, l'Italie et l'Espagne comme les nations les plus civilisées de tout le monde, furent celles où sa curiosité le porta. Et comme il se voyoit destinée pour tenir un jour en ses mains le timon du Royaume, au lieu de considérer seulement le paysage et la diversité des vestemens, comme font la plupart de ceux qui voyagent, il observoit judicieusement les loix et les coutumes des pays où il passoit, remarquoit les diverses formes de gouvernement, les avantages ou les deffaux d'un Estat, et toutes les autres choses qui peuvent rendre un homme capable de gouverner les peuples.'

This account of young Francis's travels to Italy and Spain to study their policy and government seems very probable, and coming from a Frenchman, as it does, makes it still more credible, for these foreign travels were accomplished while Bacon was supposed to be attached to the train of the English Ambassador in France, and consequently people in touch with French courtiers, as was Amboise, would be the most likely to hear how Bacon spent his time while he was in France.

I have a strong opinion that Rawley knew about young Francis Bacon's travels, but that he had good reasons for holding that they were not

‘communicable to the public.’ This is a very suggestive phrase of his own, which he uses in his ‘Address to the Reader’ prefixed to his ‘Resuscitatio.’ This phrase certainly allows the inference that Rawley did not give to the public all he knew about his illustrious and deceased friend.

There is also to be noted in Rawley’s ‘Life of Bacon,’ that *after* the account of the return of young Francis to England in consequence of his father’s death he proceeds thus : ‘*Being returned from Travel* he applied himself to the study of the Common Law which he had taken upon him to be his profession.’

Now, the important and not sufficiently noticed words, put in italics above, must refer either to Bacon’s travels when he was in France before his father’s death, or when he had returned to England and was not yet settled down at Gray’s Inn, or to both occasions.

I hold it not improbable that young Francis travelled both before and after his father’s death (1579), the latter occasion being some short political mission which had been entrusted to him by the Queen or some great person about Court.

Just before we know him (from Spedding) as

settled down at Gray's Inn, there is a short blank space in his biography where there is time for a foreign political mission, but whether he executed it or not is studiously concealed. I believe Gabriel Harvey knew, and also, later on, Ben Jonson. But to publish such State matters meant a Fleeting or something worse.

However, as before suggested, Amboise may have found the account in those letters of Bacon which he did not print. Strictly speaking there is no absolute statement, so far as I have seen, that Bacon was *permanently* 'attached' to the embassy. In fact, we know from a letter of Sir Amyas Paulet, written on his arrival in France, that sundry young noblemen and gentlemen had accompanied the Ambassador's party across the Channel and as far as Paris, and that their company across the Channel was rather an inconvenience, as there was none too much room or provision during the journey; but we are not told who these young travellers were.

In this short French Life Bacon receives the very highest praise for his personal aims and character. Amboise declares that 'never man delighted in justice or cherished the interests of the public good more than Bacon,' adding that he would have shone even more in a democratic

State, and that if he had lived in a republic his fame would have been not a whit less than Aristides gained at Athens, and Cato at Rome. After some pages of similarly high praise, we come to the account of the sudden fall and disgrace of this wonderful genius, and the French version is a curious variant from the received text of history. It is as follows :—

‘ Mais lors qu’il sembloit que rien ne fust capable de destruire son etablissement, la fortune fit voir qu’elle ne voulait point encore changer sa nature peu stable, et que Monsieur Bacon avoit trop de merite pour estre si long temps heureux. Il arriva donc qui parmi un grand nombre d’officiers tel qu’un homme de cette qualité doit avoir en sa maison, il y en eut un qui fut accusé au Parlement de concussion, et d’avoir vendu le credit qu’il avoit auprès de son maistre. Et bien que la probité de Monsieur Bacon fut exemte de toute censure on le declara coupable du crime de son domestique, et fut en suite privé de la charge qu’il avoit si longtemps exercée avec tant d’honneur et de gloire.’

After terming this a piece of base ingratitude towards such a patriotic subject, he concludes very characteristically with the following thrust at *perfidè Albion* :—

‘Et l’Angleterre nous fait bien voir par cette action, que la mer, qui l’environne de tous costez, communique à ses habitans une partie de ses legeretez et de ses inconstances.’

I am afraid we cannot accept this French version as the absolute historic truth concerning the great Lord Chancellor’s fall and disgrace. True, it was written shortly after the event, with but the lapse of a few years since all men in France and England were discussing it; but to attribute the fall altogether to the corruption of one of Bacon’s servants cannot possibly be made to suit the facts as historically presented to us. I know that some eminent biographers of Bacon have defended his innocence so far as to say that he was only technically guilty of corrupt practices, and not morally guilty; but to shift the whole of the charges and guilt from Bacon’s shoulders to the shoulders of one of his servants is a very different way of looking at the question, and will not, I fear, bear the test of serious investigation. But it certainly shows that there was a contemporary feeling among political and Court circles abroad that Bacon was very hardly dealt with and practically innocent. I would even venture to say, further, that this French account is really nearer the truth about Bacon

than what is popularly held at the present time.*

The fall and disgrace of our illustrious countryman are subjects which, like some other literary matters connected with him, require a little re-statement, which may well be briefly supplied here.

Few who have really gone into the matter of Bacon's life and character will deny that he has for many years been lying under the shadow of a cloud of unfair aspersions, and under the injustice of having had statements popularly formulated against him which were only partly, or rather only approximately, true, while at the same time they conveyed an absolutely *false* impression. A self-confident and rhetorical essayist was the fount and origin of this as long ago as 1837. Lord Macaulay's essay on Bacon imposed a wrong impression on the reading public when it was first issued, while the great subsequent popularity of Macaulay and the survival of his 'Essays' as a standard work of literature right down to the present time have together contributed to stamp this impression deeply into the current opinion of the average Englishman everywhere.

* There is a curious and close parallel to Bacon's fall and disgrace in the case of Sir John Throckmorton, Chief Justice of Chester.

Out of fifty people who know Macaulay's 'Essays,' and could perhaps repeat a phrase or passage out of them without referring to the book, how many, I ask, out of these fifty general readers could give you Spedding's reply to Macaulay, or Abbott's view of Bacon's treatment of Essex, or would know anything of Montagu's defence of Bacon beyond what Macaulay quoted when he endeavoured to upset that same defence in his widely-read 'Essays'? The result is that from 1837 to 1903 the vast majority of the English speaking race thought with Pope that Bacon was the 'meanest' of mankind, and with Macaulay that he basely received bribes when in a high official position, and treated Essex, Peacham, and sundry other people, in most abominable, ungrateful, and unjustifiable ways. I say that people all this time have taken these things against Bacon as 'granted and proved.' It is therein that Bacon's fame has suffered severe injustice. They are not strictly true, to begin with, and there are many excuses and palliatives that are altogether unconsidered in this verdict. The great Lord Chancellor never received bribes for the sake of perverting justice—in fact, he never received *bribes* at all. He accepted, and allowed his dependents to accept for him, valuable

presents from people whose interests were involved or had been involved in law cases that belonged to the Lord Chancellor's jurisdiction. But they were seldom given or accepted *pendente lite*, and there is no record that any judgment of Bacon's was ever reversed on this ground or any other. His conduct as to receiving presents from suitors cannot be defended if judged by strict morality; but its heinousness is much diminished when we consider the contemporary and almost universal habit of thought concerning such practices which prevailed.* Such practices were not classed as base, fraudulent, or ungentlemanly acts; moreover, Bacon had not been the active agent in procuring bribery, but the passive, non-resisting medium which *accepted* gifts without that scrupulous examination which the matter required.

Indeed, there can be no doubt that Bacon honestly believed himself in his own conscience to be 'not guilty' in those graver charges which brought about his fall. Indeed, he says so most explicitly:—

'I am not guilty to myself, of any unworthi-

* Cf. Basil Montagu's 'Life of Bacon,' note ZZ, for proof.

ness, except perhaps too much softness in the beginning of my troubles. But since, I thank God, I have not lived like a drone, nor like a malcontent, nor like a man confused; but though the world hath taken her talent from me, yet God's talent I put to use.'

Yes, indeed, no part of Bacon's career became him like the ending of it, the last four or five years so steadily devoted to that labour of love which was always nearest to his heart. For it was literature, not law, that was his great work of recreation and pleasure. During the last few years of his life he needed not to say, wailing with the Psalmist, 'Multum fuit incola anima mea,'—a phrase that in earlier days of apparent prosperity and success was often in his mouth,—but he could now freely let his mind work on such subjects as were congenial to it, or, to use his own words in a letter to a friend, he was able now 'indulgere genio suo.' And if it should really turn out that it was he who gave the author's revision to the First Folio of 1623, then there never was such a *genius* in the world before.

Mr. Spedding's opinion of Bacon was very high, and he always maintained that the popular impression of Bacon's character was quite wrong, and proceeded from a deplorable want of know-

ledge of Bacon's life, letters and works. He says in a privately printed book, which he originally did not wish to be known beyond the circle of a few personal friends,—

‘I should like to know whether among the very few competent persons who are known to have taken pains to understand him, and to have gone the right way about it, there is any one who has shared the popular impression of his character. Not Dr. Rawley, nor Sir Thomas Meautys, nor Tobie Matthew, nor Ben Jonson, nor Sir Edward Sackville, nor Sir John Danvers, who all knew him and studied him while he lived; not Carte, nor Stephens, nor Lockyer, nor Tenison, who studied him in his works.’

Here Mr. Spedding gives a fine array of witnesses who were in a position to judge and despise the base popular rumours current against the great Lord Chancellor, and they all judged in his favour. But one witness who was most intimately connected with Bacon in his private life is left out of the above list. As the book which contains the account is hard to meet with, I will put the principal evidence of interest in a footnote.* And now, bearing these good

* Thomas Bushel, one of Bacon's household dependents, gives this testimony to his master's character in a book,

testimonies in mind, we may proceed to gather together any new information and any new

‘The First Part of Youth’s Errors. Written by Thomas Bushel, the Superlative Prodigall.’ London, 1628, 8vo., printed two years after Bacon’s death :

*A Letter ‘To his approved beloved Mr. John Eliot,
Esquire.*

‘The ample testimony of your true affection towards my Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, hath obliged me your servant. Yet lest the calumnious tongues of men might extenuate the good opinion you had of his worth and merit, I must ingenuously confess that my selfe and others of his servants were the occasion of exhaling his vertues into a darke eclipse ; which God knowes would have long endured both for the honour of his King and the good of the Commonaltie ; had not we whom his bountie nursed, laid on his guiltlesse shoulders our base and execrable deeds to be scand and censured by the whole senate of a state, where no sooner sentence was given, but most of us forsoke him, which makes us bear the badge of Jewes to this day. Yet I am confident there were some Godly Daniels amongst us. . . . As for myselfe, with shame I must acquit the title, and pleade guilty ; which grieves my very soule, that so matchlesse a Peer should be lost by such insinuating caterpillars, who in his owne nature scorn’d the least thought of any base, unworthy, or ignoble act, though subject to infirmities as ordained to the wisest.’

Some personal details of Bacon’s forgiving temper are given, and bribery, corruption, and simony all denied.

fragments of Bacon's writings which we may meet with in this unnoticed French edition.

Having left all this novel and unexpected prefatory matter, we next turn over the first few pages of the body of the work, and the first thing that strikes us is the singular arrangement of the literary material. The book professes to be a French translation of the 'Sylva Sylvarum,' or 'Natural History,' of Francis Bacon, recently published in London, *i.e.*, the next year after its author's death;—a book so well received that it attained to a second edition in 1628, three years before Amboise published his French version. We naturally expect to get Bacon's work rendered into French, and, indeed, the title page does not lead us to expect anything else, since it reads simply thus:—

'Histoire | Naturelle | de | M^{re} Francois Bacon | Baron de Verulam, Vicomte de saint | Alban, & Chancelier d'Angleterre. | A Paris, | Chez Antoine de Sommaville | & André Soubron, associez, | au Palais dans la petite Salle. | M.DC.XXXI. | Avec Privilege du Roy.'

It is, no doubt, partly this simple titular description which has kept the book so long in obscurity. For although it is a book of considerable rarity, and hardly ever met with in English libraries, still, there is a copy at the British Museum, which has evidently been there for many years, and

appears in the printed catalogue of 1813 under the entry : ‘*Bacon, Francis. Histoire Naturelle, L’Atlas Nouveau, 8vo., Par. 1631,*’ which certainly would not tempt even a student of Bacon ; for he would infallibly take it to be a mere translation for the benefit of such Frenchmen as were not able to read Bacon in the original, and would pass it over. But as a matter of fact it is something very different. Indeed, I do not remember ever meeting with such an odd *translation* as this one. It neither begins at the same place as the English original, nor yet does it end with the same paragraphs ; and as for its middle, it is *there* that you have to look for the first page or two of Bacon’s famous work. There are 416 pages of this French ‘*Histoire Naturelle,*’ but the print is large, and the translation contains much less than the English edition of 1627 and 1628, on which it was presumably founded. Very large omissions here and there account for this decrease in size, but they are not deplorable omissions, for all was in print elsewhere. Indeed, we would have readily forgiven M. Amboise if he had omitted every word or paragraph he translated from Rawley, if he had only given in their place a full account and translation of the manuscripts and letters of Bacon, which he had procured in some

unknown way from England. But, failing this, we must still not refuse to accord him thanks for such additional information about Bacon as he has drawn from his original manuscripts and inserted in various chapters and under the different headings of his six books. Six books! Again the translator will not conform to Rawley's arrangements, for, as all readers of Bacon know, the English 'Sylva Sylvarum' has always been divided into ten centuries. But such matters are small literary details; what is more to our purpose is the additions he can give to our knowledge of our great countryman. I will therefore try to extract some new ore from this neglected mine.

CHAPTER II

THE INEDITED PARTS OF BACON'S MANUSCRIPT

WE meet with a small new vein of ore on the very threshold of the mine, for the very first chapters deal with Bacon's views on (1) The Generation of Metals, and (2) The Means of making Gold artificially (*par artifice*).

Surely this is rather a strange subject to put in the fore front of a French translation of Bacon's 'Natural History,' seeing that the original work begins with the words 'Digge a *Pit* upon the *Seashore*,' and deals with the subject of the straining or percolation of salt water. Did M. Amboise consider the great Lord Chancellor of England to be an alchemist first, and a natural philosopher afterwards? I do not think we can draw that inference, though I believe that young Bacon in his earlier Elizabethan days did pay considerable attention to the alchemistical philosophers, and was in addition a devoted admirer of Hermes

Trismegastus. Alchemy and the artificial making of gold comes first in this French translation, because Bacon put it first in the manuscript sources which Amboise used. We have evidently here a French rendering of Bacon's treatise on 'Natural History' in an earlier arrangement.

The way this treatise is divided into books (not centuries, like Rawley's), and the further arrangement that each book should begin by a general introductory chapter, together with much greater coherence in the subject matter throughout,—all these tend to show that we have here an earlier and more methodical work of Bacon on 'Natural History' than the larger jumble of experiments and facts which were published under Rawley's superintendence in 1627, shortly after the author's death. In fact, the relation between the two versions can be compared very suitably to the relation between an early quarto of a Shakespeare play and the same play as it appeared later in the First Folio of 1623. The play was the same in both cases, but there was revision, omission and addition brought to bear on the quarto. The 'Histoire Naturelle de M^{re} François Bacon' represents an early quarto, and Rawley's 'Sylva Sylvarum, or a Naturall Historie; In Ten Centuries; Written by the Right

Honourable Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban; Published after the Author's death,'—represents the final folio revision, with its larger bulk and odd omissions.

And just as lovers of Shakespeare would greet with much interest an early French quarto of, say, 'Hamlet' or 'Henry VI.,' so I hope lovers of Bacon will also greet with pleasure an early French edition of one of Bacon's works, containing many passages which either Bacon himself or the revisers of the first folio 'Sylva' of 1627 thought fit to omit, and which all the recent editors of Bacon's works, including the great Spedding, have missed entirely.* In any case, this neglected work of Bacon begins by an account of his views as to the possibility of making gold, and ends the chapter thus,—

'I shall content myself with putting on record these general maxims here, reserving a larger discourse wherein I intend to satisfy *les esprits curieux*.'

Here we have a distinct promise of a future monograph on the subject or art of making gold, which Bacon intended to write for the edification of curious inquirers. Whether this was found

* For the Gruters, the early German editors of Bacon, and their knowledge of this translation, see later on.

among Bacon's papers by Rawley or others we shall, most likely, never know; it certainly has not been printed.

We are not told much about this making of gold which we have not already extant in the 'Sylva.' In both versions Bacon fully believes that gold can be produced by a 'maturing' of other metals, and he thinks that silver is the best metal to experiment upon, and next copper. But from the French version we find that the sun, by common report, takes twice as long to make gold (by generative heat) as any other metals; and also that the inhabitants of Peru never took gold from their mines without certain grand and mystic ceremonies, considering the metal to possess a Divine nature.

Bacon also tells us here of a man who had assured him 'qu'une quinzieme partie d'argent se peut méler avec l'or, sans qu'on en puisse connoitre le melange par quelque sorte de separation.'

To make gold in this way seems very simple. If this had been all, Bacon might have soon made himself a rich man. But we read further, and find that the proper degree of heat and length of time occupied in the transmutation must be carefully reckoned, and probably Bacon's informant kept that to himself.

Here we find another instance of Bacon's wonderful power of hinting at and foreshadowing the scientific discoveries of future times. He was not a marvellous inventor like Edison, nor did he devote much time to practical mechanics or such forms of invention; but he was a great thinker *par excellence* on the subject of subduing or ameliorating Nature, and as a theorist he occasionally let fall very precious seed, which in part has already germinated, and more probably will follow. Among the seed that is to germinate we may, it seems now, possibly reckon his frequent allusions and cogitations on the generation and transmutation of metals.

This has been forcibly brought to my mind at the present time by an account I have recently read of Sir William Ramsay's lecture at the London Institution (November, 1903) on the constitution and properties of that wonderful new substance, radium. He was asked this question,—‘Do you mean, Sir William, that it may be possible to employ the simpler elements in the building up of radium?’ His answer was,—‘It may.’ This looks rather like modern alchemy, and somewhat like the principle Bacon foresaw nearly 300 years ago.

But, near as these remarks bring us to Bacon's

foresight, we had only a month or two longer to wait, and then Sir Oliver Lodge, on January 5, 1904, brought us nearer still by speaking, as Principal of the Birmingham University, on radium in the following words, among many others,—

‘It affects our estimate of the probable age of the sun and the past age of the earth. It proves that the alchemists were not so mad as was thought, and that the transmutation of lead into gold, or gold into lead, is not an absurd dream.’

Now, this is really just what Bacon says, too :

‘Pour moy, bien que je tienne la chose tres-difficile, je ne l’estime pas neantmoins impossible.’

Nor did he seem at all inclined to modify the opinion here expressed when he handed to Rawley his later papers on this subject. In Century IV., Preface to Experiment 327, Rawley gives us this version of Bacon’s view,—

‘The World hath been much abused by the opinion of *Making of Gold*: the Worke itself I judge to be possible: But the meanes (hitherto propounded) to effect it, are, in the Practice full of Errour and Imposture.’

I have no doubt that Sir Oliver Lodge would endorse all the above without the slightest reserve.

Bacon also states his opinion that it was more difficult to make a heavier metal out of a lighter one than to make a lighter metal out of a heavier one. If, therefore, it be possible for Bacon now to hear Sir Oliver giving the relative weights—gold = 196, radium = 225, thorium = 232, and uranium = 240—we may well imagine that he would conclude that one of the ‘deficiencies’ of the Terrene Globe was now on the way of being removed, and that, too, in accordance with his own vast projects. It is true that Bacon did not include ‘gold’ among the several ‘deficiencies’ he was so apt at illustrating in his philosophical works. But in another sense gold was a great ‘deficiency’ with him, for he very often felt it wanting, and it is thought he sometimes went to the Jews to supply it.

But let us leave Bacon as an alchemist, with the pleasing thought that if, as Bishop Hall tells us in his satires (Book IV., iv.), there seemed a chance that he (Labeo-Bacon) might ‘fall to alchemy,’ yet nevertheless he was fairly sane in his views about it.

Let us next hear Bacon’s views on a passion more powerful and more universal than even the passion for gold. I mean the master passion Love.

CHAPTER III

'DE L'AMOUR'

THERE is no chapter corresponding to this in our ordinary English editions of the 'Natural History,' and most of the remarks are new Baconian matter which has never, it seems, been referred to before. Any reflections of the great Francis Bacon on love must at this present juncture be very opportune.

Many people believe that he was the greatest delineator of the master passion of our race, in its most diverse and delicate phases, that ever lived. I will not here reason on this point, but pass on to these new utterances of the great exponent of the inductive philosophy; for Bacon was *that*, whatever else he may be shown to be.

I can well believe that his chaplain Rawley intentionally omitted the greater part of the contents of this chapter from his edition of Bacon's manuscripts; for it would undoubtedly

seem best to him, as a serious divine and a careful guardian of Bacon's reputation, not to put in print paragraphs and views so unworthy of the great Lord Chancellor. However, Rawley had no influence or authority over the man at Paris who had taken upon himself to introduce Bacon to the French public by help of some manuscripts he had been favoured with, and so this chapter on Love reached the eyes of French readers, in spite of Rawley's reticence, or it may be, of course, Bacon's own reticence, in a second revision of the manuscript history by his own hand.

The chapter on Love is a short one, unfortunately, and is not quite so ethereal and Ouranian as I had hoped for and expected. But, really, we have no right to look for the same treatment of the master passion by a natural philosopher as is generally bestowed upon it by poets in their 'fine phrenzy.'

The treatment in this short chapter x. is more allied to that which Bacon gives us in his 'Essays.' This we should reasonably expect. He begins with the old difficulty of defining the nature of love, and gives it as his opinion that Scaliger approached the nearest to a correct definition when he called it a 'sixth sense, composed of all the other five' ('Syl-Syl,' 694). This

preamble of the chapter is not new, for Rawley thought fit to insert this in his edition of the work.

But now we come to the part which, for some reason, was withheld from the English speaking public. I will transcribe the French *verbatim et literatim*, for thus, I think, its meaning will be best conveyed.

‘Aussi de le vouloir ranger sous le sens de l’attouchement, qui est le plus grossier de tous, c’est faire trop peu de cas d’un plaisir si sensible, et à la composition duquel toutes les parties du corps contribuent. Pour moy je pardonne facilement à l’erreur de ces grands personnages, qui se sont emportez jusques au point de croire que l’ame contribuast à cette action aussi bien que le corps ; s’étant imaginez que ce chatouillement que l’on y ressentoit, ne pouvoit proceder d’autre cause que d’une emission de quelques parcelles de l’ame.

‘Je ne doute point que cette opinion n’eust trouvé beaucoup de sectateurs si elle n’eust esté generalement condamnée par toutes les Religions dont elle destruisoit les fondemens. Mais je pense qu’il est beaucoup meilleur d’en demeurer à la creance de nos Peres, que de s’embarasser dans le recherche de cet Euripe, ou Aristote mesme eust pu se perdre. C’est pourquoy, sans m’arrester au principal, je parlerai seulement de quelques circonstances de ce plaisir.’

I here break off for a moment to notice two

points in the above. The first is, we have hence a plausible reason why Rawley omitted these remarks, if they were in his manuscript. Chaplain Rawley was a sound High Churchman, and would certainly hold such an opinion as that 'some particles of the soul' were emitted in the act of generation, and that these were responsible for the 'chatouillement' which ensued was an opinion to be most strongly condemned, and as little as possible mentioned in public print. But Bacon, as we see above, did *not* strongly condemn it, but seems to have thought it reasonable enough to be able to obtain a large belief and following, if religious prejudices could be kept out of the discussion, and, in fact, himself only took the ordinary view for reasons of expediency and tradition. This would never do for Rawley's book; so he left it out.

The second point is the word 'Euripe.' If any suspicious reader should be of the opinion that these new Baconian additions were inserted by Amboise out of his own head rather than out of any so called Baconian manuscripts, then I think this word 'Euripe' ought to remove such suspicions. This classical allusion is quite in Bacon's manner, and is duly jotted down in Bacon's 'Promus,' on folio 100, No. 794, along

with 'Chameleon' and 'Proteus.' It is apparently one of the many words which Bacon had noted down out of the 'Adagia' of Erasmus for his future use. It is placed with 'Chameleon' and 'Proteus' as the last of a triad of classical references connected with the idea of 'Change,' whether in colour, form or position. The Euripus was a roaring channel or arm of the sea between Bœotia and Eubœa, which was supposed to change its course backwards and forwards seven times a day (or six, as some say). There is a long account in Erasmus, where the word is applied to any man or any object that is inconstant and changeable, and Seneca's lines in one of his tragedies are quoted. We may give this allusion with some confidence to Bacon rather than to the French translator, who could have no particular reason to haul Euripus into a text where it had no proper standing, unless Bacon placed it there originally.

Let us, then, hear further Bacon's views on love, and some of the 'circonstances de ce plaisir.' I am sorry to say this great authority confines himself to the natural or physical circumstances solely. The reason, I suppose, is that, as the 'Sylva Sylvarum' was a treatise on 'Natural History' and facts that illustrate it, there was

therefore no need to go beyond those bounds. So he proceeds thus,—

‘ Il est certain que l’usage moderé de l’amour est nécessaire pour l’entretien de la santé des corps bien composez, afin de soulager et d’exhaler les esprits par ce moyen, qui autrement dans la trop grande quantité se pourroient échauffer, et causer en mesme temps une inflammation dans toutes les parties du corps. C’est pour cette raison que quelquefois les Medecins en de certaines maladies ordonnent à leur malades l’usage du coit, et il s’en est trouvé qui ont mieux aimé perdre leur vie que leur virginité.’

There are some further remarks about excessive use of venery impairing the eyesight, but these are also found in Rawley’s edition. The new matter on ‘ Love from Bacon’s point of view ’ is, therefore, not of much length or importance, but any fresh utterances of men such as Bacon and Milton and Shakespeare cannot fail to interest many. And since Mr. Courthope, in his ‘ History of English Poetry,’ has recently in his appendix to vol. iv. increased considerably our Shakespearian repertoire, and since Milton has been saddled very recently with a large and wondrous ‘ Nova Solyma,’ it is quite in the order of the day that Bacon also should carry a little more luggage, if it can be really shown to belong to him.

CHAPTER IV

MUSIC AND ECHOES

WE now come to the second book, which deals with music and sound generally. Here at the very beginning we find an introductory chapter on music, which Rawley either omitted purposely or else never found among Bacon's papers. It is thoroughly Baconian in tone and composition, but, seeing that Bacon was a *concealed* poet, it would have been rather unadvisable for either Rawley or Bacon to make it public; for it shows that Francis Bacon was well acquainted with Saxo Grammaticus and his 'History of Denmark,' and consequently with the tragedy of Hamlet, as therein described. This might cause people to make undesirable inferences.

Bacon begins thus;—

'With the Ancients Music was in far greater esteem than it is with us now-a-days. Their philo-

sophers have filled whole volumes on the subject, and some of them have wished us to believe that the Universe is nought but a Harmony. Nor am I surprised that these great celebrities made it of so great account, since, if their tales be true, they used to observe its miraculous effects almost every day. Pythagoras boasts of having turned the natural spirit (or disposition) of a man of depraved habits into a good direction, and cured his vices merely by the soothing sweetness of certain harmonious sounds. Another writer tells us that Timotheus, a very skilled player on the pipes, moved Alexander the Great so forcibly by the exercise of his art, that he could not restrain himself from snatching up his weapons of war, and then, the next moment, by changing the tone of his music, the performer easily brought back this wild impulse within the bounds of ordinary reason.'

And without dwelling longer on these profane examples, I bring to mind what I have read in the fourth Book of Kings, that, when the prophet Elisha wished to predict to the Kings of Israel and Judah what their success in war against the Prince of Moab would be, he sent for an excellent player on the harp, as if he wished to inflame his words by the sound of this instru-

ment, and to induce yet higher his gift of prophecy.

The history of David, who by the sweet sounds of his harp chased away the evil spirit (*Le Demon*, in French) from Saul, well known as it is, is no less remarkable.

But I think that these effects proceeded quite otherwise than from a natural cause; and one can easily suppose that God willed that these instruments should possess a special virtue, so that in this way the reputation of His prophets should be increased. Two thousand years have rolled by since then without any written record of such powerful effects of music on the minds of men. In fact, I have only remarked a single example of such a marvel, and that was in 'The History of Denmark,' a book written by Saxo Grammaticus, who relates as a veritable history, that during the reign of King Ericius, there arrived at the Court of Denmark a musician very skilled in his profession, who boasted that he could produce the feelings of joy or sadness, of peace or rage, in the breasts of men, by the mere sounds of his music.

The King, who could not believe so strange a tale, wished to make a trial of his skill in his own person, and although the musician

explained that serious consequences might arise, he was not able to turn the King from his design ; and as the next thing was an absolute command from the King to proceed, he began by removing all weapons, and other articles that might be dangerous, out of the King's chamber. Next he placed certain men in a position where they would not be able to hear the music, and gave them orders to take charge of all those who should be seized by a furious impulse, so as to prevent any tragic issue. Everything being thus arranged, he took up his instrument and began to play so grave and serious an air that all were struck at once with a feeling of the deepest sorrow. Presently he changed the air from grave to gay, and the listeners likewise changed, and began even to dance. Finally, as the musician kept playing louder and louder, his hearers lost all self control, and showed their rage and folly by gestures and cries most strange and astonishing.

The fearful noise warned the men on guard that the music was taking effect, so they came and did their duty. Their first act was to try and secure the King, but his fury had so increased his ordinary strength that they could not hold him, and he, wresting himself from their charge, went down some stairs and seized a sword from

one of the palace soldiers, and with it slew four of his servants who tried to secure him a second time. When the King's furious excitement had quieted down and reason had come back to him, he was so grieved at what he had done that, although in a certain sense the deed was not his own fault or will, he was not satisfied with simply recompensing the widows and orphans, but determined to expiate his deed still further by making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

If this history be true, and we have it from an author worthy of credit, then the loss of so rare a gift is much to be deplored, and we have reason to blame the negligence of our predecessors, who during the lapse of ages have carelessly failed to transmit this wonderful kind of music to our own times, as well as the secrets of malleable glass and *pierres fusiles*.

Whether I should be bold enough to fight against the opinion of so many sages of antiquity, I cannot tell, but I have never been able to persuade myself that the motion of certain chords could work such powerful effects as to make us commit crimes worthy of mad rather than of sane persons.

I would not, however, deny that instrumental music is able to excite divers passions in the soul,

but these are comparatively feeble and insignificant, and yield to the slightest injunction of natural judgment. Moreover, it would be unjust that reason (which is the highest part of a man) should be thus in the power of a few notes of music, and should so easily lose its empire over all the passions of the soul, at the will of a mere player on the harp or lute. "

So far all is new. The rest of this first chapter does not vary much from what Rawley printed in the 'Sylva Sylvarum,' but Rawley's paragraphs have to be sought out from all parts of his work, so confused is the arrangement; while the Baconian manuscript which the Frenchman procured, though much less in bulk than the 'Sylva Sylvarum,' is eminently methodical. The inference certainly seems to be, that included in this French version we have Bacon's original early sketch of his 'Natural History,' arranged in his own order, and that this manuscript sketch was either lost, stolen, or discarded, or else Bacon dictated to Rawley as much as he remembered or wished to remember of the first sketch.

However, there is a slight but interesting difference before the end of chapter i., concerning the music of the spheres. According to the French version, Bacon says,—

‘I hold it to be an assured fact that it is the meeting together of solid bodies that is the chief cause of sounds. This is the reason we do not hear the movement of the Heavens (though some say it is only constant habit that prevents us), nor yet the fall of stars.’

In ‘*Sylva Sylvarum*’ (115) it is expressed thus,—

‘The Heavens turne about, in a most rapid Motion, without *Noise* to us perceived; though in some *Dreames* they have been said to make an excellent *Musick*.’

Seeing that one of the finest passages in our whole literature, viz., that one beginning,—

‘Sit, Jessica. Look how the floor of heaven
Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold,’
Mer. V., V. i. 58.

has to do with heavenly but silent music, it is well to have a double version of the view of our great inductive philosopher on this transcendental subject. What did *he* think of this fine Shakespearian passage? And what did he think of the author of it, whose name he never once mentions, though they almost spent their lives together in the same city?

Perhaps we shall never get an answer to the

second question, but I verily believe we have in Bacon's words just quoted above the final answer to the first question, an answer which he believed to be the true one in the last years of his life, though perhaps not before, perhaps not when the first sketch of the 'Sylva' was written, for the answer does not appear there in the French version. What, then, was the judgment and answer of Bacon concerning the wondrous alchemy of words and lofty thought that meets us in Lorenzo and Jessica, Juliet and Romeo, and many another pair of lovers in the immortal dramas? What term did Francis Bacon use to describe such lofty ideals as Lorenzo poured into Jessica's enraptured ears on that moon lit bank? Alas that it should be so, he answered,— '*Dreames!*' Yes, the heavens do make an excellent music, so at least it has been said 'in some dreames.' And that was the last verdict of the philosopher alike on the early Plato and the recent Shakespeare, when they carried their thoughts to the Voices Beyond, and tried to lift men thither on the wings of aspiring verse or the fluttering heart hopes of religious myth.

And yet Bacon did not always think so. When he was a young man and had to do with masques and interludes and devices, I am sure he did not

think poesy an idle 'Dreame.' Nor yet in his first great philosophical work, 'The Advancement of Learning,' in 1605, where he declares 'Poesy' to be one of three goodly fields, 'History' and 'Experience' being the other two, where 'observations grow' concerning men's natures and dispositions. But later in life when 'The Advancement' was revised and enlarged, his views of poesy were altered considerably, though not yet fallen to the 'Dreames' of the latest 'Sylva.'

But we must return to the French book in search of new matter. For several chapters there is nothing novel, though there is much variation of language, until we come to the account of the church at Gloucester.

'I have seen,' says Bacon, 'a church at Gloucester, of pretty great length, where if you speak close to one of the walls your words will be perfectly heard at the other end of the church, although the distance between is from 40 to 50 paces. And I think,' he adds, 'that the ancients intended to refer to buildings of this kind, when they handed down to us the proverb that often the walls reveal our secrets.'

We next find, in chapter ix., some new personal details. Bacon is speaking of echoes, especially multiple ones which he had heard.

One was at Charenton, near Paris, when he was in France before his father died. This we hear of also in Rowley's 'Sylva.' But the next one is certainly new to me, and seems to mean that Bacon had been to Edinburgh, a journey, I believe, totally unrecorded in the many Lives that have been written of the great Lord Chancellor. I will give the French verbatim, for I am not sure that we can draw a *certain* conclusion from the French wording that Bacon personally visited the Scottish capital.

'J'ai autrefois ouy l'Echo de Charenton pres de Paris, repetant une mesme chose sept ou huit fois assez distinctment : et me souvient que pres de Dimbourg (*sic*) en Escosse, il y en a un qui repete entierement le *Pater noster*, depuis le commencement jusques à la fin.

'Je tiens aussi de personnes dignes de foy, que pres l'Eglise Saint Sebastien de Rome, en une antique sepulture que l'on nomme Teste de Bœuf, il se trouve un Echo qui reitere par sept fois les dernieres syllabes des paroles que l'on a proferees.'

My own impression is that Bacon meant that he 'remembered' about the echo near Edinburgh *from reading or hearing about it*, but he certainly does not say so.

As to Gloucester, Bacon speaks plainly of a

personal visit. I have read somewhere that Bacon had some Church property at or near Cheltenham, but I forget the reference.

At the end of chapter xi. Bacon gives us a personal touch.

‘I am convinced,’ he says, ‘that Music heightens any particular feeling that may possess us for the moment. In my own case, when I am feeling happy, music adds to my happiness of mind, and when I feel sorrowful or vexed, it makes me yet more so.’

CHAPTER V

MEDICINE AND PLANTS

WE now come to the fourth book, 'On Medecine,' and here again the introductory chapter is new and interesting, for personal details concerning Bacon's health.

'I have no doubt whatever that there is a special science dealing with the maladies of mankind and their cure, but I think that it still remains among the number of the sciences yet unknown. The great differences and contradictions to be found in the most eminent authorities on this subject, and the small amount of certainty I find in their methods,—all these induce me to speak of the science of medicine as I do. Indeed, it does not astonish me that the Romans were more than 600 years without the knowledge of it in their Republic, nor yet that there are still so many nations quite without it, since it is a practice which seems to increase the infirmities of men rather than alleviate them.

‘The inhabitants of America and the other countries discovered within the last hundred years all enjoy much better health than we do, and live to an extreme old age (*à l’âge décrepité*), while all the potions which physicians drench us with are unknown to them. This fact makes me think that Nature herself would be strong enough to heal the greater part of our maladies without any other help if we had not weakened and, so to speak, stifled her action by the use of drugs. I think medicine and clothes are similar cases. Man had by nature as sufficient covering to defend himself against the weather as the animals had, but the custom of wearing clothes has rendered that impossible now which was natural at first.

‘In the same way the custom which has prevailed of using so many medicines has blunted the force of Nature, and obliged us to resort to doctors. Our ancestors have accustomed themselves to this, and in begetting us into the world they seemed to have laid the same rule upon us, so that their first mistake passes to us as a necessity. To speak of myself, I have great reason to complain of this, since my bad constitution comes from no other cause. My father had such faith in the rules and precepts of the Medical Art that, although he was in a perfect state of health considering his age, he never let a month pass without taking medicine. This habit so weakened his stomach that very often, through merely purging himself to guard

against an illness, he the rather brought one on. The result was, 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, and to experience from my very birth my share in my father's infirmities, which I might call my second original sin. My body was so ill constituted and its humours so unhealthy that the doctors thought I could not live long (*me jugerent pour confisqué*), and were sure that I should never reach my fourteenth year. But in this I have good reason to decry them as bad judges, since, contrary to their opinion, I have prolonged my life to sixty years, and have the hope of still further prolonging it.* It is true that I owe this good fortune to the particular care I have always taken of my health. My belief has been that his own health ought to be the first study of every man, and for that reason, during the most busy years of my life, I always reserved some opportunities for the due care of my bodily health. I conformed to a diet and habit of living very different from that which is usual, and strictly abstained from everything which I had found to disagree with me. I sometimes dosed myself with herbs and roots, whose properties I

* This passage at least was written before his fall, and nearly five years before he began to dictate to Rawley his 'Natural History' in its extended form.

knew, but in a different way from that of the ordinary apothecaries.

‘If therefore I take upon myself to insert in this my work certain mention of medical matters, it must not be thought strange, for necessity having made me acquainted with the subject, I am able to speak of many things of which I have had personal experience.’

This is certainly an interesting and promising introduction, but, as a matter of fact, the rest of this fourth book contains very little more than we have already in Rawley’s ‘Sylva,’ where it is scattered here and there without much arrangement. But chapter v. ‘On the Use of Milk,’ contains a curious observation of Bacon which is new. He says that,—

‘Nature in order to make milk more enticing to children has given it a colour not its own (*une teinture contrefaite*), in order that children at the breast may not be horrified at the thought of drinking their mother’s blood.’

This is rather an odd piece of natural history to get from the great inductive philosopher. How old Alexander Ross would have enjoyed worrying this with his criticisms! But, unfortunately for him, it was not in his edition of the ‘Sylva.’ However, he got his teeth in Bacon for several other

rather strange assertions.* The fact is, Bacon used too wide a cast net in these collections for his history, and was not sufficiently careful to discriminate between good and bad.

Book IV. begins with the usual introductory chapter of new matter not hitherto given either by Rawley or Gruter. This book deals with plants and herbs, and there is a great deal in the introductory chapter about Solomon and his great knowledge of this particular subject. King Solomon was a personage that Bacon took much interest in, and is one of the small band of historical celebrities who were specially held up as copies or examples, and referred to frequently by Bacon in his various works. Other examples were Alexander, Julius Cæsar and Tacitus. Solomon's house in the 'Nova Atlantis' will recur to all readers. This new chapter is rather too long to quote entire, but there is a little personal touch at the end, where we learn that Bacon was untiring in his experiments for improving trees, shrubs, and garden plants—a fact which his

* Bacon had a theory about children begotten when the father was drunk,—'Saturday night children' is, I believe, the modern term for them. Ross smites this theory hip and thigh, by going to the Bible for Lot and his two daughters.

biographers have gathered from other sources. He says,—

‘My wish here is to let the reader obtain from me the knowledge I have myself gained from an almost countless number of experiments which my natural curiosity prompted me to make. My object has been generally either to improve the plants of the garden, or to quicken or retard the maturity of fruit bearing trees, or to give them some unusual development, or to work upon them in such other ways as the following pages will show.’

Much of the contents of this fourth book appears in Rawley’s edition, but there are some new remarks about mushrooms, figs, and drunkenness which are interesting as coming from the great Francis Bacon. He says,—

‘Mushrooms are nothing but an excrement or sweat yielded forth from the earth, and they have their origin from the over moistness of the ground gently acted upon by the rays of the sun. This is the reason why the greatest supply of mushrooms is found in the spring,—that time of the year when the Earth begins to be in love (*quand la terre commence à se mettre en amour*), and wishes us to see the first signs of her fecundity.’*

* My own impression is that autumn is the season when mushrooms are most plentiful, or at least a late summer; but, for the sake of this fine poetical idea of the Earth’s love, I hope Bacon is right.

Can it be possible that Bacon's mind was naturally cast in the mould of poetry? Can it be that Bacon was really a great poet, but, by some strange fate, mute, inglorious, concealed? What sane literary man dares to say so, in the face of Spedding, who spent a lifetime of research upon Bacon's life and times and letters, and laughed at the idea? No; we must be content to say here that Bacon was a philosopher, and that by some *peculiar mental twist*, when discoursing on mushrooms, he brings in the loves of the Earth and the Sky in early spring. And if any of my readers should presume to say or think that in such a passage as this they seem to see the marvellous way in which—

‘The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to
heaven,’

well, in that case I would say the only thing to be done with such people would be to obtain the joint certificate of those eminent experts in lunacy, Messrs. Sidney Lee and Churton Collins, for their committal to some asylum for the insane and irrational. The certificate would doubtless possess the charm of being drawn up in the polite and courteous language of Lord Chesterfield, which these two Shakespearians so much affect,

and we should in addition get rid of sundry 'tiresome littery people,' and Messrs. Lee and Collins could most appropriately be recommended for the *Civil List*, a piece of promotion whose very name admirably fits such paragons of literary courtesy.

Bacon also gives us some personal experiments in producing mushrooms,—

'I have often found out that by burying pieces of the bark of a poplar tree on slices of a stag's horn in a hotbed we have been able to produce mushrooms. They most likely come from the putrefaction of these substances.'

But it should be noticed here that in the corresponding passage of Rawley's edition the personal element is entirely omitted. What the '*Sylva Sylvarum*' (547-549) says is this,—

'It is reported, that the *Barke* of *White* or *Red Poplar* (which are of the moistest of *Trees*) cut small, and cast into *Furrowes* well dunged, will cause the ground to put forth *Mushromes* at all *Seasons* of the *Yeare*, fit to be eaten. . . . It is reported that *Hart's-Horne*, *Shaven* or in *Small Peeces*, mixed with *Dung* and *watred*, putteth up *Mushromes*.'

Whether Bacon or Rawley is responsible for this variation of report it is vain to inquire.

Another personal experience is connected with fertilizing the soil. Bacon approves of the use of animal's dung for enriching the soil, on account of its greasy and saltish character, and adds,—

‘For the same reason earth taken from the margin of the sea has a similar good effect, due no doubt to its saline properties. I have often tried this experiment myself to improve the gardens of a house that I have near the sea.’

I do not think this means that Bacon ever *lived* near the sea, for I do not remember any allusion to such a thing either in his Life or letters. It was possibly some property that was given to him by the Queen in early days. Some Church patronage or living in the West of England, I believe, belonged to him.

On drunkenness he remarks,—

‘As gold and silver are rightly esteemed the most perfect of all minerals, so are wine and corn the most excellent productions of the vegetable world. I would readily follow the opinion of Callisthenes the Philosopher, who assured Alexander the Great that wine was nothing else but the blood of the earth. It is most certain that wine would be of the greatest use for curing our maladies and preserving us in health, if our continual use of it did not prevent the natural

effect. . . . What induced me to form this opinion was that I once knew two cottagers who through extreme poverty never took any beverage but water or small beer. But whenever they had any illness, a little wine taken as medicine cured them directly, and thus they both lived to a great age without recourse to anything else.'

When on this subject of drink he makes the remark that,—

'a writer of the present century, when depicting the effects of drunkenness, has well observed that, properly speaking, a man under the power of drink was not a man at all until the following morning.'

Nothing new follows till we come to chapter xi., which has for its heading, 'Of Figs' ('Des Figues'). Here Bacon shows himself in the mingled light of an epicure and a Biblical essayist. It is certainly a curious little chapter, so I give it entire.

'L'amour que je porte à ce fruit merite bien que je lui donne place en cette ouvrage, et que je remplisse un Chapitre entier de ses louanges, pour fair voir que ce n'est pas sans beaucoup de raisons si je l'estime jusques au point de le preferer à tous ceux que la nature nous produit. Je ne sçay si mon goust a quelque chose en cela d'extravagant ou de particulier, mais j'avoue.

librement que les melons d'Italie, les pesches et les muscats que l'on prise si fort, a mons airs, ne sont pas comparables a l'excellence de celuy dont nous parlons. Et je me laisserois volontiers emporter a l'opinion de ces anciens Docteurs de la première Eglise, Irenée et Tertulian (*sic*) qui ont crû que la figue estoit ce fruit du Paradis terrestre, dont l'usage fut defendu à nostre premier Pere. Je ne sçay si leur sentiment estoit fondé sur quelque passage des anciens Rabins, ou s'ils vouloient faire alusion (*sic*) à la double signification de ce mot Grec *σῦκος*, qui suivant l'opinion d'Aristophane, se peut prendre pour les parties honteuses de la femme, voulant dire que c'estoit elle qui avoit porté son mary à la transgression des defences divines.

'Mais je pense plutost que ces grands personnages ont voulu faire entendre que si ce fruit du Paradis terrestre nous estoit resté parmy ceux dont nous avons la connoissance, ce doit être la figue, comme le plus exquis de tous, et le plus capable de tenter l'homme.

'Pour moy je regrette extremement que la nature m'ait fait naistre en un pays ou je ne puisse donner à mon goust le satisfaction que je souhaiterois. Et c'est un malheur commun à tous les païs froids de ne produire simplement que les choses absolument necessaires à la vie, et d'estre toûjours depourveus des douceurs et des delicatesses.'

In the fifth book of the French translation I notice little absolutely new, except a remark about Alexander the Great, who certainly occupied a good large corner of Bacon's mind, and was constantly being brought in to point a moral or adorn a tale. In the eleventh chapter of this book we have an account of how the Emperor Augustus, when visiting Alexandria, to satisfy his curiosity, had the tomb of Alexander the Great opened, and found the body entire, but very soft, so that the mere touching of the nose put it quite out of shape. Bacon, who had read this account of the wax like nose in Plutarch, thinks there was some mistake made in the relation of this matter, because, to his knowledge, mummies were hard and almost petrified, through the stiffness of the resinous bands in which they were wrapped. Bacon supposes that in Alexander's case the embalming matter was of a superior quality, and that possibly no enshrouding bands were used. He adds this remark, which Rawley quite ignores,—

‘I well know that some authors, and amongst them Papinius, inform us that Alexander's body was embalmed with honey alone, but I do not credit their statement.’

In the sixth book there is a curious piece of

personal information, in which for the second time we seem to be distinctly told that Bacon had visited Scotland. It is found in chapter v., where Bacon is discussing whether a man can move when his head has been cut off. He decides for the negative, but adds this strange piece of historical information,—

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'I have nevertheless seen in Scotland the body of a gentleman of very high rank and influence from which the head had just been severed, and I have seen this same headless body, when placed without delay in a wooden coffin, actually burst the coffin with great force. But I am unable to give any reason for it.'

I have no doubt that this account was in Bacon's manuscript which the Frenchman obtained, for it is in the highest degree unlikely that such a tale should be invented to fill up the French book, when, if required, plenty of additional matter could have been translated from Rawley's edition. If so, the question naturally arises, Why was this interesting personal anecdote left out? Also, Was it purposely omitted by Bacon or by Rawley? Had Bacon been to Scotland on matters of secret State policy when Queen Elizabeth was alive, and was therefore such a tale better kept from the public? The former omission of the

tale about Edinburgh seems to suggest something of this kind, for Edinburgh would be a likely place to go to for a political mission. It would be well if we could determine whose beheading is referred to, but Bacon was presumably about sixty years old when he wrote this manuscript, and we should have several executions to choose from. Bacon, too, might have gone to Scotland as a boy or during the Cambridge vacations.

Here I will end my extracts from the new matter of Bacon's manuscript. The remaining part of the French translation is much taken up with what is called 'The Transmission of Spirits,' and which has many points of similarity to what in these days we term 'telepathy.'

Bacon also discusses witches very sensibly; he was much ahead of his age here. He has somewhat to say on 'The Emission of Spirits,' which seems somewhat akin to fascination and mesmeric influence; and altogether he is so interested and so thoughtful in these occult subjects, that, if he 'could appear' at one of the special meetings of the Psychical Research Society, I feel sure he would be invited to join the committee, or at least to give his opinion as *amicus curiæ*.

CHAPTER VI

BACON'S POSTHUMOUS WORKS

AND now, last of all, I have to give an account of the curious causes which prevented these interesting new facts about Bacon from being mentioned by any of his biographers in recent times. For it must strike everyone as a most extraordinary thing that two such lifelong searchers as Spedding and Montagu failed to notice the Frenchman's new information about Bacon, although it had been in print so many years. The fact is it was suppressed by Rawley's influence on Isaac Gruter, otherwise Spedding, and Montagu, and all the world, would have read it in Bacon's collected works.

To make this plain to all who are not well acquainted with the brothers Gruter, I would repeat that when Bacon died he left many manuscripts of works ready for the press, or nearly so, and his literary executors had the charge of

them, with certain injunctions as to the publication of some portions being deferred. Rawley, as private chaplain and chief literary executor, proceeded with his work on his portion of the manuscript; but the other executors, Constable and Boswell, seemed to agree that a Continental scholar, James Gruter, would be able to edit and publish Bacon's posthumous writings better than they could hope to do, for it was a Latin edition of the works that was contemplated for foreign readers on the Continent, in accordance with the frequently expressed conviction of Bacon that Latin was the only language that would last unchanged.

Now, it appears that James Gruter translated Bacon's 'Natural History' out of French into Latin 'in such ill manner that they darkened his Lordship's Sence and debased his Expression.' Tenison tells us this in his 'Baconiana' (p. 42), and adds,—

'James Gruter was sensible of his miscarriage, being kindly advertised of it by Dr. Rawley; and he left behind him divers amendments published by his Brother Isaac Gruter in a second Edition.'

Next, in order to see how Isaac Gruter wished to publish the French additions in his own revised

second edition, we must read part of his letters to Rawley of May 29, 1652, and March 20, 1655.

In the first letter Isaac Gruter explains how 'by reason of the immature death of my brother' he was so busy in settling his affairs that he had delayed answering Rawley's letter. He then proceeds to refer to his late brother's Latin translation of the 'Natural History,' which was clearly the subject of previous correspondence between them. He writes,—

The Design of him, who translated into French the Natural History of Lord Bacon (of which I gave account in my former Letters), is briefly exhibited in my Brother's Preface, which I desire you to peruse; as also in your next Letter to send me your Judgment concerning such Errors as may have been committed by him.

'That Edition of my Brother's of which you write, that you read it with a great deal of pleasure, shall shortly be set forth with his Amendments, together with some Additions of the like Argument to be substituted in the place of the *New Atlantis* which shall there be omitted. These Additions will be the same with those in the Version of the fore mentioned Frenchman, put into Latine; seeing we could not find the English

originals from which he translates them,* unless you when you see the Book shall condemn those Additions as adulterate.

‘For your Observations on those Places, either not rightly understood, or not accurately turned out of the English by you published, . . . I intreat you not to deny me the sight of them; that so I may compare them with the Corrections which my Brother (now with God) did make with a very great deal of pains.’

From this, which is printed in Tenison’s ‘Baconiana,’ p. 227, we see that James Gruter made his translation from Rawley’s English ‘*Sylva Sylvarum*,’ as we should naturally expect, and not from the French version. But I have already quoted Tenison as saying that James Gruter made his Latin translation from the French. How Tenison could make such a gross error when he printed Isaac Gruter’s letter as above I cannot tell; it certainly looks as if Tenison had never read or even seen the French version, for the difference between the two is radical and striking from the very beginning.

This will appear still more likely from the next

* The Gruters had evidently looked for the original manuscript or some copy of it among the Bacon manuscripts they possessed.

letter, where Tenison again blunders about the 'French Interpreter,' in a side-note to Gruter's letter to Rawley of March 20, 1655. At this date Gruter refers to a forthcoming collected edition of 'Lord Bacon's works,' and adds,—

9. | 'For the French Interpreter who patch'd together his Things I know not whence* and tacked that motley piece to him; they shall not have a place in this *great Collection*. But yet I hope to obtain your leave to publish a part as an Appendix to the Natural History, that *Exotick Work* gathered together from this and the other place [of his Lordship's writings] and by me translated into Latine.'

Here we see plainly enough that Gruter wishes the Frenchman's account to come forth to the world decked in his own Latin. He even promises to 'animadvert upon them' and defend Rawley from the remarks of 'that shameless person' who 'in his Preface to the Reader so stupidly wrote of the worthy Chaplain.'

But nothing, it seems, would induce Rawley to give permission to publish any extracts or translations from the French book, and I do not think these French addenda to Bacon's life and habits

* Certain spurious papers added to his translation of the 'Advancement of Learning.'

have been referred to by any one since. There have been numerous editions both in England and abroad of Bacon's works, both separate and collected, but no one put a sickle upon the French field.

There was undoubtedly a great deal of secrecy maintained with regard to Bacon's manuscripts, and great care exercised in selecting those proper for publication, and also in keeping in 'faithful Privacie' those that were to be withheld for a longer or shorter period, as circumstances might require.

Rawley seems to have had the chief management and power of selection or repression, and this letter shows two things very clearly, (1) That the editor of 'Baconiana' (1679), 'T. T.' (Thomas Tenison), knew very little about the French translations when he put in the above ridiculous side-note; for the correspondence was not about the 'Advancement of Learning' at all, but about the 'Natural History,' and, moreover, there is nothing whatever tacked on to Baudoin's French translation of the former work, as 'T. T.' suggests. (2) It is evident that Gruter was very anxious to know the secrets that Rawley was keeping back. This is how Gruter ends his epistle,—

'At present I will support the Wishes of my impatient desire, with hope of seeing one Day,

those [Issues] which being committed to faithful Privacie, wait the time till they may safely see the Light, and not be stifled in their Birth. . . . For I am persuaded as to the other *Latine Remaines*, that I shall not obtain for present use, the removal of them from the place in which they now are. Farewel.

‘MAESTRICHT,

‘*March 20, 1655 (new style).*’

And here I must conclude with the expression of regret that my recovery of long unnoticed facts about Bacon has still left so much concealment hanging over his literary remains. There seems to have been a determined, a far reaching, and a successful endeavour to keep Bacon's private papers and letters from publication. Otherwise how was it that certain letters of Bacon (‘*quelques Lettres du même Auteur*’) obtained the full privilege of the King of France to be printed and copyrighted, and then, after all, never appeared? Who ‘stayed’ them? What did they contain that it was so imperative that they should not appear even in a foreign country and a foreign language? What did some of Bacon's manuscripts contain that, to use Gruter's words as late as 1655, they would not be ‘safe,’ and would be ‘stifled in their birth’?

Perhaps we are on the verge of this discovery

at last in these early years of the twentieth century. Who knows?

It seems perfectly clear, anyhow, that Rawley looked forward to some *future century*, when Bacon's wonderful life work would be *beautified* and *completed*. He told the world this shortly after Bacon's death, when he presented to the public a part only,—and not the most important part either,—of the tributes of praise given by Bacon's friends, and known as the 'Manes Verulamiani.' Rawley said then, 'I preserve in my house the most and the best of the verses'; and there is no doubt he was most persistent in holding back anything that might not be proper for that generation to know. But he always speaks as if he felt sure that the whole truth was bound to be revealed at some future time or century, and the woodcut emblems which adorned the title-pages of the earlier editions of the 'New Atlantis' point very curiously in the same direction. The world must wait God's time in this matter, so thought Rawley, and added these last words, which shall be also mine,—

'But to whatsoever century it may be granted to add the final touch, it is enough that to God alone is given to know the time.'

CHAPTER VII

AN ELIZABETHAN BOOK HITHERTO UNNOTICED—
'A WOMAN'S WOORTH' (1599)

I NEXT call attention to a very rare and remarkable book of the date 1599, in which I venture to suggest that there are certain sonnets and dedications which may well have come from the fertile brain of Francis Bacon. The book is anonymous, but is edited by an Anthony Gibson, who says that it was the work of a friend of his who was connected with the Court, but was just then absent from it. It claims to be a translation from the French, and there are signs, such as the motto 'Paterere aut abstine' on the title-page, that the book generally is the work of Anthony Munday, though we do not see the familiar 'A. M.' of this indefatigable translator subscribed anywhere. As the book is practically inaccessible, I may be excused for presenting some of the more important parts for the reader's judgment, especially as we

are introduced to Mary Fitton and other lively Maids of Honour. The title is,—

‘ A Womans Woorth, defended against all men in the world. Proving them to be more perfect, excellent and absolute in all vertuous actions, than any man of what qualitie soever. Written by one that hath heard much, seene much, but knowes a great deale more.

‘ Patere aut abstine.

‘ Imprinted at London by John Wolfe, and are to be solde at his shop in Popes head Alley, neere the Exchange. 1599.

(Ff. 12, pp. 140, in 12mo.)

Entered Stationers’ Registers, January 26, 1599.’

The first thing to be noticed is the woodcut chapter heading, with winged boy in centre, like other anonymous (Baconian?) books, and allied to the ‘ Indian Prince ’ design of the 1623 folio and other (Baconian) books.

The dedication is as follows,—

‘ *To the Right Honourable Lady, Elizabeth,
Countesse of Southampton.*

‘ Truely honor’d Lady, and by me (for many your great favours) to bee ever (more) then honoured. As some testimony of my dutifull remembrance, to answeere by humble thankfulnesse what all other meanes utterly disable me of, some part of such your especiall open handed graces received; I offer you a translated Apologie