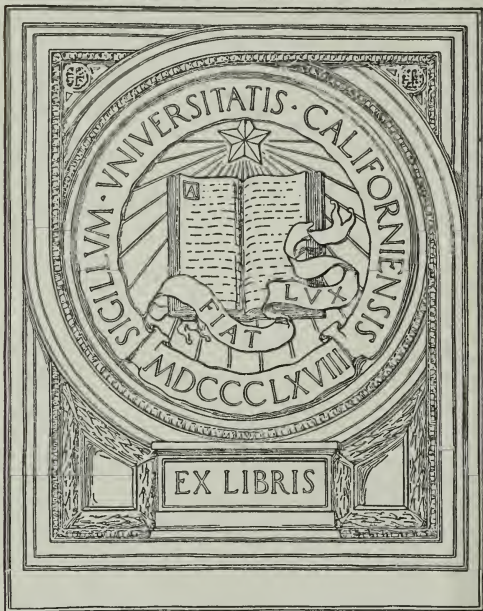
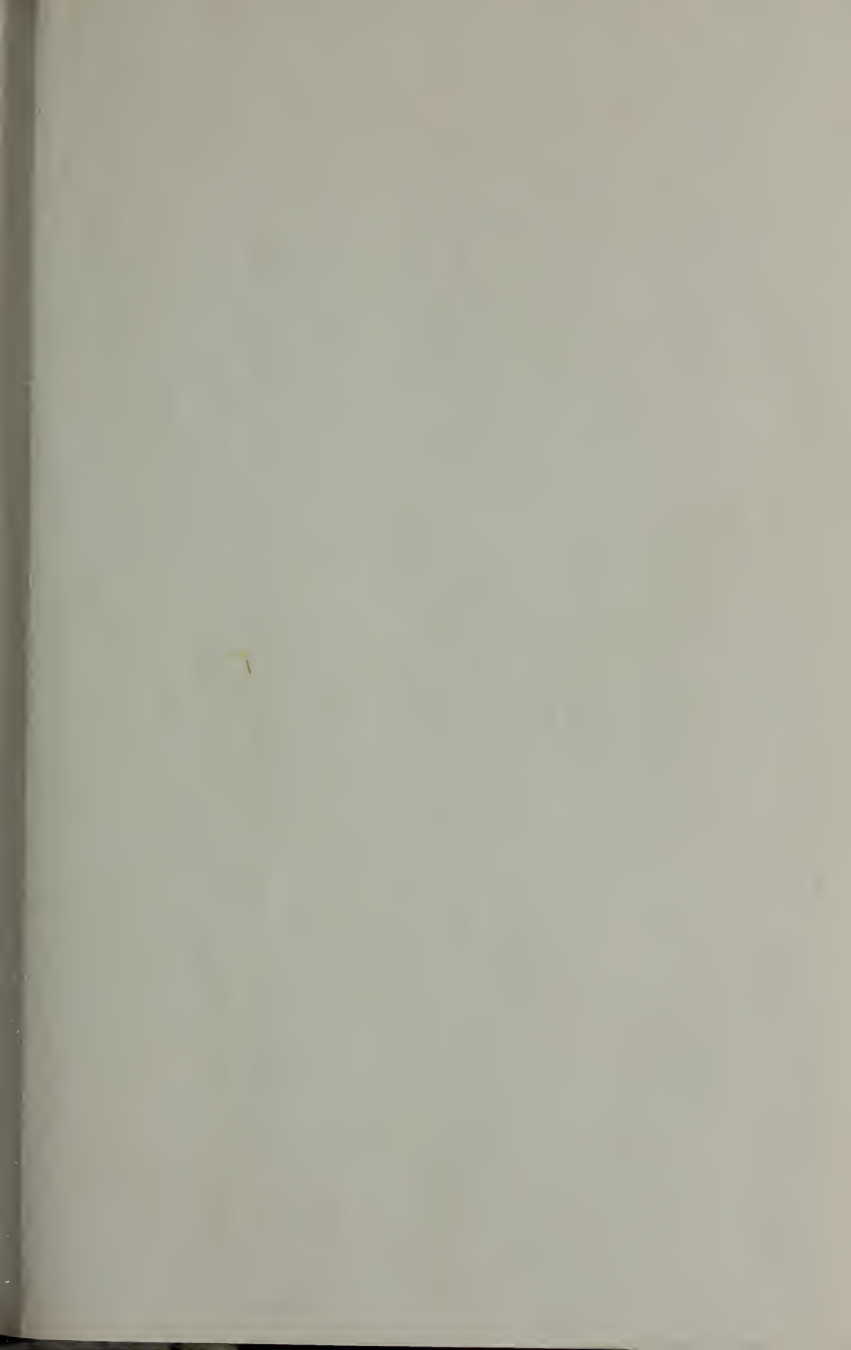


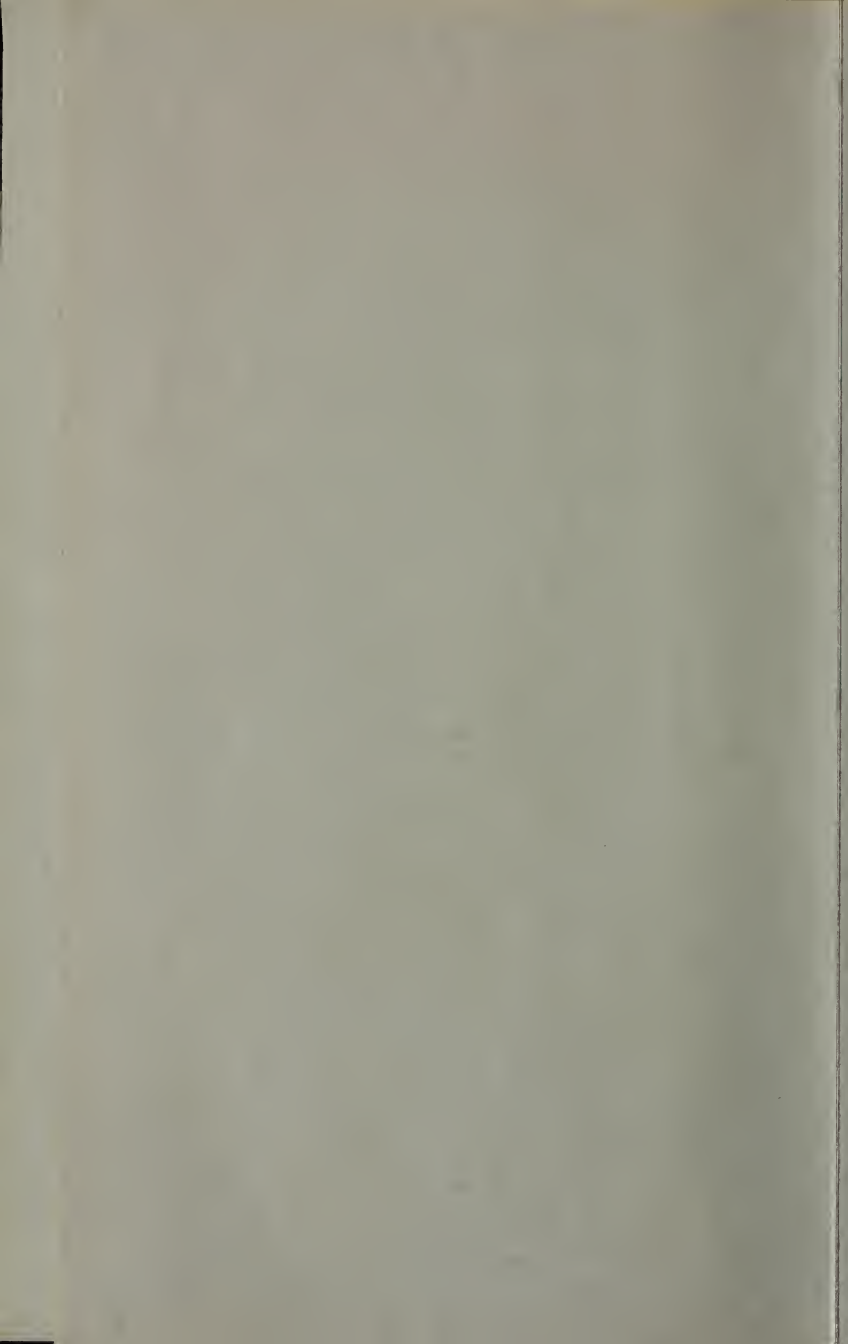
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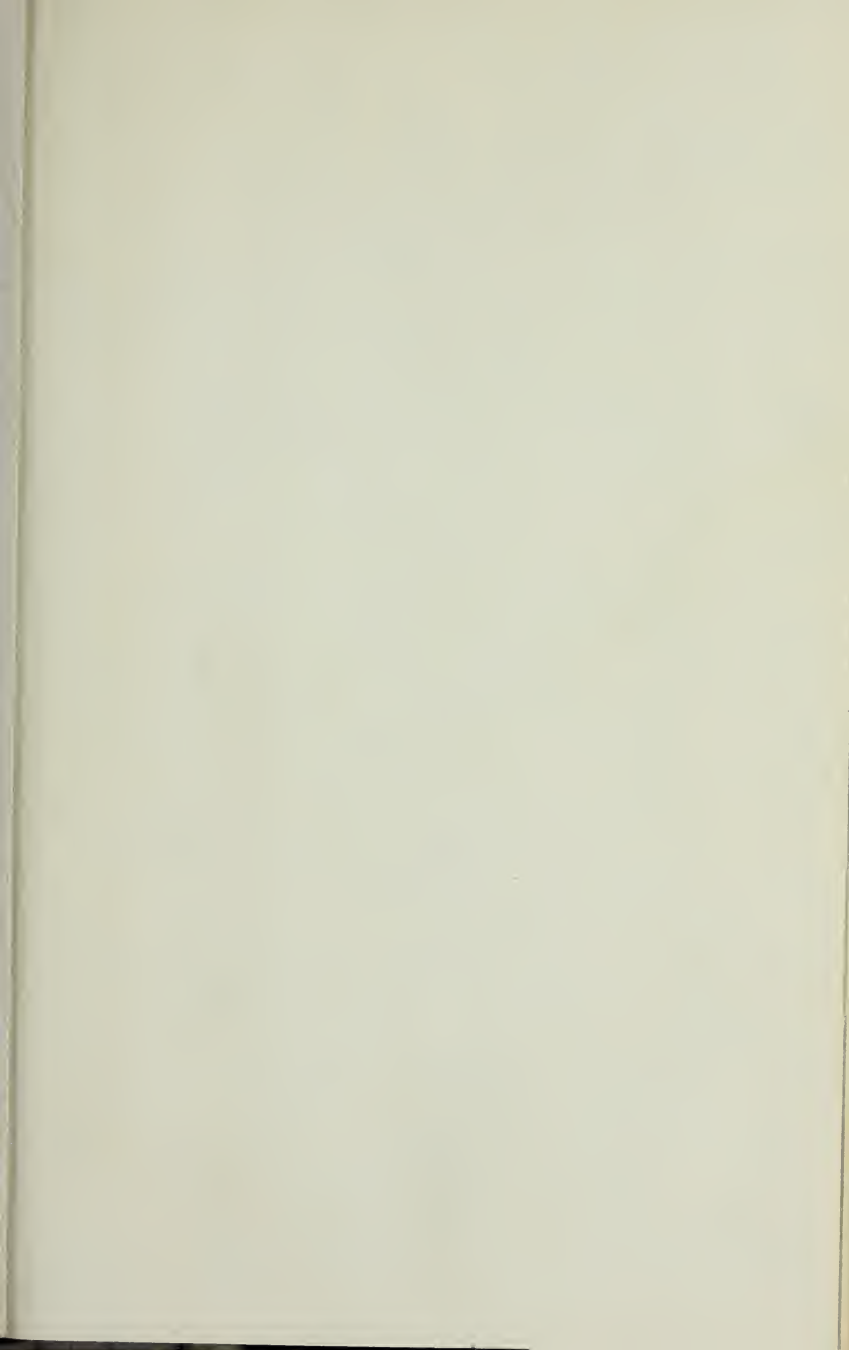


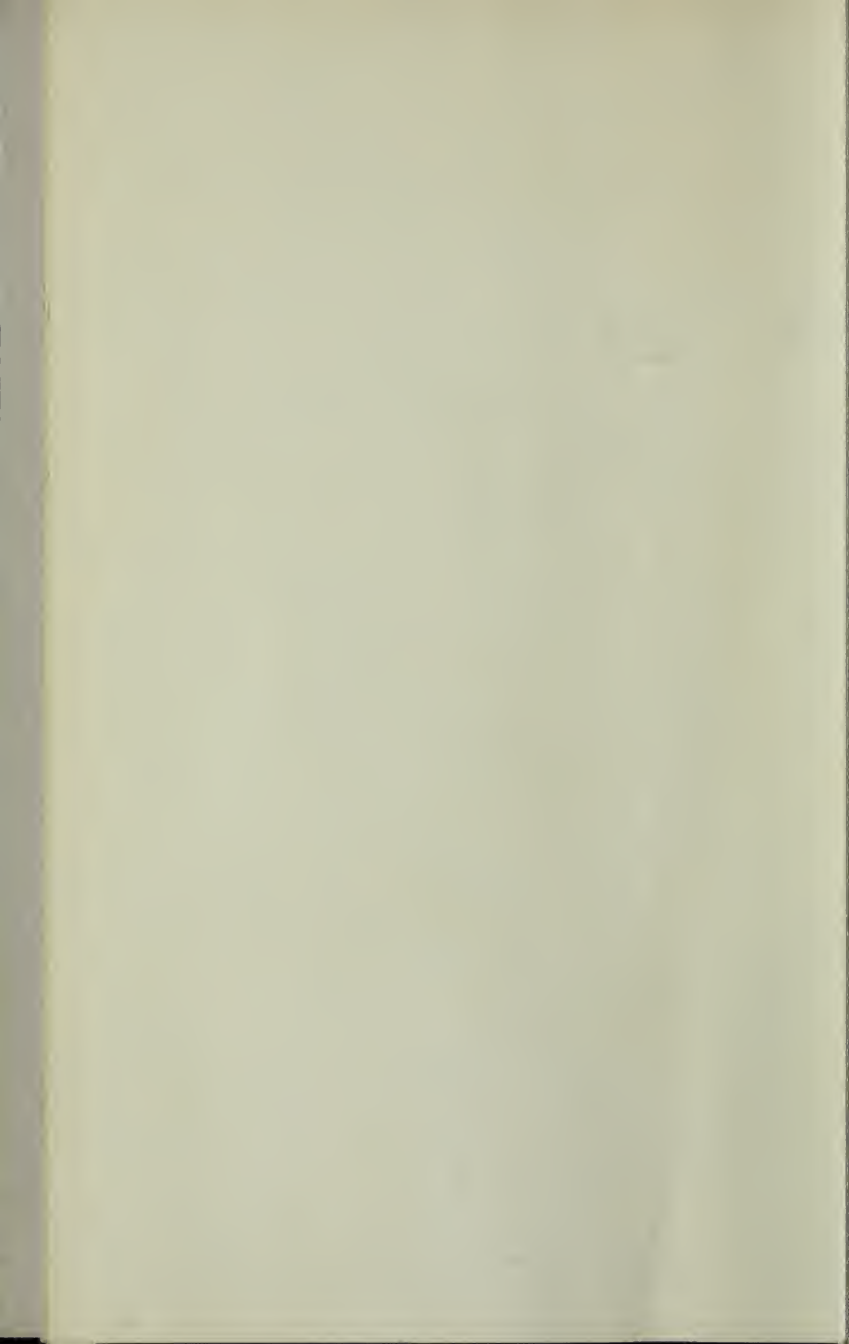
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MEANS OF THE CIPHER 'OMNIA PER OMNIA'
INVENTED BY FRANCIS BACON IN 1578

BY

PARKER WOODWARD

'Truth can never be confirmed enough'

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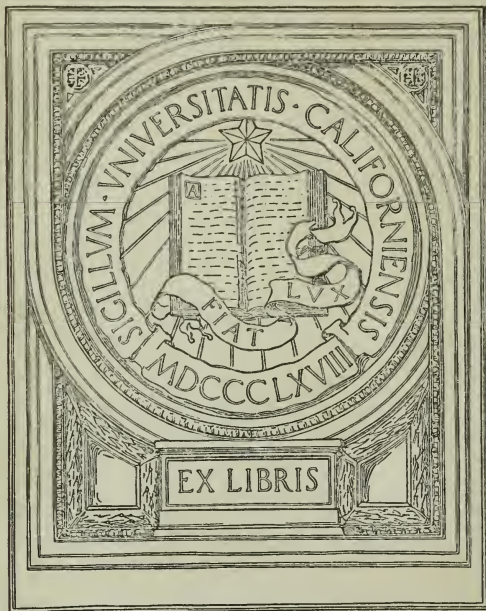
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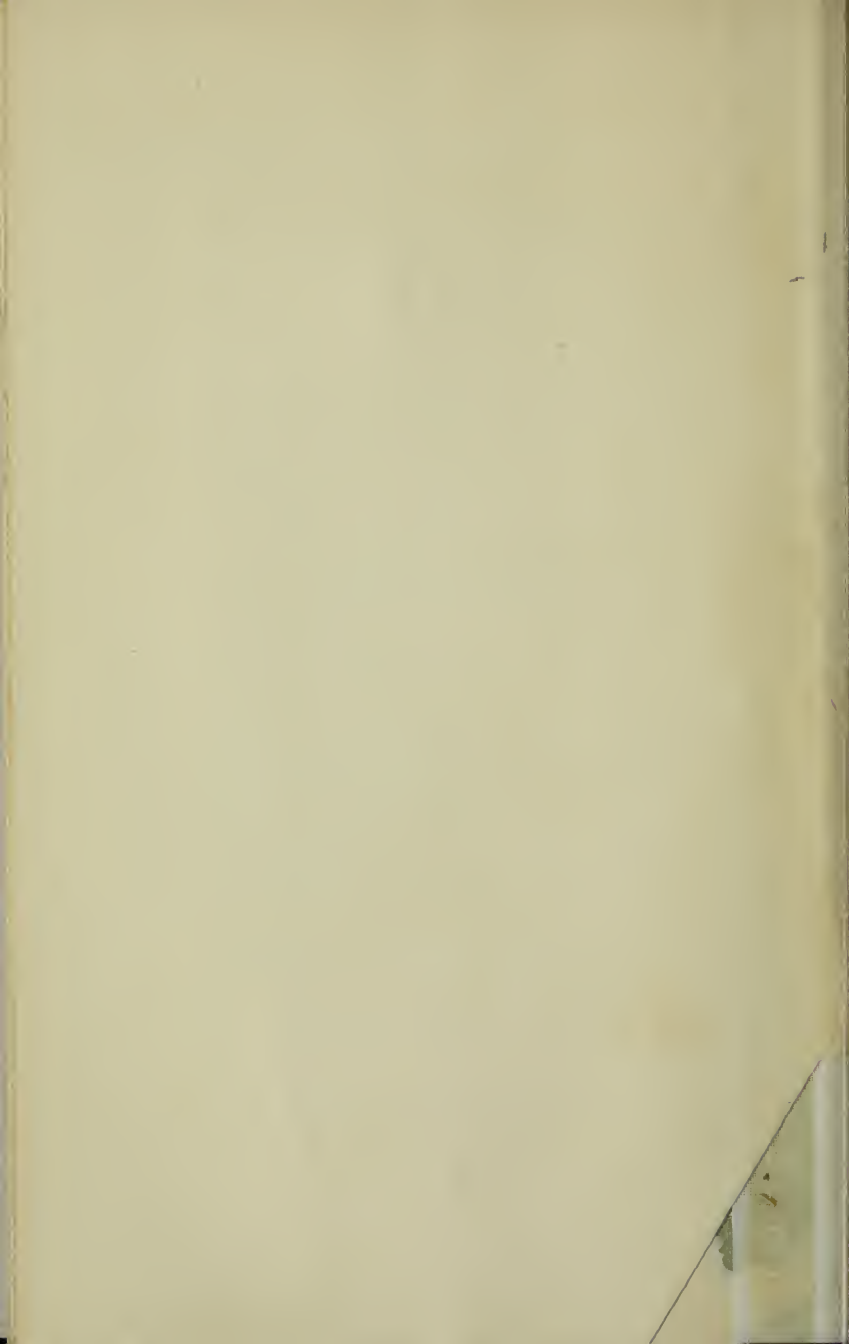
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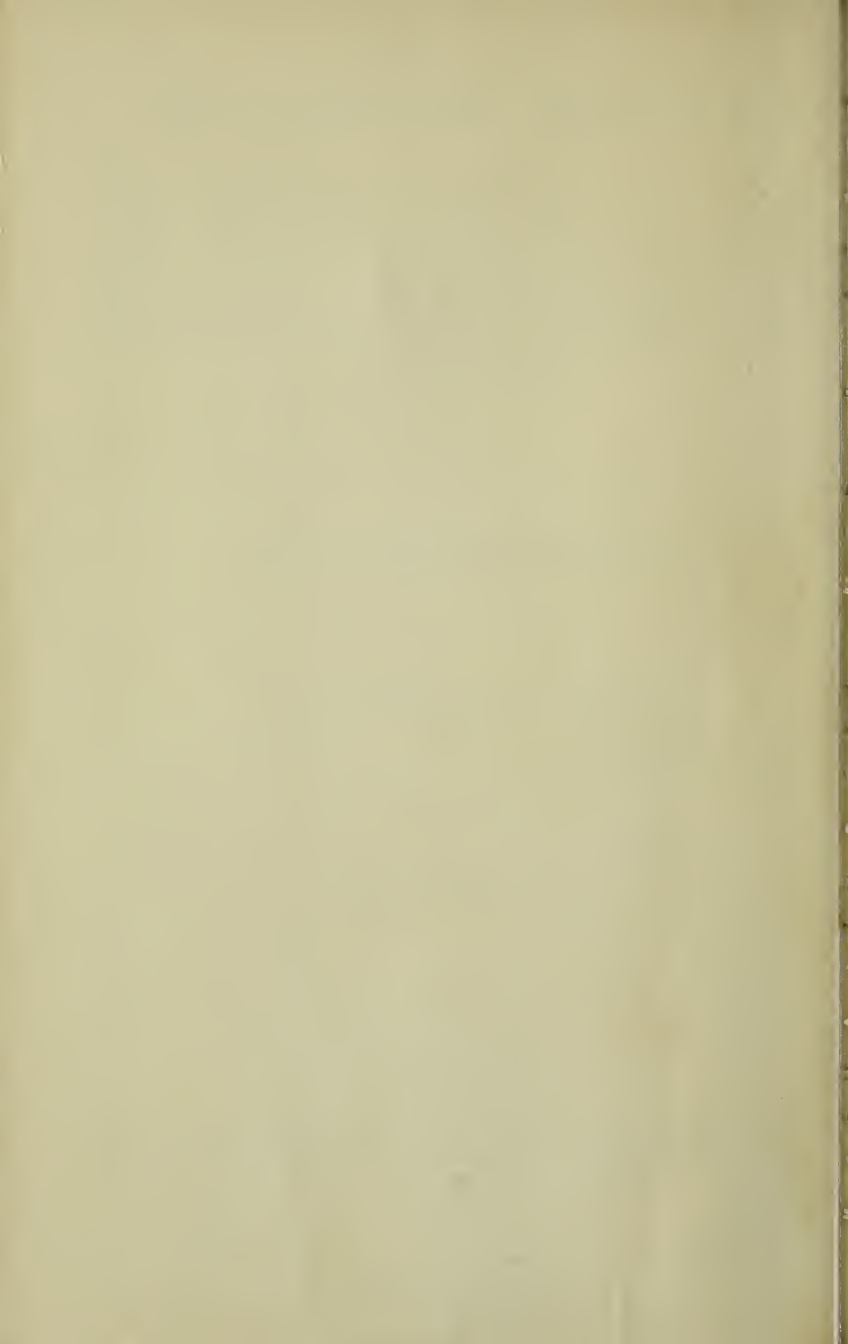
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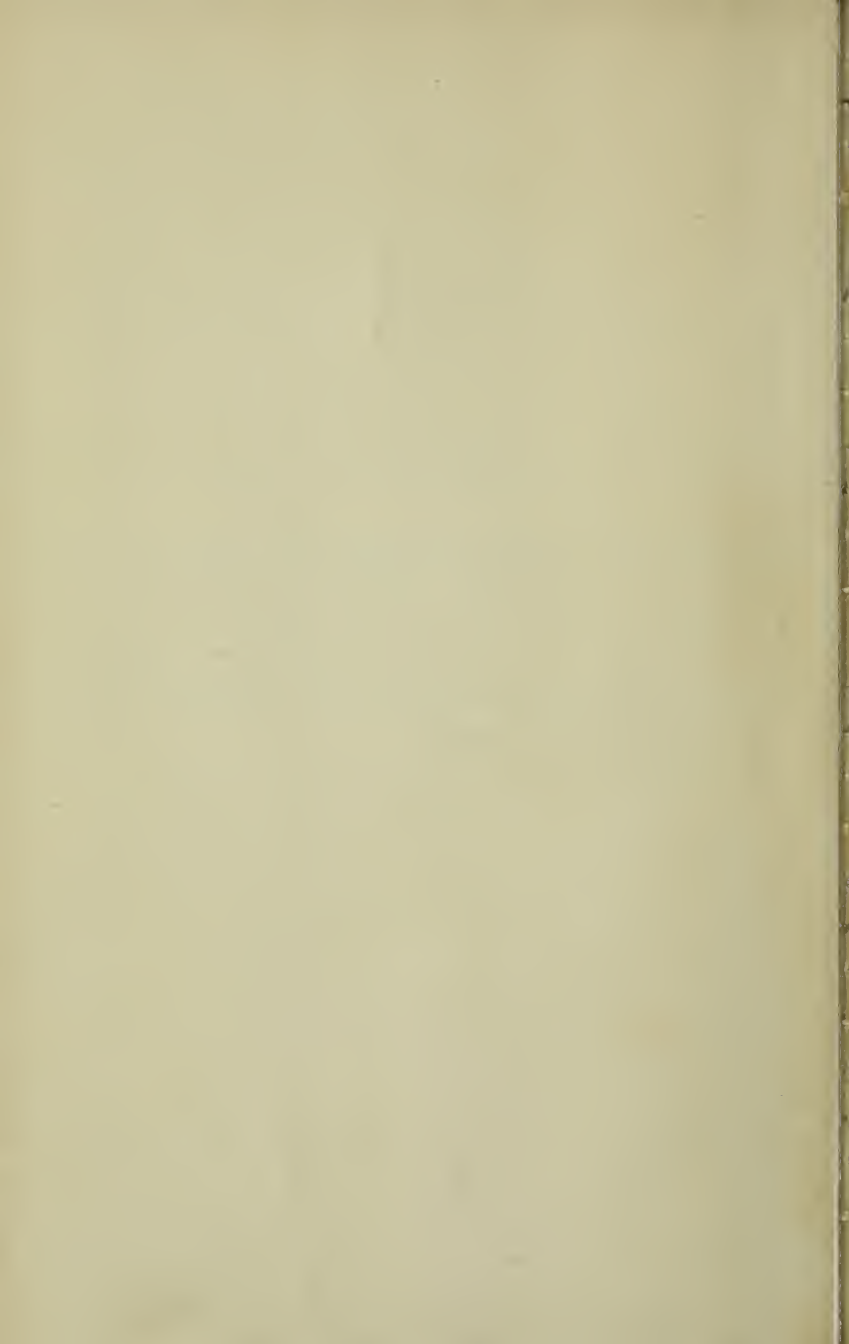
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PREFACE

THE following chapters represent the spade-work of one toiler in the mine which Anaxagoras said laid so deep. A portion of it published before, though quite unextensively, is here corrected, revised, and partly rewritten.



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TUDOR PROBLEMS

CHAPTER I

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND THE EARL OF LEICESTER

THE secret history of the Queen's relationship with the Earl of Leicester, as given in the story deciphered from the works of Francis Bacon, both those acknowledged and those printed under other names, tells us that Leicester and the Queen were man and wife. The biliteral cipher has been tested and worked by others, and the decipherer confirmed in her affirmation that it is to be found in Bacon's printed works. There is nothing extraordinary that a cipher peculiarly suited to the printed page should have been so used. Bacon openly stated that he invented the cipher when he was a young man in France, associated then with the British Embassy, where cipher-writing of different kinds would be studied and practised. In 1623 he printed his 'De Augmentis,'

in which the method of employing the cipher is described.

But though the cipher may spell out a story, the story may be untrue. It is because of the large authorship claim which it makes that it becomes necessary to examine into the truth of its allegations. The decipherer's *bona fides* having been proved (though anyone who has met the lady and seen her method of working, and anyone who has appreciated the marvellous—indeed, impossible—genius which she would have to possess in order to produce the story as told, could have no doubt on that score), the next question is whether the story obtains confirmation from other sources.

To this question these chapters are addressed. The story alleges that Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Leicester were married, that there were two unacknowledged sons of the marriage—the elder, Francis, being brought up in the family, and as son of Sir Nicholas and Lady Anne Bacon, and the younger, Robert, in the family, and as the son of Lord and Lady Hereford, afterwards Earl and Countess of Essex.

In this chapter it is proposed to discuss as shortly as possible, and merely as ancillary to the main question of literary authorship, whether the Queen and Lord Robert Dudley were married.

It must be borne in mind that on the maternal side Elizabeth's pedigree was not high. It must also be remembered that, by the Act of Parliament passed when her half-sister Mary was on the throne—viz., that which declared the dissolution of Henry VIII.'s marriage with Mary's mother, Queen Katherine, to have been invalid—Elizabeth had been indirectly declared to be illegitimate, and Mary Queen of Scots was consequently rightfully entitled to the throne on the death of Queen Mary.

Under these circumstances, and with the example of her father before her, a little laxity of conduct might have been expected and certainly excused.

Her alleged husband, Lord Robert Dudley, and Princess Elizabeth were of the same age, and had known one another from childhood. On March 18, 1554, when, at the age of twenty-one, Princess Elizabeth (who, by direction of her father's will, was to succeed her sister Mary if the latter had no children) was committed to the Tower as a prisoner, Lord Robert Dudley was already a prisoner there. While incarcerated, Elizabeth had strong apprehension that she was not going to be allowed to live. She was not closely confined, but had a considerable latitude of movement about the grounds of this large fortress

and castle. Ten of her servants waited upon her, and there is little doubt she had many good friends amongst the officials, particularly those opposed to the Roman Catholic faith.

The cipher story alleges a ceremony of marriage between Elizabeth and Dudley in the Tower. Dudley had a wife living, to whom he was wedded four years before—namely, at the age of seventeen. Yet there is nothing improbable in a lovesick daughter of Henry VIII., doubtful as to her legitimacy and at a time she never expected to be out again alive, going through a secret marriage ceremony with a tall, handsome fellow-prisoner similarly circumstanced. A short life, but a merry one. Moreover, there was a secret way between the Beauchamp Tower and the Bell Tower.

The cipher story alleges a subsequent private marriage of the parties after the Queen had succeeded to the throne. Her accession was on November 17, 1558. On the 28th she took formal possession of the Tower. Lord Robert, as Master of the Horse, rode next to her. Miss Agnes Strickland, in her *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, writes: 'The signal favour that Elizabeth lavished on Robert Dudley by appointing him her Master of Horse, and loading him with honours within the first week of her accession to the crown, must have originated

from some powerful motive which does not appear on the surface of history; . . . he must by some means have succeeded . . . in exciting an interest in her bosom of no common nature while they were both imprisoned in the Tower, since, being immediately after his liberation employed in the wars with France, he had no other opportunity of ingratiating himself with the Princess.' The assumption that they were lovers who, after a separation of four years, had become reunited, whether their love was adequately sanctioned or not by a Tower ceremony of marriage, seems to be consistent.

The next cipher story allegation is that in September, 1559-60 the Queen went through a second ceremony of marriage with Dudley, this time at the house of a certain Lord P. and before sufficient witnesses.

If the Tower ceremony correctly defines the situation, we have two persons on the faith of it actually associating as man and wife, but finding it impossible to declare themselves owing to the fact that the man had a wife living, to whom he was married as a boy, although they were much apart.

Being very much in the public eye, the association of Elizabeth and Dudley could not be entirely

cloaked, and, though in an age of much licence, occasioned serious remark from persons whose testimony was clearly intended to be accurate.

First, we have the reports of the Spanish Ambassador Feria. On April 18, 1559, he wrote to his King: 'Lord Robert has come so much into favour that he does what he pleases with affairs, and it is even said that Her Majesty visits him in his chamber day and night.' (The parties were then each of the age of twenty-five.)

The same month he again reports 'then they say she is in love with Lord Robert, and never lets him leave her.' Bishop de Quadra next appears on the scene, and he reports to the King of Spain, under date November, 1559: 'I have heard from a certain person who is in the habit of giving me veracious news, that Lord Robert has sent to poison his wife . . . I am told some extraordinary things about this intimacy.'

On March 15, 1559-60, De Quadra reports: 'Lord Robert says that if he lives a year he will be in another position from that he holds. Every day he presumes more and more, and it is now said he means to divorce his wife.'

On August 13, 1560, Cecil, the Prime Minister, on his return from a long visit to Scotland, obtained a report concerning Mother Dowe, of Brentwood,

in Essex, who openly asserted that the Queen was with child by Dudley. Cecil upon this decided to resign his office.

On August 27 De Quadra wrote to the Duchess of Parma reporting that the Queen told him 'she should be married before six months are over.'

On September 3 De Quadra met Cecil, whom he knew to be in disgrace, and who told him, under promise of secrecy, that 'the Queen was rushing upon her destruction, and this time he could not save her. . . . She was shutting herself up in the Palace, to the peril of her health and life. . . . They were thinking of destroying Lord Robert's wife.'

On September 4 De Quadra reported: 'The day after this conversation the Queen, on her return from hunting, told me that Lord Robert's wife was dead, or nearly so, and begged me to say nothing about it.'

The Queen's method of hunting was to sit in a bower in a deer park, furnished with a cross-bow and arrows, which she fired at the deer as they were driven past her.

The cipher story is quite consistent with the Queen being in September about five months off her confinement of a child, the offspring of a union which would probably have not been renewed had

it not been covered—however defectively—by the Tower ceremony of 1554.

No wonder Cecil looked upon the situation as hopeless! A Roman Catholic reaction was morally certain, and he, as a prominent Protestant, would have had to go to the wall.

For the Queen and Dudley things were equally desperate. Were she delivered of a child under then existing conditions, her position was untenable. Bear in mind the effect of the Act of Parliament obtained by her half-sister. A Queen who was indirectly illegitimate to be the mother of a bastard! Even many Protestants would have declared for Mary of Scotland.

To relieve the situation something had to be done, and it is impossible to acquit Elizabeth of a guilty knowledge that Amy Robsart, Dudley's wife, was about to be 'destroyed.'

She had at other times no hesitation in destroying other persons whom she deemed to be in her path, as witness her conduct to Mary, to Robert Earl of Essex, and others.

She was suspiciously able by four days to forecast the death of Amy Robsart, as that lady was on September 8 found alone at her house at Cumnor with her neck broken. Dudley never went near the place of his wife's death, but sent messengers to

clear matters up and give explanations as to his conduct.

In the same month there was a rumour that the Queen and Dudley had been married privately. The cipher story alleges that the marriage took place at the house of a certain Lord P., in the presence of Sir Nicholas and Lady Bacon.

Brook House, Hackney, which was granted by Edward VI. to Earl Pembroke, may have been the place.

There is a local tradition that the Queen visited there, and that during her stay she had in her keeping the key of the church. Most women prefer to be married at church, and we can imagine Sir Nicholas reading the service and Lady Anne acting as witness.

In November, 1560, Jones, writing to Throckmorton, reported that he had seen the Queen at Greenwich, and that she looked ill and harassed.

The period of six months from the conversation which De Quadra reported to the Duchess of Parma had nearly expired by January 22, 1560-1, the date accepted as the day when Francis was born. Lady Anne's deciphered account is that immediately upon the birth the Queen made observations to her attendants that she wanted the child to be made away with. Young Lady Anne begged

to be allowed to have the child and bring it up as her own, and this course was acceded to.

The baptism is recorded in the register of the church known as St. Martin's - in - the - Fields, London. It is the first name in the register, and there are no witnesses' names.

The entry is : '1560. 25 Januariae Baptizatus fuit Mr. Franciscus Bacon.' In a different handwriting and paler ink follows : 'Filius Dm. Nicholo Bacon Magni Anglie sigilli custodis.' It looks as if Sir Nicholas sent for the book and made the entry, and that the clergyman added the other particulars, which Sir Nicholas, as a God-fearing Lord Keeper, had refrained from writing.

In January, 1560-1, Sir Henry Sidney, who had married Lord Robert Dudley's sister, made offer to De Quadra that if the King of Spain would countenance a marriage between the Queen and Dudley, they would restore the Roman Catholic religion. These assurances were repeated to De Quadra in February by Lord Dudley himself. The Queen was not strong enough to break with the Protestants unless she had Roman Catholic support, backed by the King of Spain. Evidently a public marriage was what the parties still needed and contemplated. About February 23 Bishop De Quadra had an interview with the Queen, at which

she made a confession. De Quadra did not break the seal of the confessional further than to report to the King that Elizabeth admitted that she was no angel. So far as we have gone, the facts and reports made by the Ambassadors and others in the due discharge of their duties are consistent with the cipher story.

The De Quadra letters of October, 1562, show that the Queen was then ill with smallpox, and, owing to injudicious bathing and exposure, suffered a relapse, losing her speech and eyesight for four hours. When these were recovered, the Queen, in fear of her life, asked her Council to make Lord Robert Protector of the kingdom, and grant him a revenue of £20,000 per annum. She also ordered that a revenue of £500 per annum should be given to a valet de chambre named Tamwith, who slept in Lord Robert's room. When she recovered other arrangements were made.

From this time for several years Lord Robert behaved as a sort of Prince Consort. He rode by the Queen's side at all ceremonials, and occupied private rooms next to hers. In 1564 she made him Earl of Leicester, and at various dates enriched him with large gifts of money and leases of Crown estates, including Kenilworth and Wanstead. At Court he was styled 'My lord.' When

Melville visited the Queen in 1564, she opened a cabinet and showed him the Earl of Leicester's miniature, at the back of which she had written : 'My lord's picture.' Ambassadors made their reports to him. In April, 1566, Cecil urged the Queen not to marry Leicester, one of the reasons being that, 'he is infamed by the death of his wife.' Cecil had, of course, to consider the matter of *public* marriage, a step which would definitely assure the Earl's position as Queen's Consort. In view of the legal rights of Mary Queen of Scots to the throne, and the divisions upon the subject of religion which existed between large sections of the Queen's subjects, a more powerful Consort from amongst the Protestant princes of the continent was what Cecil was aiming at.

In August, 1566, the Earl of Leicester told the French Ambassador that he was more uncertain than ever whether the Queen wished to marry him or not. He believed that the Queen never would marry, and that he had known her from her eighth year *better than any man on earth*. He added that he was as much in favour as ever, and was convinced that if the Queen altered her determination she would choose no other but himself (the Earl).

A second child was, according to the cipher

story, born to the Queen and Leicester in 1567, the date being November 10.

In the autumn of 1569 matters were not going well with Elizabeth and Leicester. There was a Catholic rebellion in the North of England, which was eventually quelled by the Earl of Sussex. In the spring of 1570 the Pope issued a Bull of excommunication against her. Mary Queen of Scots' infant son had just been crowned King of Scotland, and all Elizabeth's intrigues to obtain possession of him had consequently failed. The rumours discreditable to the Queen were becoming numerous. A Norfolk gentleman named Marsham was condemned to lose his ears because he had been stating that 'my Lord of Leicester had two children by the Queen.'

There was also a widespread conspiracy to rescue the Queen of Scots from her imprisonment. Leicester and Elizabeth seem to have come to the conclusion that, to save the country and themselves, she had better marry some powerful foreign Prince. An attempt to make a marriage treaty with an Austrian Archduke utterly broke down. Next negotiations were started with a French Prince, the Duke of Anjou, but that young gentleman was unwilling to oblige.

In 1571 a statute was passed (procured by

Leicester, says the cipher story) rendering it penal even to speak of any other successor to the Crown of England than the issue of the reigning Queen. 'Naturalis ex ipsius corpore sobolis.' This was as far as Elizabeth would go towards a formal and open limitation of the succession, but the omission of the word 'lawful' as applied to the word 'issue' gave rise to comment.

The Norfolk plot and the troubles with Scotland, Ireland, and Spain caused her chief advisers also to conclude that a marriage with one of the French Princes was the only chance of the Queen's safety.

At this date both Leicester and Elizabeth were close upon forty years of age, and after many years of intimacy the interests of their own preservation warranted that they should part company. Leicester is to be found arguing in favour of a French marriage, and Burleigh and Walsingham (afraid for the Protestant religion) opposed to it.

The accounts of the protracted negotiations with the stunted French boy prince Alençon are amusing to read. Elizabeth never meant having him so long as the throne and herself were not in danger. Leicester rather seems to have enjoyed the freedom this line of policy gave to him. Gilbert Talbot reported to his father, the Earl of Shrewsbury,

that, though Lord Leicester was on terms of good affection with the Queen, two of her cousins—Douglas Howard, the young widow of Lord Sheffield, and her sister Frances, both daughters of Lord William Howard of Effingham—were ‘very far in love with him, as they long have been.’ From the same report it may be gathered that the Queen, on her part, was flirting with the Earl of Oxford and Sir Christopher Hatton.

By this date it is alleged that Leicester made a formal pledge to marry Lady Sheffield, by whom he subsequently had two children, and to one of whom he left his estates.

Elizabeth’s statement to her Council in 1571 that she was ‘FREE to marry’ points to a mutual understanding between herself and Leicester that they should go their own respective ways. When the political horizon brightened in 1575, Elizabeth made a determined effort to buy back Leicester’s allegiance with a gift of £50,000. He responded by giving her a magnificent entertainment at Kenilworth Castle.

The negotiations for marriage with the Duke d’Alençon still pursued their tortuous way, while Leicester intrigued in another direction. Tired of Lady Sheffield, he transferred his attentions to another of the Queen’s cousins, Lettice, the widow

of Walter Earl of Essex, whose husband died in Ireland in September, 1576. Wayward and uncertain in her matrimonial intentions and prodigal in her expenditure, Leicester seems to have thought it expedient at this stage to follow new desires of his heart, confident that the Queen dare not object. Probably the Progress, which, in the summer of 1578, finished up at his own mansion of Wanstead, may have finally decided him, as he privately married the widowed Lady Essex, though he was afterwards pressed into a more formal ceremony in the presence of her father, Sir Francis Knollys, who had small faith in private rites. When the marriage came to the Queen's knowledge a year later, she was for putting him in the Tower. Other counsels prevailing, he was merely ordered to remain a prisoner at Greenwich Castle, while his wife was utterly forbidden to come to the Court.

In 1586 the Earl and Elizabeth had attained the ages of fifty-three—in fact, were no longer young; but when important business needed attention, Leicester seems to have been called in as a matter of course. He conducted the English military operations in the Low Countries this year. In 1588, the year of the Spanish Armada, Elizabeth called him to take charge of the military defences,

and when the Armada was defeated she either made or designated him Lord-Lieutenant of England and Ireland, which office would have invested him with the highest powers. He, however, died a few weeks later, and at his death was heavily in debt to the Queen.

She did not show to his 'widow' the cordiality due to the late 'wife' of the Lord-Lieutenant of England and Ireland. On the contrary, her acts indicated spitefulness and womanly jealousy. She not only ordered an auction sale of all the late Earl's extensive and valuable estates, but made the Countess pay £300 a year out of her jointure by enforcing an 'extent' against it. Leicester must have apprehended some trouble of this kind, as in his will he particularly requested his executors to take care of his widow, and he left the Queen his great diamond and emerald jewel, with a string of 600 pearls (valued at £1,200 at that date) to hang it by. Lady Leicester shortly afterwards consoled herself by marrying Sir Christopher Blount, a young man fifteen years her junior, who had served the Earl as Master of Horse. It was not until March 2, 1598-9, that the Queen consented to admit the widow to her presence.

A few matters in Leicester's will are significant,

The question of his burial was to be settled by Her Majesty. This gave her the chance of putting his body in a royal vault if desired. He left the benefit of an unexpired Crown lease of land in Wales to Robert Earl of Essex ('well-beloved son-in-law'). Leicester House, with the lordship of Chirk, was also to go to Robert after the death of his widow and base son if the latter died without issue. His badge as Knight of the Garter was also left to Essex.

Historical facts may reasonably be said to confirm the truth of the cipher story as regards the relations subsisting between the Queen and Lord Robert Dudley and the consequences which ensued.

In the next chapters it is proposed to see how far known facts concerning Francis and Robert respectively are also confirmatory of the story.

CHAPTER II

THE QUEEN AND FRANCIS BACON

IN this chapter it is proposed to consider what known facts as to the career of Francis Bacon are consistent with the cipher story claim. Francis is stated to have been born on January 22, 1560-1, and to have been taken away at birth by Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper, and his young second wife, Lady Anne, and by them brought up as the younger of her two children, Anthony Bacon being the elder. Although Anthony filled a position of importance in that day, no one has troubled to record either his date of birth or place of burial. Francis was more fortunate. The boys would be brought up partly at York House and partly at Gorhambury. The Queen seems to have been interested in Gorhambury. She visited there in August, 1568, and again in July, 1572. A terra-cotta bust of Francis attributed to that date is preserved, as are busts of Sir Nicholas and his

wife, but not one of Anthony. March is not a good time for a country visit, but the Queen went to Gorhambury again in March, 1573. In April of that year Francis and Anthony were sent to Cambridge University. The college selected was not St. Bennet's, where Sir Nicholas was bred, but Trinity, which was erected and endowed by the Queen's father, and which she and Earl Leicester visited in 1564. At Trinity the youths were in charge of one of the Queen's chaplains, Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. They remained at college, without taking degrees, until December, 1575. The Queen was at Gorhambury in March, 1576.

According to the cipher story, Francis was at Court in 1576, when, owing to an unpleasant incident, the Queen in a fit of anger disclosed to him his true relationship to her. It was then arranged that Francis should be sent abroad. In August the Queen was again at Gorhambury. (Rymer's 'Fœdera,' p. 765.) The question of the extent and nature of the equipment required by a youth travelling abroad with the English Ambassador may have arisen for settlement.

In September Francis left for a long tour in France, crossing with Sir Amias Paulet, the Ambassador. During 1578 he seems to have toured independently,

studying matters pertaining to government and statecraft. This is shown by a recently published letter from Sir Thomas Bodley to Francis. Bodley acted as correspondent for certain 'friends' who were providing the expenses of the tour, and whom Francis was admonished to please by his conduct. Bodley at that time filled the position of gentleman usher to the Queen. Sir Nicholas Bacon seems to have slipped out of his 'parental' responsibilities. In 1578 Francis appears to have come home on a short visit. That is the year painted on his miniature by Hilliard, the Queen's Court Limner. He, like Shakspeare, is alleged to have fallen in love with a lady eight years older than himself. The great wealth of Sir Nicholas Bacon—for the Queen had been very good to him—was carefully given and bequeathed on his death, in February, 1578-9, amongst his children, in accordance with a then quite recent will, dated December 12, 1578.

Sir Nicholas, however, was guilty of another strange lapse of parental responsibility. For the son Francis, whose bust was made in 1572 and miniature in 1578, the youth of such bright intelligence that Hilliard made special remark about it, the Queen's little Lord Keeper, no monetary provision was made. True, he left him half the furniture at Gorhambury at Lady Anne's death, and

Gorhambury House itself if Anthony died without issue. But how was the young man to live? Rawley had a notion that there was a sum of money not dealt with by the will, which was shared between five brothers; but Rawley was a clergyman, and not an authority on the devolution of intestates' personalty.

The lawyers of Gray's Inn have celebrated somewhat solemnly the tercentenary of Francis Bacon's election as Treasurer of the Inn. One can only say, with Queen Elizabeth, that the speakers made show to the uttermost of their knowledge, rather than that they were deep.

'What's open made to justice,
That justice seizes.'

Yet Francis had a right merry time at Gray's Inn, to which attention might happily have been called.

In 1580 Francis, contrary to his ideas of dignity, had to continue his rôle of son to Sir Nicholas. To Burleigh, who represented the Queen in this matter, he wrote argumentatively that the law was not a profession for which anyone well off or friended would give up prospect of success in other studies of more delight (September 16, 1580).

He had a tight tussle with Burleigh as to the allowance the Queen was to make for his main-

tenance. Eventually this was settled, and his humble thanks returned (October 18, 1580).

But poor old Burleigh, as his handwriting upon an extract from the Gray's Inn records shows, had still something more to do to satisfy this pertinacious young man. He had to procure him a dispensation from the obligation of 'keeping commons.'

It is odd that the supposed son of a lawyer should have declined to take his meals with law students, barristers, and ancients.

In 1584 and again in 1586 he was elected M.P. In the latter year his scruples as to meals had been overcome, an order being made permitting him to take his meals at the Reader's or Master's table, care being had to reserve the rights to pension and otherwise of the barristers and ancients over whose heads he had been passed. He served in another Parliament in 1589, and again in 1592-3. By this time anyone who has studied Francis Bacon's tendencies will be prepared to be told he had taken considerable charge of the House of Commons and its rights. He had what his brother, Robert Earl of Essex, described to Lord Keeper Puckering as a 'natural freedom and plainness'; in other words, he was more than a trifle masterful.

In March, 1592-3, however, he met with a serious rebuff. Over a debate upon supply, Francis started a question of privilege, in which he maintained the rights of the Commons against the Lords. Had this masterful person been in the Lords, the protest might never have been raised. This brought supply to a sort of dead-lock and made the Queen angry. The delay in replenishing her Treasury was unpleasant, and she evidently thought it necessary to check her son's assumption of authority. Accordingly, she forbade him the Court, which meant a very great disgrace to him. He was very hurt, but having an abundance of literary work on hand, seems to have occupied his mind with that. His own supplies must also have been restricted, as he became short of money, although Anthony, his foster-brother, was mortgaging his patrimony in order to help him. About February, 1593-4, the office of Attorney-General was likely to become vacant, and Francis busied himself in canvassing for the post. Just imagine the impudence: a young man of thirty-two who had never practised at the Bar wanting to occupy its highest position. As a prince possessed with an immense belief in himself, yet sadly in want of a valuable salaried position, his application can be understood. If he did not get it, he told Essex, he should quit

the Queen's service and retire 'with a couple of men to Cambridge.'

The Queen did not think his knowledge of law was good enough for the post. In her opinion (expressed to his brother Robert) he was showy, but not deep. On April 10, 1594, she appointed Sir Edward Coke. Francis did not retreat to Cambridge, but tried about on another tack by starting an urgent negotiation for the position of Solicitor-General, made vacant by Coke's elevation. We can picture him in the midst of his hard work at Gray's Inn or at Twickenham, making his younger brother Robert run his legs off in carrying messages and letters to the Queen and other personages. Robert was only twenty-eight, but he was holder of the valuable salaried post of Master of the Horse and first favourite with the Queen, while Francis had only what the Queen allowed him through Burleigh. Naturally he wanted an income he could draw direct, particularly as he had a number of literary assistants in his pay, and there must have been a large bill running up with printers and booksellers. A valuable salaried appointment was more than ever necessary. But in spite of his persistency and Robert's continued exertions as intermediary, the office of Solicitor-General remained unfilled.

In December, 1594, being still out of favour, but unable to pass by a jest, he decided to enact a little comedy. Refused access to the Court, he took opportunity of the twelve days' Christmas licence to establish a Court of his own. With the help of his friends at Gray's Inn he wrote a 'Device of a Mock Court,' and organized the gentlemen of the Inn to act in it. From amongst them a Prince of Purple was elected, and the whole 'Device,' as a skit upon the real Court, bubbled over with merriment.

A number of the leading courtiers were invited to witness the performances. Later on, in order that the Queen should not be displeased, a deputation was arranged to sail in barges past her palace at Greenwich, and offer to perform before her. This was accepted, and the performance took place at Greenwich at the following Shrove-tide.

Before that feast we find Francis, on January 25, 1594-5, writing to Anthony that he was thinking of selling up and going to live abroad. In the battle with his mother he was as obstinate as she was.

During the year just ended he had tried, with the help of permission which Burleigh had obtained for him, to plead at the Bar for any suitor who would employ him. Before that he had only

served the Queen as a sort of private counsel. On March 21, 1594-5, however, he had had enough, and wrote to Burleigh that 'though I am glad of Her Majesty's favour that I may with more ease practise the law, which percase I may do now and then for my countenance, yet to speak plainly, though perhaps vainly, I do not think that the ordinary practice of the law, not serving the Queen in place, will be admitted for a good account of the poor talent which God hath given me.'

Before 1595 was out Francis had been restored to the Queen's favour. He had not written anything for her Accession-Day celebrations (November 17) since 1592. This year he wrote the device known as 'Essex's Device,' and received by way of acknowledgment a grant from the Queen of a twenty-one years' extension of the lease of his Twickenham Lodge estate. The deed was appropriately dated November 17, 1595. He appears to have celebrated the reconciliation by producing the play of 'All's Well that Ends Well,' which Mr. Sidney Lee and others attribute to this year.

It is next proposed to deal with the evidence which even Spedding's 'Letters and Life of Francis Bacon' gives, as to what during the period from 1579 to 1603 was going on behind the scenes. The biliteral cipher story as to Bacon's activity as a

poet and writer of works printed anonymously (or under ascriptions to other persons paid for the use of their names) is quite consistent with the indications given in the correspondence. At the risk of a slight recapitulation, the following are the indications relied upon :

To Burleigh in 1580 Francis refers to 'studies of greater delight.'

To Burleigh in 1592 he threatens 'to become a sorry bookmaker.'

The Queen in 1594 admitted his 'great wit, excellent gift of speech, and much other good learning,' but in law thought he made show to the uttermost of his knowledge rather than that he was deep (letter, Essex to Bacon).

In a letter of March 30, 1594, he told Essex he should 'retire with a couple of men to Cambridge, and there spend my life in my studies and contemplations without looking back.'

In 1595 he wrote to Essex: 'For as for appetite, the *waters of Parnassus* are not like the waters of Spaw that give a stomach ; but rather they quench appetite and desires.'

In a second letter in this year he told Essex he purposed not to follow the practice of the law, 'because it drinketh too much time which I have *dedicated to better purposes.*' The same year, in a

letter to Anthony Bacon, he refers to 'certain idle pens' in his service.

On May 17, 1596, Essex, writing of Francis to the Lord Keeper, said: 'That life I call idle which is not spent in public business, *for otherwise he will ever give himself worthy tasks.*'

In 1597 Francis asked Burleigh 'to continue unto me the good favour in the course of my *poor travails*' (works). In 1603 he concluded a letter to his friend and fellow-poet Davis, who was going to Scotland to meet the new King, 'so desiring you to be *good to concealed poets.*' If Davis had told King James that Francis had written 'The Faerie Queene' containing the Duessa (Mary Queen of Scots), cantos to which at the time James took great exception, Francis would have been in trouble.

In the same year Francis wrote to the Earl of Northumberland, leader of the English peers, reminding the Earl of certain '*public writings of satisfaction*' which he, Francis, had written.

This was an allusion to the fact that when the Earl was made a Knight of the Garter in 1593, Francis (in the name of Peele) had written the poem, 'The Honor of the Garter,' to celebrate the occasion.

In 1604 Francis printed his 'Apology' con-

cerning Essex. In this are two admissions. First, that, 'though he professed not to be a poet, he writ a sonnet to tend to the reconciliation of the Queen and Essex.' Secondly, that he objected to being ordered to confront Essex at his first trial with the prose 'Henry IV.,' on the ground that it would be said, 'I gave in evidence my own tales. . . .' He had written the English history plays of 'Richard II.' and 'Henry IV.' just previously.

The conduct of all parties is consistent with Francis having been an unacknowledged son of the Queen compelled to keep up appearances by settling at Gray's Inn and studying law (for which he did not care), the ordinary conditions of residence being modified in his favour. No mere son of a deceased Lord Keeper, without experience and at the age of about thirty-three, would for two years continually press for one of the principal law offices in the gift of the Crown. Nor would any such individual have ventured to threaten what he would do if refused.

The correspondence and printed statements by Francis are consistent with his having been from as early a period as 1580 engaged in 'studies of greater delight' than law studies, and that it meant to him a loss of dignity to be set to the law. His literary occupation was an absorbing one, as is

proved by his letter of 1592, 'that he had taken all knowledge for his providence,' and that if he was not appointed to a good salaried office he should become 'a sorry bookmaker,' and that he was in need of literary helpers. The letter of 1594, that he should retire with a couple of men to Cambridge, is an indication that he had already a literary staff working for him. The 'idle pens' reference in the letter to Anthony confirms this, and, in the same year, the letter from Essex shows that the Queen was aware of his accomplishments. That he was a poet is proved by the 'waters of Parnassus' passage in the letter of 1594-95, and the later intimations as to the dedication of 'my time to better purposes,' 'worthy tasks,' 'poor travails,' 'concealed poets,' 'public writings of satisfaction,' 'writ a sonnet,' 'gave in evidence my own tales.' Mr. Spedding, who worked under the disadvantage of not possessing the right clue, gives as Bacon's whole literary output from 1580 to 1603—three or four pamphlets, ten short essays, and one or two devices. Could he but have caught a mental glimpse of that busy group of literary workers under Francis as chief, at one time at Gray's Inn, at another at Twickenham Lodge, his account would have been very different. Over the period under review Francis wrote, either wholly, or mainly edited, works published either anonymously

or under the names of Spenser, Gosson, Marlowe, Greene, Kyd, Watson, Nash, and Peele. He also wrote a few ascribed to Shakspeare and edited Sidney's writings.

Even the sonnet he wrote in Michaelmas term, 1600, found its printed page. Later in the year it was printed in the quarto of the 'Merchant of Venice.' We refer to the well-known fourteen lines beginning :

'The quality of mercy is not strained,
It droppeth as the gentle dew from heaven
Upon the place beneath. It is twice blessed :
It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes ;
It is mightiest in the mighty. It becomes
The thronèd monarch better than his crown.'

That this beautiful sonnet did not bring about the reconciliation between the Queen and her brilliant younger son was not the fault of the elder one.

CHAPTER III

THE QUEEN AND ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX

IN 1561 or 1562 young Walter Viscount Hereford married Lettice Knollys, the Queen's first cousin. Her mother, the Queen's aunt, filled the office of Mistress of the Robes. The cipher story alleges that a second child, Robert, was born of the private union of the Queen and Earl Leicester, and that such child was brought up as the eldest son of this Lord Hereford, who was afterwards Earl of Essex.

It is not unreasonable to expect that, had a child of the Queen to be fostered, the newly married daughter of the Queen's aunt and confidential friend might appropriately have been entrusted with the responsibility. Lord Hereford was not rich, and had only one country-house—viz., Chartley, where his daughter Penelope was born in 1563, his daughter Dorothy in 1565, and his son Walter in 1569. Another child died in infancy. Robert is

stated to have been born on November 10, 1567. If truly the child of Lord and Lady Hereford, it is unusual to find that he did not, as eldest son, bear his father's Christian name. The baptisms of Penelope, Dorothy, and Walter are duly recorded at Chartley ; that of Robert, stated to have occurred at Netherwood, in Herefordshire, is not recorded in the parish register.

On the date given of Robert's birth, an important letter from the Earl of Sussex, in Vienna, was received by the Queen, in London, on the subject of a proposed marriage with the Archduke of Austria. The Queen replied to it a month later, requesting a personal interview. In 1571 to 1573 the Queen's conduct towards Lord Hereford is consistent with the existence of some distrust and desire on her part to get him out of the way. After giving him an estate in the county of Essex, and creating him Earl of Essex and a Knight of the Garter, she sent him to Ireland on a very curious errand—namely, to recover possession of a barony in Ulster, which, when obtained, they were to divide between them! To provide funds for the expedition, the Queen lent him £10,000, at £10 per cent. interest, on mortgage of the Earl's estates, which were made subject to forfeiture on non-repayment of instalments of the loan.

The correspondence of the Queen with the Earl at this period gives indication that there was something under the surface. In one letter she refers 'to letters the contents whereof assure yourself our eyes and the fire only have been privy' (March 30, 1574-5). In another she remarks :

'Deem, therefore, cousin mine, that the search of your honour with the danger of your breath hath not been bestowed on so ungrateful a prince that will not both consider the one and reward the other.

'Your most loving cousin and sovereign,
'E. R.

'August 6, 1575.'

It is consistent with the truth of the cipher story that Walter, Earl of Essex, should, by letter of November 1, 1573, have written to Burleigh, the Lord Treasurer, offering to him the 'direction, education, and marriage of my eldest son.' This might well have been written to order, and the offer to contribute £10 per annum towards the cost of education added to give some 'carp of truth.' It seems highly probable that Walter came back to England earlier than expected, made himself very awkward, and that it became expedient to get him back to Ireland, and possibly to destroy him ; but these surmises do not necessarily concern the cipher

story. Anyway, he arrived in Dublin in July, 1576, and died in the September following, being seized with a violent and sudden illness.

At the time of the Earl's death little Lord Hereford was not quite nine years old. Sir Henry Wootton records that the Earl had but a poor conceit of him, and preferred his second son, Walter.

Robert remained at Chartley until January 11, 1577, when he became a member of Burleigh's family for a few months. In May he was at Trinity College, Cambridge—the college at which Francis 'Bacon' had resided about eighteen months earlier.

In June he was short of clothing and silver plate for his rooms. Application was made to Burleigh, the Queen's Lord Treasurer, for these requirements. His Christmas vacation was spent at Court. His meeting with the Queen is thus described: 'On his coming, the Queen meeting with him, offered to kiss him, which he humbly altogether refused. Upon Her Majesty bringing him through the great chamber into the chamber of presence, Her Majesty would have him put on his hat, which nowise he would, offering himself in all things at Her Majesty's commandment; she then replied that if he would be at her command-

ment, then he should put on his hat.' That this boy should pass with the Queen into the presence of the kneeling courtiers without doffing his hat seems to have suited the Queen's humour at that moment, and is consistent with the relationship disclosed by the cipher story.

On July 6, 1581, at the age of fourteen, the degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon him. From that time he resided at Lanfey House, in Pembroke, until 1584, when he went to live at London. In 1585 and 1586 he was in the Low Countries with the Earl of Leicester, who was anxious to have him with him, and he took part in the military movements which ended with the fight at Zutphen. After his return to England he seems to have been constantly at Court and on the best of terms with the Queen. Earl Leicester in May, 1587, wanted to give up the post of Master of the Horse in Robert's favour, but this was not carried out until December, when Leicester was made Lord Steward of the Household in succession to the deceased Lord Hunsdon. The post given to Robert was worth £1,500 per annum. During 1587 Robert's happy association with the Queen was disturbed by an unpleasant shadow. Her age at that date was fifty-four, his was twenty. But the Queen had just appointed Sir Walter Raleigh,

then aged thirty-five, captain of her guard, and was openly flirting with him. An important confirmation of the cipher story is the letter from Robert to Edward Dyer, of July 21 that year, describing a good old row at North Hall, in which Robert accused the Queen of being under the control and influence of Raleigh. 'I spake what of grief and choler as much against him as I could, and I think he (Raleigh), standing at the door, might very well hear the worst that I spoke of himself.' After this altercation, he decided to go abroad and join the fighting before Sluys. He bolted off without notice, but Sir Robert Carey was sent after him by the Queen, and stopped him from embarking.

1588 was the year of the Spanish Armada, and Robert took a prominent part in the military defences organized in this country, and was appointed General of Horse.

Earl Leicester died on September 4 of that year, leaving by will his George and Garter to Robert, who was made K.G. the same year. After Leicester's death the Queen seems to have leant a good deal upon Robert. The correspondence between the Queen and Essex, and his doings in the years 1589, 1590, and 1591, again support the cipher story. In 1589 he ran away from the English Court, and took ship to join the English naval

expedition to Portugal. The Queen sent several courtiers to try and stop him. Learning that he had got on board the *Swiftsure*, commanded by Sir Roger Williams, she sent word to Norris and Drake, then in charge of the fleet, to threaten Williams with death, and to send Robert back to England. In a letter to Robert, sent out to the fleet, she accused him (Robert) of undutiful behaviour. He returned in June, and, going direct to her room, just mudstained from his journey, soon made his peace with the Queen.

About April, 1590, he privately wedded Sir Philip Sidney's widow. This did not come to the Queen's knowledge until several months afterwards. Then her anger was very great, not merely, she declared, that he married without asking her consent, but for marrying below his degree—as if the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, her late Secretary of State, was not good enough. But if the cipher story correctly describes the position, the Queen would have preferred Robert to have married a foreign princess.

In October, 1590, Henry IV. of France was in military difficulties with Spain, and sent Marshal Turenne to negotiate for English assistance. He also wrote to Robert personally, asking him to help him in the matter. The French King had

either some private knowledge or else an exalted notion of Robert's position. It was not until the following June that the Queen consented to Robert leading an expedition into Normandy. His commission was dated July 21, 1591, and he was to keep his forces in France for two months only from the time of landing. He was to have power to create knights, but to be careful as to who were appointed. He wrote a number of very fulsome letters to the Queen during his absence, his object very plainly being to preserve himself as first in her good opinion.

The Queen was very angry with Essex for staying beyond the agreed time. He accordingly came home in October, explained his position, and was permitted to go back to France for another month. The Council, in conveying the Queen's decision, wrote that it was her wish that he should not 'put in danger your own person at the siege of Rouen'!

In December he issued a challenge to a combat to the Governor of Rouen. The Queen instructed her Council to stop the encounter !

On December 19, infectious illness having broken out amongst his troops, the Council wrote, desiring him to return from such danger to his person as they feared might happen from the increase of such

infection. In 1592, 1593, and 1594 Robert was resident at Court ; he was, says Mr. Devereux, the idol of the populace, and the Queen could scarce bear his absence from her side.

In 1594, on returning together in a coach from the examination of Dr. Lopez, Robert had an altercation with Sir Robert Cecil as to the appointment of Francis Bacon to the vacant office of Attorney-General. Essex said : 'I have made no search for precedents of young men who have filled the office of Attorney-General, but I could name to you, Sir Robert, a man younger than Francis, less learned and equally inexperienced, who is suing and striving with all his might for an office of far greater weight (the Secretaryship of State).' Cecil said if Essex would be satisfied with the Solicitorship for Francis, it might be of easier digestion for the Queen. 'Digest me no digestions,' cried Essex. 'The Attorneyship for Francis is that I must have ; and in that I will spend all my power, might, authority, and amity.' This agrees with the cipher story as to the decision of Francis to give up his life wholly to literature, and push Robert's claims to the succession instead of his own. The use of the Christian name indicates a close familiarity between Francis and Robert, and the energy with which Robert was pushing Francis for the legal appointment shows

the urgent need there was for providing a substantial salary for Francis.

In 1595 Robert's high favour continued. Letters to the Queen from foreign potentates and officials were delivered only to Robert, and 'he to answer them.' In August, 1595, Robert sent Antonio Perez (who had been several months in England) back to Henry IV. of France, who wrote to Robert on December 4, thanking him.

In 1596 Robert took part in a large sea expedition against Spain. In the March of that year the Spaniards had assaulted Calais, and before the Queen could be induced to send help, it was captured on April 10. On the 23rd the French King wrote to Robert, apprising him of the sad event, and sent the Duke of Bouillon and Antonio Perez to discuss the situation. Perez (in the absence of Robert at Plymouth) settled on to Anthony Bacon, who in turn took refuge from his complaints by visiting Twickenham Lodge, where Francis dwelt. 'Love's Labour Lost,' refurbished, and with its joke at the expense of Perez (Armado), was performed before the Queen at the Christmas of 1597-8. The naval expedition against Spain, in which Robert had acted so valiantly, returned in August, 1596. The Queen thought that the large captures of plunder ought to be applied in discharge of part of the

heavy cost she had incurred. Matters had gone heavily against Robert during his absence. His enemy, Henry Brooke (afterwards Lord Cobham), had been making mischief, and Raleigh's friends caused the Lords to publish an account of the expedition giving Raleigh all the credit. Robert printed a private account to counteract this, but the Queen would not allow him opportunity of justifying his own conduct.

That the populace took his side only rekindled the Queen's jealousy of him. While Essex had been away the Secretaryship of State, vacant by the death of Walsingham, and which Essex had striven to give to Davison or Bodley, was given to Robert Cecil, who thenceforth made no secret of his hostility to Essex. With the tide so adverse, Robert became a tired and beaten man. In November he fell ill. In February, 1596-7, he was ill again, and it was gossiped that the Queen had expressed her determination to break him of his will and pull down his great heart, and that he had replied, it was a thing impossible, and that he held it from his mother's side! In March, 1597, he was anxious to retire into Wales, but the Queen would not let him. His object was to drop out of Court altogether. The Queen, who had refused him the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports (eventually

given to Cobham), made him Master of Ordnance. In June he was pushed into taking charge of another naval expedition against Spain, which returned in October unsuccessful. For this the Queen again blamed Essex, and he retired, offended, to Wanstead House. On October 23 the Queen created Lord Howard Earl of Nottingham, which, combined with the office of Lord Admiral, gave that nobleman precedence at Court over Essex, who thereupon positively refused to go to Court.

After long negotiations the Queen on December 10 created Robert Earl Marshal of England, which restored his precedency. Matters proceeded better during 1598, Essex being very influential at Court, until in June a stormy scene occurred over the question of appointing a Lord Deputy for Ireland, when the Queen boxed his ears, and he in retaliation put his hand upon his sword and left the Court, and was not again received until November. Meantime Lord Burleigh died on August 4. The following year Essex virtually appointed himself commander of an expedition to subdue Ireland. It left on March 29, 1599. The jealousy of the Queen at his masterful conduct of this campaign, his very free appointments to knighthood—some fifty or more being made—was further fomented by his enemies at the Court, and in view of this he

deemed it prudent to return without waiting for the Queen's instructions. The old Queen was induced to believe that his return was really part of a planned attack upon her throne, so that on his return he was on October 1 made a prisoner at York House, the residence of Lord Keeper Egerton. He fell ill—all the symptoms pointing to an attack of typhoid fever, contracted in Ireland. The Queen thought he was shamming, and declined to let her physician, Dr. Browne, attend him, but she gave way ten days later. His illness and imprisonment made a great impression upon the populace, which was loudly in his favour. Lady Scrope (one of the Careys, cousins to the Queen) intervened with the Queen without effect. Even the French Ambassador tried, but found the Queen short-tempered and bitter. The clergy preached in his vindication, and prayed for him by name. Pamphlets in his favour were scattered about the Queen's Palace. The Queen told Harrington: 'By God's Son, I am no Queen. That man ('meaning Robert') is above me.'

On November 29 the Star Chamber made a declaration of the reasons for his imprisonment. The same night the Queen, with Lady Warwick and the Earl of Worcester, went privately to see him. On December 13 Robert sent back to the

Queen his patents as Master of Ordnance and Master of Horse. On the 15th the Queen, showing signs of grief, sent him some broth by one of her physicians. On March 10, 1599-1600, to suit the Lord Keeper's convenience he was removed in custody to Essex House. In June he was proceeded against before the Star Chamber, and Francis Bacon, although not a law officer, was ordered to take part in the prosecution. By order of the Chamber, Robert was to be detained during Her Majesty's pleasure. That Robert understood and did not mind the part taken by Francis is shown in Robert's letter to Anthony: 'For Francis, I think no worse of him for what he has done against me than of my Lord Chief Justice.' In July Robert was again ill, and on the 19th wrote a friendly letter to Francis, indicating that he had virtually given up the struggle and should retire into private life.

On August 26 he was set at liberty, but the Queen would not be reconciled to him. Francis tried very hard to bring it about, even writing and presenting the Queen with the beautiful sonnet beginning, 'The quality of mercy is not strained.' It was all to no purpose. No influence could stir the bitter old woman, now finally estranged. It is always a dangerous thing to offend old people—they never forgive. Moreover, the Queen was

backed by men like Sir Robert Cecil, the Lord Admiral, Lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Raleigh, with all of whom Essex had quarrelled, and all of whom were in power : even Raleigh had, after five years, been restored as Captain of the Queen's Guard.

Finally, after the failure of many appeals to the Queen, Essex gave himself up to rage and despair. He schemed a *coup d'état* designed to emancipate the Queen from the men who surrounded and influenced her.

The attempt was made on February 8, 1600-1, and failed. On the 19th he was arraigned for high treason and sentenced to death. He said, with evident truth : 'I am not a whit dismayed to receive this doom. Death is as welcome to me as life.' Francis took a small part in the prosecution by peremptory order of the Queen. From the report of the proceedings it would appear that he took a perfectly fair line of argument, and that Robert, though inclined to argue, did not show any resentment. The rebellion had evidently been planned in entire opposition to the course of conduct which Bacon always advised Robert to take, and there seems very little doubt that he never thought the Queen would allow the death penalty to be carried out. The Queen appears to have waited for a sign of contrition to be sent by Essex while confined in the Tower. It is said that

a token in the form of a ring was so sent, but reaching the Countess of Nottingham (wife of the Lord Admiral), instead of her sister, Lady Scrope, was not delivered to the Queen.

Sir Robert Cecil, the Earl of Nottingham, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Lord Cobham fought not for the Queen, but for their own necks, which would not have been very safe had Essex been pardoned. When Robert was taken prisoner, Raleigh wrote to Cecil : ' Let the Queen hold Bothwell while she hath him ; he will ever be the canker of her State and safety.'

Robert was beheaded on February 25, 1600-1, and his supporters, Sir Christopher Blount and Sir Charles Danvers, on March 17 following.

Robert's sojourn and death in the Tower have been recorded in more ways than one. Clearly cut upon the wall over the doorway of the small cell at the foot of the stairs in the Beauchamp Tower are two words, which for three hundred years many men have seen, few have heeded, fewer have understood—

ROBART TIDIR,

implying some unknown's effort to memorize this unhappy son of Elizabeth Tudor (pronounced Tidir). That he was her son, as alleged in the cipher story, is

abundantly confirmed by natural inferences from recorded history. No mere lover would have attained the ascendancy that Robert gained (but by his own stubbornness lost) over such a Queen. None but an arrogant, vain royal mother, who had never reared a child, would have treated him as she treated him. After his death the Queen complained that times had altered with her, and she had now no one to trust. She lost her taste for dress, became thin and worn, was pleased with nothing, stamped and swore. Her delight, writes one of the courtiers, is to sit in the dark and sometimes with shedding of tears to bewail Essex. On March 24, 1602-3, she died.

A third member of this marvellously accomplished, forceful, yet ill-starred family printed in the year 1601 some verses which may or may not have concerned the sad death of Essex, yet one of the verses is not without application to the unhappy deaths of Robert and Anthouy Bacon :

‘To this urn let those repair
That are either true or fair ;
For these dead birds sigh a prayer.’

The Phœnix and the Turtle.

CHAPTER IV

ROMANTIC PASSAGES IN BACON'S CAREER

FRANCIS BACON was essentially a cautious man. Having 'vast contemplative ends,' his first care was to preserve his life in order to accomplish them. So he kept to the causeway of his road through life, and, like many cautious persons, retired into his cellar when storms were about.

The following incidents in his career may prove interesting.

1. *A Small Deal in Labels.*

The years 1591 to 1600 witnessed the publication, in fairly steady sequence, of Bacon's English history plays. We refer more particularly to the group dealing with some of the Kings in the order of succession to the throne—viz., 'King John' to 'Richard III.' Below is the chronicle order and dates of printing :

<i>Play.</i>	<i>Date of Printing.</i>	<i>Ascription.</i>
'John' ...	... 1591 ...	... Anon.
'Henry III.'	... 1594 ...	...
'Edward I.'	... 1593 ...	...
'Edward II.'	... 1594 ...	...
'Edward III.'	... 1596 ...	... Anon.
'Richard II.'	... 1597 „
'Henry IV.'	... 1598 „
'Henry V.' ...	... 1598 „
'Henry VI.'	... 1595 „
'Edward IV.'	... 1600 „
'Richard III.'	... 1597 „

The play dealing with the reign of Henry III. was 'Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay,' in which the King is an important character. Francis evidently could not resist the opportunity of giving prominence to his own name, Fr. Bacon.

The play of 'Edward IV.,' for reasons which Mr. F. G. Fleay could not appreciate, has been put to the credit of Heywood. The works ascribed to this actor need careful sifting. What is his and what Bacon's should be readily separable.

But the chief point to which we wish to draw attention is the notable break in 1593 and 1594 in the chain of anonymity.

The explanation seems to be that early in 1592-3 Francis Bacon, as we know, incurred the grave displeasure of the Queen; and not only that, he was, without experience, asking first to be Attorney-

General, and that failing, to be Solicitor-General, both posts being very correctly refused, though the latter appointment was not filled for many months. At that time the play of 'Edward I.' was emerging from the press. For reasons which further examination may enable us to infer, the title-page could not be altered. Yet the play, in view of Bacon's difficulties and aspirations, needed an ascribed author. This was accomplished by adding to the last page the quite unusual suffix, 'Yours by George Peele Maister of Artes in Oxenford.' He had already stood sponsor for 'The Arraignment of Paris.' For the same reason, in 1594 the 'Henry III.' ('Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay') was title-paged to the deceased Greene, and the 'Edward II.' to the deceased Marlowe.

In 1595 the Queen was reconciled to Francis, though she had not made him Solicitor-General. Thenceforth he could continue his practice of printing his plays anonymously.

2. *More Labels—a Larger Order.*

By the year 1597-8 Francis had given up hope of succession to the throne, and pinned his fortunes on his brother, Robert Earl of Essex. But they differed totally as to the proper way of keeping ascendancy with the Queen, their mother. Francis

was all for 'obsequiousness and observance,' Robert for masterful conduct. The Queen, then aged sixty-five, was capricious, vacillating, suspicious, vain, imperious, and subject to frequent brain storms. Not many months previously she had called her old Prime Minister 'a miscreant and a coward,' and shown her disapproval of the amours of her lady-in-waiting, Mrs. Bridges, by striking her. Things came to a climax in June, when she finished a violent altercation with Robert by boxing his ear. He retaliated by threatening the old lady with his sword.

The Cecil party coming back to influence with a rush, Francis seems once more to have decided to place under some vizard those of his plays which were still unascrived.

His plays of 'Richard II.' and 'Richard III.' had been printed anonymously, probably his 'Henry IV.' also. Burleigh, who might have been an influence for peace, was in August on his death-bed.

Ever since her cousin, Lord Hunsdon, had christened her 'Richard II.' because of her love of flattery, the Queen suspected every allusion to that monarch to be an attack upon herself. It was probably an obsession then. It certainly was in 1601, when she astonished old Dr. Lamparde by telling him that she *was* Richard II.

Francis appears to have summoned to his aid Shakspeare, the 'deserving man' of Stratford. He was one of the actors of the Queen's Company, and had already, 'for a sufficient reward in gold,' permitted his name to go forth as author of the poems of 'Venus and Adonis' (1593) and 'Lucrece' (1594).

At this date, partly owing to the death of the three or four men who had served as vizards—Marlowe, Kyd, Greene, and Peele—a number of plays had accumulated for which no vizard had been available.

Francis seems, accordingly, very soon after the Essex altercation, to have made a hurried bargain with the Stratford player to take responsibility as pseudo-author of all his recently performed plays.

'Tut! such crimes

The sluggish gaping auditor devours;

He matters not, whose 'twas first, and after time
May judge it to be his as well as ours.'

Shakspeare was doubtless well paid for the service, but it was a courageous act on his part.

The method of recording the transaction in the public eye was characteristically clever. Ten plays had to be labelled boldly in one batch, and Francis Meres was employed to do it. Meres at the time was living in London, and the fact that he was

brother-in-law to Florio marks him as in touch with Bacon's literary coterie, doubtless one of his 'good pens.' Anyway, in September, 1598, a pamphlet under Meres' name, but apropos of nothing in particular, quietly announced to the public that Shakespeare was author of the ten plays and certain sonnets, the latter only circulated in manuscript!

The Meres pamphlet was followed up by other precautions. The plays of 'Richard II.' and 'Richard III.' were reprinted, this time in the name of Shakespeare. The play of 'Love's Labour Lost,' performed the previous Christmas, was also printed as his, and very shortly afterwards the 'Henry IV.,' which had been printed anonymously, was reprinted title-paged to Shakespeare.

In 1598-9 Essex's influence with the old Queen recovered ground, and it became of importance to further influence public opinion in his favour, or, at all events, ascertain the trend of national feeling. To this end, a pamphlet, title-paged to a young man named Hayward, was issued. It was entitled 'Henry IV.,' but dealt only with the first year of that reign, and particularly with the deposition of Richard II. It was dedicated, in Latin, to Essex.

The pamphlet was a mistake in tactics. The

Queen sent Hayward to the Tower, and summoned Francis to an interview. From an article in *Baconiana*, 1893, entitled 'Bacon and Tacitus,' and one in the same magazine, 1906, entitled 'Hayward's "Henry IV.,"' important facts may be gleaned. The first is that Bacon in early youth had translated some works of Tacitus, and that in writing his English history plays he had made considerable use of the sayings of this Latin author. The second is that Bacon was in some way connected with the Hayward pamphlet. This is confirmed by the circumstance that he had not long before studied that period of history in writing the plays of 'Richard II.' and 'Henry IV.' When interrogated by the Queen, who was evidently suffering from senile decay, he was easily able to outwit her. She had a hazy notion that Hayward was not the real author, and after the gentle methods of those days, thought a twist in the rack would make Hayward confess. Bacon's joke that Hayward, instead of treason, had been guilty of felony in stealing from Tacitus, appears to have ended the matter as far as the Queen was concerned. This incidentally confirms his connection with the book, or how would he have known that the writings of Tacitus had been made use of?

Francis was not entirely out of the wood, as when,

a year or so later, the Queen forced him to take part in the public examination of his brother Robert, the party in power specially charged him with the duty of confronting Robert with Hayward's book, hoping, no doubt, that Essex would retaliate by accusing Francis of complicity. Well might Bacon, in writing on the subject, complain of unfair treatment :

'I having been wronged by bruits, this would expose me to them more, and it would be said I gave in evidence my own tales.'

Much more than that—very, very nearly was the

'Engineer hoist with his own petar.'

Hamlet, III. iv.

3. *Bacon's Printers on Short Time.*

By grouping in the years of their publication Bacon's various vizard and anonymous writings some significant inferences are obtained.

For instance: In 1586, the year of the war and of Philip Sidney's death, the printers had little to do. If they were not mere vizards, something might have been expected from the pens of the pseudo-authors Lyly, Spenser, Peele, and Greene; but nothing was printed.

In 1601, upon the same assumption, Shakspeare need not have been idle.

But on the footing of the truth of the biliteral cipher story, the trial and execution of his brother Robert, Earl of Essex, followed by the death of his foster-brother Anthony, were quite sufficient to account for the literary inactivity of Francis Bacon.

That Bacon's literary output in 1603, the year of the Queen's death, was very slight is equally natural. He had much more to do than find work for printers.

It was the year of his Sedan. Early in the year the Queen was seriously ill. On March 24 she died. The question of whether he should be her successor was everything to Francis. The drama enacted round her death-bed can be realized better from a Cottonian manuscript, given in Nichols' 'Progresses,' than from ordinary history-books. As Nichols is not very available, it is given below. The account was probably written by Lord Keeper Egerton, and seems purposely guarded in tone. What happened the day before her death is thus recorded :

'The Lord Admiral being on the right side of her bed the Lord Keeper on the left and Mr. Secretary Cecil being at the bed's feet, all standing, the Lord Admiral put her in minde of her speche concerning the Succession, had at Whitehall ; and

that they in the name of all the rest of her Council came unto her to know her pleasure who should succeed ; wherewith she thus replied : “ I told you my seat had been the seat of Kings, and I will have no rascall to succeed me ; and who should succeed me, but a King ? ” The Lords not understanding this dark speech, and looking one on the other, at length Mr. Secretary boldly asked her what she meant by these words, “ that no rascal should succeed her. ” Whereunto she replied that her meaning was, a King should succeed her ; “ and who, ” quoth she, “ should that be but our Cousin of Scotland ? ” They asked her whether that were her absolute resolution. Whereunto she answered : “ I pray you trouble me no more ; I'll have none but him. ” With which answer they departed. ’

Bacon's own account, deciphered from the ‘ Parascève, ’ reads :

‘ Yet I am persuaded we had wonne out, if her anger against the Earl our father [Leicester]—who ventured on matrimony with Dowager Comtesse of Essex, assur'd no doubt it would not bee declar'd illegal by our warie mother—had not outlived softer feelings. For in the presence o' severall that well knew to whom she referr'd when she was ill in minde as in body, and th' Council askt her to name th' King and hee reply'd : “ It shall be noe rascall's sonne ” ; and when they press'd to know whom, said : “ Send to Scotland. ” ’

In the year of his mother's death Francis Bacon published one work only, but a very significant one.

It was the play which was considered by the late Mr. J. R. Lowell to have expressed certain states of the mind of its author—

‘HAMLET.’

The death of the Queen left Francis alone in the world. Father, mother, and brother were dead.

Succession to the throne, and, above all, open acknowledgment of his true relationship to the Queen, had been denied to him.

Is it to be wondered at that at this time he communed with himself upon the situation with great seriousness?

‘Whether ’tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or by opposing, end them? To die to sleep.
To sleep no more.’

‘Hamlet’ was fitly the only play printed in 1603.

CHAPTER V

THE MASTER-VIZARD

FRANCIS BACON masked his dramatic and other writings under many vizards, but the vizard which first enshrouded him at his baptism in January, 1560-1, seems to be as tightly fastened upon him to-day :—the surname of ‘Bacon.’ The name is not beautiful, and Francis must often have reflected upon the curious train of events which compelled him to bear it.

He wrote :

‘What’s in a name? That which we call a rose,
By any other name would smell as sweet.’

Romeo and Juliet, II. i.

To judge by his cipherings during the first forty years of his life, he bitterly resented his non-recognition by the Queen, his mother. Even towards the close of his life his attitude towards her was marked with severity. Her occasional acts of kindness to him and the difficulties of her own position seem to have been somewhat lost upon

him. His mastering thought concerning the mother who refused him open recognition, and declined to pave the way for his succession to the throne, was resentment.

No doubt her treatment of her second son, Robert Earl of Essex, changed his whole nature, and the iron of hate entered into his soul.

Yet it was impossible for the Queen to recognize him unless she was prepared for obloquy and contempt, if for nothing worse.

The Catholic party of her subjects was large and powerful. Queen Mary of England, by procuring an Act of Parliament declaring the dissolution of the marriage of Katherine with Henry VIII. invalid, had indirectly made Elizabeth illegitimate in the eye of the law. Mary Queen of Scots, or, at her death, her son James, was thus the proper successor to the throne of Mary of England.

Mary of Scotland was actively intriguing to enforce her claim to this succession. Elizabeth held out by reason of her general popularity and the particular support of the Protestant party. Imagine what would have happened had Elizabeth openly acknowledged Francis as her son, the result of a compromising union with a married man!

The vizard of 'Bacon' was thus as firmly fastened on Francis as ever was the head-piece of the Man in the Iron Mask. In this chapter it is proposed to discuss how this master-vizard of 'Bacon' was treated both by Francis and by certain other people.

Besides the Queen and Leicester, Sir Nicholas and Lady Anne Bacon were necessarily in the secret. Anthony Bacon and Robert Earl of Essex were possessed of it later, Ben Jonson and W. Rawley later still.

SIR NICHOLAS BACON. — Sir Nicholas Bacon died in February, 1578-9. In his carefully prepared and then recently signed will elaborate distribution of his great riches was made amongst his seven children. Francis, except nominally, was excluded, as explained in a previous chapter.

When Rawley came to write the biography of Francis Viscount St. Alban, he tried to get over this subject of awkward comment by suggesting that there was a fund belonging to Sir Nicholas not dealt with by the will — a most improbable suggestion. But suppose there had been a sum, say, of £4,800 (a large amount in money of that day) not dealt with by Sir Nicholas, and as to which he could have been held to have died intestate, the share payable to Francis would only have

been one-eighth of two-thirds, or, in terms of money, £400.

If Sir Nicholas desired to keep up appearances, his method was singularly inept.

LADY ANNE BACON.—Did this lady bear herself towards Francis with any better discretion? No letters from her to him are extant. Yet to Anthony, when he came home in 1592-3, her letters were frequent. In these letters she always referred to Francis as 'your brother,' and indicated a grandmotherly rather than a motherly regard for him. 'He was a towardly young gentleman, and a son of much good hope in godliness,' wrote Lady Anne.

ANTHONY BACON.—When this young man returned after fourteen years abroad, he was more French than English. Francis seems to have been sincerely attached to him. They had been brought up together from boyhood.

Anthony was of weakly constitution, and a berth as secretary to Essex was found for him.

No letter from Anthony to Francis has been found, yet he was distinctly casual in such references as have been preserved.

Letters from Francis to himself were carefully docketed in this manner: 'De Mons. François

Bacon, le mois de Juin, 1594'; and his account of money lent to his 'brother' is made out as to—

Mons. François Bacon	...	...	£400
Mons. François Bacon	...	...	£100

and so on. 'Mons. François,' the 'younger brother,' seems to have been able to get money quite easily from the 'elder.' On the footing of the cipher story, Anthony knew he was helping a prince.

FRANCIS.—One may trust that this most wary man (like his shrewd brother Robert) did not wittingly give himself away. To Lord or Lady Burleigh he was always 'your dutiful and bounden nephew'; to Anthony, 'your own loving brother'; to Lady Cooke, 'your loving nephew'; to Kempe or Robert Cecil, 'cousin.' These letters might readily have been shown elsewhere.

To Lady Anne Bacon away at Gorhambury it was 'Madam'; 'Your ladyship's most obedient son'; 'I humbly thank your ladyship for your good counsel.' The only four letters preserved are all in this style. This may have been only correct and customary, yet we are not fully convinced. Why he should be 'your loving nephew' to his 'aunt,' and only 'most obedient son' to the lady alleged to be his mother, and whom he could

address at Gorhambury quite freely, passes comprehension, just as it passed Mr. Spedding's not to have found between 1600 and August, 1610, when Lady Anne died, even casual mention of her by Francis. If he really had been the surviving son of this widow lady, the absence for ten years of any allusion to her is open to much remark.

The truth is that Francis had to be guided by policy.

When Queen Elizabeth died in 1603, and his own hope of succession was absolutely blotted out, he appears to have aimed at two things. In the first place, to assure Robert Cecil that his own future ambition would be confined to the productions of his pen. Almost as soon as Cecil had been reappointed by King James to his old position of Prime Minister he wrote to him one of his inimitable letters. It is dated July 3, 1603, and was intended to convey three impressions. First, that he was hard up—an awkward position for a possible claimant for the throne. This he did by urging Cecil to pay off one of his pressing creditors. Secondly, that he was not a candidate. He therefore wrote: 'My ambition now I shall only put upon my pen, whereby I shall be able to maintain memory and merit of the times succeeding.'

Thirdly, that he proposed to put himself out of

even running as a candidate by contracting a mésalliance—‘an alderman’s daughter, an handsome woman to my liking.’ While Francis himself might be a popular pretender, particularly as an Englishman, the King being a pronounced Scotchman and he and his followers not being very acceptable to the English people, still an alderman’s daughter for possible Queen would have been about as effectual a wet blanket for any agitation as anything that could have been devised. It was an excellent idea of Bacon’s, and probably saved his head. Moreover, he seems to have been made to marry ‘the young wench’ (as Chamberlain called her) on May 10, 1610. And who do you think were the witnesses? Sir Michael Hicks, Sir Walter Cope, and Sir Hugh Beeston—three of the Prime Minister’s confidential men! This one may venture to call marriage under pressure, and it is not surprising that it proved an utter failure. Not until this marriage was effected was Francis advanced to important office under the Crown. Tudor and Jacobean methods were very drastic.

But we are overrunning the story. His other care was to get into personal touch with the King, in which case he felt confident in his ability to arrange matters. Of course James knew of the

rumoured relationship of Francis to the late Queen, and was fearful of his personal popularity. In the cipher in the 'Novum Organum' Francis wrote: 'Nought but the jealousy of the King is to be feared, and that more in dreade of effecte in the hearts of the people than any feare of th' prosecution of my claime, knowing as he doth that all witnesses are dead and the requir'd documents destroyed.' His first suggestion would seem to have been that he should publish a discourse in praise of the happy union of the two countries. This scheme fell through, and another expedient was adopted. This was a preface to the 'Advancement of Learning,' 1605, dedicated to the King, in which Francis professed to be more than delighted at the union of the two kingdoms, and said of the late Queen: 'She lived solitary and unmarried'—a sentence of some ambiguity, but sufficient for its purpose. These portions of the preface and other passages in praise of Queen Elizabeth *were omitted* from the enlargement of the work, called by its Latin title of 'De Augmentis,' in 1623. By that date they had served their purpose, and other things had happened which could not have improved Bacon's good opinion of the King.

Having decided to pursue a literary career, and keep his grievances for revelation long after his

death, it was essential that his relationship to the Queen should not form the subject of public gossip. In those times they had a summary method of removing persons who came into unpleasant prominence, and Francis, having great and valuable educational schemes on hand, had strong objection to 'The coward conquest of a wretch's knife.'

The Roman Catholic attack in 1592 on the virtues of Queen Elizabeth he had had to counter with his pamphlet, 'Observations upon a Libel.'

At her death in 1603 the unpleasant rumours revived again, and he countered them with his preface to the 'Advancement of Learning,' 1605, the following year.

They were once more renewed in 1607, this time in Paris, where was published a Latin pamphlet, entitled 'Examen Catholicum Edicte Anglicane,' etc. Mr. Spedding says that its first five or six pages are occupied with a collection of all the evil ever uttered against Queen Elizabeth. It became once more necessary, in the interest of his own peace and quietness, that Francis should thrust these allegations back into obscurity.

He accordingly wrote a pamphlet in Latin, entitled 'In Felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ,' and bundled it off to Paris to his friend Sir George Carey, the Ambassador, with a polite request that

he should ask the publicist, De Thou, to circulate it. Note how prudently he dissembles his words to Sir George in a letter designed for everybody to read: 'We' (alluding to De Thou and himself) 'serve our sovereigns in inmost place of law; *our fathers did so before us.*'

In August, 1610, Lady Anne Bacon died. Francis, always striving to save the situation, invited to the funeral the Lord Treasurer's Secretary, Sir M. Hicks. A sentence of his invitation runs: 'I wish I had your company here *at my mother's funeral.*' This occurs to us to be a simple way of counteracting, through the gossip of Sir Michael Hicks, comments which would again be made.

Care for the future is still more strongly evidenced in the provisions he made by will prior to his death, which did not occur until April 9, 1626.

Two leading considerations actuated his will. When misfortune unexpectedly fell upon him, and he feared an earlier death, his first will, dated April 10, 1621, indicated his necessarily hasty preparations. His first care was to stop the 'bruits' which would once more fly around the throne, and perhaps prove fatal to the lives of the children of his deceased brother Robert. This step he hoped to accomplish by the publication in

English of the 'Felicities of Elizabeth,' and this was accordingly directed in the first will. His other care was to indicate that he looked to the future to find out his real name and judge impartially of his life-conduct. So he bequeathed his '*name* to the next ages and foreign nations.' His troubles partially passed over, and, his health being restored, he took occasion to prepare another will, dated December 19, 1625, by which the above two important purposes were more neatly effected.

He wrote: 'For my *name* and memory I leave it to foreign nations and the next ages.'

Archbishop Tenison seems to have seen another version, perhaps an earlier draft; but the variation, 'and to mine own countrymen after some time be passed over,' is unimportant.

The word 'name' was no doubt used ambiguously, but was intended to comprise the eventual revelation of the whole truth about himself.

He gave up the expedient of silencing rumour by having the Elizabeth eulogy printed in English (as a matter of fact, it was not printed until 1657). Instead, he made two very clever references in his will to Lady Anne Bacon as his mother and to Sir Nicholas as his father. They are:

'For my burial I desire it may be in St.

Michael's Church, near St. Albans. *There was my mother buried*, and it is the parish church of my mansion house of Gorhambury, and it is the only Christian church within the walls of Old Verulam.'

Further on he directed his executors to take care that 'of all my writings, both of English and Latin, there may be books fair bound and placed in the King's Library, and in the Library of the University of Cambridge, and in the Library of Trinity College, where myself was bred, and in the library of Bennet College, *where my father was bred.*'

Thus were all rumours hushed for that day and generation. We can now guess why the original will was taken out of the registry and never returned. It constituted a document of State importance, as comprising an attested declaration in writing by Francis on a solemn occasion, that Sir Nicholas Bacon was his father and Lady Anne his mother.

The missing original last will and testament of Francis Bacon was no doubt removed by the Stuart authorities, and placed with other secret archives of State away from the risk of damage or removal. Francis was faithful to his vizard of 'Bacon' for the period necessary for general public safety. It rests with his countrymen of to-day and foreign nations to do justice to his name and memory.

CHAPTER VI

FRANCIS BEYOND HIS DEPTH

HIS anomalous position as shown by the cipher story extenuates, and partly explains, Francis Bacon's disastrous adventure as Lord Keeper and Lord Chancellor.

As a Prince he shared the Queen's love for the magnificent and costly.

'Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy.'

His intense concentration upon literature was greatly to his disadvantage. Persons occupied in absorbing work or studies have little or no time to study thrift or to learn the value of money. When Francis ran short in 1593 he borrowed right and left, and involved Anthony Bacon's estates in heavy charges.

Yet so little did he profit by his experience that in 1594 he spent the most part of a year's income in the purchase of a jewel wherewith to conciliate

the Queen. She very properly declined to take it from him. Unlike the landed aristocrats with whom he associated, he had no estates. Until 1610 he did not even own Gorhambury House, and only possessed a few leases and reversions which the Queen had given him. He had for six years (July 25, 1607, to October 17, 1613) first the emoluments of Solicitor-General, and then the larger earnings as Attorney-General, but there was every indication that he was spending his income faster than it was made. In December, 1613, he insisted on bearing the whole cost (£2,000) of a Gray's Inn masque. At that date Chamberlain remarked of him: 'He carries a great port as well in his train as in his apparel and otherwise, and lives at a great charge.' It was no kindness to advance him to the position of Lord Keeper (March 30, 1617), particularly if (as Mr. Hepworth Dixon stated) he paid Lord Egerton £8,000 for giving up the office.

It was an added misfortune for the King to proceed immediately to Scotland, leaving Francis head of the Council left in charge. His personal popularity was then very great, yet here and there he had his enemies, such as Coke and Secretary Winwood.

The King's absence gave exceptional opportunity for the man who had for years and years yearned

to sit on the English throne. For a few months he was virtually seated there. He took charge of the government of the country in his prompt, glorious, magnificent, and masterful way. The King had left behind a proclamation directing the crowd of pleasure-seeking aristocrats who had centred upon London to go back to their counties. This desire seems to have become known, and, with the break-up of the Court, very many had gone as wished. Bacon, accordingly, decided to stop the issue of the proclamation as unnecessary.

James I. was disturbed at this, and wrote sharply back to Winwood, desiring him to tell the Lord Keeper that 'obedience was better than sacrifice, and that he (James I.) knoweth that *he* is King of England.' Francis seems to have reassured the nervous monarch.

On May 7, when he rode in state to open the Courts at Westminster, Francis was magnificently attired in a purple satin gown, and accompanied by most of the Council and the nobility on horseback—a cavalcade of 200 horsemen—besides the judges and members of the Inns of Court. The ceremonial was a great one.

At the close of the proceedings the greater part of the company dined as his guests at a cost of £700.

We obtain another sidelight upon his proceedings from a letter written by the jealous Winwood to the King in Scotland. Fortunately, the King had overcome his own fears, and only laughed at Winwood's despatch. But from the letter we learn that the Lord Keeper gave audience in the banqueting-house, and required the other members of the Council to attend his movements with the same state as the King used, and that if any of them sat a little too near him, they were desired to keep their distance ; indeed, the King (said Winwood) had better come back, as his seat was already usurped.

Francis, in his new position of Lord Keeper, was very arduous in his legal duties, and full of plans for the improvement of law and procedure. By the end of the year he had cleared all arrears and disposed of Court work at more than twice the rate of his predecessors. About this time he moved into York House, and his friends and some suitors took advantage of the occasion and of the New Year to send in presents to him of all kinds, including gifts of money.

In his mother's time, gifts of money, with a view to gain favour, even to the Queen herself, had been quite ordinary. Lord Burleigh was not above receiving £100 from a Bishop. In the time of James I. these usages had not altered. That

monarch created 300 baronets for a payment of £1,095 apiece, and accepted £4,000 as a gift from Yelverton for having made him Attorney-General. Here was Francis at the age of fifty-four attended by a staff of over seventy officials and servants, absorbed by the business of Chancery and State and his own literary pursuits. As to the money brought to him, whether as gifts or fees, he exercised very little oversight. However much money came in, it was accepted; he appears to have been always able to do with it, and there is reason to think he was systematically robbed by some of the people about him. Honours were still heaped upon him. He was created Earl of Verulam in 1618, and Viscount St. Alban in 1621. It seems to have been generally known that he was in debt, and that his revenue from land was not more than £500 per annum—quite insufficient to support a Viscounty. The wits of the period said he was *very lame* as an Earl, and *all bones* when made a Viscount. A crisis in his affairs was imminent, but the disturbance came from an unexpected quarter. A new House of Commons, very dissatisfied with the abuses surrounding the King and Court, was informed that even the Lord Chancellor had been accepting bribes to pervert justice.

For the moment their indignation was concentrated upon the unfortunate Francis. Resolutions were passed and evidence quickly collected, and Francis was called to account. The suddenness of the attack and the known hostility of Coke, the man leading it, made him ill, and resolved him to bend before the storm and make no defence. Nothing but complete submission offered any hope for his future.

Before any particulars had been furnished to him, he wrote to the House of Lords (April 20) :

‘I do ingenuously confess and acknowledge that, having understood the particulars of the charge, not formally from the House, but enough to inform my conscience and memory, I find matter sufficient and full both to move me to desert my defence and to move your Lordships to condemn and censure me.’

The Lords, not being satisfied with this, delivered particulars of twenty-seven charges brought by the Commons, and required him to answer them severally.

This he did on April 30, and from his answers the case against him almost melted away, as the following summary will show :

Fees received as arbitrator	3
Gifts from suitors after suit ended	13
Fee for commercial negotiation	1
Loans from persons then or afterwards sutors	3
Gift refused, but not taken away	1
Gift paid to clerk directed to be refunded	1
Exaction by subordinates without his know- ledge	1
Gift accepted after decree as to lands, but pending suit as to goods	1
Gift after cause sent for trial, but before the equities had been dealt with	1
Gift of £100 pending suit	1
Gift of £300 pending suit	1
	27

The last two were the only serious charges of the twenty-seven tabled in the House of Commons, and it is curious that the persons who had openly brought these two sums were the first to complain to the House of Commons because decrees were *not* made in their favour.

Although Bacon, in answering the particulars, established that he had never accepted gifts *as part of bargains to pervert the ends of justice*, he was careful to ensure his dismissal by entering two general admissions of corruption. He evidently wanted the business closed, and to be back into private life. The position of magnificence which

his notion of the Lord Chancellorship involved could not be supported. He had sat upon the Woolsack as a prince, with princely notions and aspirations, but, owing to the curious circumstances of his history, without the endowment of the essential princely fortune. For extenuation Francis himself drew attention to his *person and estate*. He also wrote : ' For that in all these particulars there are few or none that are not almost two years old, whereas those that have an habit of corruption do commonly wax worse.'

This goes a long way to support Bacon's later assertion : ' And howsoever I acknowledge the sentence just and for reformation' sake fit, I was the justest Chancellor that hath been in the five changes since Sir Nicholas Bacon's time.' Manifestly the suitors and their advisers would soon find out that, whatever money was presented to the Chancellor on one excuse or another, in the hope of gaining his influence, he always decided his cases fairly and without being influenced by the gifts. Those who had confidence in their claims, and those who had not, soon found out that to make presents was only a waste of good money. It did not make a bad case good or a good case better. The practice of giving during the last two years of his Chancellorship seems to have died out.

That Bacon would or would not have accepted a gift depended almost solely upon the moment's pressure of his finances; but that he was not corrupt in the sense of accepting gifts to pervert justice, or of being bribed, as alleged, is proved not only by the absence of appeals from his decisions, but also by the evident discontinuance of suitors' gifts.

Francis, in his play of 'Henry VIII.,' revised soon after his fall, and published in the Folio of 1623, put into beautiful verse a correct commentary upon his own unfortunate and unsupported incursion into the realm of Great Place :

' I have ventured,
Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,
This many summers in a sea of glory,
But far beyond my depth. My high-blown pride
At length broke under me, and now has left me,
Weary and old with service, to the mercy
Of a rude stream, that must for ever hide me.
Vain pomp and glory of this world, I hate ye.'

Francis was frail, and partook of the abuses of his times. The special conjunction of his high birth, magnificent notions, and comparative poverty, contributed to his discomfiture.

BUT HE WAS NOT CORRUPT.

CHAPTER VII

'FILUM LABYRINTHI'

WRITING to King James in October, 1620, about the 'Novum Organum,' then being published, Bacon stated that the work, 'in *what colours soever it may be set forth*, is no more but a new logic *teaching to invent and judge by induction.*'

At a later date, possibly 1625, writing to Father Fulgentio, he stated, 'After these [works] shall follow the "Organum Novum," *to which a second part is to be added which I have already comprised and measured in the idea of it.*' This letter should be read.*

Mr. Ellis, who joined with Mr. Spedding in editing Bacon's works, remarks anent the 'Novum Organum':

'However this may be, it is certain that an

* Spedding has: 'I have already compassed and planned it out in my mind.' The Latin is: '*Quam tamen animo iam complexus et metitus sum.*'

attempt to determine what his method, taken as a whole, was, or would have been, must necessarily involve a conjectural or hypothetical element.’

Again :

‘It becomes impossible to justify or to understand Bacon’s assertion that his method was absolutely new. . . . It need not be remarked that induction in itself was no novelty at all. The nature of the art of induction is as clearly stated by Aristotle as by any other writer. Bacon’s design was surely much larger than it would thus appear to have been.’

The ‘Novum Organum’ was, therefore, to be in two parts; and in what colours soever it might be set forth, it was (1) to teach men to invent, and (2) judge by induction. Let us see whether Bacon anywhere shows how men are to be taught to invent (to originate).

In ‘The Wisdom of the Ancients’ Bacon explains his favourite fable of Orpheus as representing the image of Philosophy, ‘which busies herself about human objects, and by persuasion and eloquence insinuating the love of virtue, equity, and concord in the minds of men, draws multitudes of people to a society, making them subject to laws, obedient to government, and forgetful of their unbridled affec-

tions, whilst they give ear to precepts, and submit themselves to discipline.'

Philosophy, therefore, according to Bacon, operates by *persuasion* and *insinuation*. In the 'Advancement of Learning' (printed 1605) we are told :

'Men generally taste well knowledges drenched in flesh and blood, civil history, morality, policy, about which men's affections, praises, fortunes do turn, and are conversant. . . . Again, if the affections in themselves were pliant and obedient to reason it were true there should be no great use of *persuasion* and *insinuation* to the will. . . . Another precept is that the mind is brought to anything better, and with more sweetness and happiness, if that whereunto you pretend be not first in the intention . . . impressions may be strongly made when the mind is influenced by passion.'

But it is in 'Filum Labyrinthi,' a tract addressed in the MS. *ad filios* (in which he gave to his assistants the thread by which the labyrinth might be successfully entered and quitted), that we have the nearest approach to a full revelation of his methods. This tract was found among Bacon's MSS. at his death. To quote from it :

'For this object he [Bacon] is preparing a work on nature which may destroy errors *with the leas*

harshness, and enter the senses of mankind without violence; which would be easier from his not bearing himself as a leader, but bringing and scattering light from nature herself so that there may be no future need for a leader. . . . We ought to consider that the importunity of teaching doth ever by right belong to the impertinences of things. . . . But now which (thou wilt say) is that legitimate mode? . . . Dismiss all art and circumstances, exhibit the matter naked to us, that we may be enabled to use our judgment. And would that you were in a condition, dearest son, to admit of this being done. Thinkest thou that when all the accesses and motions of all minds are besieged and obstructed by the obscurest idols, deeply rooted and branded in, the smooth and polished areas present themselves in the true and native rays of things? A new method must be entered upon by which we glide into minds the most obstructed. . . . In this universal insanity we must use moderation. . . . It has a certain inherent and innate power of conciliating belief, and repelling the injuries of time so that knowledge thus delivered like a plant full of life's freshness may spread daily and grow to maturity . . . that it will set apart for itself, and as it were, adopt a legitimate reader. And whether I shall have accomplished all this or not I appeal to future time.'

Further on is written :

‘ Wherefore, duly meditating and contemplating the state both of nature and mind, we find the avenues to men’s understandings harder of access than to things themselves, and the *labour of communicating* not much lighter than of excogitating ; and therefore, *which is almost a new feature in the intellectual world*, we obey the humour of the time, and *play the nurse both with our own thoughts and those of others*. For every hollow idol is dethroned by skill, insinuation, and regular approaches. . . . Wherefore we return to this assertion, that the labour commenced by us (doubtless Bacon and his literary and play-writing staff) in paving the way, so far from being superfluous, is truly too little for difficulties so considerable.’

Why was it only *almost* a new feature in the intellectual world ? The ‘ *Filum Labyrinthi* ’ answers this :

‘ He thought also that knowledge is uttered to men in a form as if everything were finished . . . whereas antiquity used to deliver the knowledge which the mind of man had gathered in *observations, aphorisms, or short and dispersed sentences, or small tractates of some parts that they had diligently meditated and laboured*, which did invite men both to ponder that which was invented, and to add and to supply further.’

Probably enough has now been quoted to indi-

cate that the ‘almost new’ feature, or method, which Bacon elaborated was not so much the inductive system of reasoning (although that was a prominent part) *as the insinuation of knowledges*, a method once in use with the ancients, in which the real is masked by the seeming object.

Over what period of years Bacon practised his great plan of playing the nurse, both with his own thoughts and those of others, is hardly the subject of this chapter. But the sowing of the seed was evidently a most extensive business, as Mr. Harold Bayley’s recent researches should make apparent.

The plays and other light literature in which the good things of knowledge were scattered with a lavish hand were, possibly, the works of the Alphabet (*i.e.*, the A B C of his system of education) to which Bacon alludes in his letters to Toby Mathew.

Mr. Fearon thought that the passage in a later letter to Mathew was a mere concealed way of telling Mathew that he (Bacon) was ‘putting the Alphabet in a frame’—*viz.*, preparing a selection of the well-stuffed and garnished plays for folio production as the second part of his ‘*Novum Organum*.’

If this view is right, it follows that *it was absolutely part of the system that his authorship should*

be concealed. Disclosure could not be made until many, many years after Bacon's death, so as to give the method long and patient trial.

'To speak the truth of myself,' said Bacon, 'I have often wittingly and willingly neglected the glory of my own name and learning (if any such thing be), both in the works I now publish and in those I contrive for hereafter, whilst I study to advance the good and profit of mankind' (Book VII., chap. i., 'Advancement of Learning').

Directly men were aware that the main purpose of the published plays was not so much to entertain them as to put them to school, the New Method was certain to become a failure. Long and patient trial of the system could alone attain success. To disclose the author was to reveal the schoolmaster, whose work would then be resented and ignored as an impertinence by those for whom it was most fit.

Few will deny the 'salting' to be found in the Folio Shakespeare.

The Hon. Judge Stotsenburg, in his recent clever book, asks :

'Was there in England a concealed poet who wrote or revised the plays in part or all, or who inserted in all or part of them the magnificent and

sparkling gems culled and gathered from art, from nature, from history, from philosophy, from science, and from ancient lore, which have always captivated and enchanted the reading world?’*

The late Mr. G. C. Bompas wrote :

‘In all subjects treated of by Bacon, the human body, sound and light, heat and cold, germination and petrification, the history of winds, astronomy, meteorology and witchcraft, the plays and prose works closely correspond, and both exhibit a learning up to the time of the age.’†

It is hardly necessary to show how fully this ‘scattering of light’ has been accomplished. Books have been written on the various ‘knowledges’ contained in the Folio alone. For observations as to the law of the plays go to Lord Campbell, for biblical references to Wadsworth, surgery and medicine to Bucknill, geology to Fullom, natural history and entomology to Patterson, emblems to Green, sports to Madden, delineations of the passions to Donnelly, Bradley, and others ; folk-lore, proverbs, natural phenomena, customs, and many other interesting things, to Dyer. We know the

* ‘An Impartial Study of the Shakespeare Title.’

† ‘Problem of the Shakespeare Plays.’

use made in it of Holinshed's Histories, of Plutarch, Pliny, Du Bartas, Montaigne, and classical authors generally. After nearly three hundred years we can report that Bacon's New Method has prospered and borne fruit. The brimstone has been so cleverly mixed with the treacle that the compound has been gulped down with universal satisfaction. His New Method has been a world-wide benefit, but not so far a personal success.

CHAPTER VIII

THE VIZARD 'GOSSON'

THE writer of the 'Schoole of Abuse,' 1579, and a few other pamphlets and verses, was an exceptionally learned man. He indicated acquaintance (amongst many others) with the works of the classical poets :—Homer, Ovid, Simonides, Pindar, Virgil, Lucan, Ennius ; the theologians—Solomon and David ; the philosophers — Plato, Cicero, Maximus Tyrius, Æsop, Hesiodus, Pythagoras, Aurelius, Aristotle, and Demosthenes ; the historians—Sallust, Plutarch, Xenophon, Dion, Cæsar, and Pliny ; and with the dramatists, Plautus, Seneca, Menander, and Euripides. He punned upon the name of the English poet, Whetstone.

From an allusion on the second page of the 'Schoole of Abuse'—viz., 'the vizard that Poets maske in'—he would seem to have considered it orthodox for writers of poetry or prose (both at that day being called poets) to conceal their individuality.

The question proposed here to be considered is whether this little group of writings, 1579 to 1583, was the genuine work of Stephen Gosson, whose name is on the title-pages, or was he only the 'vizard' for another person?

Young Gosson was not twenty-one when, having graduated B.A. in 1576, he proceeded to London. He is described as having become a player, and as having quitted that occupation to become a preacher. Eventually by gift of the Queen in 1591 he became Rector of Wigborough. He died in 1624, Rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, London, and was buried at night. It is very odd that a literary career commenced so brilliantly should (if his) have stopped abruptly in 1583.

On the authority of the biliteral cipher story, Francis Bacon published his poetical and lighter writings under many vizards. That 'Gosson' was one of them has not been claimed specifically in the cipher story translated, but it makes a general allusion to the occasional use of other names than those specifically mentioned. That the Gosson family had good friends at Court, Stephen obtaining the Wigborough rectory (gift of the Queen), and William becoming Her Majesty's drum-player, supports the 'vizard' assumption.

The dates of the 'Gosson' writings offer further indication. Young Francis was in London in

1576, the date of the 'Gosson' poem at the end of Kerton's 'Mirror of Man's Life.' When the two poems at the end of 'The Pleasant History of the Conquest of West India,' 1578, were added, Francis would be back in London from abroad. The first poem is in a distinctly 'Spenserian' vein.

'Gosson' was noted (according to Francis Meres) for his admirable penning of pastorals, though no Gosson pastorals have come down to us. Yet Francis as 'Immerito' and 'Peele' was (while Gosson was still a player) writing pastoral verse and a pastoral play.

The 'Schoole of Abuse' is written very closely in the style of the 'Euphues' of 'Lyly.' It is passing strange, if not inconceivable, that two writers in the same year, and in, as it were, the 'first-fruits' of their respective 'inventions,' should independently possess and practise a new antithetical style, subsequently known as Euphuism. But if one author only was masking under two 'vizards,' the cause for wonder ends.

We have the authority of the cipher story that 'Greene' was one of Bacon's 'vizards,' and the authority of Gabriel Harvey (Bacon's poetical adviser) that 'Greene,' 'Nash,' and 'Lyly' were one and the same personality (see 'Pierce's Superegration,' 1593).

That being so, one can notice with less diffidence

that in the title of the 'Schoole of Abuse,' counting from the first 'f,' a sequence of letters will spell out 'Francis Bacon.' That this may not be entirely accidental is possibly indicated by the circumstance, that in the head of the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' (counting from the first 'f') we again obtain 'Francis,' and from the bunched-out words at the end of it (counting from the first 'b') we obtain 'Bacon.'

Again, on the first page of the pamphlet in question it is suspicious to find references to 'Virgil's Gnat' and to 'Dido,' the one shortly afterwards used by Bacon as title for a 'Spenser' poem, the other for a 'Marlowe' play.

Later on in the 'Schoole,' p. 34, the author compares London to Rome and England to Italy, and says: 'You shall finde the theatres of the one, the abuses of the other to be rife among us. *Experto crede, I have seene somewhat*, and therefore I think may say the more.' This remark is explicable from young Francis after about three years' continental travel, 1576-9.

At a later date we find Bacon printing under the 'vizard' of 'Kyd':

'The Italian Tragedians were so sharpe of wit
That in one hour's meditation
They would perform anything in action.'

Spanish Tragedy, IV.

The late Mr. Bompas stated in his book on the Shakespeare problem that Italian players were settled in France from 1576 onwards.

In his scheme of writing a literature in the English tongue, it will eventually be appreciated that Bacon made his various 'vizards' refer to one another, so as to increase the impression that the writings were by several individuals instead of by one. Of course his literary Areopagus comprising Sidney, Greville, Dyer, and Harvey were in Bacon's secret. As proof of this, neither Greville nor Harvey ever mentioned 'Shakespeare,' although alive while the Shakespeare works were being produced. Writing as 'Immerito,' on October 16, 1579, Bacon makes a sly reference to the 'Schoole of Abuse,' evidently with the object mentioned above. Bacon and Sidney were, of course, hand and glove. The former at the beginning of the year 1579 dedicated his 'Shepherd's Kalendar' to the latter. In August, 1579, he dedicated to him, writing as 'Gosson,' the 'Schoole of Abuse,' and in the following November the 'Ephemerides of Phialo.' In 1582 he dedicated 'Plays Confuted' to Sidney's father-in-law, Sir Francis Walsingham. The suggestion that Sidney referred to 'Gosson' in the 'Apologie for Poetrie' has no foundation.

Careful comparison of the works under this

'vizard' with those under other 'vizards' confirms our theory as to the 'Gosson' mask.

For instances :

1. 'Was easier to be *drawen* to vanitie by wanton poets *than to good government* by the fatherly counsel of grave senators.

'The right use of ancient Poetrie was too have the notable exploités of worthy Captaines, the wholesome councils of good fathers and the vertuous lives of predecessors set down in numbers and song to the Instrument at solemne feasts that the sound of the one might draw the hearers from kissing the cupp too often ; the sense of the other put them in mind of things past and chaulk out the way to do the like. After this manner were the Bœotians trained from rudeness to civilitie.'—*Schoole of Abuse*.

If the above words were written by Gosson himself, and not by young Francis Bacon, then the latter was entirely anticipated in his notion of the true interpretation of the Orpheus legend.

Moreover, in the like event, to Gosson must be attributed the first encouragement to the revived production of history in dramatic form, a characteristic of subsequent Elizabethan plays. Also the methods of peaceful persuasion—chalking out

lodgings for soldiers rather than hectoring invasion—to which Bacon clung so persistently.

2. 'Gosson' is to be found to have Bacon's objection to duelling. 'The crafte of defence was first devised to save ourselves harmless. . . . Those days are now changed . . . the cunning of Fencers applied to quarrelling ; . . . these no men if not for stirring of a strawe they prove not their valure upon some bodyes fleshe.'—*Schoole of Abuse*.

Compare what Bacon wrote under another vizard :

' But greatly to find quarrel in a straw
When honor's at the stake.'

Hamlet, IV., iv.

In 'Gosson':

'I have showed you loving countrymen ye corruption and inconveniences of your plaies as the sclenderness of my learninge wouldde afforde, being pulde from ye universitie before I was ripe and withered in the countrie for want of sappe.'—*Plays Confuted*, 1582.

3. In 'Lyly' we find a reference to the University :

'Wherein she played the nice mother in sending me into the countrie to nurse, where I tyred at a drie breast three yeares, and was at the last inforced

to weane myself.'—Preface to *Euphues his England*, 1580.

4. 'Gosson' possessed Bacon's contempt for the then existing system of University studies. 'I cannot but blame those lither contemplators very much, which sit concluding sillogismes in a corner ; which, in a close study in the University, coope themselves up fortie yeres together, studying all things and profits nothing.'—*Schoole of Abuse*.

5. 'Gosson,' like another of Bacon's vizards, 'Nash,' refers to the sepia fish :

'But the fish Sepia can trouble the water to shun the nettes that are shot to catch her. . . Whether our Players be the spawnes of such fishes I know not well.'—*Apology for the 'Schoole of Abuse.'* Gosson. 1579.

'They are the very spawnes of the fish Sepia ; where the streame is cleare and the Scriptures evidentialie discover them, they vomit up ynke to trouble the waters.'—'Nash,' in '*Pasquil's Return to England.*' Marprelate Pamphlet, 1589.

6. 'Gosson' was a reformer. 'They that are greeved are Poets, Pipers and Players : the first thinke that I banish poetrie, wherein they dreeme ; the second judge that I condemn musique, wherein they dote ; the last proclaime that I forbid recreation

to man, wherein you may see they are starke blinde. He that readeth with advise the booke which I wrote shall perceive that I touche but the *abuses* of all these.' So that, like Bacon under the vizard of 'Immerito,' he was concerned with the reformation of English poetry. Like him, he was interested in the harmonies of music and their true limitation; like him, as manifested under other vizards, he laboured for a reformed drama.

7. At an early age he wrote 'Cataline's Conspiracies,' played at the 'Theatre.' 'The whole marke which I shot at in that worke was to shoue the reward of traytors in Catalin and the necessary government of learned men in the person of Cicero which foresees every danger that is likely to happen and forestalles it continually ere it takes effect.' There is much reason for believing that 'Cataline,' which made its first appearance in print, like 'Sejanus' (also written by Bacon), amongst Ben Jonson's productions, was one of Bacon's early plays. Jonson may have subsequently worked upon it, but his prefaces and dedications make no specific claim to authorship. Like 'Julius Cæsar,' and other 'Shakespeare' plays dealing with Roman history, North's translation of 'Plutarch's Lives' is freely drawn upon, the author in each case also correcting from the original Latin. Having regard

to the date of its publication and its curious reference to November 5—the date of the Gunpowder Plot—it would seem to have been revised and published subsequent to the Guy Fawkes attempt in order to point the moral of the wickedness of conspiracies against the State.

The problem of 'Gosson' authorship seems only soluble on the assumption that Bacon was the author, and that Gosson, the player afterwards preacher, was only the 'vizard.'

The preacher (if author) stopped writing at the age of twenty-seven, died at the age of sixty-nine, and made no claim to authorship.

The 'Gosson' writings comprise verse as good as 'Spenser's' and prose as good as 'Lyly's.' The presumed author showed that he possessed a wide, and at that date rather exceptional, acquaintance with classical authors. He admitted authorship of three plays, of which 'Cataline' discloses like methods of composition to the 'Shakespeare' Roman history plays.

The 'Gosson' opinions on certain subjects were the same as held by Bacon and other of his vizards.

The author knew of the practice of poets to veil their utterances under vizards, and yet, if Gosson was really the writer, he did not follow the practice he approved.

The circumstances and dates indicate that the young player Gosson was only a mask for young Francis Bacon at the threshold of his efforts at the creation of an English literature and drama for the instruction and enlightenment of his race.

Bacon from his association with the Queen and the Earl of Leicester would be able to make use of young Gosson just as readily as he was able to utilize Spenser.

CHAPTER IX

THE VIZARD 'LYLY'

WE SEEK in this chapter to reopen the question of the authorship of the following Tudor writings :

PROSE.

		PRINTED
1. 'Euphues' Anatomy of Wit'	- -	1579
2. 'Euphues and His England'	- -	1580

DRAMA.

3. 'Woman in the Moon'	- - -	1597
4. 'Campaspe'	- - -	1584
5. 'Gallathea'	- - -	1592
6. 'Sapho and Phao'	- - -	1584
7. 'Endimion'	- - -	1591
8. 'Midas'	- - -	1592
9. 'Mother Bómbie'	- - -	1594
10. 'Love's Metamorphosis'	- - -	1601

PAMPHLET.

11. 'Pappe with an Hatchet'	- - -	1589
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Of the above, Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 11, were

first printed without any author's name. The second edition of No. 1, and the first edition of No. 2, were printed as by John Lyly, Master of Arts. No. 11 was attributed to Lyly by Gabriel Harvey, and Nos. 3 and 10 were first printed as by him in the years 1597 and 1601.

The plays were all what are known as Court Comedies, and they were in each case first performed before the Queen by the children of her chapel. The boy actors afterwards performed some of them at the Blackfriars Theatre, built in 1596.

The years of performance are more difficult to settle. Mr. Fleay has attempted solutions, but the probabilities are that, with the possible exceptions of 'Midas,' which was either written or rewritten after the Spanish Armada had been defeated, and 'Love's Metamorphosis,' the plays were all written about the period 1580-5. Most of the plays are derived from classical history or legend, and, according to Mr. Crofts, familiarity is shown in them with passages from Ovid, Virgil, and Cicero.

Messrs. Seccombe and Allen state that 'Campaspe' was derived from Pliny's 'Natural History,' 'Sapho' and 'Gallathea' from Ovid. They remark the originality of form and refinement of manner

of the comedies. Mr. J. A. Symonds observed of four at least of the comedies that each was a studied panegyric of the Queen's virtue, beauty, chastity, and wisdom. 'Euphues and his England' winds up with a similar panegyric, as does the anonymous play of 'The Arraignment of Paris,' a pastoral performed by the same children before the Queen, also at a date before 1584. Professor Rushton stated that the Ephœbus passages of 'Euphues' Anatomy of Wit' were almost entirely translated from Plutarch on Education. Anyone carefully reading the works attributed to 'Lyly' will find in them evidence of wide and copious reading combined with an exceptional memory. The author was familiar with Pliny, Plutarch, Plato, Ovid, Aristotle, Cicero, Pythagoras, and Anaxagoras. He had studied his Bible, and thought much upon religion. David and Solomon were favourite lives. He wrote of Tymon of Athens, Diogenes, the Labyrinth of Crete, of Apollo, Pan, Proteus, Orpheus, Venus, Vulcan, and other gods of ancient mythology. He had read of Homer and the Trojans, of Dido, Titus, Cæsar, Cleopatra, Cornelia, Tarquin and Lucretia, Troilus and Cressida, Damon and Pithias, Hero and Leander, and the fable of the Phœnix. He was familiar with falconry and hunting. He affirmed, 'Philo-

sophy, Physic, Divinity, shall be my study.' M. Jusserand noticed in 'Euphues' that conversations are there reported in which are found the tone of well-bred persons of the period.

One of the earliest of the plays, 'Campaspe,' gives evidence of a somewhat stoical purpose in the line,

'Be content to live unknown and die unfound.'

A similar idea is to be found in the play of 'The Misfortunes of Arthur,' performed by the students of Gray's Inn in February, 1587-8 :

'Yet let my death and parture rest obscure.'

With the preparation of this play the unhonoured name of Francis Bacon was openly associated. We must make some demand upon the patience of the students of the literature of the Elizabethan period in asking them to follow the reasons which we are about to give for the belief that Francis Bacon, under the pen-name of 'John Lyly,' wrote the prose works of Euphues, and produced the Court Comedies, most of which were collected and reprinted in 1632 by Blount, who was one of the publishers of the Shakespeare Folio. In 1632 acknowledged works by Bacon were being prepared for the press. Blount wrote a short dedication

to the 1632 collection. It contains a somewhat pregnant sentence :

‘The spring is at hand, and therefore I present you a *Lily* growing in a *Grove of Laurels*.’

It is true that the biliteral cipher story of Francis Bacon (of the authenticity of which we are satisfied) makes no claim to the authorship of ‘Euphues.’ But it may have been intended to include it under the cipher story sentence :

‘*Several small works under no name won worthy praise.*’ As we have seen, the first part of ‘Euphues’ had no author’s name to it. When ‘John Lyly’ was used it was probably as a *pen-name* only, as distinguished from the name of some actual and living sponsor, as the remainder of the cipher sentence is :

‘Next, in *Spenser’s name* also they entered into an unknown world.’

Here, we think, is the distinction drawn between the work ascribed to Lyly and Immerito (‘Shepherd’s Kalendar’) and other work put forth in the name of an actual person such as Spenser was.

The biographers have been misled. Things are not always what they seem.

Wood, compiling his ‘Ath. Oxon.’ at a date (1691) many years after 1579, and finding from

the records of Magdalen College that a scholar named John Lylie had matriculated there in 1571, formed the conclusion that this person was the author of 'Euphues.'

The surname, according to Wood, was a common one at the college. This Lylie was, when matriculated, described as 'plebeii filius.' The material date of his entering college is unknown. In 1574 he petitioned Lord Burleigh to be made a Fellow. In 1575 he took his M.A., and in 1584 owed to the bursars of the college £1 3s. 10d. for his share of the college provisions, 'pro communis et batellis.'

Messrs. Cooper, in their 'Athen. Cantab.,' writing at a still later date, assert that a certain John Lillie was M.P. for Hendon in 1589, Aylesbury in 1593, Appleby in 1597, and Aylesbury again in 1601. Mr. Arber, on probably good grounds, does not repeat this information. But he does set out a statement quoted by Mr. Collier from the register of St. Bartholomew, under date November 30, 1606, that 'John Lyllie, gent, was buried.' In view of the irregular methods of Mr. Collier, it is to be hoped that Mr. Arber satisfied himself as to this entry.

The biographers have—which is the material point—entirely failed to connect either Lylie the

'plebeii filius' of Magdalen College, Lillie the M.P., or Lyllie of the burial register, with the works ascribed to 'Lyly'—no point is made of the spelling. That being so, we must see what help may be gleaned from the works themselves, and the contemporary statements of Gabriel Harvey and others.

In examining the Lyly works and imputing them to Francis Bacon, we bear in mind his aphorism, 'He who would be secret must be a dissembler in some degree.' We must also have regard to what Harvey wrote to Immerito in 1579 ('Two Letters'): 'For all your vowed and oft-experimented secrecie'; and to the statement in 'Campaspe' (*circa* 1582): 'Be content to live unknown and die unfound.'

Accordingly, we must not attach, as the biographers seem to have done, too much importance to the remark of Euphues, at p. 451 of his 'England': 'Touching whose life [Queen Mary] I can say very little, because I was scarce borne' (1553-8). More especially as a little later on he had no hesitation on the score of infancy in commenting on what Elizabeth did in 1558 on coming to the throne. Again, in 'Euphues' Anatomy of Wit' (1579), he complained of the disgraceful state of the Oxford and Cambridge Universities (p. 140).

He continues, 'But I can speake the lesse against them *for that I was never in them.*'

This statement does not quite conform with that in 'Euphues his England' (1580, p. 436), where he wrote of the same Universities: 'I was myself in *either* of them, and like them *both* so well.' Is this a cryptic reference to his having been educated at Cambridge?

In 1581 another edition of the 'Anatomy of Wit' was printed, with a dedication to Lord de la Warre, and an apology to the scholars of Oxford. In the apology Lyly regrets that some thought that in his article on the education of Ephœbus, 'Oxford was too much defamed.' Bear in mind, he does not apologize to Cambridge, though his remarks had applied equally to both Universities! He added: 'If any fault be committed, impute it to "Euphues" who know you not, not to Lyly who hate you not.'

In the same apology are some jocularities about his being sent into the country to nurse, 'where I tyred at a drie breast three yeares, and was at the last inforced to weane myself.' It is somewhat difficult to arrive at the significance of this passage. Francis Bacon was certainly three years at Cambridge, and, according to Rawley, his chaplain, he left dissatisfied with the unfruitfulness of the philo-

sophy of Aristotle. It may mean that Oxford was unkind to him because he was never there! If we are to gather that the writer meant to infer that he was away from college three years before he published his first book, we seem to obtain some confirmation of our assumption as to the real 'Lyly.' Francis Bacon, in September, 1576, left for France, in the care of Sir Amyas Paulet, the English Ambassador. He remained abroad until March 20, 1578-9. On the assumption of his parentage, the pen-name 'Lyly' for his first book was suitably chosen. He had just arrived from the land of the fleur-de-lis, an emblem also upon the English crown, if not then on the Royal Arms.

The 'Anatomy of Wit' was licensed December 2, 1578. In 'Euphues and his England,' printed in 1580, 'Lyly' refers to the 'Anatomy of Wit' as being 'my first counterfaite,' and hints that it was mainly autobiographical; 'that it was sent to a nobleman to nurse, and was hatched in the hard winter with the Alcyon.' We gather from this that Francis, while in Paris, procured some noble friend of his in England to arrange for the publication, that he finished writing it (except perhaps for a few letters) in December, 1578, and that the book was finally published a short time after his return to England. This seems confirmed by a few words

at the end of the first edition of 'Euphues' Anatomy of Wit.'

'I have now finished the first part of Euphues, whom now I left ready to cross the seas to England.' Ergo the writer wrote 'Euphues' on the *other side* of the seas. A further confirmation may be found in the letter 'Euphues to Botonio,' which we take to be an 'open letter' from Francis, as 'Euphues,' to Anthony Bacon, as 'Botonio.' Anthony, for some reason or other, was in 1579 ordered abroad. Again, we rather infer that the person who required 'Lyly' to apologize to Oxford was the Earl of Leicester, who was not only father to young Francis, but also Chancellor of the Oxford University.

In the corrected (1581) edition of the 'Anatomy of Wit,' Lyly is described as 'Master of Art,' and whenever the name is subsequently used, it is followed by a like description. We cannot find him anywhere described as M.A. of Oxford. That the author alleges himself to be M.A. tells against the Francis Bacon theory, unless we can conclude one of two things: either that the 'M.A.' was merely part of the pen-name, or possibly that Bacon, under the pen-name of 'Lyly,' was, upon the popularity of the first edition in 1579, passed to the degree of M.A., by way of compliment from the authorities

of Cambridge University, one of whom was his Trinity College tutor, Whitgift, the Queen's Chaplain. Whitgift was not long afterwards made Archbishop of Canterbury. He took up his M.A. in July, 1594.

To follow in this chapter the internal evidence of the two parts of 'Euphues' at any length is out of the question. M. Jusserand, on the authority of Dr. Landmann, has shown that, besides using Plutarch, 'Lyly' borrowed large passages from the Spanish writer Guevara, and he also points out that 'Euphues' went to *Athens* (for which we may read 'Paris') and to England *to study men and Governments*. This, in the light of the letter written to him by Sir Thomas Bodley in 1578, was precisely what Francis had been expected to do, and what we know from his biographer, Mr. Spedding, he successfully did at a very early age. From the cipher story we learn that he returned from France refused in marriage by Marguerite of Navarre, whose favourite flower, the marigold, is referred to in 'Euphues and his England,' at p. 462.

In view of this it is interesting to find Euphues urging the study of Philosophy or Law or Divinity, and the supplementing of such study by *contemp- tuous meditations about women*. 'Euphues' pre-

sents himself to our view as an over-educated youth, whose brain was bursting to record itself on paper—a most necessary safety-valve. Mr. Crofts drew attention to the uncalled-for puns. To us moderns these puns seem poor frail things, but they bubble up in 'Lyly,' Spenser, Nash, Kyd, Greene, Peele, and even 'Shakespeare,' and are all of about the same average weakness.

M. Jusserand and others remark the fondness of 'Lyly' for the gods of mythology. We remind them that Bacon was equally interested in the subject, as his 'Wisdom of the Ancients' plainly shows. 'Lyly,' like Bacon, appreciated Atalanta, Orpheus, Vulcan, and many more of the ancient myths. In his epilogue to 'Sapho,' he refers to the *Labyrinth* of conceits, and wishes every one a *thread* to lead them out. Bacon in later life entitled one of his papers 'Filum Labyrinthi.'

'Lyly' used the simile of the ensnaring with lyme-twigs that we also find in Nash, in Kyd, in Shakespeare, and in Bacon's letter to Greville (1594). In his prologue to 'Midas,' 'Lyly' remarks: 'For plays no invention but breedeth satietie before noon.' Here we have the association of play-writing with invention. When at a much later date Bacon wrote that his head was 'wholly employed about invention,' the use of the word in

'Midas' may be some guide as to what he may have alluded. The 'plebeii filius' theory of authorship seems to me to break down before the very audacity of 'Euphues.' He had such a fine conceit of himself. What 'plebeii filius' in Tudor times dared have started his literary career by lecturing the Court ladies?

In 1871 Mr. W. L. Rushton published a valuable pamphlet called 'Shakespeare's Euphuism.' Another pamphlet may much more appropriately be written about Greene's Euphuism.

Spenser, Greene, Peele, Marlowe, sold Bacon the use of their names, states the cipher story, and as nothing further appeared under the name Lyly until many years after 1579, it seems probable that Bacon preferred the protection of the name of a known person to the uncertainty of a mere *nom de plume*. That is the probable explanation of the style of Lyly being conspicuous in the prose works attributed to Greene.

The absorbent sponge theory of Shakespeare's acquisition of knowledge has a great vogue. Yet Shakespeare, from his country associations, ought to have absorbed some valuable field knowledge of birds and animals. It is significant that he failed to do so, and that the natural history in 'Shakespeare' is no better than it is in 'Lyly.' One

feature, however, is constant to Bacon, Shakespeare, Peele, Lyly, Greene, and Marlowe—viz., the love of garden flowers.

At p. 367 of 'Euphues and his England,' Lyly writes of roses, violets, primroses, gilliflowers, carnations, and sweetjohns.

At p. 455 he refers to bees making their hives in soldiers' helmets, an idea afterwards developed in the beautiful poem written for the occasion of Sir Henry Lees' retirement (in 1590) from the position of Queen's Challenger at Tilt.

This poem has been assigned to Peele and also to Marlowe, and begins :

' His golden locks time has to silver turned.'

The second verse commences :

' His helmet now shall make a hive for bees.'

'Endimion' must have been an early play. It contains much to remind one of Bacon. For instance, it mentions the ebbing and flowing of the sea, and has the phrase 'love should creep,' which we find in Greene, in the 1623 Folio Shakespeare, and in one of Bacon's letters.

One of the characters of 'Endimion' refers to himself as follows :

' I am an absolute microcosmus, a pettie world of myself.'

This play, moreover, contains such aphoristic sentences as—

‘Love knoweth neither friendship nor kindred.’

‘Sleep is a binding of the senses, love a loosing.’

‘Things past may be repented, not recalled.’

Like Bacon, ‘Lyly’ in ‘Endimion’ alludes to the ‘vulgar sort,’ refers to ‘swelling pride,’ ‘standing at a stay,’ ‘a thousand shivers,’ ‘an hundred eyes,’ ‘princely favours,’ ‘vainglorious.’ He has the line, ‘Always one, yet never the same,’ *absorbed* by Shakespeare for his sonnet, ‘Why write I still all one ever the same?’; also the phrase, ‘excellent and right like a woman,’ which Shakespeare varied in ‘King Lear’:

‘Her voice was soft, sweet and low,
An excellent thing in woman.’

In all ‘Lyly’s’ work we have many examples of that triform construction of sentences common to Bacon, Greene, and Shakespeare. Here is one: ‘Virtue shall subdue affections, wisdom lust, friendship beauty.’

In ‘Midas’ was further material for the absorbent ‘Shakespeare’:

‘Love is a pastime for children, breeding nothing but
folly’

is of kin with

'All friendship is feigning,
All loving mere folly.'

'Though my soldiers be valiant, I must not therefore think my quarrels just' is assumed to be material for

'Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrels just.'

'Woman in the Moon' provided more Shakespearian raw material with

'What makes my love to look so pale and wan?'

turned into

'Why so pale and wan, fair lover?
Prithee, why so pale?
Men were deceivers ever.'

What if Bacon were deceiving, and these were only reforgings in his fine brain of the thoughts he recorded as 'Lyly'? No matter; the pilgrimages of actor-managers and others to Stratford-on-Avon will probably last our day!

According to the cipher story, Bacon wrote: 'I have lost therein a present fame that I may out of any doubt recover it in our owne and other lands after manie a long yeare.'

We fear the deceased Lord Chancellor was too sanguine. The mention of Lord Chancellor brings us to another feature of the 'Lyly' works—that is

to say, the use therein of legal terms, such as : 'Deed of gift,' 'statute merchant,' 'bond,' 'withdraw the action,' 'accessory punished as principal,' 'conveyance,' 'join issue,' 'arraigned as a riot because they clunged together in such clusters,' 'I refuse the executorship,' 'Liber tenens,' 'a freeholder.'

Having assuredly tired our readers with these internal evidences, we pass to proofs of another kind.

THE TESTIMONY OF GABRIEL HARVEY AND OTHERS.

In another chapter (The Vizard 'Spenser') we give some account of the early association of Gabriel Harvey, the brilliant young Professor of Rhetoric, with young Bacon in 1579-80.

In 1589 a pamphlet was printed anonymously, entitled 'Pappe with an Hatchet.' It concerned itself mainly with the Martin Marprelate dispute, but incidentally contained a rap at Harvey, then already engaged in an amusing skirmish with young Francis Bacon, battling under the names of Greene and Nash. Harvey, in the part of his 'Pierce's Supererogation' (1593) which is dated November, 1589, wrote: 'Pap-hatchet (for the name of thy good nature is pittifully grown out of request), thy old acquaintance in the Savoy

when young Euphues hatched the eggs that his elder friends laid (surely Euphues was someway a pretty fellow : would God Lilly had always been Euphues and never Pap-hatchet) : that old acquaintance now somewhat straungely saluted with a new resemblance is neither lullabied with thy sweet Papp nor scarre-crowed with thy sour hatchet.'

In another part of 'Pierce's Supererogation,' dealing with the assaults upon him in the names of Greene, Lyly, and Nash, he lapses into verse :

'Aske not what Newes? that come to visit wood :
My treasure is Three faces in one Hood :
A chaungling Triangle : a turncoat rood.

* * * * *

'Three hedded Cerberus, wo be unto thee :
Here lyes the onely Trey, and rule of Three :
Of all Triplicities, the A B C.'

Harvey goes on to say : 'Somebody oweth the three-shapen Geryon a greater duty in recognisance of his often promised curtesies ; and will not be found ungrateful at occasion. He were very simple that would feare a conjuring Hatchet, a rayling Greene, or a threatening Nash.' A little further on Harvey wrote : 'These, these were the only men that I ever dreaded : especially that same odd man Triu Litteraru that for a linsey-woolsie wit and a cheverill conscience was A per

se A.' Referring to this or a similar expression, Nash, in 'Pierce Pennilesse,' wrote: 'A per se A. Passion of God! how came I by that name? My Godfather Gabriel gave it me, and I must not refuse it.'

The name was originally given by Harvey to Bacon in the complimentary verses published in the 'Three Letters,' Harvey to Immerito, in 1580. I quote the line:

'Every one A per se A his terms and braveries in print.'

Thus, the Harvey testimony very materially supports our view as to the true authorship of the 'Lyly' works.

Mr. Crawford, in the second volume of his 'Collectanea,' at p. 141, writing ironically about the 'Pappe with an Hatchet' tract, states: 'Because the tract repeats over and over again the pet phrases and proverbs of John Lyly, and because its general style bears more than a passing resemblance to that author's, critics have assigned it to Lyly. Other circumstances seem to lend colour to the correctness of the attribution. But how easily the best men may err! Things that seem are not the same (see Peele's "Old Wives' Tale"). The real author is Francis Bacon.' Many a true word has been spoken in a jest. Mr. Crawford

only provides another instance. For he proceeds to say that a 'comparison of the pamphlet with Bacon's known work will yield evidence in his favour in abundance. For instance, Promus No. 909 (Bacon's "Promus") : "The crowe of the belfry" ; and No. 536 reads, "Allow no swallow under thy roof." "Pappe with an Hatchet" dilates on both proverbs.' Again, that 'the tract quotes the Latin sentence, "Discite justitiam moniti et non temnere divos." This sentence,' writes Mr. Crawford, 'is from the "Æneid," vi. 620, and Bacon notes it either fully or in part three times in his "Promus," Nos. 58-436 and 1092.' Mr. Crawford's comments may be supplemented by a few other indications of Bacon's authorship of the tract. The author was evidently a lawyer. This is betrayed by such sentences as : 'Beware an action of the case,' 'Draw a conveyance' (deed), 'The common pleas at Westminster to take forfeitures.' Here, again, is a thoroughly Baconian sentence : 'So well established, so wisely maintained, and so long prospering.'

The author of 'Pappe with an Hatchet' shared Bacon's love of apothegms. For he writes : 'Here is a fit time to squeeze them with an apothegm.' The author also held Bacon and Lyly's attitude towards atheism : 'What atheist

more fool than says in his heart, "There is no God"?' Bacon's essay on Atheism has, 'The Scripture saith, "The foole hath said in his heart there is noe God."'

Henry Upchear (whoever he was), in verses prefixed to Greene's 'Menaphon' (1589), wrote :

'Of all the flowers a Lillie one I loved,
When labouring beauty brancht itself abroad,
But now old age his glorie hath removed,
And Greener objects are my eyes aboad.'

The date of birth of the 'plebeii filius,' M.A., is guessed at 1554. He would resent the allegation of old age at thirty-five.

The verse is quoted to show the association of Lyly and Greene in one compliment. In a chapter on 'Nash,' we seek to show how Bacon, writing under that name, discussed his method of mixing 'precepts of doctrine with delightful invention.' We find Lyly, as appears by the prologue to 'Campaspe,' when in later years (in or after 1596) performed by the boy actors at Blackfriars, actuated by the like intention : 'We have mixed mirth with counsell and description with delight. To the devotees of Stratford-on-Avon we observe that Lyly in 'Campaspe,' like Spenser, Nash, and others, was familiar with the term, 'Shake the speare' ; while in this association it should be

noted that correspondences between passages in 'Euphues' and others in 'Hamlet' are frequent. Mr. Rushton has pointed out several, such as the advice of Polonius to his son. We suggest that the man who wrote, 'When he himself might his quietus make with a bare bodkin,' had in mind the passage, 'Asiarchus spoyled himself with his own bodkin' ('Euphues,' First Part).

Transcripts of two undated petitions of Lyly to Queen Elizabeth are of slight importance. They tell nothing inconsistent with Bacon's career as known to us, but we have no evidence that any such petitions were ever presented. They certainly show the Baconian characteristic of perseverance.

The evidence of Ben Jonson as to the authorship of the 'Lyly' works is necessarily slight. True, he said of Bacon that he had filled up all numbers and performed that in our tongue which may be compared or preferred either to insolent Greece or haughty Rome. His allusion to Lyly is in his verse prefixed to the Shakespeare Folio, 1623 :

'Thou didst our Lilly outshine,
Or sporting Kyd or Marlowe's mighty line.'

Jonson would not have made an unfavourable comparison between 'Shakespeare' and any *real*

author. It would have been unfair, and as it is not difficult to show that Kyd and Marlowe were other masks for Bacon, the true inference from Jonson's lines is that Bacon's dramatic development began as 'Lyly,' improved as 'Kyd' and 'Marlowe,' and reached its culmination as 'Shakespeare.'

If this argument as to the Baconian authorship of the 'Lyly' works can be established, *it shows the dramatic craftsman at the beginning of his career.* Hard reading and study, methodical note-taking, continuous practice, continuous revision, indomitable industry from an early age, produced the genius which reached its highest point of expression in 'Shakespeare.' It also demonstrated another interesting fact—namely, that in Bacon's old age thoughts registered in his brain during early manhood came again to the surface.

In his 'Life and Works of Bacon,' Mr. Spedding printed two short poems, which, after careful consideration, he accepted as having been written by Bacon towards the close of his life.

The first contains the following lines :

'The world's a *bubble*, and the life of man
Less than a span.'

The other poem ends :

' Good thoughts his only friends, his life a well-spent age,
The earth his sober inn—a *quiet pilgrimage*.'

As 'Euphues' (First Part), at the age of twenty, Bacon had recorded: 'Our life is but a shadow, a warfare, a *pilgrimage*, a vapor, a *bubble*,' and that 'David said it is but a *span* long.'

CHAPTER X

THE VIZARD 'WATSON'

LET it be said at once that 'Thomas Watson' is a biographical myth. Nothing is known of him. His supposed biography has been compiled merely by inferences from the writings printed with his name as author.

To these inferences the contents of two mare's-nests have been added. One, discovered by Mr. Hall and recorded in the *Athenæum* for 1890, was that Watson was the same person as one 'Watsoon,' brother-in-law of Swift, a servant of a certain 'Cornwallis.' The assumption depended upon the correct reading of an old MS. letter to Burleigh of March 5, 1593, in which Mr. Hall thought he deciphered a statement that 'Watsoon' 'could derive twenty fictions and knaveries in a play which was his daily practyse and his living.'

Mr. Ellis, in a letter to the *Athenæum* a few weeks later, pointed out that the word 'plott' or

'plan' had probably been misread as 'play,' inasmuch as no trace of a play by Thomas Watson had ever been found.

The other probable mare's-nest is an entry said to have been discovered by that doubtful investigator, Mr. Collier, in the register of St. Bartholomew the Less—viz., 'September 26, 1592, Thomas Watson, gent, was buried.'

It is suspicious that Collier found a similar entry in St. Bartholomew's register about Lyly—viz., '1606, 30th Novr. John Lyllie, gent, was buried.'

The first 'Watson' publication was in 1581, and consisted of a translation from Greek into Latin of Sophocles' 'Antigone,' together with a few Latin poems and four Themata.

The first of the four Themata is written in Iambics, the second in Anapæstic Dimeters, the third in Sapphics, and the fourth in Choriambic asclepiadean verse. Surely here is presumptive evidence of a poet at practice. Next year (1582) came the 'Watson' publication, called 'The Passionate Century of Love,' in which the young poet exercised himself in expressing English verse in sonnet form. These sonnets numbered about one hundred in all; eight of them are imitated from Petrarch, twelve from Serafina, four from Strozza, three from Firenzuola, and two each from Parabosco

and Sylvius. What a range of careful reading in Italian poetical literature this betokens ! In addition he imitated four sonnets of the contemporary French poet Ronsard and two of Étienne Forcadel, another Frenchman also then living. In the glosse to the verses he indicates acquaintance with other poets—viz., the Italians Ariosto, Baptista Mantuanus, Poliziano ; the German Conradus Celtis ; and with the Greek writers Theocritus, Sophocles, Musæus, Aristotle, Homer, and Apollonius. Of Latin authors, he quotes or borrows from Ovid, Cicero, Lucan, Seneca, Horace, Pliny, Martial, and Flaccus.

One English poet had great attraction for him, namely, Chaucer. It is a suspicious circumstance that this old poet was also a great favourite with the writer of the 'Spenser' and 'Greene' works claimed in the biliteral cipher to have been written by Bacon.

In 1585 appeared, under the name 'Watson,' a translation into Latin of Tasso's pastoral drama 'Amyntas.' Bacon's love of the pastoral form is shown in the 'Shepherd's Kalendar' (1580), in the 'Spenser' 'Colin Clout' (1595), in the pastoral play 'Arraignement of Paris,' and some of the Eglogues published in the name of Peele. In 1590 'Watson' used the pastoral form for an Eglogue upon the death of his friend Sir Francis Walsingham.

Another translation into Latin of Tasso's 'Amyntas' was made by 'Watson's' friend Abraham Fraunce, who was a barrister of Gray's Inn at the time Bacon was then resident. This Fraunce had access to the 'Faerie Queene' two or three years before it was printed, as in his work called 'Arcadian Rhetorike' (1588) are quotations from it. On the assumption that Bacon's claim to authorship of the 'Faerie Queene' is true, this access was natural. Fraunce, moreover, like Bacon, was a close and intimate friend of the Sidney family. In 1586, in the name of 'Watson,' was published a translation into Latin of the short Greek poem by Coluthus called 'The Rape of Helen.' A lost translation of the same poem into English was, according to a Coxetian MS., attributed to 'Marlowe.'

It will be remembered that in 'Marlowe's' name was printed a translation from Lucan, and translations of Ovid's 'Amores,' and of the Hero and Leander poem of Musæus, a long time after 'Marlowe's' death. With Lucan, Ovid, and Musæus, 'Watson' was familiar. Of other classical poets well read by 'Watson' we find Pliny drawn upon largely by 'Lyly,' Cicero by 'Greene,' 'Homer,' and 'Virgil' in the biliteral cipher—Virgil again in the 'Dido' of 'Marlowe,' Seneca and others in the 'Shakespeare' plays.

In 1590 a number of Italian Madrigals were Englished by 'Watson' and set to music by William Bird, who was a prominent Court musician. That Bacon had a first-class knowledge of music is well shown in his acknowledged writings.

The 'Tears of Fancie, or Love Disdained,' another series of sonnets, was the last effort attached to the name of 'Watson.' Mr. George Steevens, the Shakespeare Editor, thought the 'Watson' better than the 'Shakespeare' sonnets. The year of publication of the 'Tears of Fancie' was 1592, and not 1593, as guessed by some critics. A later date is inconsistent with Bacon's decision to drop the name of 'Watson' and yet to retain the works in memory.

On November 10, 1592, was entered in the register a book entitled 'Aminte Gaudea. Author Thom. Watson. Londoniensi juris studioso.' It was prefaced by a Latin dedication to Sidney's sister, the Countess of Pembroke, by a writer printing the initials 'C. M.,' who deeply lamented 'Watson's' recent 'death.' This lament, which Bacon wrote as 'C. M.,' he followed up as 'Peele,' in honour of the Garter, 1593, with :

'To Watson, worthy many epitaphs. For his sweete poesie for Amintas teares.'

Then as 'Nash' in 'Have with you the Saffron Walden,' he wrote, 'A Man he was that I dearly lov'd and honor'd, and for all things have left few his equals in England.' Bacon in this way perseveringly maintained attention to his 'Watson' writings, which, like his 'Greene' works, ceased to appear after the year 1592. His 'death' as 'Greene' in September of the same year was a most daring joke.

Bacon's intimacy with the Sidney family was close and continuous. He lost a great friend and fellow-worker in Sir Philip. His panegyrics in the names of 'Spenser' and 'Nash' show this. Another great friend was Sir Francis Walsingham, Sidney's father-in-law, whose death was fitly lamented in the Watson Eglogue to Melibœus, 1590. Sidney's sister Mary, Countess of Pembroke, to whom the last Watson work was dedicated, was a talented writer and another great friend of Francis. One can almost conjure up the friendly group of three ardent enthusiasts translating Garnier's plays, when published in collected form in French in 1586: the Countess undertook 'Antony,' Abraham Fraunce 'Cleopatra,' and Bacon 'Cornelia' (published in the name of 'Kyd').

The 'Shakespeare' Folio of 1623, comprising

certain of Bacon's revised plays, was dedicated to the two sons of the Countess.

To return to the 'Watson' writings. The biographers say that Watson was in Paris in or before 1581, and that he was educated at the University of Oxford. The first proposition depends upon a statement in the Eglogue to Walsingham, which runs :

Tityrus (Thomas Walsingham) sings to Corydon (Watson) :

'Thy tunes have often pleas'd mine eare of yore
When milk-white swans did flock to heare thee sing
Where Seane in Paris makes a double shore.'

Bacon, we know, was in Paris at various times during the period from September, 1576, to March, 1578-9.

Young Thomas Walsingham was heir to the family estates, and, compared to his uncle, Sir Francis Walsingham, was a rich man. He was twenty-one in 1589. If through his uncle's influence he was ever sent to Paris to learn French, he would have been a boy of ten when young Francis was there. Young Thomas Walsingham's friendship for Bacon seems to have been exercised in another way—by his giving some refuge to Bacon's assistant, Marlowe, at the time he was

being searched for under warrant from the Star Chamber in consequence of the libels on the wall of the Dutch cemetery.

In addition to the references to the Sidney and Walsingham family in the 'Watson' works, there are references and dedications showing intimacy with Queen Elizabeth and her leading courtiers—the Earls of Essex, Arundel, Oxford, and Northumberland, Lord Chancellor Hatton and Lord Burleigh.

The relationship of Bacon to the Queen and Robert, Earl of Essex, is explained in the biliteral cipher story. Lords Burleigh, Arundel, and Oxford were high Ministers of State, and to the last-named Bacon, in the name of 'Lyly,' had already dedicated one of his books.

With regard to the allegation that 'Watson' was educated at Oxford, it must be noticed that no person of that name has yet been identified as having belonged to any college there at a suitable date. The allegation is solely based upon the fact that a short Latin verse prefixed to 'Tullies Love,' 1589 (a pamphlet published by Bacon in the name 'Greene'), is printed as by 'Thomas Watson, Oxon.' The use of the term 'Oxon' was most probably owing to the fact that a Catholic Bishop of Lincoln, named Thomas Watson, educated at Cambridge,

died in 1584 at Wisbeach Castle, where he had been in confinement for several years. This Bishop was author of several works, including a play called 'Absalom,' the MS. of which is or was in the possession of the Pembroke family at Penshurst. Bacon probably used the word 'Oxon' to avoid any inference that Bishop Watson wrote the 'Watson' poems.

The internal evidence of the 'Watson' writings seems to confirm their Baconian origin. 'The Passionate Century of Love' contains several distinctly Baconian phrases.

Take one :

'But how bold soever I have been in turning out this my pettie poor stocke upon the open common of the wide world.'

Take another :

'Homer in mentioning the swiftness of the winde maketh his verse to runne in posthaste all upon dactilus.'

It will be remembered that Ben Jonson walked to Scotland about the year 1617, and in his conversations with the poet Drummond, of Hawthornden, is recorded that at his hither-coming Sir Francis Bacon had remarked to Jonson, 'He loved not to see poesy go on other feet than poetical dactylus and spondæus.'

The following seems to be another :

In one of the prefaces referred to, 'Watson' wrote, 'Therefore if I rough-hewe my verse.' In Webster's Dictionary the example for 'rough-hewe' is given from 'Shakespeare,' for 'rough-hewn' from Bacon. We also find the word 'rough-hewe' in the biliteral cipher story.

In the Ninth Sonnet of the 'Passionate Century' (1582) there is a reference to the 'marigold,' the favourite flower of Marguerite of Navarre. A similar reference is in Lyly's 'Euphues and his England,' and in the cipher story we learn of Bacon's unsuccessful love-affair with Marguerite, who was sister of the French King. The 'Passionate Century' contains a number of sonnets on the subject of 'My Love is Past,' which would suitably follow the failure of the courtship by Francis of Marguerite in 1578.

In the Fourth Sonnet is an exercise in the Greek figure of rhetoric, 'Anadiplosis,' one of those discussed in the 'Arte of English Poesie.' Mr. Rush-ton gives examples of the use in 'Shakespeare' of twenty other of the figures of rhetoric explained in the 'Arte.'

The Forty-seventh Sonnet is used bodily in the early play of 'The Spanish Tragedy,' written by Bacon, but fathered upon Kyd.

The Fifty-third Sonnet deals with the subject of the Labyrinth of Crete, and the guiding thread by which it might be entered and quitted. Bacon, in several places in his acknowledged, and elsewhere in his 'vizard,' writings refers to this Labyrinth, which seems to have greatly impressed him. One of his unpublished tracts is entitled 'Filum Labyrinthi,' and it is evident that his scheme of literary production was upon Labyrinthine lines.

In other places in the 'Watson' writings are to be found such Baconian expressions as 'winter's blast,' 'nipping frost,' 'swelling seas,' 'the vulgar sorte,' 'swelling pride,' 'sea of teares,' 'Titan,' 'hapless case,' 'extremest justice,' 'void of equity,' 'smokie sighs,' 'fickle fortune,' 'surging seas,' 'thousand cares.'

'The Tears of Fancie' has the line, 'Go, idle rhymes, unpolished, rude and base,' which resembles the lines prefixed to the 'Shepherd's Kalendar':

'Go, little booke, thyself presents
As one whose parent is unkent.'

In the 'Arraignment of Paris' (1584), attributed to Peele, a variety of metres is employed. In the 'Shepherd's Kalendar' Bacon (under the sobriquet of 'E. K.' in the glosse) mentions Theocritus, Virgil, Mantuanus, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Marot, Sanazasso,

'and also diverse other excellent, both Italian and French, poets, whose footing this author everywhere followeth.' 'Spenser' and 'Watson' therefore adopted like methods of acquiring facility in verse-making. As Spenser was a 'vizard' for Bacon, so it is fairly evident was 'Watson.'

At an early stage in his development Bacon had mastered the mysteries of style. 'Style,' said he in the 'Arte of English Poesie,' 'is as the subject matter.' It is most interesting to see the early evidence in 'Watson' of the readiness with which he could change his style. In the Eglogue to Walsingham we have :

Corydon :

'But I must sorrow in a lower vaine,
Not like to thee whose words have wings at will ;
An humble style befits a simple swaine.
My muse shall pipe but on an oaten quill.'

In another place :

'But Tityeus enough, leave a while ;
Stop mourning springs, drie up thy drearie line,
And blithely entertain my altered stile.'

The 'Watson' writings are very evidently the work of Francis Bacon ; much of it early work, but none the less important. He and he alone was the law student of London who had at an early date visited Paris, and was the courtier whose associa-

tion with the Queen and her chief Ministers was so close and intimate. He it was who had perfected himself in the literature of ancient Greece and Rome, of Italy, France, and England, and who had taken all knowledge for his providence.

Suffering is considered by many necessary to the making of a truly great poet. That Bacon suffered and was baffled in his efforts through life we know full well.

He was unhappy in his first love. He was refused due recognition as the eldest (because base begotten) son of the Queen. He had great difficulty in preserving his health, in maintaining a position for himself, and even in avoiding treachery and death. That he alternately desired and shunned death can be gleaned from his life history as it becomes more open to us.

The Forty-fourth Sonnet in the 'Tears of Fancie,' published in the name of 'Watson,' has therefore significance :

'Long have I sued to fortune, death and love,
But fortune, love nor death will deign to hear me.
I fortune's frown, death's spite, love's horror prove,
And must in love despairing live, I feare me.'

CHAPTER XI

THE VIZARD 'PEELE'

GEORGE PEELE, born about 1558, was a free scholar of Christ's Hospital, of which his father was clerk. He was at Oxford from 1571 until 1579, when he graduated M.A. at Christ Church. In Michaelmas of that year he was in London. By 1581 he was married and settled there. He died between 1596 and 1598. The biliteral cipher story states that Peele, for valuable consideration in money, sold to Bacon the use of his name as the supposed author of certain of Bacon's plays and verses.

This notice will accordingly be confined to the plays and verses either published in Peele's name or at a subsequent date expressly ascribed to his authorship. They are :

PLAYS.

1. 'The Arraignment of Paris: a Pastoral presented before the Queen's Majestie by the Children of her Chappell.' Imprinted (anonymously) 1584.

2. 'Edward I.' Printed in 1593, with the following words at the end: 'Yours by George Peele, Master of Arts in Oxenford.'

3. 'The Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe with the Tragedie of Absalom. As it hath been divers times plaied on the stage. Written by George Peele. 1599.'

4. "'The Old Wives' Tale.'" A pleasant conceited Comedie played by the Queen's Majestie's players. Written by G. P. 1595.'

VERSES.

1. 'The Device of the Pageant borne before Woolstan Dixie, Lord Mayor, on 29th Oct., 1585. Done by George Peele, Master of Arts in Oxford.'

2. 'The Device of the Pageant borne before Lord Mayor Webbe, 29th Oct., 1591, by G. Peele, Maister of Arts in Oxford.'

3. 'Speeches to the Queen at Theobalds, 10th May, 1591'—initialed 'G. P.' at end of the MS.

4. 'A Farewell. Entituled to the famous and fortunate Generalls of our English forces: Sir John Norris and Syr Francis Drake, Knights, and all theyr brave and resolute followers. Whereunto is annexed: A Tale of Troy . . . Doone by George Peele, Maister of Artes in Oxforde. 1589.'

5. 'An Eglogue Gratulatorie. Entituled to the right honorable and renowned Shepheard of Albion's Arcadia: Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, for his welcome into England from Portugall. Done by George Peele, Maister of Arts in Oxon. 1589.'

6. 'Polyhymnia, describing the honorable Triumph at Tylt on the 17th of November last past . . . With Sir Henrie Lea his resignation of honour at Tylt . . . 1590. On the back of the title is: 'Polyhimnia. Entituled

with all duty to the Right Honorable Lord Compton of Compton. By George Peele, Maister of Artes in Oxforde.'

7. 'The Honor of the Garter. Displaied in a Poeme gratulatorie: Entituled to the worthie renowned Earle of Northumberland. . . . By George Peele, Maister of Artes in Oxenforde.' No date.

8. 'Anglorum Feriæ. Englande's Hollydayes celebrated the 17th of Novemb. last 1595. . . . By George Peele, Mr. of Arte in Oxforde.'

Of the four plays ascribed to Peele, one is a pastoral, another an early chronicle history, the third a more modern development of the religious play, and the fourth an interlude or farce.

'The Arraignment of Paris' (which was the pastoral play) was, according to Mr. Fleay, performed before the Queen, by the children of her Chappell, probably on February 5, 1581.

As a pastoral, it seems in natural sequence to the 'Shepherd's Kalendar,' published anonymously in 1579. It makes use of two of the names—Colin and Hobbinol—of personages in the 'Kalendar,' and was perhaps one of the first plays that Bacon wrote. Other two may have been the 'Woman in the Moon' and 'Alexander and Campaspe,' both subsequently printed and ascribed to 'Lyly.' The 'Woman in the Moon' seems to have been Bacon's first essay in blank verse. 'Alexander and Campaspe' was reproduced at the Blackfriars Theatre by the boy players in 1596 or later. In the

prologue used at the Blackfriars Theatre the author declared his intention of '*mixing mirth with counsel and discipline with delight, thinking it not amisse in the same garden to sow pot-herbs that we set flowers.*' This is one of many indications that the 'Lyly' plays represent early dramatic efforts by Francis, written for performance by the boy actors, mostly those known as the 'children of Her Majesty's Chappell.'

Concerning 'The Arraignment of Paris,' Professor Ward wrote that its versification was various and versatile. Mr. Bullen noted that 'rhymed lines of fourteen syllables and rhymed lines of ten syllables predominate; but that there are passages—notably Paris's oration before the Council of the Gods—which show that Peele wrote a more musical blank verse than had yet been written by any English poet.' Francis was evidently trying his hand at various forms of versification.

The internal evidence of his authorship of this play is considerable. First, it is common ground that, whether or no Kyd, while copying law drafts, became an expert lawyer, and whether or no Shakspeare became equally conversant with law by occasional visits to the Stratford County Court and subsequent gossip with London barristers, no one has ever asserted that Peele was a lawyer. Yet

'The Arraignment' bristles with legal jargon. Read Mercury's speech in Act III., Scene ii., or the whole of Act IV., Scene i., in proof of this. Another little straw shows how the wind blows. In Act I., Scene i., are these lines :

'Why then Pomona with her *fruit* comes time enough I see,
Come on awhile; *with country store*, like friends we venter
forth.'

A correspondent of 'Baconiana' (1904), with reference to the passage in the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' of the First Folio Shakespeare (1623)—viz.,

'Country hands reach forth milke, creame, fruits or
what they have'—

noted a parallel phrase from a letter written by Bacon to Sir George Villiers :

'And now, because I am in the country, I will send you
some of my country fruits' (1616).

According to Mr. Begley in 'Is it Shakespeare?' at p. 113, the Folio passage referred to is taken from the dedicatory epistle to Vespasian, prefixed to Pliny's 'Natural History.' Messrs. Seccombe and Allen, in 'The Age of Shakespeare,' affirm that 'Lyly' drew his similes largely from Pliny's 'Natural History.' If 'Lyly' was only a pen-name for young Francis, the Pliny dedication would

naturally become fixed on his mind at an impressionable age. Another indication of common authorship is to be found at Act I., Scene i., in the speech by Flora. Many of the favourite flowers which are named in Bacon's 'Essay of Gardens,' and in 'Winter's Tale,' are also mentioned in Flora's speech. Nor must the significance of the eulogy of Queen Elizabeth with which 'The Arraignment' concludes be omitted :

' Long live the noble Phoenix of our age,
Our fair Eliza, our Zabet fair !'

The fathering upon Peele of 'The Arraignment' by Bacon, writing in the name of 'Nash' in the preface to 'Menaphon' (1589), was in accordance with his scheme of dissimulation.

The play of 'Edward I.' is also ascribed to Peele. His name is curiously placed at the end.

It is one of the series of chronicle plays, which, in the words of Mr. J. A. Symonds (in 'Shakespeare's Predecessors'), are peculiar to English history. Says Mr. Symonds : ' We know quite well that Shakespeare did not make, but found, the chronicle play in full existence. Yet he and his humbler fellow-workers together undertook the instruction of the people in their history.' It is one of the difficulties of the Shakspeare authorship cult that, owing to Stratford considerations,

the 'deserving man' (as the Burbages called him) has to be dissociated from early states of the chronicle plays. The simpler course of accepting the fact that he was only one of several masks for Francis Bacon would enable the order of production of the chronicle plays to be the more readily arrived at.

Professor Courthope has now concluded that 'The Troublesome Reign of King John,' printed (1591) anonymously, was written by the same author who wrote the other great plays in the First Folio Shakespeare. This adds strong probability to the assumption that the author in question (Bacon) wrote the 'Edward I.' (1593). But he never seems to have troubled to polish this play, and in subsequent editions it was not materially altered. Mr. Symonds thought that 'Edward I.' marked a considerable advance on 'The Troublesome Reign of King John,' and that *Marlowe's touch* 'transfigured this department of the drama' by the production of 'Edward II.' True, it was not entered in the Stationers' Register until July 6, 1593, Marlowe being then dead; but as it was title-paged to Marlowe when printed in 1594, we are asked to accept it, not as the improved work of the more mature Francis Bacon, *but as the inspiration of the genius of Marlowe in the year*

1590. Over the anonymous play of 'Edward III.,' printed in 1596, a glorious literary battle has raged. Some have claimed it vigorously as the work of Shakspeare; others as energetically have denied it. Mr. Symonds summed up the situation with the supposition that before 1596 there was a playwright superior to Greene, Peele, Nash, and Lodge, but not superior to Shakspeare and Marlowe—'one, moreover, who had deliberately chosen for his model the Shaksperian style of lyrism in its passage through the influence of Marlowe.' O shade of Francis Bacon! This 'vowed and oft-experimented secrecie' of yours has caused sore trouble to the literary critic!

You as 'Nash' in 'Piers Pennilesse' (1592) commented with pride on your scheme of teaching history by the chronicle plays. As 'Heywood' in 1612, twenty years later, you, or one of your henchmen, reviewed the result, and pronounced it good.

We do not, O shade! think it needful to hunt for much internal evidence of your authorship of 'Edward I.,' further than to notice your legal jokes and your facility in the language of Italy, both ancient and modern; but we should like to know what was your little *jeu d'esprit* in Scene xii.

We know that in 'Summer's Last Will and Testament,' played in the autumn of 1592, you jested

about 'Saint Francis,' a holy saint, and never had any money; but why in 'Edward I.' (1593) do you drag in 'Saint Francis' five times, and then allude to a breakfast of 'calf's head and *bacon*'?

'*David and Bethsabe*' (1599).

This play may have been written during the early part of 1593, when Francis was nervous and afraid of dying from the plague, and when he wrote under the pen-name of 'Nash' the religious homily 'Christ's Tears over Jerusalem.'

Attention is drawn to the speeches of Solomon and David in Scene xv. of this play.

'It would content me, father, first to learn
How the Eternal framed the firmament,
Which bodies lend their influence by fire,
And which are filled with hoary winter's ice,
What sign is rainy and what star is fair.'

Again :

'O Thou great God, ravish my earthly sprite,
That for the time a more than human skill
May feed the organons of all my sense.'

'David and Bethsabe' was not printed until 1599, a period nearer the maturity of Bacon's literary power. It was conveniently fathered upon the then deceased Peele.

'Old Wives' Tale' (1595).

The *'Old Wives' Tale'*, printed in 1595, appears to have been acted by the Queen's players. The date of production is put by Mr. Fleay at about 1590. Its title was a favourite expression with *'Lyly.'* Its precise connection with Elizabethan drama may be ascertained some day. It brought upon the theatre stage some portion of the Harvey-Nash controversy. *'Nash,'* in one of his anti-Harvey writings, uses and parodies two lines of Harvey's *'Encomium Lauri,'* printed in 1580.

In the *'Old Wives' Tale'* another hexameter is used:

*'Oh that I might—but I may not, woe to my destiny
therefore.'*

Bacon as *'Nash'* in the preface to *'Menaphon'* (1589) ridicules certain verses by Dr. Stanyhurst. As *'Peele'* he does the same in this play. Mr. Fleay thinks that some of the outlandish names, such as Polemackero Placidus (Polly, make a rope, lass), are hits at the Harvey family and the father's trade of ropemaker. Mr. Dodsley drew attention to the fact that during all the Harvey-Nash controversy *Peele* is never mentioned. We venture to infer that Harvey knew that *'Nash'* and *'Peele'* were merely different masks for his young friend Francis.

THE POETICAL WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO 'PEELE.'

Dealing now with the verses to which Peele's name is attached, we have no notion whether Peele himself was some sort of poet or not. Perhaps he was. Judging, however, by external evidence, it may be concluded that Francis, and not Peele, wrote the two Lord Mayor's Pageants.

The ability of young Francis to turn out a masque or write speeches for a tilt-yard or other ceremony seems to have been taken for granted. These Lord Mayors were rich Aldermen, married to two sisters.

From the Dixie Pageant of 1589 is the line :

'The wrathful storms of *winter's rage* doth bide.'

'Winter's rage' was rather a favourite expression with Francis.

In the Webbe Pageant of 1591 are the following lines :

1. 'And made the silver moon and heaven's bright eye.'
2. 'Enrolled in register of eternal fame.'
3. 'As bright as is the burning lamp of heaven'—

which point to Baconian authorship.

'A Farewell to Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake' (1589).

This was doubtless written by Bacon. At the back of the title are the arms of Elizabeth, which he would have permission to use on such an occasion. The dedication and the first three lines of the verse furnish good internal proof of his authorship. Bacon in his own name and those of his masks is to be trusted to use the term 'swelling' in association with either seas or waves. The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth lines are quite Shakespearian. They reminded Mr. Dyce of Othello's 'Farewell to War.' They also recall part of the Hamlet soliloquy.

Later on we once more have :

'The eternal lamp of heaven, lend us light.'

The author concludes with another high-pitched tribute to the Queen. Francis knew two things : first, that he was financially supported by 'her princely liberality'; secondly, that in praise of the Queen he could not lay the paint on too thick to please the vain old autocrat.

'The Tale of Troy,' by parity of reasoning, must also have been written by Francis. It was claimed to be an early work, and bears internal evidence of

composition at the period when he was partly obsessed by the pastoral and Chaucerian style in which he wrote the 'Shepherd's Kalendar.'

He shows the aristocratic familiarity with hawking, also found in Shakespeare :

'As falcon wonts to stoop upon his prey.'

'An Eglogue Gratulatorie' (1589).

The Earl of Essex had been to Lisbon on his own account, against the wish of the Queen, having preceded Norris and Drake. Elizabeth wrote to Knollys and Drake that if Essex had reached the fleet, they were to send him back safely (see Devereux, 'Lives of the Earls of Essex'). Essex was assured of a friendly reception on his return.

The 'Eglogue' is also in the Chaucerian style, but begins with a line from Ovid's 'Amores,' Book II., verse 1.

Bacon as 'Marlowe' translated the 'Amores' of Ovid.

His 'Venus and Adonis,' the first-fruits of 'Shakespeare's' invention, was also prefaced by a line from the 'Amores,' Book I., verse 15.

The poet explains why he could not include Essex in the 'Farewell' Poem. As Essex was coming back in full favour with the Queen, Francis

evidently thought it desirable to explain matters a little :

‘But now returned to royalize his fame.’

This gives indication of the hopes that Francis then had of Essex succeeding to the throne. He had the same hope in 1596 (see ‘View of Ireland,’ Spenser), upon whom ‘our last hopes now rest.’

The last verse contains a line which is distinctly Baconian :

‘And evening air is rheumatic and cold.’

A careful comparison of the acts and life of Peele as known to us with the plays and verses ascribed to him, and a study of the internal evidence, support the assertion of the cipher story that the works in Peele’s name were written by Bacon.

CHAPTER XII

THE VIZARD 'GREENE'

UNTIL the life of Robert Greene, asserted to be written in cipher in some of the works written by Francis, is deciphered, any attempt to identify the man who served as this vizard must necessarily be tentative only. It may turn out that the Greene in question was son of the Robert Greene, a Queen's chaplain whom the Queen, in 1576, presented to a living at Walkington, in the diocese of York.

At any rate Robert Greene was the name of a young chorister of St. Paul's, who, in 1567, according to the 'Old Cheque book of the Chapel Royal' (Camden Society's publications), was made one of the eight choristers of Her Majesty's Chapel.

These choristers, or children they were then called, used to sing the services at Royal worship, and were lodged at the Court. As part of their duties they acted in plays and interludes for the amusement of the Court. As the boys grew into

manhood they had, of course, to leave. When Greene left on this account he had, no doubt, the small means necessary to enable him to travel to Cambridge, where he joined St. John's College as a sizar, or serving scholar, in November, 1575. Francis Bacon was then at Trinity College, and would have known the boy Greene at Court. Greene took his M.A. in 1583—no great test of scholarship at that date—and then sought re-employment in London. It is not surprising to find that in February, 1583-4, he was made sub-dean of the Chapel Royal, in which capacity he would be a sort of assistant choirmaster and dramatic instructor. The fact that the first part of 'Mamillia,' entered 'S. R.' in 1580, was in 1583 published in his name, is an indication that he first made himself useful to Francis, who in turn obtained him the appointment as sub-dean.

Greene's training as a boy actor would be of use to him. On June 19, 1584, Greene was given the vicarage of Tollesbury, in Essex. The living was attached to the estates given by the Queen to Walter, first Earl of Essex, but which passed to her control as mortgagee before his death in 1576. Greene resigned the living in February, 1584-5. He may have been needed as an actor, as there is a tradition that the Earl of Leicester's company of

actors performed 'Hamlet' before the Queen at Oxford in the spring of this year. Whether this be correct or no, it is certain that Leicester's actors, who must have been very carefully trained and rehearsed for a long time beforehand, went upon the Continent this year, probably preceding the Earl, who went in October. 'Robert the Parson,' who was one of the company, was evidently Greene. That his subsequent ways were not saintly seems to be indicated by the reference to him in a Marprelate pamphlet as the red-nosed minister.

Francis printed numerous tales and other short tracts under the vizard 'Greene.' In April, 1588, while Leicester was Chancellor of Oxford University, are two entries in the records (see Wood's 'Fasti'). The first stated that Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, was incorporated M.A., being accounted one of the best poets among the nobility of England. The next that Robert Greene, M.A., of Cambridge, was also then incorporated. Francis was M.A. de jure of Cambridge at that date, but he did not actually take it up until July, 1594. He seems to have had a passion for anonymity. This liking seems to be respected in the 'Athenæ Cantabrigiæ,' which gives biographies of Anthony Bacon and Robert, Earl of Essex, but none of Francis.

The Queen, in 1594, refused both the Attorney-Generalship and Solicitor-Generalship to Francis, on the ground of his youth and inexperience. She twice refused the Chancellorship of Oxford University to Essex on the same ground—viz., when it became vacant in 1588 on the death of Leicester, and in 1591 on the death of Hatton.

The tales and translations were all written before 1590, and mostly dedicated to Lords and Ladies of the Court, with whom Francis would be on terms of friendship. The dedications to ladies would not be, like those to powerful noblemen, in accordance with usage. Besides the light literature title-paged to Greene, a group of serious tracts, known as the Repentance series, are title-paged to him, and his name in one form or other has become associated with the following plays :

	FIRST PRINTED
1. 'Selimus' - - - -	1594
2. 'Orlando Furioso' - - - -	1594
3. 'Looking Glass for London' - - - -	1594
4. 'Friar Bacon' - - - -	1594
5. 'Alphonsus, King of Arragon' - - - -	1597
6. 'James IV. of Scotland' - - - -	1598
7. 'Pinner of Wakefield' - - - -	1599

All the above were published after Greene's death, and Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 7 were first printed anonymously.

Let us note what some of the literary critics had to say of these plays.

Professor Brown : " "Orlando Furioso" pointed the way to "Lear" and "Hamlet." "

'Friar Bacon' preceded Shakespeare's use of the supernatural. The fairy framework of 'James IV.' is followed by the 'Midsummer Night's Dream.' 'James IV.' is the finest Elizabethan historical play outside Shakespeare, and is worthy to be placed on a level with Shakespeare's earlier style.

In style, again, Greene is father of Shakespeare. Tieck, a German critic, considered the 'Pinner of Wakefield' to be one of Shakespeare's juvenile productions. The critics of style think they find Greene's handiwork in certain of the Shakespeare plays. Ulrici said that 'Pericles' and 'Arden of Feversham' were composed in Greene's style. R. G. White thought Greene part author of 'Taming of the Shrew.' T. W. White assigned to Greene the whole of 'Love's Labour Lost' and 'Comedy of Errors,' and parts of 'Henry VI.' and 'Winter's Tale.'

While the later style of the vizard Greene approximated to that still later writing which is ascribed 'Shakespeare,' so the earlier style approximated to the earlier vizard, 'Lyly.' Harvey called 'Greene' 'The Ape of Euphuus.' The Euphuism present in

the earlier works ascribed to Shakespeare is to a still larger extent employed in the early works of 'Greene.' One can understand a great literary prodigy expressly developing different styles of writing to suit his subject matter, but not that another person could acquire and use such styles by a mere effort of imitation. Shakspeare is assumed to have been able to imitate Greene, Marlowe, Lyly, Spenser, or Peele at will, which seems impossible. On the vizard question the researches and comments of other critics have a valuable bearing.

M. Jusserand, writing of Greene, states: 'Learned he was, versed in the Greek, Latin, French, and Italian tongues.' *So was Francis Bacon.*

Mr. H. C. Hart, in *Notes and Queries*, remarked that 'Greene was a versatile genius.' *So was Francis Bacon.*

'Proverbial philosophy is unusually rampant in Greene's method,' says Mr. Hart. *So it was in Bacon's method.*

Mr. Hart shows that from Bowes' translation (1586) of Primaudaye's 'French Academy,' 'Greene' made long excerpts. He says the chapter on 'Fortune' (except one passage) is virtually annexed by Greene in 'Tritameron,' second part, 1587. Mr. Hart finds the excepted passage used in the

play of 'Tamburlaine,' printed anonymously in 1590, but posthumously ascribed to Marlowe. This points strongly to the use by one writer of different portions of the book for different purposes.

That 'Greene' in 'Menaphon,' printed 1589, quoted from 'Tamburlaine,' not then printed again, points to single authorship. The writer of the 'Greene' works was a lawyer. The following instances of legal phraseology go far to establish this contention :

'Mark the words, 'tis a lease parol to have and to hold' ('Looking Glass for England').

'This lease, this manor, or this patent sealed' ('James IV.').

'I have left thee by my last Will and Testament only heir and sole executor of all my lands and movables, yet with this proviso.'

'Neither is the defendant overthrown at the first plea of the plaintiff' ('Mamillia,' second part).

Turning once again to the 'Cheque-book of the Chapel Royal,' it will be found there recorded that Robert Greene, the sub-dean, died on July 10, 1592, at Abies, an obscure vicarage in Norfolk.

Francis, who had dropped his vizard of 'Watson' in the early part of the year, conceived this to be an excellent opportunity of giving up his vizard of 'Greene.' The frequent changing of pen-names

was a rule of the 'Rosicrucian Society' (formed about twenty years later). Taking advantage of the obscurity of Greene's death, Francis proceeded to 'die' in amusing fashion.

The pamphlets by which this was accomplished, 'Greene's Groatsworth of Wit,' 'Greene's Vision,' and the 'Repentance of Robert Greene,' were all entered S. R. subsequent to July 10, 1592.

According to these pamphlets *Greene makes himself out to have been a licentious vagabond*, and writes an elaborate apology for his life, urging others to take warning from his example, and improve their own conduct. We quote the words, putting in italics a few which seem equivocal :

'But however my life hath beene let my repentant end be a generall example to all the youth in England to obey their parentes to flie whoredome drunkenness swearing blaspheming contempt of the word and such grevous and grosse sinnes least they bring their parents' heads with sorrow to their graves and leaste (with mee) they be a blemish to their kindred and to their posteritie for ever.'

Yet, when we examine the few contemporary descriptions of Greene, we find the witnesses as respectfully complimentary of him as Gabriel Harvey, the brilliant young Cambridge Lecturer, was of Immerito ('Two Letters of Notable Contents').

This is what Chettle said ('Kind Hearts Dream,' 1592):

'A man of indifferent yeares, of face amiable, of body well proportioned, his attire after the habit of a scholarlike gentleman only his hair was somewhat long.'

In Greene's 'Funeralls' (1594), R. B. says:

'Greene pleased the eies of all that lookt upon him.'

* * * * *

'For judgment Jove for learning deepe he still Apollo seemde

For fluent tongue for eloquence, men Mercury him deemde
For curtesie suppose him Guy or Guyons somewhat lesse
His life and manners though I would I cannot halfe
expresse

Nor mouth nor mind nor Muse can halfe declare
His life his love his laude so excellent they were.'

Other things being equal, these encomiums would accord with a fair description of young Francis Bacon.

What Harvey said to the contrary was only part of the collaborated joking in which Harvey took a full share. Harvey pretended that he was 'altogether unacquainted with the man.'

That Francis Bacon decided in 1592 to drop light literature, and let his 'Greene' vizard die dramatically in the public eye, has some support

from his letter to Lord Burleigh, which Mr. Spedding ascribes to this date :

‘ Lastly I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate civil ends, for I have taken all knowledge to be my province ; and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils, I hope I should bring in industrious observations grounded conclusions and profitable inventions and discoveries ; the best state of that province. This whether it be curiosity or vain glory, or nature or (if one take it favourably) philanthropia is so fixed in my mind as it cannot be removed. And I do easily see that place of any reasonable countenance doth bring commandment of more wits than of a mans own which is the thing I greatly affect. . . And if your Lordship cannot carry me on, I will not do as Anaxagoras did, who reduced himself with contemplation unto voluntary poverty ; but this I will do : I will sell the inheritance that I have and purchase some lease of quick revenue, or some office of gain that shall be executed by deputy and so give over all care of service, and become some sorry book-maker or a true pioneer in that mine of truth which (he said) lay so deep.’

This piece of autobiography was followed up in September with the pamphlet ‘Greene’s Vision,’

which gives us further insight into his state of mind, already much disturbed by the Plague then raging in London.

In the 'Vision' he proceeds to tell how in a discontented humour 'I sat me down upon my bedside and began to cal to remembrance what fond and wanton lines had past my pen, how I had bent my course to a wrong shore, as beating my brains about such vanities as were little profitable, sowing my seed in the sand and so reaping nothing but thornes and thistles.'

He then prints an 'Ode of the Vanity of Wanton Writings.'

Proceeding, he writes :

'After I had written this Ode a deeper insight of my follies did pearce into the center of my thoughtes, that I felt a passionate remorse, discovering such perticuler vanities as I had soothed up with all my forepassed humors, I began to consider that that Astrea, that virtue, that metaphisicall influence which maketh one man differ from an other in excellence being I meane come from the heavens, and was a thing infused into man from God, the abuse whereof I found to be as prejudicial as the right user thereof was profitable, that it ought to be employed to wit, not in setting out a goddesse but in setting out the

praises of God ; not in discovering of beauty but in discovering of vertues ; not in laying out the platformes of love, nor in telling the deepe passions of fancy but in *persuading men to honest and honorable actions* which are the steps that lead to the true and perfect felicity : . . . These premises drive me into a maze especially when I considered that wee were borne to profit our country not only to pleasure ourselves : then the discommodities that grew from my vaine pamphlets, began to muster in my sight : then I cald to minde how many idle fancies I had made to passe the Presse, how I had pestered gentlemen's eyes and mindes with the infection of many fond passions rather infecting them with the allurements of some enchanted Aconiton than tempored their thought with any honest Antidote. . . .'

Then follows a very beautiful prayer concluding 'and so shadow me with the wings of thy grace, that my minde being free from all sinfull cogitations I may for ever keepe my soul an undefiled member of thy church, and in faith love feare humblenesse of heart, prayer and dutiful obedience shew myself regenerate and a reformed man from my former follies.'

'Greene' next proceeds to describe a vision of a visit from the poets Chaucer and Gower. These poets discuss the merits of Greene's work, and

after certain quotations, 'How saiest thou Gower quoth Chaucer to these sentences? are they not worthie grave eares and necessary for younge mindes? is *there no profit in these principles*; is *there not flowers amongst weedes and sweet aphorisms hidden amongst effeminate amours*? Are not these worthie to *eternize a mans fame* and to make the memorial of him lasting?' After the introduction of one or two tales, Gower makes a speech, in the course of which he says:

'Then Green give thyself to write either of humanity and as Tullie did set down thy minde *de officiis*, or els of Morall vertue and so be a profitable instructor of manners: doe as the Philosophers did, seeke to bring youth to vertue with setting down Axiomes of good living and doe not persuade young gentlemen to folly by the acquainting themselves with thy idle workes. I tell thee bookes are companions and friends and counsailors, and therefore ought to bee civill honest and discreet least they corrupt with false doctrine rude manners and vicious living: Or els penne something of *natural philosophie*. Dive down into the Aphorismes of the Philosophers and see what nature hath done and with thy pen paint that out to the world: let them see in the creatures the mightinesse of the Creator, so shalt thou reape report worthy of memorie.'

Next follows a vision of Solomon, who counsels the study of Divinity—the true wisdom.

Greene winds up the pamphlet with the remark that he found he had been in a dream :

‘Yet gentlemen when I entered into the consideration of the vision and called to minde not only the counsaile of Gower, but the persuasions of Solomon : a sudaine feare tainted every limme and I felt a horror in my conscience for the follyes of my Penne : whereupon as in my dreame, so awoke, I resolved peremptorilie to leave all thoughts of love and to apply my wits as neere as I could to seeke after wisdome so highly commended by Solomon.’

Thus in the cases of Bacon and ‘Greene’ the year 1592 sees them both embarked upon ‘vast contemplative ends.’

In working out Bacon’s resolve to bury himself as Greene, Harvey collaborated. The fictitious autobiography and the pamphleteering arising out of the ‘death’ of the pseudo-Greene are, I think, most amusing incidents in Elizabethan literature. From the autobiography and the pamphlets modern biographers and editors have evolved what they honestly supposed to have been correct details of Greene’s life. How otherwise could they have passed by the obvious jest in the ‘Groatsworth of

Wit' (1592), in which the supposed dying father remarks of his son : ' he is still Greene, and may grow straight' ? They have also allowed themselves to be imposed upon by Harvey, who stated (' Four Letters ') that Greene had a bastard son, ' Infortunatus Greene ' (why Greene ?). This surely was only a jibe by Harvey at Francis Bacon's fondness (in writing in the name of Greene) of the word ' infortunate ' (see examples in *Notes and Queries*, by Mr. Hart, 1905, p. 81).

Mr. J. P. Collier, always ready to go one better, professed to have found the following entry in the Parish Registry of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, under date August 11, 1593 :

' Fortunatus Green was buried the same day.'

This is likely to be another of Mr. Collier's forgeries and also one of his mistakes, as the name is not correct.

Gabriel Harvey is responsible for further mystification. According to the ' Repentance,' the following letter was written by Greene on his death-bed :

' Sweet wife as ever there was any goodwill or friendship between thee and mee see this bearer (my host) satisfied of his debt : I owe him tenne pound and but for him I had perished in the

streetes. Forget and forgive my wrongs done unto thee and Almighty-God have mercie on my soule.

'Farewell till we meet in heaven for on earth thou shalt never see me more.

'This 2 of September.

'Written by thy dying husband. Robert Greene.'

Harvey, in his 'Four Letters,' states that he saw the hostess of the dying Greene, before September 8, and that Greene had given his host a bond for ten pounds, *on which* was written the following letter :

'Doll I charge thee by the love of our youth and by my soules rest that thou wilte see this man paid : for if he and his wife had not succoured me I had died in the streetes. Robert Greene.'

There could hardly have been two letters, so that the Harvey-Immerito combination in this instance did not collaborate very well.

Identities of expression are of course not conclusive, but the following are only open to the objection of possible copying by two persons from one common source.

'Greene,' in 'Mamillia,' Second Part, printed 1590, says : 'I remember the saying of Dante that love cannot roughly be thrust out, but it must easily creep.'

In 1619, not printed until after Bacon's death, a letter from him to King James has : ' Love must creep in service where it cannot go.'

In 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' not printed until 1623—seven years after the ascribed author's death—there is the same sentiment : ' Love will creep in service where it cannot go.'

We conclude that the cipher claim that Bacon wrote the works ascribed to Greene will be borne out by unprejudiced investigation.

CHAPTER XIII

THE VIZARD 'MARLOWE'

IN the year 1891 a memorial statue to this wayward and short-lived personality was unveiled at Canterbury by the late Sir Henry Irving. His biography has been more than once attempted; that he was an actor appears to be true; that he was not a dramatist, I hope to assist in demonstrating.

The son of a Canterbury shoemaker, Marlowe was born in February, 1563-4. He was a poor scholar at Cambridge in 1587, in which year he took his M.A. He died at Deptford in June, 1593. His conduct shortly before his death brought him into some trouble with the authorities. A fellow-servant, one Thomas Kyd, being also implicated, wrote to the Lord Keeper (probably under the dictation of their employer) a letter explaining his conduct. This letter gives our only glimpse of Marlowe's life between 1587 and 1593. From this we learn—(1) that for two years back, at least,

Marlowe and Kyd were in the service of a certain unnamed lord ; (2) that they wrote together in the same room ; (3) that Marlowe was intemperate, of a cruel heart, irreligious, and by some thought to be an atheist ; (4) that Kyd's ' first acquaintance with this Marlowe rose *upon his bearing name to serve my lord, although his lordship never knew his service but in writing for his players*, for never could my lord endure his name or sight when he had heard of his conditions.'

The above are all the available biographical details. Until the life or tragedy of Marlowe is deciphered from the printed matter in which it is at present hidden, we must be content with what we have. According to the biliteral cipher story, Bacon purchased from Marlowe the permission to put forth writings in the latter's name.

So we can reasonably expect that *he* was at the back of the cleverly written Kyd letter, with its apt quotations filled in by another hand. Lord Keeper Puckering had evidently to be quietly assured that the young nobleman Francis, then at the age of thirty-two, had *not* associated with this wicked atheist, Marlowe.

A reference to the works attributed to Marlowe, and a short inquiry into the circumstances of their publication, confirm the cipher allegation that

'Marlowe' was merely one of Bacon's literary disguises.

1. In the first place, no writing or play was title-paged to Marlowe in his lifetime; 'Tamburlaine' (1590) was anonymous.

2. The play of 'Edward II.,' title-paged to Marlowe, was printed in 1594. It has a strong family likeness to the historical plays of the period. Like the English history plays in the Shakespeare First Folio, it is based upon Holinshed's Chronicles.

Numerous instances of identity of thought and expression between this play and the admitted works and letters of Bacon are adduced by Mr. R. M. Theobald in 'Shakespeare Studies' (Sampson Low and Co., 1901).

3. The play of 'Dr. Faustus,' also title-paged to Marlowe, was printed 1604. It contains reference to an event (the attempt of Dr. Lopez on the Queen's life) which happened after Marlowe's death. In 1616, as Mr. Theobald has pointed out, it was in part rewritten and added to by a hand as good as the first writer. Revision and augmentation of his acknowledged writings was a regular and oft-repeated practice with Bacon. Unless '*Proteus was Proteus*,' whether in the apparel of Marlowe, Spenser, Kyd, or Shakespeare, we have the curious phenomena of alterations *after death* in the writings

of at least four Elizabethan authors in the style and quality of the work attributed to each author in his lifetime. All these alterations and additions occurred while Bacon was alive.

4. 'The Massacre at Paris' is an undated play. The author expressed antagonism to the opinions of a contemporary French Professor of Logic, Peter Ramus. The same antagonism is expressed by Bacon in 'Temporis Partus Maximus.' 'Nash,' another mask for Bacon, was equally antagonistic.

5. The 'Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage,' was acted in Marlowe's lifetime. When printed the year after his death, the name of 'Nash' was introduced as joint author. Mr. Dyce, the critic, could not find any marked differences of versification, and could not determine what verses, if any, were by 'Nash.'

6. 'The Jew of Malta' is a play title-paged to Marlowe, printed in 1633 under the auspices of Thomas Heywood. This was a long time for one solitary play to remain unpublished. The play is named for the first and only time in that part of the biliteral cipher story which was by Bacon's direction ciphered by his secretary Rawley in the 'Sylva Sylvarum' of 1635. It may have been printed merely as a vehicle for some portion of cipher history.

7. The 'Hero and Leander' verses, entered S.R. in September, 1593, were not printed until 1598, and then in two sestiads. In 1606 *four sestiads were added*, and the poem reprinted 'as begunne by Christopher Marloe and finished by George Chapman.' Mr. Theobald shows that the two sestiads ascribed to Marlowe cannot be distinguished from the four ascribed to Chapman, and that nothing in Chapman's other work is at all like the 'Hero' sestiads. In the case of Kyd, both Charles Lamb and Coleridge *could not find any similarity* between the *ascribed* Ben Jonson's 'Additions' to 'The Spanish Tragedy' and Jonson's known writings.

8. The translation from 'Lucan' was printed in 1600. Could any printer, even presented with the manuscript, have expected to have made a profit by printing it? A living author, *particularly one so sensible of his own importance, as was Bacon*, might have ventured.

9. The translation of Ovid's 'Elegies,' by C. M., is undated. Someone was at the expense of printing it in Middleborough, in Holland. As the late Mr. Begley remarked, it is odd that on the theory of Marlowe authorship a few of the elegies by a deceased author should first be published and followed later by another edition with all of them.

Bound in the booklet with the Ovid 'Elegies' were certain epigrams written by J. D. (Sir John Davis) :

'Qu'allait il faire dans cette galère?'

Davis was not called to the Bar until two years after Marlowe's death. How could *they* have ever become associated? But if we lift the Marlowe mask we find the face of Francis Bacon beneath. Davis was a personal friend of Bacon. On Davis going in 1603 as one of the party to conduct James I. from Scotland to England on his accession, Bacon wrote the letter in which he asked Davis 'to be kind to concealed poets.'

In the completed edition of the 'Elegies' is included, next to the fifteenth elegy, an alternative translation by 'B. J.' This translation also appears in Jonson's play of 'The Poetaster,' performed 1601 and printed 1602. Ovid Junior, in the play, is told to give up poetry, and get to his law-book. Mr. Begley was disposed to regard this as a hit at Bacon. He gave other good grounds for thinking that at one period some sort of literary feud was waged between them.

Except on the assumption that 'Marlowe' was merely a name used by Bacon in putting forth the Ovid 'Elegies,' the association of Marlowe with

Jonson is inexplicable. The completed series of the Ovid translations is undated, but I am disposed to fix the date as subsequent to the printing in 1602 of 'The Poetaster.' According to the biliteral cipher story, Bacon was the author of 'Sejanus,' and Ben Jonson was in his close confidence. 'Sejanus' was produced in 1603. In the preface Jonson states that it was written in collaboration with a certain *happy genius*.

If Bacon were thus referred to, it would seem that he and Jonson were on most friendly terms in 1603, and the publication of the completed 'Elegies' with the alternative translations of the fifteenth elegy, whether the second one was written by Jonson or not—though I do not see why he should not have done so—would emphasize to those who knew the authors, the good understanding arrived at. Mr. Begley has given ample proof of knowledge by the literary men of the time that Bacon was a poet, but concealed. He has further reminded us that even Stowe, in his 'Annals,' 1605, joins Sir Francis Bacon with Sir John Davis as two of the poets of Elizabeth's reign. Surely these two were the C. M. and J. D. of the 'Elegies' and 'Epigrams,' the first edition of which was destroyed by order of the Archbishop of June 1, 1599, only to be reprinted abroad,

with additions, after a considerable interval of years.

That Bacon was the *happy genius* who joined in writing 'Sejanus' is indicated by *that tendency for a writer to repeat himself*, which Mr. Crawford in 'Collectanea' defines as 'style.' When Bacon celebrated his sixtieth birthday, Jonson wrote a poem for the occasion, commencing

'Hail, happy genius of this ancient pile.'

10. Any person desirous of knowing more of the inside working of the movement for the advancement of learning should read the Harvey-Immerito letters and Harvey-Nash pamphlets, together composing a spirited correspondence between Bacon on the one hand, writing under his various pen-names, and Harvey on the other.

From Harvey's 'Sonnet' of the year 1593 may be inferred that he had considerable misgiving as to the wisdom of Bacon, after the death in June of that year of his actor-mask Marlowe, bringing upon the scene in the next month another actor, Will Shakspeare, in whose reconstructed name of William Shakespeare he published the 'Venus and Adonis' poem. Evidently not sorry that the turbulent and free-thinking Marlowe had ended his earthly career, Harvey nevertheless had doubts about the

expediency of the working arrangement newly concluded by Bacon with the 'deserving man' from Stratford-on-Avon.

I copy below the portion of the Harvey Sonnet, which to my mind shows this :

' Wonders enhance their power in numbers odd,
The fatal yeare of yeares is ninety three.
Parma hath kist, Demaine entreats the rodd,

* * * * *

Navarre woos Roome; Charlemaine gives Guise the Phy :
Weep, Powles, thy *Tamburlaine vouchsafes to dye.*

L'Envoy.

The hugest miracle remains behind,
The second *Shakerley Rashe-swashe to binde.*'

Yes, verily, the hugest miracle has remained behind and become idealized, the Stratford bust and Droeshout mask notwithstanding !

CHAPTER XIV

THE VIZARD 'SPENSER'

EDMUND SPENSER, a poor scholar of the Merchant Taylors' School, London, was aided with ten shillings by one Nowell, in 1569, to go to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, as a sizar, or serving scholar. After seven years' residence he proceeded M.A. in 1576. In July, 1580, he accompanied Lord Grey de Wilton (the Queen's Lord Deputy) to Ireland in the capacity of his clerk or secretary. Spenser was an official in or near Dublin until about June, 1588, when he went to Kilcolman Castle, in Munster, having purchased the office of Clerk to the Council of that province. On December 24, 1598, he brought to London from Ireland a despatch of Sir John Norris concerning the disturbed state of Munster. On January 16, 1598-9 he died. His remains were deposited in Westminster Abbey at the expense of Robert, Earl of Essex, and his hearse (according to Camden)

was attended by poets, who threw into his tomb mournful elegies and poems with the pens that wrote them.

On the original gravestone were inscribed two Latin distichs. They have long since disappeared.

A monument to the memory of Spenser was erected in 1620, at the cost of £40, by Ann Clifford, Countess of Dorset (grandniece of Anne, widow of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick). The faulty inscription, putting the date of birth as 1510 and of death as 1596, has in modern times been corrected. This Countess of Dorset, after the death of her first husband, married the Earl of Montgomery, to whom the First Folio Shakespeare was dedicated.

Spenser's father was a journeyman cloth-maker. Interesting speculations have been made as to the date of Spenser's birth, whom he fell in love with, and whom he married and when. We may regard them as highly ingenious, most probably erroneous, and certainly immaterial.

Francis Bacon, in the biliteral cipher story, claims that he wrote the poems title-paged to Spenser, who sold him the use of his name.

The poems and works so title-paged were published over a period from 1590-8. They comprised :

	PRINTED
' Faerie Queene ' (First Part) - - -	1590
' Complaintes ' - - - - -	1591
' Daphnaida ' - - - - -	1591
' Colin Clout ' - - - - -	1595
' Amoretti ' - - - - -	1595
Four Hymns - - - - -	1596
' Astrophel ' - - - - -	1596
' Prothalamion ' - - - - -	1597
' Faerie Queene ' (Second Part) - -	1597
' Vewe of Ireland ' (prose) - - -	1598

In 1580 a short pamphlet, dedicated June 19 of that year, was printed, entitled 'Three Proper Witty Familiar Letters lately passed between two University Men touching the Earthquake in April last and our English Reformed Versifying.' Later in the same year another pamphlet appeared, entitled 'Two other very Commendable Letters of the same Men's Writing, both touching the foresaid Artificial Versifying and certain other particulars more lately delivered unto the Printer.' Both pamphlets were published by H. Bynneman with 'the grace and privilege of the Queen's Majesty.' The letters purport to be correspondence passed between Immerito and G. H.

G. H. proved to be Gabriel Harvey. Immerito, who in the *first* letter in the *last printed pamphlet*, also styled himself 'Edmundus,' has yet to be accurately identified.

As we have seen, Bacon alleges that he bought the use of Spenser's name. If that be true, he would have been free to insert the Edmundus allusion in the *second* pamphlet after Spenser had left for Ireland in July, 1580.

Harvey went to Cambridge before 1569. He was Tutor at Pembroke College in 1573, was Professor of Rhetoric before 1577, his lectures being very popular, and he remained at Cambridge for several years afterwards. Spenser we can trace being at Cambridge until he took his M.A. in 1576. As Dr. Fulke, the Master of Pembroke College, was also chaplain to the Earl of Leicester, it is probable that Spenser obtained some clerical employment with the Earl in 1577 or 1578. Bacon was at Cambridge from April, 1573, to December, 1575. He thus had early opportunity of knowing Harvey, and perhaps Spenser also.

He left England for France in September, 1576, returning in March, 1578-9. In 1579 he was entered as an ancient at Gray's Inn.

In the light of the cipher story it is not unreasonable to find Immerito dating his letters sometimes from Westminster and sometimes from Leicester House.

Harvey's age in 1579 (to judge by a letter to Dr. Young of April 24, 1573) was twenty-eight.

Spenser's age cannot be fixed, but if he were sixteen when he went to Cambridge in 1569, he would have been twenty-six in 1579. Francis Bacon was about nineteen. As to his appearance and mental development in 1578, we have the testimony of his miniature painted by Hilliard, the Queen's Court limner, with its inscription: '1578. Si tabula daretur digna Animum malle, Æ.S. 18.' In 1578 Harvey attracted the attention of the Queen and Earl Leicester, and delivered an oration before them at Saffron Walden, his native place. The Earl shortly afterwards arranged to send Harvey to Italy on some business for him. In December, 1578, Harvey was probably in London, that being the date of an entry in a book ('Howliglass,' by Copland) which he had lent to Spenser. In 1579 Harvey was back at Cambridge, Bacon and Spenser in London. In August, 1580, Spenser landed in Dublin. Granted that young Francis wanted to use another man's name as pseudo-author, one can very well understand his coming to a bargain with the poor clerk who was taking up an permanent situation in Ireland.

The testimony of the Harvey letters is therefore material in determining whether Immerito was in fact Spenser, or whether the cipher claim can be justified. We are not entirely confined to the

printed letters, because a manuscript letter-book and diary belonging to Gabriel Harvey exists, and was edited for the Camden Society some years ago by Mr. Scott. That gentleman complained that in the portions containing copies or drafts of letters to Immerito leaves had been torn out. From the Harvey letters we gather that Immerito was :

1. 'A Hertfordshire gentleman.'

Francis, as a boy, was frequently resident at St. Albans, Herts. Spenser was a Londoner.

2. 'Illustrious Anglo-francitalorum.'

This may point to an Englishman who had spent a considerable period in France. If so, the cap fits Francis Bacon.

3. Harvey addressed Immerito with much deference and politeness :

'Magnifico Signor Benevolo.'

'Your delicate Mastershipp. . . . My younge Italianate Seignoir and French Monsieur. . . . Good-natured and worshipful young gentleman. . . . I beseech your Benivolenza. . . . Take my leave of your Excellencies feet and betake your gracious Mastershipp. . . . What tho' Il Magnifico Segnior Immerito Benivolo hath noted this amongst his politic discourses and matters of state and Government.'

This is an attitude consistent with the position of a young nobleman such as Francis Bacon, who at an early age studied foreign politics. Harvey could not have been so deferential to a sizar of his college, even to one in the employ of Earl Leicester.

4. 'So trew a gallant in the Court, so toward a *lawyer* and so witty a gentleman.'

'We are yet to take instructions and advertisements at you *lawiers* and courtiers' hands, that are continually better trayned and more lively experienced therein than we University men are.'

The suggestion that Immerito was a lawyer and courtier fits Bacon, but does not accord with Spenser the serving scholar.

5. 'So honest a *youth*.'

'Good lord, you a gentleman, a courtier and *youth*.'

The respective ages of Harvey and Bacon warrant the term 'youth' as applied by the former to the latter. Spenser must have been close upon the same age as Harvey.

6. 'Foolish is all younkerly learning without a certain manly discipline. As if indeed for the *poor boys* only, and not much more for well-born and

noble youth, were suited the strictness of that old system of learning and teaching.'

The above observation would be appropriate from Harvey to Bacon, but a deprecation of the poor boys would hardly have been made to one like *Spenser, who was educated at Cambridge as a poor boy.*

7. 'You suppose us students happy, and think the air preferred that breatheth on these same great learned philosophers and profound clerks. . . . Would to God you were one of these men but a sennight.'

Such an observation, if made to Spenser, who was at college for seven years, is inexplicable. Francis was specially tutored at Trinity College by Whitgift, the Queen's chaplain; took no degrees, and left at the age of fifteen.

8. In a later letter from Harvey (see Scott) he suggested that Immerito might shortly be sending one of Lord Leicester's, or Earl Warwick's, or Lord Rich's, players to get him to write a 'comedy or interlude for the theatre or some overpainted stage whereat thou and thy lively copesmates in London may laugh.'

On the footing of the truth of the cipher story it is intelligible. The influence of young Francis

with the players belonging to his father, the Earl of Leicester, or his uncle, the Earl of Warwick, can be understood.

9. In another passage Harvey rebuked Immerito for thinking that the first age was the golden age. If Immerito was the son of a journeyman cloth-maker, and had in two years become a lawyer, a gallant at Court, and a witty gentleman, why was he discontented and sighing for a bygone period, which he thought had been the golden age ?

In a draft letter in Harvey's 'Letter Book' are two references to a certain E. S. of London, Gentleman. The date of this letter is 10th of —, 1579. In another draft the date is given as August 1, 1580. In the same book Harvey refers to 'a friend of mine that since a certain chance befallen unto him, a secret not to be revealed, calleth himself Immerito.'

Harvey's draft letter may have been prepared for the pamphlets but never published, though consistent with a settled plan to lead the reading public to think that Immerito was Spenser, and not Francis Bacon, who, in view of his possible open recognition by the Queen as her son, had good reason for concealing his identity.

If we turn to Immerito's letters, we find him writing sometimes from the Court at Westminster,

sometimes from Leicester House. In that of October 16, 1579, he remarked: 'First I was minded for awhile to have intermitted the uttering of my writings leaste by over much cloying of their noble ears I should gather a contempt of myself or else seem rather for gaine and commoditie to doe it.'

This indicates that his previous as well as his then present writings were intended for the courtiers to read, and that he did not wish to be thought to be trying to get some personal advantage by his writings. This could not have been the line of the poor son of a journeyman cloth-maker.

Another remark is, 'Your desire to hear of my late being with her Majesty must die in itself.' That the sizar of yesterday should obtain private audience with the Queen of a most exclusive Court is incomprehensible. Even in the Victorian age an ordinary Oxford undergraduate could not, without social offence, appear in public with a 'servitor,' which is the Oxford equivalent for the Cambridge sizar.

It will be noticed that in the works of Spenser we have not named the 'Shepherd's Kalendar' of 1579-80, as it was not title-paged to him, being evidently published before the use of Spenser's name had been arranged for. It was subsequently included in the 'Spenser' Folio of 1611.

It is inconsistent with Spenser authorship that after he settled in Ireland a new edition of the 'Kalendar' came in 1581 from a different publisher in smaller type, closer set, and *corrected*.

It is not necessary to follow Spenser, the Irish official, very closely. From 1580 to June, 1588 (when he purchased the office of Clerk to the Council of Munster, and went to reside at Kilcolman Castle, an estate of over 3,000 acres in that province), he was in Dublin. He followed his occupation of examining and copying documents, and the Irish office has many specimens of his clerical industry, 'vera copia Edmund Spenser.'

He had not long settled at Kilcolman, when, in October, 1589, litigation ensued at the instance of Lord Roche, a neighbour. This litigation lasted in the Irish Courts from October, 1589, until 1594.

On December 1, 1589, the First Part of the 'Faerie Queene' was registered in London. It was published in 1590 in the name of Edmund Spenser as author, and had a prefatory letter to Raleigh, dated January 23, 1589-90. Raleigh had been in Ireland in August and September, 1589, and returned in October to his duties as Lord-Lieutenant of Cornwall. From thence Raleigh wrote to a friend with the information that he was

on terms of confidence and friendship with the Queen. The letter to Raleigh, and sonnets affixed to the 'Faerie Queene' addressed to Queen Elizabeth and her chief Ministers, as well as to the ladies of her Court, give, as Dr. Grosart remarked, 'touches declarative of some personal intercourse.'

There is no evidence that Edmund Spenser, the Irish official, ever crossed the sea to superintend the printing and publication of this magnificent and lengthy poem. The testimony, such as it is, of the 'Colin Clout' poem (1595) is excepted. The allegations of the 'Colin Clout' verses settle nothing. They may be truth or mere bluff. The public records, however, show that a pension of £50, payable half-yearly, every Christmas and Midsummer, was granted on February 25, 1590-1, to Edmund Spenser and his assigns, during his natural life, to be paid '*at the office of the Exchequer at Westminster by the hands of our Treasurer and Chamberlain.*' The terms may be inconsistent with it being paid to the grantee while out of England. The Issue Rolls for 1591-8 are missing, so that we cannot tell whether the pension was ever drawn by Spenser until he arrived in this country.

In January, 1598-9, there is record (the only one) of a payment of the pension—viz., to Edmund

Spenser, by the hand of Thomas Walker, being £25 for the half-year, due at Christmas.

If Spenser did not cross from Ireland in 1589 or 1590, the personal intercourse with the notables named in the affixed sonnets to the 'Faerie Queene' is hard to understand. Yet perhaps it is harder still to comprehend how much progress he had to make in the way of personal intimacy between October, 1589, and the January following. There is one notable exception. We should have expected Spenser to have known best Sir John Norris, the President of Munster. That warrior spent most of his life in warfare, and practically none at the English Court. Yet the sonnet to him gives no indication of personal intimacy!

So far the trend of the evidence supports the claim that the concealed poet and courtier, Francis Bacon, wrote the poems attributed to Spenser, and published them in the latter's name.

The next 'Spenser' publication was a group of minor verses, entitled 'Complaintes,' entered S.R., London, on December 29, 1590, and published the next year. 'Spenser' wrote no dedication, but Ponsonby, the publisher, prefixed an epistle—'The Printer to the Gentle Reader,' and therein affirmed that the poems had 'been dispersed abroad, and some of them embezzled and purloined from the

poet since his departure over the sea.' This observation is consistent with a departure in 1580.

The 'Complaintes' comprised the following :

1. 'The Ruines of Time,' with dedication to Lady Marie, Countess of Pembroke.

2. 'The Teares of the Muses,' dedicated to Ladie Strange.

3. 'Virgil's Gnat.' Long since dedicated to the Earl of Leicester, late deceased.

4. 'Mother Hubbard's Tale,' dedicated to Lady Compton and Mountegle.

5. 'The Ruines of Rome.'

6. 'Muioptomos,' dedicated to Ladie Carey.

7. 'Visions of the World's Vanities.'

8. 'Visions of Petrarch.'

Of the above, No. 4 is admittedly a youthful production ; No. 3 was written and dedicated to the Earl of Leicester in his lifetime (*i.e.*, before the autumn of 1588) ; No. 1 was written after the death of Ambrose, Earl of Warwick (February, 1590) ; Nos. 2, 7, and 8 are early writings.

No. 1 concerns itself with a long lament over the old city of Verulam, the site of St. Albans, where Francis, as a boy, was brought up. It also most feelingly mourns the deaths of Sir Philip Sidney ; Robert, Earl of Leicester ; Ambrose, Earl of Warwick ; and Sir Francis Walsingham.

In 'The Teares of the Muses' (No. 2) Melpomene laments the low state of the stage; Terpsichore records the greater burden of misery which occurs to anyone who has, previous to misfortune, 'in the lap of soft delight been long time lulled.' It would have been difficult for the prosperous and busy Irish official to have evolved these evidently painful personal sentiments.

In No. 4 the poet seems to take part in the Martin Marprelate controversy, which in 1588, 1589, and 1590 raged in England, though not in Ireland. The poet objected to difference of texts :

' From whence arrise diversities of sects
And hateful heresies of God abhor'd.'

In the same poem (which, by-the-by, caused some offence, and had to be withdrawn) there are the lines :

' What hell it is in suing long to bide,
To lose good days that might be better spent,
To waste long nights in pensive discontent,
To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow,
To feed on hope with fear of sorrow,
To have thy Prince's grace yet want his Peeres',
To have thy asking, *yet wait manie years.*'

How this can express the feelings of the Irish official is difficult to comprehend. The poem refers to the sad lot of the suitor at Court. It

was, in the opinion of Dr. Grosart, written several years before the date of publication. If Spenser did come to Court in October, 1589, as to which there is no evidence whatever, he did not have to 'wait manie years' before he had a pension granted him, and in 1586 he was presented with a large Irish estate of 3,000 acres and a castle.

The most curious dedication is that to the Earl of Leicester in No. 3:

'Wronged, yet not daring to express my paine.
To you, great lord, the causer of my care,
In cloudie tears I thus complain
Unto yourself that only privie are.'

This agrees with the allegation of the cipher story as to the parentage of young Francis and its non-recognition.

The next poem ascribed to Spenser—namely, 'Colin Clout's Come Home Again'—was dedicated at Kilcolman Castle on December 27, 1591. It was not printed until 1595. 'Daphnaida,' a lament at the death of a relative of Lady Helena, Marquise of Northampton, was dedicated five days later—viz., January 1, 1591-2, at London. Spenser could not have been at both places. The date of the dedication in 'Colin Clout' suggests a slip upon the part of Bacon masking as Spenser.

The collection of sonnets called 'Amoretti' was published in 1595 by Ponsonby, who, in his dedication of it to Sir Robert Needham, alleged that the MS. crossed the sea at the same time as Sir Robert, though without his knowledge. The 'Amoretti' comprise two sonnets, germane to the authorship question. The 33rd mentions 'Lodwick' in a regret that the 'Faerie Queene' was not finished. This Lodwick was doubtless a dissembling reference to Ludovick Bryskett, from whom in 1588 Spenser had taken over the clerkship to the Munster Council. Spenser and Bryskett were far apart in 1595. The other sonnet, the 74th, is interesting as showing that the name of the poet's mother was Elizabeth, which confirms the cipher story as to Bacon's true parentage.

In 1595 the 'Colin Clout' was published. It is the only authority for the suggestion that Spenser came from Ireland in 1589, and contains lines which have often been quoted in reference to three of the daughters of Sir John Spenser of Althorpe :

'The sisters three,
The honor of the noble family,
Of which I meanest *boast* myself to be.'

These were Lady Compton, Lady Elizabeth Carey, and Lady Strange (Countess of Derby).

The latter was at the date of publication a widow, having not then married for her second husband Sir Thomas Egerton, a particular friend of Francis Bacon.

As to what was meant by 'boasting,' reference should be made to Book V., Canto 3, of the 'Faerie Queene,' dealing with Braggadocio, the boaster. Spenser, the Irish official, would hardly have dared to boast of a relationship with the Court ladies in question.

On January 20, 1595-6, the second part of the 'Faerie Queene' was published, and consisted of three more books, illustrating Justice, Friendship, and Courtesy. James VI. of Scotland took strong exception to the book on Justice, complaining to the English Ambassador that it was unfair to the memory of his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, and suggested that the author should be tried and punished.

There is no evidence whatever that Spenser came to London to superintend the publication of the second part of the 'Faerie Queene.'

Later in the year—namely, on September 1, 1596—poems entitled 'Four Hymns' were dedicated from Greenwich Palace, where the Queen was in residence with her Court. The dedication is to Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, and her sister

the Countess of Warwick (widow of Ambrose Dudley), a 'service in lieu of the great graces and honorable favours which ye *daily show* unto me.' These ladies must have known the true author. One, according to the cipher story, was aunt to Francis, and a brother of both had married a niece of Lady Anne Bacon. The letters of that lady show that Francis Bacon and his foster-brother Anthony were on very friendly terms with Lady Warwick.

On November 8, 1596, two daughters of the Earl of Worcester were married from Essex House, where Robert, Earl of Essex, and Anthony Bacon were then resident. For the occasion a prothalamium was written, and in 1597 published as a 'Spenser' poem.

In 1596 'The Vewe of Ireland' was written and circulated in MS., though not printed until 1633. The best MS. is at the Lambeth Palace. Another was found in Archbishop Ussher's library in Dublin. Sir James Ware, who printed it, complains of its want of moderation, and the vagueness of the author's historical knowledge.

Spenser was at Cambridge in 1576, and there is no evidence of his going to Ireland before July, 1580. Was the statement that he was at the hanging of O'Brien (in July, 1577) a blunder of the real writer?

The 'Vewe' has characteristics of the political summaries which Francis Bacon was in the habit of writing for the information of the Queen and her Ministers. It may have been worked up from the Irish collection alluded to in the letter of Francis to Anthony Bacon of January 25, 1594-5. The pamphlet is said to have been founded on the works of Buchanan and Camden. In 1596 Francis and Essex were in close confidence with the Queen and doing the Foreign Office work. The 'Note of Suggested Remedies' issued about 1598-9 was doubtless also the work of Francis, though in the handwriting of Dudley Carlton, then a young man training in London for Foreign Office service.

In 1603, just after the death of the Queen, Bacon's friend, Sir John Davis, went to Scotland to meet the Scottish King, then on his way to assume the English throne. Bacon wrote to Davis concerning his journey, and asking him 'to be kind to concealed poets.' It was very evident that King James must not get to know that the real author of the 'Justice' cantos of 'Faerie Queene' (second part) was Bacon, or trouble was in store for him. In 1606 Bacon was canvassing very hard for a salaried position under the Crown. In the same year the translation by Ludovic

Bryskett of an Italian book entitled 'Discourse of Civil Life' was prefaced by an irrelevant account of a 'conversation' alleged to have taken place between the deceased Spenser and others at an obscure cottage near Dublin. Bryskett was partly Italian by race, and had accompanied young Philip Sidney on his Continental journeys from 1572 to 1575. His reward was evidently the gift from Sidney's father, then Lord-Deputy of Ireland, of the clerkship to the Council at Munster. In 1588 Bryskett sold the office to Spenser. In 1600 he was stranded in London, and at his intervention Lord Robert Cecil wrote to Sir George Carew in Ireland to ask for employment for him there. The probability is that he did not get employment in Ireland, but that work was found for him in London in translating Italian books.

If Bacon wanted to still further mystify King James, and cause him to continue to think that the objectionable author of the 'Duessa' cantos of the 'Faerie Queene' was an Irish official who died in 1598-9, here was opportunity which seems to have been taken advantage of.

Bryskett's book was dedicated to Lord Grey of Wilton, then dead. Of the persons stated to have been present with Bryskett at the reported conversation in the obscure cottage near Dublin,

Spenser, Warham St. Leger, Sir Robert Dillon, Sir Thomas Norreys, Captain Carleil, and another, were dead. The 'conversation,' moreover, is recorded after an interval of over twenty years with all the exactitude of an official shorthand report. Whether this bluff was really needed or was merely *ex abundantia cautela*, will, perhaps, never be known. King James, however, appointed Bacon to be his Solicitor-General, the first office of real value he had attained.

This concludes a general survey of the evidence, which, it is submitted, lends much confirmation of the cipher story allegation that Francis Bacon, under protection of the name of 'Spenser,' wrote the poems and works attributed to the latter. Whether Spenser was brought over from Ireland by Raleigh in October, 1589, to assist in the illusion as to his authorship, or never came at all, cannot be ascertained with any finality. In the preface to 'The Ruines of Time' (1591) the following words are used :

'Yet sithence my late cumming into England.'

So that it is possible that the 'little man wore short haire, little bands, and little cuffes,' as Aubrey described him, did put in an appearance. On the other hand, some such dissembling was needed to

account for and make passable the affectionate allusions in the poem to the then recent deaths of Earl Warwick and Sir Francis Walsingham, which occurred in February and April, 1590.

There are a few general considerations which should be taken account of before this chapter is ended. Christopher North, in one of his essays on 'Spenser,' contributed to *Blackwood's Magazine* for 1834, wrote: 'Thus sings the *philosophical pious poet*; his hymns and odes on Nature, and Nature's God, and the tongues of men, are as of angels.' In the dramas and poems of the *philosopher-poet* 'Shakespeare,' Spenser was never mentioned. In the essays and scientific, legal, and political writings of Bacon the philosopher and poet (as many critics describe him), neither Spenser nor Shakespeare were mentioned.

In the philosophical poems and dramas, no less than the more strictly philosophical writings, there is evinced a dominating desire to instruct. Ignorance was abhorred:

' But hell and darkness and the grisly grave
Is ignorance, the enemy of grace.'

Neither Spenser nor Shakspeare left books, manuscripts, or letters. The presses and boxes of Bacon's manuscripts and letters were full to

overflowing, and their contents went through much mysterious sifting, dispersal, and selection for printing.

Spenser's genius, commented the Rev. D. Hubbard, was aristocratic in its preferences. So was the genius of 'Shakespeare' and that of Francis Bacon. Spenser's mind comprehended many subjects afterwards dealt with by either 'Shakespeare' or Bacon. For instance, he deals with Locrine, King Lear, Cymbeline, Venus and Adonis, Antony and Cleopatra, Cæsar, Edward II., Henry VII., and Richard III. Spenser, like 'Shakespeare,' drew largely upon Holinshed's Chronicles. To this or a similar source must be traced the information about the Irish river system worked into Book IV., Canto 11, of the 'Faerie Queene.'

When Francis proceeded to describe the neighbourhood of Kilcolman Castle, he made up for the shortcomings of a small-sized map by the free exercise of an extensive poetic imagination. Dr. Grosart, a learned editor of 'Spenser,' visited the district of Kilcolman, and reported that the fields and hills were commonplace and unpicturesque. The 'Mulla' was five miles distant. Its correct name was Awbeg. There was no mountain of Mole, but some hills, called Ballyhowra, were to be found about five miles in another

direction. For the river 'Allo' we were to read Blackwater; for Arlo Hill to read Harlow, a fastness in the Galtee Mountains, frequently alluded to in contemporary State records.

Take another point. The writer of the poems and prose ascribed to Spenser showed not only legal attainments, but an absolute mastery of English jurisprudence. The 'Faerie Queene' is *saturated* with law (see Book I., Canto 2; Book III., Canto 1; Book V., Canto 4; Book VI., Cantos 4 and 7; and Book VII., Canto 7); so are the 'Vewe of Ireland' and the 'Note of Suggested Remedies.' To mention one instance only: Fraudulent conveyances were the subject of special legislation in England in 1585. The following would be written between 1596 and 1598: 'That provision may be made for the avoiding of such fraudulent conveyances made only to defeat Her Majesty of the benefit of their attainders.' Spenser was never trained as a lawyer, and never filled any appointment requiring a general knowledge of law. Having regard to the way Lord Burleigh was supporting Sir John Perrot, the 'Vewe of Ireland' would seem to have been an attempt to gently induce the Queen to take a different course, a method of peaceable invasion and persuasion which Bacon strongly believed in.

The parallelisms between 'Spenser' and 'Shakespeare' are almost unlimited. Below are a few :

SHEPHEARD'S KALENDAR.—'The goats stumbling is here noted as an evil sign. The like to be marked in all histories, and that not the least of the Lord Hastings in "King Richard the Third, his Days." For it is said that in the morning, riding towards the Tower of London, there to sit upon matters on counsel, his horse stumbled twice or thrice by the way.'

SHAKESPEARE—

'*Hastings*. Three times to-day my foot-cloth horse did stumble,
And started when he looked upon the Tower,
As loth to bear me to the slaughter-house.'

SPENSER— 'To be wise and eke to love
Is granted scarce to God above.'

SHAKESPEARE—

'Or else you love not ; for to be wise and love
Exceeds man's might ; that dwells with God above.'

SPENSER—

'In deep discovery of the mind's disease
. . . Then with some cordials seek first to appease
The inward languor of my wounded heart.'

SHAKESPEARE—'Canst thou minister to a mind diseased?'

SPENSER—'Of this world's theatre in which we stay
My love, like the spectator, idly sits.'

SHAKESPEARE—

'As in a theatre the eyes of men,
After some well-graced actor leaves the stage,
Are idly bent on him who enters next.'

SHAKESPEARE—‘Or to take arms against a sea of troubles.’

SPENSER.—‘That even those which did backbite him are choked with their own venom, and break their galls to hear his honourable report.’

SHAKESPEARE—

‘By the Gods,
Ye shall digest the venom of your spleen,
Though it do split you.’

SPENSER—

‘On whose mighty shoulders most dost rest
The burden of this kingdom’s government.’

SHAKESPEARE—

‘And from these shoulders, these ruined pillars,
Out of pity taken, a load would sink a navy.
Oh! ’tis a burden.’

Many other Shakespeare-Spenser parallels are given in Mr. Rushton’s book, ‘Shakespeare Illustrated.’ They are less likely to be the cribbings by one writer from another than the re-utilization by the same author of his own ideas and illustrations. Bacon was constantly repeating himself in his acknowledged works.

Has it ever occurred to the editors of ‘Spenser’ how highly impracticable it must have been to pass works through the press in the absence of an author abroad? If Bacon’s claim to authorship were conceded, the difficulty is removed. In 1609 the ‘Faerie Queene’ was corrected for a folio

edition, with the addition of two entirely new cantos, perhaps the finest of the whole set. The printers incorporate them with the observation, 'which both for Forme and Matter appear to be parcel of some following Booke of the Faery Queene.' Why did the printers purport to rely upon internal evidence only? Spenser's children were living, and could have been referred to and vouched, had their dead father been the true author.

In 1611 a corrected folio edition of the 'Spenser' poems was published. Who was the obscure yet talented literary man, responsible for the corrections? Abraham Lincoln once made some pertinent remarks as to the impossibility of fooling all the people all the time. Bacon did his fooling so cleverly that very few of the people of the 'next ages' care to be undeceived. Still, in the interests of historical accuracy an attempt is worth the while.

CHAPTER XV

THE VIZARD 'KYD'

THOMAS KIDD, the son of a London scrivener or writer of the Courte letter, was baptized on November 6, 1558. He would seem to have followed his father's occupation—that of a person employed to copy or write legibly letters and documents prepared or dictated by others.

According to a London Probate record, dated December 30, 1594, his father and mother surrendered all right to administer the goods of their deceased son, Thomas, so that his death had occurred before that date.

In 1901 Professor Boas, a learned Shakespearian scholar and author, published a collection of what he believed to be the works of Kyd, together with many valuable comments and notes.

Mr. Boas adjudged as his works two original plays, 'The Spanish Tragedy' and 'Soliman and Perseda'; one translated play, 'Cornelia,' from the

French of Garnier ; a translation from the Italian of Tasso, entitled 'The Householder's Philosophie'; and a short four-page pamphlet called 'The Murder of John Brewen.'

From this selection I eliminate—

1. The Brewen pamphlet, as unimportant, and as being only attributed to Kyd because his name is written upon a print of it.

2. 'Soliman and Perseda,' an old play even in 1599, when reprinted, because it is anonymous and mainly ascribed to Kyd by reason of its subject being used as a sub-play in 'The Spanish Tragedy.'

This leaves for examination—

1. 'The Spanish Tragedy,' licensed for the Press on October 6, 1592, printed anonymously in 1594, and alleged by Ben Jonson, in 'Bartholomew Fair' (1614), to have been on the stage for thirty years. It was probably performed as early as 1586, and certainly before 1589 (see Nash, preface to Greene's 'Menaphon'). In 1612 Heywood, in the Apology for actors, quoted three lines from the play, and said they were written by Kyd.

2. 'The Householder's Philosophie,' printed 1588, as translated by 'T. K.' from the Italian of Tasso.

3. 'Cornelia,' a translation of the French play

'Cornelie,' by Garnier, licensed to the Press January 26, 1594-5, first printed as by 'T. K.,' and next printed (1595) as by Thoma Kid. The ascribed author had, however, died the previous year.

What manner of man was this 'writer' who never in his lifetime claimed authorship of the two plays? Could he really have contented himself with the usual copyist's initials on a valuable translation?

Mr. Boas finds internal proof that the 'author' was familiar with a fairly wide range of Latin authors, and that he had Seneca's dramas at his finger-ends. Of Spanish he knew a few phrases. Like Shakespeare, he could quote *pocus pal-labris*. With French and Italian he was much more familiar. Bel-Imperia spoke in 'courtly French.'

Mr. Boas is of opinion that the author visited France, because Lorenzo speaks of having seen extempore performances 'in Paris amongst the French Tragedians.'

Of Italian the author's knowledge was serviceable rather than accurate. Like 'Shakespeare,' geography was not a strong point with him. The former caused Valentine, in 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' to voyage by sea from Verona to Milan.

The latter, in 'The Spanish Tragedy,' refers to a sea journey from Lisbon to Madrid. Perhaps in both cases part of the journey was by sea. Though as a translator he did not reach high-water mark, he was evidently a man of resource and masterfulness.

Witness Mr. Boas, who commented as follows upon both French and Italian translations: 'Yet in spite of gross blunders the version in either case is spirited and vigorous. The Italian prose and the French verse are both somewhat expanded in their English rendering. The imagery becomes more concrete; more of realistic detail is introduced. Occasionally passages of some length are interpolated by the translator. Hence "The Householder's Philosophie" casts light on Kyd's views on certain subjects. Thus his emphatic elaboration of Tasso's protest against women painting their faces shows that he shared Shakespeare's aversion to the practice.'

He showed a love for out-of-the-way words and phrases. He coined words. He reminded Mr. Boas of Spenser in his usage of Middle-English forms. He is also to be found using distinctively euphuistic constructions—a matter of some difficulty, let me say, if your mind is not shaped that way. The author borrowed freely from what are known as

Watson's verses and ideas. He used (and perhaps anticipated) a passage of the 'Faerie Queene.'

The only autobiographical details vouchsafed by the author occur in the dedication of 'Cornelia' to the Countess of Sussex, whose husband owned or protected a troupe of actors. According to this, the translation had occupied the author 'a winter's week.' As it was licensed on January 26, 1594-5, and was produced in haste, it was probably written during that month to oblige the Earl, who may have wanted a new play for some special occasion.

But the translator was evidently in low spirits. While writing it he endured 'bitter times and privie broken passions,' which he asks to be taken into consideration. He remarks: 'Having no leisure but such as evermore is traveld with the afflictions of the minde, than which the woorld affords no greater misery, it may be wondered at by some how I durst undertake a matter of this moment.' Yet he had a good conceit of himself. Like the author of the Shakespeare Sonnets, he evidently thought his labours would eternize the lady, for he says: 'I have presumed upon your true conceit and entertainment of these small endeavours *that thus I purposed to make known my memory of you and them to be immortall.*' This is rather 'tall' if we are dealing with a young scrivener with only one

original play to his account! (Bacon had a notion that his 'Advancement of Learning' would be an enduring monument to King James.) He promises better work next summer with the tragedy of Portia, and like Thomas Thorpe to the 'onlie begetter of the Shake-speare Sonnets,' concluded by wishing her 'all happiness.' That Bacon was very unhappy at this date is shown by his letter to Anthony of January 25, 1594-5, in which he said he should go abroad.

'The Spanish Tragedy' and 'Cornelia' were written by Francis—the first at about the age of twenty-four, and the second at the age of thirty-three. The 'courtly French' was acquired by Francis from September, 1576, to March, 1578-9, during his life at the French Court. He would see the French tragedians perform in Paris. Acquiring his French largely through the ear, his acquaintance with French grammar was likely to be defective, and he was probably never an expert translator. His Italian would naturally be inferior to his French. He was an earnest student and writer of poetry from the age of fifteen, as may be gleaned from both the Harvey-Immerito letters (1580) and a verse from 'The Spanish Tragedy' itself—

'When I was young I gave my minde
And pleid myself to fruitles Poetrie.'

By 1594 both Marlowe and Greene had died; Peele was utterly broken down. Shakspere's name had only been connected with poems. Towards the end of 1594 Kyd was also dead. What more natural than to put forward Kyd's name as the author of 'Cornelia'? In 1594-5, when this translated play was printed, Francis was in very low water. He had offended the Queen, was forbidden the Court, and was manifestly hard up, unwell, weary of delay, dejected, and miserable. He seems later on to have redeemed his promise in the dedication to the Countess to write a play on the subject of Portia, as the tragedy of 'The Merchant of Venice' was produced in that or the following year. About 1595 Mr. Har, a poet, whom Mr. Boas identified as Sir William Herbert, appears to have known who was the real author both of 'Lucrece,' printed 1594, as by Shakespeare, and of 'Cornelia,' printed 1595, as by Kyd. This poet wrote :

' You that have writ of chaste Lucretia,
 Whose death was witness of her spotless life,
 Or pen'd the praise of sad Cornelia,
 Whose blameless name hath made her fame so rife.'

So that the name Shakespeare on 'Lucrece' and the name Kyd on 'Cornelia' had not deceived one frequenter of the Court, at any rate.

We have seen how well acquainted the author of

'The Spanish Tragedy' was with courtly French and with Italian.

Mr. Boas shows that he was also well acquainted with law terms. A young scrivener, or, in other words, copyist of legal documents, might be familiar with the terms 'action of batterie,' 'of debt,' 'action of the case,' 'pleading,' 'bond,' 'equitie,' 'lease,' and even 'ejectione firmæ'; but the formal phraseology of international law used in the articles of marriage between Balthazar and Bel-Imperia ('Spanish Tragedy') would certainly be beyond a scrivener's ken.

Bacon would have had much to do with international law. The practice of altering, expanding, and improving upon the work in course of translation, to which Mr. Boas draws attention in the author, was also a settled habit with Bacon. That Francis, at an early date (1583) allowed to practise at the Bar, was an able and cultured lawyer we also know. We know, too, that he was a user of out-of-the-way phrases and an inventor of new words. 'The Spanish Tragedy,' moreover, met with the experience common to Spenser's 'Faerie Queene,' to Marlowe's 'Faustus,' and to several Shakespeare plays. Subsequent to the deaths of Spenser, Marlowe, and Shakspeare, certain of the works ascribed to their authorship received impor-

tant additions and alterations at the hands of a brilliant but unknown expert.

In his 'Shakespeare Symphony' (p. 301), Mr. Bayley cites a very strange instance of the manner in which Bacon's and Kyd's minds synchronized. In 1594 Bacon, wearied by fruitless applications for employment, wrote to his friend, Fulke Greville:

'What though the Master of the Rolls and My Lord of Essex and yourself admit my case without doubt, yet, in the meantime, I have a hard condition to stand, so that whatsoever service I do to her Majesty, it shall be thought to be *servitium viscatum*, lime twigs and fetches to place myself, and so I shall have envy, not thanks. This is a course to quench all good spirits, and to corrupt every man's nature. . . . I am weary of it, as also of wearying my good friends.'

In the same year (1594) Kyd seems to have suffered a similar experience; he used the same metaphor, and advocated exactly the method which the persistent but discouraged Bacon was then actually employing:

'Thus experience bids the wise to deal. I lay the plot, he prosecutes the point; I set the trap, he breaks the worthless *twigs*, and sees not that wherewith the bird was *limed*. Thus, hopeful men that mean to hold their own must look like

fowlers to their dearest friends.'—*Spanish Tragedy* III. 4.

The accord here is between words and actions. Bacon, the hopeful man, desiring to hold his own, lays his plot by looking like a fowler to his dearest friends to prosecute his point, but Her Majesty, he fears, will imagine 'limed twigs.'

In 1602, eighteen years after Kyd's death, 'The Spanish Tragedy' was reprinted with a number of most valuable and important additions. It is the current practice to call these Ben Jonson's additions, because Henslowe in his diary so records a payment in 1601. Mr. Boas writes of these additions as being so steeped in passion and wild sombre beauty that they threw into harsh relief Kyd's more old-fashioned technique and versification. He quotes both Charles Lamb and Edward Fitzgerald as affirming the 'Additions' to be totally unlike Jonson's admitted work.

At a certain date Jonson, according to the cipher story, became Bacon's assistant and confidant. Jonson may well, therefore, have been only an intermediary for Bacon when 'The Spanish Tragedy' was revised for acting by the players associated with Henslowe.

In his verses prefixed to the Shakespeare Folio, Ben Jonson refers to 'Sporting Kyd.'

The 'Additions' to 'The Spanish Tragedy' give us at once the source of Jonson's jocular epithet and an indication as plain as a pikestaff as to who the author really was.

Reference should be made to Act III., Scene xi., where the third passage of Additions occurs. The whole passage is worth reading, but I quote a few lines only :

'What is there yet in a sonne? He must be fed,
 Be taught to go and speake. I or yet?
 Why not a man love a Calfe as well?
 Or melt in passion ore a *frisking Kid*
 As for a sonne? Methinks a *young Bacon*
 Or a fine little smooth Horse-colt
 Should moove a man as much as dooth a sonne.'

When young Bacon wrote 'The Spanish Tragedy' he was a frisking kid of about twenty-four. At the age of forty-one he could not, to use the words of Jonson, 'spare or pass by a jest.'

Mr. Charles Crawford, whose 'Collectanea' has been recently published, is assured that 'Arden of Faversham,' a play which Tieck, Swinburne, and other critics firmly claim for Shakespeare, was written by Kyd. He thinks the vocabulary, phrasing, and general style of 'Arden' are those of Kyd. Kyd in turn is convicted of frequent borrowings from Spenser, Watson, Marlowe, Lyly,

and Peele. Elsewhere Mr. Crawford remarks :
'But all men repeat themselves both in speech and writing, and it is these repetitions that go to make up what is termed "style."' Until critics realize the protean literary labours of Francis Bacon, the muddle will be perpetuated. Every one of his repetitions will be regarded as a plagiarism, an imitation, or a repetition, accordingly as it serves the argument of the moment.

CHAPTER XVI

THE VIZARD 'NASH'

ONE Thomas Nayshe, a native of Lowestoft, matriculated as a poor scholar at St. John's, Cambridge, in 1582—B.A. 1585-1586—is credited with having commenced author in London, in the year 1589, at the age of twenty-one.

Like to the cases of Marlowe, Spenser, Kyd, Shakspeare, Greene, Peele, and Burton, his biography has been several times attempted, but with inglorious results.

Thomas Nash the writer was not Nayshe the son of the unbeneficed minister at Lowestoft, but merely a mask, through which spoke the voice of the great contriver of the reformation of English language, manners, and morals.

The Nash writings consist of :

1. A budget of pamphlets in the Martin Marprelate warfare.
2. Supposed additions to an old short play called

'Dido,' produced in Marlowe's time, but revised after Marlowe's death for publication in print in 1594.

3. A play or masque called 'Summer's Last Will and Testament.'

4. Pamphlets in a supposed warfare with Gabriel Harvey.

5. 'The Anatomie of Absurdities' (a satire).

6. 'Jack Wilton,' a novel of adventure, mostly in Italy.

7. 'Christ's Tears over Jerusalem,' a discussion of London morals.

8. 'The Terrors of the Night,' a disquisition on dreams.

9. 'Lenten Stuffe,' a brilliant account of Yarmouth and the herring fishing industry.

10. A preface to 'Menaphon,' and another to 'Astrophel and Stella.'

THE MARTIN MARPRELATE PAMPHLETS.

In the year 1589 the Church of England, as independent of Rome, had not existed long upon its separate establishment of Archbishops, Bishops, and clergy, having the Sovereign behind them as Defender of the Faith. With a large hostile Catholic population and with Romish plots and

intrigues abundant, the English Established Church in 1589 found itself confronted with a new danger—schism. A growing Puritan party inside and outside the Church was energetically denying both the authority of and necessity for the Archbishops and Bishops as by law established.

Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, seems to have accepted the aid of his old University pupil, the brilliant young poet Francis Bacon.

Bacon acted with promptitude. An opportunity had thus occurred for the exercise of his great powers of invective and ridicule. By their aid he sought to stifle the defection before it had gone too far. His pamphlets were issued anonymously and in various guises.

As 'Pasquil,' he refers to the sepia fish, which vomited a black fluid like ink in order to escape detection.

But he could hardly hope to be himself obscured in an inky cloud. Upon someone had to rest an uncertain suspicion of authorship. Nayshe, then at the age of twenty-one, and fresh from Cambridge for a copying job, was evidently selected. He was brought upon the scene indirectly as the ascribed writer of a preface to a work entitled 'Menaphon,' written also by Bacon in the name of 'Greene.'

The author of the preface was a very learned man and practised writer. From perusal of it we learn that he was familiar with the works of Plutarch and Pliny, Ovid and Tully, Tasso and Æsop, Seneca, Erasmus, Melanchthon, Sadolet, and Plautine.

One may say that it was possible at Cambridge, where only Latin was then taught, for a serving scholar by the age of twenty-one to have acquired some knowledge of the Latin authors.

But what are we to conclude when we find the writer able to pass in learned and rapid review the English authors of the period? He discusses the art of poetry with the authority of a Sidney or a Harvey, and does not hesitate to ridicule and condemn the verse of the learned Dr. Stanyhurst. To the Italians Petrarche, Tasso, and Celiano he can oppose Chaucer, Lydgate, and Gower (favourites, by the way, of 'Greene' and 'Spenser'). He shares with Bacon and 'Marlowe' a strong antipathy to Peter Ramus, a contemporary French logician. He is able to assign to George Peele the authorship of the anonymous pastoral play, 'The Arraignment of Paris.' He hints obscurely that he is not the 'Pasquil' of the Marprelate pamphlets. The preface has been read and quoted for almost anything but its true inwardness. In inviting its

examination afresh attention is drawn to one extract only :

‘I will not denie but in scholler-like matters of controversie *a quicker style* may pass as commendable.’

Internal indication of the true author is to be gathered from the Marprelate pamphlets. At p. 121 of ‘Pasquil’s Return,’ a cleverly managed hint of advice to the Queen is introduced. Bacon is to be found, both in his own name and some of those he assumed, taking opportunity to show the Queen and her Ministers the best way to deal with political questions of the moment.

Again, in ‘Martin Month’s Mind’ (1589), at p. 171, he discusses a point which the cipher story shows very much interested him—viz., ‘that a son may be no bastard though perhaps base begotten.’ At p. 189 he betrays a sound knowledge of the law of inheritance; at p. 217 of Italian. At p. 219 we have that curious expression ‘Her Ma,’ for Her Majesty, which, when it appeared in Mrs. Gallop’s decipher, excited much cheap derision. On p. 220 is the word ‘Essay.’ In dedicating his Essays to Prince Henry, Bacon wrote, ‘The word is late, but the thing is ancient.’

THE PLAYS.

'Dido' is a dull play, freely translated from or founded upon the second and fourth books of the 'Æneid.'

It appears to have been acted by the children of Her Majesty's Chapel on some Court occasion, and was possibly written shortly after the production of Dr. Gaeger's Latin play of the same name, at Oxford, in June, 1583. Performed as having been written by 'Marlowe,' its augmentations and additions, when printed after Marlowe's death, were conveniently ascribed to 'Nash.'

'Summer's Last Will' was performed at Whitgift's palace, at Croydon, in 1592, at a date subsequent to September 24 (the last day of summer), on the return of Queen Elizabeth from one of her Progresses. The evidence is that the Queen moved from Greenwich to Nonsuch Palace, near Epsom, on July 27. On August 21 she was entertained at Bisham, the estate of Lady Russell (sister to Lady Ann Bacon), and next at Quarendon Park, near Aylesbury, the seat of the old champion at tilt, Sir Henry Leigh. By September 12 the Queen had reached Sudeley Castle, near Cheltenham, where the Lord Keeper's secretary reported that the plague was getting worse in London.

She then went to Bath, then to Oxford on September 22, and Rycote on her way home on the 28th. The play is from the Baconian mint. We have the same sort of weak puns, the old familiar allusions to money and muck, to Orpheus and his lute, to the song of the dying swan, the swinishness of drunkenness, and to the baseness of the rabble.

There is probably one sly jest at his own plight : ' Saint Francis, a holy saint, and never had any money.'

About the first week in August Francis, nervous of the plague, had bolted from London to Twickenham Park with a few friends. From thence on August 14 he wrote to invite another friend, Mr. Phillips, decipherer to the Foreign Office, to join him. He wrote : ' I have excused myself of this Progress [meaning the Queen's Progress], if that be to excuse—to take liberty where it is not given.'

It may be inferred that he was expected to go the round as of course. But Francis was a busy and probably a tired man, and having furnished the two little displays performed at Lady Russell's and Sir Henry Leigh's respectively, and having written and revised to date the more important masque or play for Whitgift, already mentioned, was doubt-

less glad, like many another dramatic author on 'first nights,' to be reported as not in the house. Mr. Spedding seems to have thought that Francis referred to an invitation to Bisham. But that is not the true reading of Phillip's letter. Moreover, Hoby's invitation was sent to Anthony Bacon at Gorhambury, and a very long journey would have been necessary in order to make Francis aware of it.

The 'Isle of Dogs' is another play not now extant. It may be urged that Bacon would not have allowed Nayshe to be imprisoned for the offence which the play gave to the authorities. The mischief, however, was due to what was added.

According to 'Lenten Stuffe' (1599), he states : 'An imperfit Embrio, I may well call it, for I having begun but the induction and first act of it, the other foure acts, without my consent, or the least guesse of my drift or scope, by the players were supplied, which bred both their trouble and mine too.'

From Henslowe's Diary it appears that Nayshe was locked up and soon afterwards released, probably at the instance of an intervention by Francis. If Nayshe himself wrote the remaining four acts, and the quality of his work was no better than shown in the short verse called 'The Valentine,' unearthed by Dr. Grosart from the Temple Library,

he may have deserved his punishment on literary grounds alone. Possibly, after ten years' copying in Bacon's scrivenery, he may have tried his hand at original work. The fact, however, that the 'Isle of Dogs' fragment is mentioned on the cover of the Northumberland manuscript—a document evidently emanating from the possession of Bacon or some person in his employ, probably Davies—is a further proof of the true authorship of the 'Nash' writings. Davies may not have known of 'Nash' otherwise than as a subordinate, or, as he puts it, inferior, player.

THE GABRIEL HARVEY CONTROVERSY.

Dr. Grosart took this controversy seriously, and was very severe on Gabriel Harvey. I venture entirely to disagree with him. The Nash-Harvey pamphlets were merely a continuation of the warfare of pleasantries which Francis, in 1580, as 'Immerito,' at a later date as 'Spenser,' and afterwards as 'Greene,' had waged in print with his old friend Gabriel Harvey. The reason these pamphlets were printed is tolerably clear. In the scheme for the improvement of the English language, in which these two co-operated, word-making played a part.

New words had to be unobtrusively sown in

print. Some of them would, no doubt, catch on, and become part of the language ; but there was no other or better way of bringing this about than using them as though they existed, and were not new coinings.

It is interesting to observe how deferential Harvey was, and how he tried to avoid being severe on Francis.

It was only towards the latter end of the pamphleteering that Harvey really let himself go.

'Pierce Pennilesse' was one of the first of the 'Nash' portion of these pamphlets.

Licensed August, 1592, it was printed a little later. In the preface he states : 'I am the plague's prisoner in the country as yet.' Also that 'the feare of infection detained mee with my Lord in the Countrey.' Nayshe would doubtless be with Bacon, his employer, at Twickenham at this time. He complains that Greene's 'Groatsworth of Wit' (not on the register until September) was alleged to be 'of my doing.' Here I pause to point out to the learned Shakespearian societies that three hundred years ago the printing of a man's name on the title-page of a book as being the author thereof was not accepted as conclusive on the subject. The writer of 'Pierce Pennilesse' holds, at p. 43, Bacon's objection to the practice of

face-painting. At p. 49 he writes of 'Armadoes that, like a high wood, overshadowed the shrubs of our low ships.' Bacon, in his translation of Psalm civ., has: 'The greater navies look like walking woods.' At p. 88 he defends the production of stage plays, 'for the subject of them (for the most part) is borrowed out of our English Chronicles, wherein our forefathers' valiant acts, that have lain long buried in rusty brass and worm-eaten books, are revived.' The incident on p. 134 is amusing. The 'Faerie Queene' (ascribed to Spenser, but, according to the cipher story, claimed by Bacon) had appeared in print in the year (1590), with sonnets to a host of courtiers and Court beauties. But Earl Derby had been overlooked. 'Nash' supplies the omission! At p. 238 he refers to the reason why Harvey had imputed to Greene that he had a bastard son, 'Infortunatus.' He also pretends that Harvey had been in the Fleet Prison, and jests 'Thy joys were in the fleeting.' At p. 261 there is an interesting bit of biography. Referring to an expression of Harvey, 'Nash' remarks: 'A per se, A can doe it: tempt not his clemency too much. A per se, A? Passion of God, how came I by that name? My Godfather Gabriel gave it me, and I must not refuse it.'

The explanation is that the term was applied by Harvey to 'Immerito' (Bacon) in verses printed in 1580, 'Two Letters of Notable Contents.' 'Nash' jocularly sought to evade the suggestion, and said that the verses were a libel, intended for the Earl of Oxford. As a matter of fact, they were very complimentary.

It is not asserted that Harvey and 'Nash' printed their invectives solely as a medium for introducing new words. It evidently gave them great pleasure. Harvey enjoyed it, otherwise we should not find him writing in 'Pierce's Supererogation': 'Alacke nothings livelie and mightie—till his frisking penne began to play the sprite of the buttry and to teach his mother tongue such lusty gambolds.'

Again, 'he will flatly denie and confute even because I say it, and only because in a frolic and dowie jollitie he will have the last word of me.' Harvey was fond of associating 'Euphues' or 'Lyly' with 'Greene.' The terms 'greene or motley' or 'greene motley' occur. Towards the finish of the 'Supererogation' Harvey hints at 'Nash,' 'Lyly,' and 'Greene' being three faces in one hood, and as being the three-headed Cerberus. This recalls a line:

'And make myself a motley to the view.'

The testimony of Harvey alone, though given slyly and indirectly, is strong proof that Bacon, 'Immerito,' 'Lyly,' 'Greene,' and 'Nash' were one and the same person.

'ANATOMIE OF ABSURDITIE' (1589).

This booklet was printed in 1589, and is really part of the series of 'Anatomies' commenced by Francis in the name of 'Greene.' It was dedicated to Sir Charles Blount, to whom when he was Earl of Devonshire Francis addressed his 'Apology' concerning Essex.

It indicates that it was written in 1586, when Nayshe, the ascribed author, would be a youth of eighteen at Cambridge. He refers to circumstances which had compelled his wit to wander abroad in 'satyricall disguise.' Further on he remarks that Proteus is still Proteus, though girt in the apparel of Pactolus.^o He eternizes the praise of Queen Elizabeth, and describes how a company of gentlemen had united in praise of Sir Charles Blount's perfections, and that he (the author) had a desire to be suppliant with him in some subject of wit. We meet with the term 'idle pens,' which also occurs in a letter from Francis to Anthony Bacon. He refers to a loyal Lucretia and the inconstancy of Venus, showing that the subjects of 'Lucrece'

and 'Venus and Adonis,' a few years afterwards put forth in the name of 'Shakespeare,' were then revolving in his mind.

The whole work demonstrates the facility of a practised writer, and the learning of a man deeply read in all available literature. At p. 39 he declares himself a professed Peripatetician, mixing profit with pleasure, and *precepts of doctrine with delightful invention.*

'Yet these men condemn them of lasciviousness, vanity, and curiosity, who, under feigned stories, include many profitable moral precepts.'

Have we not in this passage the thesis and root plan of the Shakespeare plays?

Even 'Nash' holds the notion of the 'pearl in the head of the Toade.'

'Which, like the Toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in its head.'

At p. 48 he objects, as did Bacon, to the enclosure of common lands, and on p. 60 describes, almost in Bacon's words, his theory of the action of wine on the brain.

'CHRIST'S TEARS OVER JERUSALEM' (1593).

According to 'Have with you to Saffron Walden,' 'Nash'—by whom I, of course, mean Francis—

spent the Christmas of 1592-3 in the Isle of Wight, at the house of Sir George Carey, who there resided with his wife Elizabeth, and his only child, a daughter, who bore her mother's Christian name. Sir George was eldest son of the first Lord Hunsdon, cousin to the Queen, and a visit from Francis, from his relationship, was a natural incident. 'Christ's Tears' was dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Carey, while 'Terrors of the Night' was next year dedicated to her daughter.

'Christ's Tears' is interesting as showing the profound influence for sadness that probably the plague raging at the period of its writing had upon the sensitive nature of young Francis.

The title of 'Christ's Tears' was probably suggested to him by a carving in mother-of-pearl in the hall at Hampton Court Palace, and called the 'History of Christ's Passion.' In the same way 'Lucrece' (1594) may have been prompted by the picture at Hampton Court entitled 'The True Lucretia.' (See report by Hentzner.)

At p. 122 of 'Christ's Tears' we find Bacon's favourite Orpheus legend alluded to. At p. 138 there is a death-bed description like that of Falstaff (the play being written later). At p. 196 is a part of a sentence, viz. : 'Many a time and oft'—which a year or two later is used by Shylock

in 'The Merchant of Venice.' At p. 216 is another rendering of :

'For the apparel oft proclaims the man.'

That is to say :

'Apparel more than anything betrayeth his wearer's mind.'

At p. 245 he advised the giving to hospitals and colleges, a matter in which Bacon took much interest, and which shortly afterwards became one of the rules of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood. At p. 255 there is the reference to Briareus, with his hundred hands, also to be found in Bacon's acknowledged writings.

'JACK WILTON' (1594), 'TERRORS OF THE NIGHT' (1594), 'LENTEN STUFFE' (1599).

'Jack Wilton,' like 'Lucrece,' was dedicated to the young Earl of Southampton, at that time being trained at Gray's Inn, where Bacon had his London residence. This novel of adventure in Italy suggests the notion that possibly Francis Bacon visited that country.

At p. 120 of 'Jack Wilton' is a reference to the music of the spheres, a subject in which Bacon was interested, and which some months later was

so beautifully rendered in 'The Merchant of Venice':

'There's not the smallest orb which thou beholdest
But in his motion there an angel sings,
Still quiring to the young-eyed Cherubins.
Such harmony is in immortal souls,
But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close it in we cannot hear it.'

In 'Lenten Stuffe,' at p. 234, is the long word 'Honorificabilitudinitatibus,' which also appeared in print in 1598 in 'Love's Labour Lost.' At p. 292 the author remarks that those who were present at the arraignment of Lopus (Dr. Lopez, who sought to poison the Queen) 'I am sure will bear me record.' This arraignment took place on January 21, 1593-4. Mr. Spedding finds from a letter that Essex was present, but he cannot record anyone else. But we know that Bacon was generally called in to cases of the kind. He wrote a full report of it, the terms of which give the impression that he was actually present. One can hardly understand how Nayshe could have been admitted on such an important occasion.

'The Terrors of the Night' (1594) is a disquisition upon the subject of dreams. Francis was admittedly a bad sleeper. So was the writer of the 'Shakespeare Sonnets.' This work is dedicated to Elizabeth, Sir

George Carey's daughter and heiress. Those interested in discussing the persons involved in the 'Shakespeare Sonnets' may not have noticed that in 1594-5 the match between this lady and Lord Herbert was broken off by the latter's father, Earl Pembroke, upon a question of dowry.

In 'Terrors of the Night' allusion is made to a visit made by the author in that year to a place situate in rather low marshy ground about some threescore miles from London. Bacon was that year at Huntingdon, which in distance and, I think, in situation answers the description. The months do not fit—one is stated to have been in February and the other in July; but 'he who would be secret must be a dissembler in some degree,' said Bacon. In the 'Terrors' the author discusses in a preliminary way the effect on the brain of the secretions from the liver, a subject at a later date discussed very extensively in the 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' a compilation the authorship (or, what was possibly intended, the chief editorship) of which the cipher story claims for Bacon.

THE PREFACE TO 'ASTROPHEL AND STELLA' (1591).

No one of the few men originally associated with Sir Philip Sidney in the Areopagus for the reform

of English literature was more fitted than Francis to write the preface to the appearance in print of this small book of verse by his dead friend.

Sir Philip Sidney died in 1586, when Nayshe would be a stripling of eighteen serving meals to the better circumstanced scholars of his college.

Let me conclude by an extract from the preface :

‘Deare Astrophel (Sidney) that in the ashes of thy love livest againe like the Phoenix. O might thy bodie (as thy name) live againe likewise here amongst us : but the earth, the mother of mortalitie, hath snatched thee too soone into her chilled colde armes, and will not let thee by any meanes be drawne from her deadly imbrace ; and thy devine Soule carried on an angel’s wings to heaven, is installed in Hermes’ place sole prolocutor to the Gods.’

These are the words of an affectionate friend. They are the words, too, of a poet.

The late Ignatius Donnelly was not far out when he wrote : ‘We are in the presence of an unbounded intellectual activity, a Proteus that sought as many disguises as Nature itself.’ ‘Nash’ was one of them.

CHAPTER XVII

THE VIZARD 'SHAKESPEARE'

CERTAIN critics have suggested that the well-known play of 'Hamlet' is somewhat autobiographical. I propose here to discuss the question whether the biliteral cipher story is justified in claiming it, and a number of other plays and poems, as the writings of Francis Bacon.

Having regard to the peculiar sensitiveness of the English race to any disturbance of their affectionate reverence for the ascribed author in this case, I will endeavour, as far as possible, to confine myself to the question of the probabilities of authorship of this single play.

The ascribed author was born at the village of Stratford-on-Avon about April 26, 1564, the date of his baptism. His parents were in a moderate position, though his father (and probably his mother) was unable to write. About 1582 he married the daughter of a farmer, the lady being

several years his senior. By her he had children, the last two being baptized on February 2, 1585. He was next noted as appearing in 1594, 1598, 1600, and 1603 as a stage-player in or near London. In 1603 he was one of others licensed to act at the Globe Theatre. In 1605, one Phillips, an actor, left by will, 'To my fellowe William Shakespeare a thirty-shilling piece in gold.'

In 1610 (according to a petition from two brothers Burbage dated 1635) he was one of other 'deserving men' players employed to act at the Blackfriars Theatre after certain boy players had left. Three years later he bought a house in the vicinity of the theatre. Between 1600 and his death on April 23, 1616, he made considerable purchases of lands, houses, and tithes at Stratford, grew corn, sold malt, and lent money. His will was a careful document, giving his various possessions to his relatives, and bequeathing to 'my fellows Hemynge, Burbage, and Cundell £1 6s. 8d. apiece to buy them rings.' There is very little doubt of his ability to read, as there exist letters addressed to him. His signatures to the deed of purchase of the house at Blackfriars are weak and indistinct. Those to his will are worse, but that may have been owing to illness. Nothing in his handwriting has been preserved save the two

signatures to the deed, the three to the will, and the words 'By me,' also on the will. He left neither letters, manuscripts, nor library. His daughter Judith for her signature made a mark. According to the Stratford archives, the spelling in the will, the appearance of his signatures, and the petition of the Burbages, his name was spelt and pronounced by those who knew him intimately as *Shaksper* or *Shakspere*. The spelling in the Phillips will, which was made in London, and that in the body of the London deed, follows the spelling of the name upon the plays published in London.

Rightly to understand the position, young Francis Bacon was, in June, 1593, driven to find some fresh person under cover of whose name the poem of 'Venus and Adonis' (eventually printed with a dedication by 'Wm. Shakespeare' in July, 1593) could appear.

Greene, one of his masks, was dead; Marlowe, another mask, had just been slain; Kyd was in trouble with the Star Chamber.

The 'Venus' was unsuited to the 'Spenser' class of poems, and under Peele's name he had just printed another poem. Moreover, he had then particular need of a person to supply Marlowe's place as a 'go-between' from himself to the men

players. He appears to have decided to experiment with Shakspere, then an actor in the Queen's company. It was not difficult for the poet to reshape the actor's name. We know from the October Glosse to the 'Shepherd's Kalendar' (1579), from 'Lyly's' 'Campaspe' (1584), and several cantos of the 'Faerie Queene' (1590), that the notion of Shake the Speare was quite familiar to him.

We know, too, his punning habit—how in 'Spenser' Summer's heat is made to pun with Somerset, Debon's shayre with Devonshire, and so on. The transformation of the name was a very natural poetic device. Just as Amleth became Hamlet, and Porcie became Portia, so Shaksper was transmuted to Shakespeare. Gabriel Harvey evidently had some doubt as to the suitability of the new recruit. For in his 'Sonnet of the wonderful year 1593' he thus alluded to the death of Marlowe (Tamburlaine) and the bargain with his successor:

'Weep, Powles. Thy Tamburlaine voutsafes to die.

L'Envoy.

A huger miracle remains behinde,

A second Shakerley rashe-swashe to binde.'

Having fairly mentioned every material fact in the life of the actor Shakspere bearing upon the

question of authorship, others may be left to debate the contemporary allusions, such as they are, and the accumulated internal evidence. The Ben Jonson testimony in the Shakspeare Folio of 1623 is clever bluff, discounted after his death in his 'Discoveries'; and nearly the only local Warwickshire colour in the plays is provided in the allegory of Christopher Sly prefixed to the 'Taming of the Shrew,' *in which a guzzling tinker acts for the time being as substitute for the true lord.*

No word can fairly be said to the discredit of the actor William Shakspeare. Indeed, in the cipher story Francis speaks of Shakspeare as having been a very popular actor. He had the misfortune to be tempted for reward to allow plays and poems to be published in his name. Beyond this he made no attempt to perpetuate the illusion. He behaved as an actor, and subsequently, as a retired actor, spent his money upon his family, and doubtless would have turned in his grave could he have learnt that every known mistake of his life had been canvassed and discussed, and that he had had vicariously to bear the adulations of the wise men and women of East and West.

Having enumerated some important considerations against a conclusion that the ascribed was the true author of 'Hamlet,' we ask the patience of our

readers while we state as well as we can the case for the true author, Bacon, who planned for a period to remain 'concealed.'

The play of 'Hamlet' was, as many are well aware, founded upon a French story narrated by Belleforest in his 'Histories Tragiques,' printed in 1571, but not translated into English until 1608. The position of 'Amleth' in the French story would naturally appeal to young Francis Bacon, with whose own condition it had much in common. The 'Histoires' would be in regular circulation in France about the time of his sojourn there. It is not surprising, therefore, to find, apart from the cipher story, that it was one of the earliest plays known to have been performed by the men actors in the employment of the Earl of Leicester.

Existing foreign documents show that in 1585 the King of Denmark took into his service a company of English actors.

This is confirmed in general terms in Heywood's 'Apology for Actors' (1612), which informs us that the actors were commended to the King of Denmark by the Earl of Leicester. What more natural than that, at a time when the Low Countries were being assisted by the Protestant Queen of England to hold out against the Roman Catholic domination of Spain, an attempt should have been

made to placate a neighbouring King with a play dealing with events of ancient Danish history?

Dr. Brandes is able to affirm that in 1585 a company of English players performed 'Hamlet' in the courtyard of the Town Hall of Elsinore.

This company was transferred in October, 1586, to the Duke of Saxony, and after some few months returned to England.

The play was first printed in England in the year 1603, and is thereon stated to have been performed 'in the Cittie of London, as also in the two Universities of Cambridge and Oxford and elsewhere.'

It was again printed in 1604, with additions and alterations. Both quartos were published under the auspices of Nicholas Ling, protected by an entry in the Stationers' Register of 1602. The suggestion that the 1603 was a pirated copy is inconsistent with the fact that Ling protected and printed both.

'Hamlet' is alluded to in the preface to 'Menaphon' (1589). From an entry by Gabriel Harvey in one of his books, under date 1598, 'Hamlet' was then known as a 'Shakespeare' play. 'The Spanish Tragedy' and parts of the 1603 'Hamlet' have, in the opinion of Mr. Boas, much internal indication of some common authorship,

which led that gentleman to conclude that an early state of 'Hamlet' was written by Kyd. According to Ben Jonson, 'The Spanish Tragedy' may have been played as early as 1584. This would exclude Kyd. Mr. Boas accordingly gives up the notion that the 'Hamlet' of 1585 could have been written by Kyd. So we are asked to fall back upon an assumption that a still earlier 'Hamlet' of 1585 was written by some other Englishman who could read the French of the foundation story. Admit that unknown Englishman to have been Bacon, and the difficulty is removed.

A concealed author who had not in 1589 perfected his arrangements for using the names of certain other people would have been likely to have sought to make mystifying suggestions as to the authorship of certain anonymous plays for men actors which in 1589 had become rather numerous. Hence, I think, arose the obscure hints as to the authorship of 'Tamburlaine,' 'Taming of the Shrew,' 'Edward III.,' 'The Spanish Tragedy,' 'Henry VI.' (Third Part), 'Richard, Duke of York,' and 'Hamlet,' which in 1589 proceeded from 'Mena-phon' and its preface.

That the 'Hamlet' of 1603 contained much of the original play may be established in several ways. First, by Mr. Boas's careful comparison of

the text of 'Hamlet' and 'The Spanish Tragedy.' Secondly, by the fact that the 1603 Quarto agrees in certain respects with the German play, a translation probably made when the play was produced in Germany in 1586. If, upon the facts, Bacon wrote in the name of 'Lyly,' then the advice of the Lord Chamberlain to his son, and the suggestion of suicide with a bare bodkin, had already passed through his mind when he wrote the two parts of 'Euphues' in 1579 and 1580.

The soliloquies of 'Hamlet' are consistent with the state of mind of an unacknowledged son, a man wholly in a dilemma, with no apparent way out.

There are other indications. Mr. W. L. Rushton is able to show that certain statutes of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. concerning the succession to the throne of England were before the mind of the author of 'Hamlet,' and utilized by him in the play.

No man other than a lawyer, such as young Francis Bacon was, would be likely to turn for dramatic inspiration to the statutes of the realm. It would be exceedingly unusual even at the present day. On the cipher story revelation as to Bacon's true parentage those statutes had a very strong interest to him.

One cannot understand how a law stationer's

assistant, such as Kyd was, could have even looked at the statutes, though not entirely impossible. On the 'Kyd' hypothesis we have difficulty, first, as to his possible access to the 'Histoires Tragiques' of 1571, and next as to his ability to read them. Kyd, moreover, must have possessed a knowledge not common to scribes, to have attempted to make play in the grave-digging scene with the intricacies of 'Hales v. Pettit,' reported in Norman-French in 1578. To a young barrister like Bacon, skilled in both French and English, 'Hales v. Pettit' would have been a most interesting law moot. Kyd died in 1594; but in the 1604 Quarto the 'Hales v. Pettit' law points *are set out still more elaborately!* At that date Bacon was a most matured and capable lawyer. 'I alter ever while I add, so that nothing is finished until all be finished,' was a sentence in one of his writings. The argument for Kyd, based upon similarities, breaks down directly it is perceived that 'Kyd' was only a mask for Bacon.

'Hamlet's' affectionate references to Yorick, the King's jester, have more than once been discussed by the critics. Mr. Pemberton in a recent article has probably succeeded in establishing that Heywood, once jester to Henry VIII., was the person referred to.

'Alas, poor Yorick ! I knew him well,

* * * * *

He hath borne me on his back a thousand times.'

The association of the Queen's 'little Lord Keeper' with her father's old jester, doubtless continued in her household as an honoured and privileged old servitor, would have been a natural one. The boy and old man had opportunity for many a romp together.

Alterations in the different editions of 'Hamlet' bear out the cipher claim that Bacon was the true author of the play.

The 1603 Quarto has the line—

'Doubt that the earth is fire.'

In 1604 Bacon wrote a tract urging that the earth was a cold body.

In the 1604 Quarto the line is—

'Doubt that the stars are fire.'

In the 1604 Quarto the movement of the tides is attributed to the influence of the moon.

In 1616 Bacon came to a different opinion. From 'Hamlet,' in the Folio of 1623, the reference to the influence of the moon is (says Mr. Edwin Reed) omitted.

The 1604 'Hamlet' agreed with Bacon's belief that there could not be motion without sense. In

the 1623 'De Augmentis' Bacon changed his opinion. From the 'Hamlet' of the 1623 Folio the passage associating sense with motion is omitted.

The following are a few illustrations of identities of thought in passages from Bacon's acknowledged work and passages in 'Hamlet.'

Since all the roads point to Rome, we shall hope to get there some time.

PARALLELS.

'For if the sun breeds maggots in a dead dog being a god-kissing carrion.'—*Hamlet*, 1604.

'Aristotle dogmatically assigned the cause of generation to the sun.'—BACON: *Novum Organum*, 1608.

'A *silence* in the heavens, the *rack* stood still,
The *bold winds speechless* and the orb below
As hush as death; anon, the dreadful thunder
Doth rend the *region*.'

Hamlet, 1604.

'The *winds* in the upper *region* (which move the clouds about what we call the *rack*, and are not perceived below) *pass without noise*.'—BACON: *Sylva Sylvarum*, 1622.

'Assume a virtue if you have it not.'—*Hamlet*, 1604.

'Whatsoever a want a man hath, he must see that he pretend the virtue that shadoweth it.'—BACON: *Advancement of Learning*, 1605.

‘From the tables
Of my memory I’ll wipe away all saws of books.’

Hamlet, 1603.

‘Tables of the mind differ from the common tables . . . you will scarcely wipe out the former records unless you shall have inscribed the new.’—BACON: *Redargutio Phil.*

‘Though this be madness, yet there is method in it.’—*Hamlet*, 1604.

‘They were only taking pains to show a kind of method and discretion in their madness.’—BACON: *Novum Organum*, 1608.

‘POLONIUS. What do you read, my lord?’

HAMLET. Words, words, words.

POLONIUS. What is the matter, my lord?’

Hamlet, 1604.

‘Here, then, is the first distemper of learning, when men study words and not matter.’—BACON: *Advancement of Learning*, 1605.

‘There’s such divinity doth hedge a king
That treason dares not look on.’

Hamlet, 1603.

‘God hath implanted such a majesty in the face of a prince that no private man dare approach the person of his sovereign with a traitorous intent.’—BACON: *Speech at Trial of Essex*, 1601.

‘HAMLET. Denmark’s a prison.

ROSENCRANTZ. Then is the world one.’

Hamlet, 1623.

‘The world is a prison.’—BACON: *Letter to Buckingham*, 1621.

‘I will find
Where truth is hid, though it were hid indeed
Within the centre.’

Hamlet, 1603.

‘The truth of nature lies hid in certain deep mines and caves.’—BACON: *Advancement of Learning*, 1605.

‘This majestical roof fretted with golden fire.’

Hamlet, 1604.

‘For if that great workmaster had been of a human disposition he would cast the stars into some pleasant and beautiful works and orders like the frets in the roofs of houses.’—BACON: *Advancement of Learning*, 1605.

‘The Cyclops hammers fall
On Mars his armor forg’d for proof eterne.’

Hamlet, 1604.

‘With officious industry the Cyclopes laboured hard with a terrible din in forging thunderbolts and other instruments of terror.’—BACON: *Wisdom of the Ancients*, 1609.

‘HAMLET (*pointing to the dead body of Polonius*). This counsellor is now most still, most secret, and most grave,

Who was in life a foolish prating knave.’

Hamlet, 1604.

‘The best counsellors are the dead.’—BACON: *Essay of Counsel*, 1607.

‘She swoons to see them bleed.’—*Hamlet*, 1604.

‘Many upon seeing of others bleed, themselves are ready to faint.’—BACON: *Sylva Sylvarum*, 1625.

'To thine ownself be true.'—*Hamlet*, 1603.

'I prefer nothing but that they be true to themselves and I true to myself.'—BACON: *Promus*, 1594-6.

Let us living in the twentieth century also be true to ourselves, though it may involve a wrench to part with the assumptions of a lifetime.

I give one more parallel:

'There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will.'

Hamlet, 1604.

In the biliteral decipher from 'Novum Organum' (1620) are the following beautiful sentences of the concealed poet, Francis Bacon:

'I have lost therein a present fame that I may out of anie doubt recover it in our owne and othe' lands after manie a long yeare. I think some ray—that farre off golden morning—will glimmer ev'n into the tombe where I shall lie, and I shall know that wisdome led me thus to wait unhonour'd as is meete until in the perfected time—which the *Ruler that doth wisely shape our ends, rough-hew them how we will*, doth ev'n now know—my justification bee complete.'

CHAPTER XVIII

THE VIZARD 'BURTON'

FRANCIS BACON commenced studying the laws of health as early as 1585. In 'Planetomachia,' published that year, he styled himself 'Robert Greene, Maister of Arts and Student in Phisicke.' The result took shape in 1587, when, under the vizard of 'Bright,' he printed a book of 350 pages, 12mo., entitled a 'Treatise of Melancholy.' A second edition appeared in 1613. Bright the vizard died in 1616. Bright would seem to have been sent by Francis to Cambridge in 1585 to collect all that could be learnt from books in the College libraries upon the subject of the treatise. In his will Bright made no reference to authorship, but would seem to have been a member of the Rosy Cross fraternity, as he directed the disposal of his body in conformity with a Rosy Cross rule. In 1621 the 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' a book of 855 octavo pages, was printed. This work was a thorough collection and

analysis of all that the author and his assistants had been able to get together upon the subject provisionally dealt with in the 'Treatise.'

The 'Anatomy' was intended to appear anonymously, the author, who described himself as Democritus Junior, expressing his unwillingness to be known. Francis, when the book was ready for circulation, found it expedient to change his plans. He had met with serious alteration in his fortunes in May, 1621, being dismissed from the offices of Lord Keeper and Lord Chancellor. It became, therefore, expedient to publish the book under a vizard. Robert Burton, vicar of one of the churches in Oxford, who had been employed in collecting material for the book from the Oxford libraries, was called upon to assume authorship. This was effected by the addition at the end of the book of six unnumbered pages call an 'Epilogue,' signed 'Robert Burton,' and dated 'From my studie in Christ Church, Oxford, December 5th, 1620.' Without opportunity of inspecting a print of the 1621 edition, it is impossible to say whether any other references to the Burton family are to be found in it. But the fact that the Epilogue does not reappear in subsequent editions raises the supposition that those references in the body of the work were later on substituted for the Epilogue. A second

edition was published in 1624, a third enlarged by 102 pages in 1628, a fourth further enlarged by 77 pages in 1632, and a fifth only slightly varied in 1638. Bacon died in 1626, so that the additions after 1624 would be the work of Burton and Rawley and their confrères interested in bringing to date all that could be gleaned and inferred upon the subject of a healthy mind and body. Burton died in 1640. That he was assistant editor or sub-editor and not author of the 'Anatomy' may be inferred from the terms of his will, in which a distinction is drawn between 'such books as are written with my owne handes' and 'half my Melancholy copie, for Crips hath the other half.'

'Copie' would mean copy for the printer. This would be in all probability a print of the previous edition, with the additions and alterations margined and interleaved. That Cripps, the Oxford printer, had, when the Will was made, half of the work in his possession supports this interpretation of the position.

The biliteral cipher has been found in the 'Anatomy' of 1628, and also in the 'Treatise' of 1587.

In the 'Anatomy' Bacon airs his notion of a new Atlantis. His more matured scheme called the

'New Atlantis' was printed some time after his death.

The 'Anatomy' also connects Bacon with the 'omniscious, only wise fraternity' of the Rosy Cross. The fraternity is described in the 'Anatomy' as a group engaged in reform and amendment in 'religion policy, manners, with arts, sciences, etc.'

The collection of miscellaneous accounts of murders, monsters, and accidents, and other pamphlet literature at the Bodleian Library, known as Robert Burton's, rather goes to show that these tracts and papers were sent to him for possible use in adding facts to the various editions of the 'Anatomy,' 1628-38.

Many passages in the 'Anatomy' are closely similar to passages in Bacon's acknowledged works. Mr. W. Theobald's article on the subject in 'Baconiana,' 1905, and Mr. Donnelly's chapter in the second volume of 'The Great Cryptogram,' to which we are partly indebted, should be referred to. There are also valuable comments in *Notes and Queries*, 1903.

The assurance which continuous confirmations of the cipher story give must be the excuse for any dogmatism in this chapter.

Some investigators of better scholarship and better literary and critical qualifications may be

induced to take up this authorship inquiry. They may be interested to note that one or two quotations in the 'Anatomy' are taken from a Spanish book written by Antonio Perez, an early friend and guest of Francis Bacon. They may also be glad to have pointed out that the following passage of the 'Anatomy' is very suggestive of the hand which wrote the 'Spenser' sonnet to Gabriel Harvey:

'A mere spectator of other men's fortunes and adventures, and how they act their parts, which methinks are diversely presented unto me as from a common theatre or scene.'

Democritus Junior said modestly of certain learned men: 'I light my candle at their torches.'

Rawley, Bacon's chaplain, said of his master that 'he lit his torch at every man's candle.' That, as compared with earlier or contemporary philosophers, poets, and savants, Bacon's was the torch and theirs the candles may yet be generally admitted.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ELIZABETHAN MAZE

WORKERS in the maze of Elizabethan literature may find a few hints useful to them.

It is in the first place most necessary to clear the mind of prepossessions and prepare for the unexpected.

They will not only discover that young Francis Bacon was a prolific writer masked under many vizards, but that he had a good conceit of himself, and did not hesitate under one vizard to praise his work under another.

It will be as well also to start with a proper understanding of what he was and under what conditions he developed.

Finally, the biliteral cipher and its story should not be set aside as something to be taken up when further proofs are forthcoming.

Without the cipher story you are pottering in the dark, and while able to assemble parts of the

mosaic, you will not succeed in forming its pattern.

Bacon was the unacknowledged because base-begotten son of parents of abnormal position and ability—that is to say, child of a belated and secret marriage of Queen Elizabeth and Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester.

Brought up as the son of the Queen's confidential man of business, Lord Keeper Bacon, he was cared for and educated most thoroughly as a child who might be one day called to the throne. His remarkable mental development is indicated at so early an age as eleven in the terra-cotta bust of him now at Gorhambury.

As a boy of twelve his education was continued at Trinity College, Cambridge, founded and endowed by the Queen's father.

He was there three years, under the special charge of Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and there came under the influence of Gabriel Harvey, a young and highly popular professor of poetry and rhetoric.

Most of the year 1576 was spent by Francis at the English Court, and he was the subject of much speculation among the courtiers as to what was his precise relationship to either the Lord Keeper and Lady Ann Bacon, or to the Queen and Dudley.

His true parentage was revealed to him as the result of an unpleasant incident, and in September of that year he was packed off for a tour on the Continent, travelling to France in the train of the English Ambassador. He was abroad until March, 1579, and while away was supplied with money for his expenses by certain 'friends' represented by the Queen's confidential official, Sir Thomas Bodley, who was gentleman usher to her private apartments. This gentleman, in an extant letter, exhorted Francis to make a careful study of the arts of government and the sources of national prosperity. In 1578 he made a short revisit to England on the subject of his desired betrothal to the French King's sister Margaret, at that time unwilling to fulfil her contract to marry Henry of Navarre. Occasion was taken of this visit to have his miniature painted by Hilliard, the Queen's Court limner. His marked mental ability at this date is evidenced by the Latin words written round this portrait, coupled with his own admission that during this year he invented the biliteral cipher and carefully studied the properties of sound.

The remarkable range in his studies in classical and foreign literature is manifest from the writings under his earlier vizards, such as 'Immerito,' 'Watson,' 'Lyly,' 'Gosson,' and 'Spenser'

Like the Queen, his mother (to whose extensive library he would have access), he was an accomplished scholar, fluent in Latin and French, and able to read Greek, Italian, and Spanish with ease.

We can well understand that when this highly talented young nobleman came back to England his parents were proud of him, though it was impossible for them to formally recognize him as a Prince. He appears to have spent 1579 partly at the Court and partly at Leicester House, and seems to have been well supplied with money.

A poet by training and disposition, he could not fail to have been inspired by the poets of France as to the important nature of their calling. Ronsard's efforts at the improvement of the French vernacular by the introduction of new words of classic origin and of words from old French, almost obsolete, would be known to him. Fresh from the influence of talented French and Italian tragedians and comedians, the clownish performances which passed for play-acting in his own country would be an abomination. Proficient in music and a student of the laws of sound, much of the crude piping which was called music in the country of his birth would be equally abhorrent. The decadence of the English poetic muse since the days of Chaucer was only too

apparent. Current versification was nothing but dull forced rhyming.

He had not been many months in his own country ere he published a strong protest against the abuses of poets, pipers, and players, entitled 'The Schoole of Abuse.'

Amongst the English courtiers at that period there was a great unwillingness to print their attempts in the poetic art. Bacon had manifestly reasons of his own for secrecy, so that while his firstfruits were given to the world in the pen-name of 'Lyly,' he chose as vizard for 'The Schoole of Abuse' young Gosson, then one of the boy-players of the Queen's Chapel. As sanction for the practice he instances the habit of the poets of ancient times to mask their productions under other names or vizards.

Not content with his own efforts, he infected others with his reforming zeal, and formed a small literary society (or areopagus, as Harvey called it), charged to bring about some improvement in English poetry. The little band consisted of Sidney, Dyer, Greville and himself, while Gabriel Harvey, his old poetical tutor, watched and applauded the movement from Cambridge.

In the 'Shepherd's Kalendar,' 1579, Francis, under his vizard of 'Immerito,' essayed to do for

English what Ronsard was doing for French. Taking Chaucer for one of his models, he endeavoured to revive obsolete English words and phrases.

From this time onward his literary publications constituted one steady flow, masked, as they were, under the vizards of young University students who sought employment in London as clerks, transcribers, and players. Spenser was a clerk with the Earl of Leicester until sent off to Ireland. Peele was a sort of go-between with the actors. Greene, Marlowe, Shakspeare and Gosson were players. 'Watson' and 'Lyly' were mere names. Kyd seems to have had employment as law clerk at Bacon's chambers in Gray's Inn.

The important fact that the attempted biographies would not marry with the works has been quite overlooked by the critics, who have been entirely deceived by the 'vizard' method of publication.

The mystification was made more complete by Bacon's habit (no doubt intended to create the impression that the foundation of an English literature was not the work of one individual) of making his puppets refer to one another as though they really were writing independently.

Harvey, Philip and Mary Sidney, Fraunce, Greville and Dyer, together with many more of the

courtiers, were more or less in Bacon's secret. So were Sir John Davies and Sir Toby Mathew. Marston, Hall, and Jonson found it out, as the late Mr. Begley has elsewhere shown. But the general reader was kept in ignorance. Below are some examples of the practice referred to.

To the first set of 'Sonnets,' published in 1582 under the name of 'Watson,' he wrote a preface as 'Lyly' and complimentary verse as 'Peele.' When a number of his plays had been for some time before the public, he, as 'Greene' in 'Menaphon,' made some mysterious allusions as to their authorship, and tried to suggest 'Kyd' as one of the authors. As 'Nash' he wrote a preface to 'Menaphon,' and continued to disperse an inky fluid, like the sepia or cuttle-fish, as means of escape. In this preface he fathered the play of 'Arraignment of Paris' on Peele, notwithstanding that it had been published anonymously five years earlier.

As Watson in 1590 he alluded to himself as 'Spenser,' while as Spenser he alluded to himself as 'Lyly.' By 1592 he had practically dropped the 'Gosson' and 'Lyly' vizards, and he then wanted to abandon the vizards of 'Watson' and 'Greene.' In publishing the last 'Watson' work he wrote as C. M. (Marlowe), regretting his death, and so forth. Of the death of 'Greene' he, as

'Nash,' and with Harvey's assistance, made great play, commencing with a sort of death-bed homily to Marlowe and others. The 'Spenser' allusion of 1591 is very interesting. Thalia, in 'Teares of the Muses,' says :

' And he whom Nature's self had made
To mock himselfe and truth to imitate
With kindly counter under Mimick shade
Our pleasant Willy, ah, is dead of late.'

The verses proceed to explain how things have gone wrong with the stage, and that Willy

' Doth rather choose to sit in idle cell,
And so himself to mockerie to sell.'

We believe that 'Willy' is, as other critics think, a reference to 'Lyly,' and its meaning is not very difficult to follow.

Bacon's earliest attempts at comedy would be the few plays performed by the children of the Queen's Chapel from 1580-4, and presented as under the authorship of 'Lyly.'

'Campaspe,' 'Sapho,' 'Gallathea,' 'Woman in the Moon,' and 'Endimion,' are all dry, poor stuff, written by Francis in his youth, and it is natural to assume they did not go down very well with the gallants and ladies of the Elizabethan Court.

Francis, who was doubtless very much chaffed, became huffed, and discontinued his Court comedies.

The 'Lyly' vizard was dropped, and he was reputed to be sulking in his cell. The Spenser allusion gives us the reason why a 'Greene' pamphlet of 1587 purports to be compiled from some loose papers found in 'Lyly's' cell, and in Greene's 'Menaphon,' 1589, 'Lyly' is still described as slumbering in his melancholy cell. Young Francis had evidently a notion of abandoning the 'Lyly' vizard. But as 'Nash,' in the preface to the last-named work, he takes the precaution of fathering upon Peele the 'Arraignment of Paris,' which had been better received than the 'Lyly' plays, and was a play in which Bacon had experimented successfully with a variety of metres. A verse prefixed to 'Menaphon' indicates that his Lyly vizard was thenceforth to be merged in 'Greene.'

We must never forget young Bacon's extraordinary egotism. He had no hesitation in referring to himself as

'That same gentle spirit from whose pen
Large streames of honnie and sweete nectar flowe,'

any more than at other times would he refrain from assuring any person associated by name with any of his writings that they would thereby be eternized.

Yet in both instances he was quite correct.

CHAPTER XX

THE FINE ART OF ETERNIZING

FRANCIS BACON had no belief in the ordinary purpose of dedications, and his use of them was mostly with the notion of 'memorizing' or 'eternizing' his friends.

Addressing the Earl of Southampton in the dedicatory preface to 'Jack Wilton,' a novel printed in 1594 under the vizard of 'Nash,' he wrote: 'I know not what blind custom methodicall antiquity hath thrust upon us to dedicate such books as we publish to one great man or another.'

Addressing King James in the preface to the 'Advancement of Learning,' 1605, he remarked: 'Neither is the modern dedication of books to be commended, for that books, such as are worthy the name of books, ought to have no patrons but truth and reason.' His Shakespeare sonnets (1609) show that in his works and their dedications he conceived 'himself to be laying great bases for

eternity.' This attitude of mind is further evidenced in the following excerpts :

In the dedication to Sir Charles Blount (Mountjoye) of the 'Anatomy of Absurditie,' 1589, being the first work put out in the vizard of 'Nash,' he states that a certain cause 'hath compelled my wit to wander abroad unguarded in this satyricall disguise.' Referring to the Queen in the same preface, he remarks : 'My tongue is too base a Tryton to eternize her praise.'

In the sonnet to Sir John Norris (one of several affixed to the 'Faerie Queene,' 1590, printed under the vizard of 'Spenser'), he asks Sir John 'to love him that hath eternized your name.'

To Lady Carey, in the dedication of 'Christ's Tears over Jerusalem' (1593, 'Nash'), he said : 'Divine Ladie, you I must and will memorize more especially.' And, again : 'Fame's eldest favourite, Maister Spenser, in all his writings hie prizeth you. To the eternizing of the heroycall familie of the Careys my choisest studies have I tasked.' Francis used 'fame' in the sense of 'rumour.'

In the dedication to the Earl of Southampton of 'Jack Wilton,' 1594, he wrote : 'A new wit, a new stile, a new soule will I get me to canonize your name to posteritie.' Evidently Francis thought it unfair to Southampton that his name should only

go down to posterity in the dedication of the two amorous poems, 'Venus and Adonis' (1593) and 'Lucrece' (1594).

In 1595 Francis prefaced his translation of Garnier's 'Cornelie' (printed in the name of Kyd, one of his assistants then just deceased) with a dedication to the Countess of Sussex. In this preface he remarked to her: 'Thus I purposed to make known my memory of you and them to be immortal.'

In the preface to King James of the 'Advancement of Learning,' 1605, Francis said that certain attributes of the King deserved to be expressed 'in some solid work fixed memorial and immortal monument. . . . Therefore I did conclude with myself that I could not make unto your Majesty a better oblation than of some treatise tending to that end.'

The following group of Francis Bacon's vizard writings, printed prior to 1603, should now be considered. (See tables, pp. 272, 273.)

To the powerful Earl of Oxford, who married Lord Burleigh's daughter and was himself a poet and prose writer, three works were dedicated; to the influential Earl of Arundel, two. Three were addressed by Francis to his intimate literary friend, Philip Sidney, and one to Sidney's father-in-law, Sir F. Walsingham. To the author's father, the

Earl of Leicester, a serious treatise was dedicated, and after the latter died a poem, entitled 'Virgil's Gnat,' 1591.

With the Cumberland family the dedications exhibit that Francis was on terms of close intimacy. One small volume was prefaced to the Countess of Derby, half-sister of George Clifford third Earl of Cumberland, two to the Earl himself and two to his wife, though with her was associated her sister Anne, Countess of Warwick. The Earl of Cumberland had two sons, who were christened Francis and Robert, but who died in infancy, and one daughter, Anne, who, whilst widow of Earl Dorset (1620), erected a monument to 'Spenser.' She afterwards married (1630) Philip, Earl of Pembroke, to whom the 'Shakespeare' Folio of 1623 was dedicated. Two publications, 'Melibæus' and 'Astrophel,' were associated with the name of Sidney's widow, and two with his sister Mary the Countess of Pembroke, while another was dedicated to the widowed Lady Mary Talbot, who was sister-in-law to the Countess.

To Lord Ferdinando Strange, eldest son of the above-mentioned Countess of Derby, was dedicated a tale; to Lady Strange a poem; to her sister, Lady Compton, a poem; and to Lord Compton another poem. Sir George Carey (eldest son of the Queen's

DESCRIPTION.	WORK.	DATE.	DEDICATION.	VIZARD.
Tract	Schoole of Abuse	1579	Philip Sidney	Gosson
"	Apology for "	1579	"	"
Essays	Euphues' Anatomie of Wit	1579	Earl de la Warre (in 1581)	Lily
"	Euphues his England	1580	Earl of Oxford	"
Poem	Shepheard's Calendar	1580	Philip Sidney	Immerito
Translation	Sophocles' Antigone	1581	Earl of Arundel	Watson
Poems	Passionate Century	1582	Earl of Oxford	"
Tract	Plays Confuted	1582	Sir F. Walsingham	Gosson
Tale	Mamillia	1583	Lord Darcie	Greene
"	Morando	1584	Earl of Arundel	"
"	Arbasto	1584	Lady Talbot	"
"	Myrrour of Modestie	1584	Countess of Derby	"
"	Carde of Fancie	1584	Earl of Oxford	"
Treatise	Planetomachia	1584	Earl of Leicester	"
Tale	Penelope's Web	1587	Countesses of Cumberland and Warwick	"
Essay	Euphues' Censure	1587	Earl of Essex	"
Tale	Pandosto	1588	Earl of Cumberland	"
"	Alcida	1588	Sir Charles Blount	"
"	Perimides	1588	Gervis Clifton	"
"	Ciceronis Amor	1589	Lord Strange	"
Tract	Spanish Masquerado	1589	Sheriff of London	"
Pamphlet	Anatomie of Absurditie	1589	Sir Charles Blount	"
Translation	Royal Exchange	1590	Lord Mayor and Sheriffs	Nash
Poem	Faerie Queene	1590	The Queen	Greene
				Spenser

Pamphlet	Mourning Garment	1590	Earl of Cumberland	Greene
Elegy	Melibæus	1590	Lady F. Sidney	Watson
Translation	Italian Madrigals	1590	Earl of Essex	"
Poem	Polyhymnia	1590	Lord Compton	Peele
Elegy	Maiden's Dreame	1591	Lady Elizabeth Hatton	Greene
"	Daphnaida	1591	Marquess of Northampton	Spenser
"	Ruine of Time	1591	Countess of Pembroke	"
Poem	Teares of the Muses	1591	Lady Strange	"
"	Virgil's Gnat	1591	Late Earl of Leicester	"
"	Mother Hubbard's Tale	1591	Lady Compton	"
"	Muioptomos	1591	Lady Carey	Greene
Tale	Farewell to Folly	1591	Robert Carey	"
"	Philomela	1592	Lady Fitzwalter	"
Satire	Quip for Upstart Courtier	1592	Thomas Burnaby	Watson
Translation	Amintæ Gaudia	1592	Countess of Pembroke	Peele
Poem	Honor of the Garter	1593	Earl of Northumberland	Nash
Satire	Christ's Tears over Jerusalem	1593	Lady Carey	
Poem	Venus and Adonis	1593	Earl of Southampton	Shakespeare
"	Lucrece	1594	"	"
Novel	Jack Wilton	1594	"	Nash
Essay	Terrors of the Night	1594	Elizabeth Carey	"
Translation	Cornelia	1594	Countess of Sussex	Kyd
Poems	Amoretti	1595	Sir Robert Needham	Spenser
Poem	Colin Clout	1595	Sir Walter Raleigh	"
Elegy	Astrophel	1596	Countess of Essex	"
Poems	Four Hymnes	1596	Countesses of Cumberland and Warwick	"

cousin, Lord Hunsdon) was eternized indirectly, two works being dedicated to his wife (sister of Lady Strange), and one to his only daughter, while to his brother, Robert Carey, was dedicated a short pamphlet. Sir Charles Blount (afterwards Lord Mountjoye, Earl of Devonshire) was honoured in this way in two of the vizard works as well as in the 'Colours of Good and Evil.' The Countess of Sussex, who was a comely personage and of rare wit, was honoured on two occasions (one when she was Lady Fitzwalters). Thomas Burnaby is named in two dedications, the Earl of Southampton in three, and the Earl of Essex in two. Lady Elizabeth Hatton (whom subsequently Francis, it is said, wanted to marry) was also remembered. Arthur Gorges, who translated Bacon's Essays into French, is memorized in 'Daphnaida.' Lords Burleigh, Darcy, De la Warr, and Northumberland, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Robart Needham, Gervis Clifton (who married Penelope Rich), and a few others are each of them associated with one or other of the vizard works, while to the Queen herself was dedicated his great poem, 'The Faerie Queene.'

The evidence indicates that Francis planned with considerable care and forethought the memorizing, canonizing, or eternizing—as he variously ex-

pressed himself—of his important friends and compeers, with the view to securing that immortality for their names in association with his works which he expected of the works themselves. This one may venture to style the fine art of eternizing.

CHAPTER XXI

BACON AND PHILIP SIDNEY

SIDNEY was a good friend to Bacon in the early days.

When Francis returned to England after his long absence abroad, Sidney, his senior by seven years, was the unquestioned chief of the younger men at Elizabeth's Court. He was proficient, whether riding at tilt, composing a verse, or guiding an affair of State.

Francis, in March, 1578-9, full of the fine frenzy of a poet, found Sidney sympathetic. He was, to use Bacon's own expression (when writing the dedication to the 'Ruine of Time,' 1591, under his 'Spenser' vizard), 'The Patron of my young Muses.'

Sidney filled that office to the following compositions, published by young Francis in 1579 :

			Vizard.
'Schoole of Abuse' ...	...	...	Gosson
'Ephemerides of Phialo' ...	...	...	"
'Shepherd's Kalendar' ...	...	...	Immerito

Before that year was out Bacon, Sidney, and two others of the English Court—viz., Greville and Dyer—had constituted themselves a literary coterie for the improvement of English poetry.

Sidney essayed a pastoral entitled 'The Arcadia.' Francis pushed along with the 'Faerie Queene' and other literary projects. In 1584 Sidney married the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham. In October, 1586, at a time when he was at the zenith of his popularity, Sidney died through wounds received at the Battle of Zutphen. The death at thirty-two of this promising and prominent nobleman was a great shock to the English nation, and the Court went into mourning for a long period. Francis felt his loss most keenly. His Elegy of 'Astrophel' shows this. It bears evidence of having been written very shortly after Philip's death, but it was not printed until 1596, when it appeared under the 'Spenser' vizard.

The delay was due to the awkwardly prominent position which the Elegy gave to Stella (Lady Rich)—namely, that of chief mourner. First, therefore, it had to wait until 1590, when Sidney's widow remarried, and then until 1596, when Lady Rich left her husband and lived openly with the Earl of Devonshire. The postponement of this Elegy of 'Astrophel' was partly atoned for in 1591, when

Francis, in the 'Ruine of Time,' wrote feelingly of Sidney's worth.

Sidney's writings were not published in his lifetime. His literary executor, Greville, placed a copy of the 'Arcadia' in the hands of a printer, who published it in 1590. The publication was a poor one, and both Francis and Sidney's sister, Mary Countess of Pembroke, were dissatisfied.

Francis seems consequently to have taken over the editing for the press of Sidney's miscellaneous verses, while Mary Sidney revised the 'Arcadia.' The former, under the title of 'Astrophel and Stella,' were printed in 1591, Francis contributing a fine introduction under his 'Nash' vizard. We quote a passage :

'And thy devine Soule, carried on an angel's wings to heaven, is installed in Herme's place sole prolocutor to the Gods.'

The Countess having, with assistance from Francis, thoroughly overhauled and in part rewritten, the 'Arcadia,' it was republished in 1593 with an introduction by Francis under the initials 'H. S.' These, no doubt, are short for Hermes Stella (a possible reference to Sidney). The initials occur in one or two other of Bacon's works, and the full name is a sub-title to Bacon's 'Valerius Terminus.' Francis appears to have been so

satisfied with Mary Sidney's work as to venture to entitle the revised pastoral 'The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia.'

The last of the Sidney works, the essay entitled 'An Apologie for Poetry,' was printed in 1595, also, seemingly, under Bacon's editorship. The introduction seems to be of his writing.

In 1591 Sir John Harrington made reference to the 'Apologie,' but it was probably then in manuscript only.

How much of Sidney's original manuscript and how much added matter by the editor constituted the 'Apologie' as printed, we shall probably never know.

'The Arte of English Poesie,' which preceded it in 1589, was an exhaustive treatise, published anonymously and lately, on good grounds, shown to have been Bacon's work.

Mr. Fox Bourne, in his 'Life of Sidney,' noticed the close resemblances between passages in the 'Arte' and passages in the 'Apologie.'

Mr. George James observed a close connection between the 'Apologie' and Bacon's 'Wisdom of the Ancients.' Also between the 'Apologie' and Bacon's Hermit's speech in the 'Device at Tilt,' November 17, 1595.

May I add the similarity of expression to be

found in the 'Apologie' and in Bacon's letter to Raleigh affixed to the 'Faerie Queene,' 1590?

Notwithstanding the title-page, which, of course, in those days meant nothing final, and the references to Sidney's visits to Austria and Hungary in the body of the work, I think it probable that Bacon practically rewrote the 'Apologie,' and that the likeness of some of its passages to the 'Arte,' and of others to the Raleigh letter, the Hermit's speech, and the 'Wisdom of the Ancients,' may be accounted for on the assumption of single authorship.

If that be so, it incidentally throws light on the date of writing of three of the Shakespeare plays. 'The Merchant of Venice,' as Mr. James has pointed out, reproduces in verse—'But while this muddy vesture of decay'—the idea of the 'clay lodgings of the human soul' to be found in the 'Apologie.'

In neighbouring lines of the play there is reference to the 'music of the spheres,' also to be found in 'Jack Wilton,' a novel printed in 1594 by Francis under the vizard of 'Nash.' 1595 is probably, therefore, the date of the 'Merchant of Venice,' being the play on the subject of 'Porcie,' promised by Francis in the dedication of 'Cornelia' early in 1595. The play of 'Love's Labour Lost,'

with its jocularities about 'perigrinate,' no doubt followed the publication in 1594, by Anthony Perez, of his 'Relaciones,' under the assumed name of 'Raphael Peregrino.' The play was possibly also later than October 7, 1594, when Elizabeth, writing to Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby, jokes about his 'perigrinations' (Nichols' 'Progresses,' vol. iii., p. 260). Mr. James shows how a similar idea to one in the 'Apologie' is used in 'Love's Labour Lost,' and also in the Hermit's speech. This, again, rather points to single authorship, and the year 1595 as the year the play was written. So does the correspondency of the passages in the 'Apologie' and in the play of 'Coriolanus,' in which the Menenius Agrippa's story of the mutiny of parts of the body is related. Mr. James, who quotes the passages, in so doing, partly helps to the date of 'Coriolanus.' The field is quite open, as the critics have come to no conclusion as to this date.

Probabilities point to 'Coriolanus' as having been written in the year 1595. Our conjecture is that the condition of Bacon's first edition (1579) of North's translations of Plutarch's 'Lives' must have become very unsatisfactory by 1595. Well thumbed, its margins written upon, and its binding weak, he must have welcomed the fine new second

edition published in 1595. Fresh from re-reading the 'Lives,' he doubtless added 'Coriolanus' to his Roman history plays. The Agrippa incident seems to confirm this.

The 'Apologie for Poetrie' does not seem to marry well with the other Sidney works. The likelihood is that, as Mary Sidney's additions justified the 1593 edition being called 'The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia,' another's still more strenuous work on the 'Apologie' may justify some future editor in calling it 'Bacon's Apologie for Poetrie.'

However, the subject is fit for discussion.

CHAPTER XXII

' THE ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE '

IN 1589 the above work was published by Richard Field, with a dedication to Lord Burleigh, dated May 28.

In 1722 was first printed a curious MS., by one Edmund Bolton, probably written in 1620, containing a passage stating that the fame was that the 'Arte' was the work of one of Queen Elizabeth's gentlemen pensioners—Puttenham.

The ascription to Puttenham therefore rests merely on a rumour noted thirty-one, and published one hundred and thirty-three, years after the date of the work.

Dr. Garnett and Mr. E. Gosse, writing of English literature of the period, say 'the "Arte" is attributed, on by no means exclusive authority, to one of two brothers—Puttenham ; and add, 'We must acknowledge grave doubts whether it can rightly be attributed to either.'

The 'Dictionary of National Biography' shows that these brothers were frequently in prison. The known age of one of them does not fit with the personal statements in the book, and the other is not recorded to have been abroad.

Mr. Sidney Lee, alluding to the author, says: 'He was the first English writer who attempted philosophical criticism of literature.' Mr. Gilchrist, an earlier critic, expressed the opinion that the 'Arte' was intrinsically one of the most valuable books of the age of Elizabeth.

The work being so important and its authorship still an open question, one may be excused for suggesting another likely author.

The date of writing of the 'Arte' is, according to the opinion of Mr. Arber, about the year 1585.

In 1584 Vautroullier, the Edinburgh printer, had published for King James of Scotland 'A Treatise of the Airt of Scottis Poesie.' On its title-page was the printer's trade mark and motto, *Anchora Spei*.

The probability is that Queen Elizabeth, in a spirit of royal emulation, thereupon thought well to show what she and her literary assistants could do. Francis at that date was greatly in the Queen's confidence. In 1582 he had written for her a monograph on the state of affairs on the Continent.

In 1585 he was M.P., and made some marvellously brilliant speeches. He also wrote to the Queen a long and careful memorandum on State affairs and the question of her personal safety.

It is very odd to find Francis, if a penniless younger son of Nicholas Bacon, taking, before he is barely twenty-five, such a prominent part in the affairs of his Sovereign, of whose purse he was a pensioner. Both Francis and the Queen were poets and expert linguists, and the 'Arte' gave an opportunity to the Queen to publish her verses and recollections, which could not well be given in print in any other way. At the same time it enabled Francis to expound the rules of poetry which he had studied. Says the author in Book III., chap. xxv.: 'We have in our humble conceit sufficiently performed our promise, or rather dutie, to your Majestie in the description of this arte.' Upon this point a few words in Bacon's 'Apology' concerning Essex are instructive: 'Her Majesty, taking a liking to my pen . . . and likewise upon some other declarations which in former times, by her appointment, I put in writing, commanded me to pen that book.'

Mr. Arber points out that the 'Arte,' although probably begun in 1585, was not altered and amended until 1589, when it was printed by

Vautroullier's son-in-law, Richard Field, under, curiously enough, the same trade-mark, *Anchora Spei*, which by this date had doubtless passed into the latter's possession.

Bacon, writing years afterwards to King James, refers to 'your Majesty's Royal promise (which to me is *Anchora Spei*).'

The composition of the 'Arte' having been decided upon by these distinguished persons, the next characteristic precaution would be to shroud the authorship under such a veil as could not with any certainty be pierced.

The author remarks that 'the good Poet or maker ought to dissemble his arte.'

We may therefore expect to meet with a number of statements purposed to throw people off the scent, combined with others which may be true in substance and fact.

With this precaution well in mind, there is much *prima facie* evidence pointing to Francis as the author.

It is also quite likely that Francis wrote the verses entitled the 'Partheniades,' which the author states he presented to the Queen on a certain New Year's Day. One of the verses alludes to 'twenty years agon' of Her Majesty's reign. The usually assigned date is New Year's Day, 1579, when

Francis was probably in England, but the phrase would, perhaps, more correctly indicate the year 1578. Francis came from France about March 20, 1578-9, but, according to Rawley’s ‘Life,’ he visited England before his final return. Again, who amongst the Queen’s courtiers, skilled as a poet, better answers the description of one who had spent his youth amid foreign Courts (Francis was there from September, 1576), who was closely intimate with Lord Burghley and Sir Nicholas Bacon, and who (according to Hazlewood) quoted frequently from Quintillian, the favourite author with Sir Nicholas ?

Francis Bacon was provided by the Queen herself with the means to live. He no doubt became a gentleman pensioner of the Court. No acknowledged poet of the period answers to the description the writer of the ‘Arte’ gives of himself.

It will no doubt be objected that Bacon could have had no personal knowledge of Queen Mary or Edward VI., nor could he have been present at the banquet in Brussels in honour of the Earl of Arundel, nor at Spain in the reign of Charles IX. Nor was he educated at Oxford. On the other hand, had these experiences—no doubt gathered from others and with permission—been entered as the writer’s own, his anonymity would have been

absolutely gone, since by the admissions the actual author could have been readily traced and identified.

‘He who would be secret must be a dissembler in some degree.’ This dissembling may be less than appears if it should turn out that some of the incidents occurred to, and were interpolated by, Queen Elizabeth herself.

The following is suspiciously like her writing : ‘The eclogue *Elpine* which *we* made, being but eighteen years old, to King Edward, a Prince of great hope.’

Elizabeth was eighteen in September, 1551, while her brother Edward was King. The epitaph on Sir John Throgmorton may be another interpolation by Her Majesty ; Sir John was judge of the Palatine Court of her Duchy of Chester. He died in 1580. Her close intimacy with the Throgmortons is also shown by the letter of Paulet to Burleigh in September, 1576, which states that he is taking to Paris with him a son of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton (brother of Sir John) at the recommendation of Her Majesty, and therefore he could not refuse him. Sir John was knighted by the Queen at Kenilworth. His wife, according to the lists of New Year’s gifts, was at Court in 1578 and 1579.

Passing to the internal evidence of mannerisms

and style, attention is drawn to the dedication of the book to Lord Burghley, nominally the work of the printer.

Compare—

'Bestowing upon your Lordship the first vewe of this mine impression'

with—

'The first heir of my invention,'

occurring in the dedication to 'Venus and Adonis,' also published by Field in 1593.

Then contrast this concluding passage in the 'Arte':

'I presume so much upon your Majestie's most mild and gracious judgment, *howsoever you conceive of myne abilitie to any better or greater service,* that yet in this attempt ye will allow of my loyall and good intent, always endeavouring to do your Majesty the best and greatest services I can,'

with a passage in a letter written years later by Bacon to King James :

'I hope and wish at least that this which I have written may be of some use to your Majesty. . . . At the least it is the effect of my care and poor abilitie, which if in me be any, it is given me to no other end but faithfully to serve your Majesty.'

In 1592, when he wrote to Burleigh, Bacon was openly begging for office of some kind. 'I ever bare a mind (in some middle place that I could discharge) to serve her Majesty.' 'Place of any reasonable countenance doth bring commandment of more wits than of man's own, which is the thing I greatly affect.'

Internal evidence also shows that the work, probably begun in 1585, was altered and added to even up to 1589. The practice of altering and adding was common to Bacon's acknowledged works. 'I alter ever when I add, so that nothing is finished until all be finished' (Bacon to Tobie Matthew).

Internal evidence shows the writer to have been a barrister of such familiarity with law and pleading as we should expect Francis to have attained at this period, 1585-9. In the last year he was made a Reader of his Inn. Below are some illustrations from the 'Arte' of this proficiency in law :

'And this figure is much used by our English pleaders in the Star Chamber and Chancery, which they call to confess and avoid.'

'It serveth many times to great purpose to prevent our adversaries' arguments and take upon us to know before what our judge, or adversary, or hearer thinketh.'

‘It is also very many times used for a good pollicie in pleading.’

‘As he that in a litigious case for land would prove it, not the adversaries, but his clients.’

‘No man can say its his by heirship, nor by legacie or testator’s device, nor that it came by purchase or engage, nor from his Prince for any good service.’

‘This man deserves to be endited of petty larceny for pilfering other men’s devices from them and converting them to his own use.’

Compare Bacon’s remarks to Elizabeth in Apothegms concerning Heywood :

‘No, madam, for treason I cannot deliver opinion that there is any, but for felony very many. Because he had stolen so many of his sentences and conceits out of Cornelius Tacitus.’

Bacon’s love of the art of persuasion (which he was fond of illustrating with the story of the unresisted invasion of Italy, where the conqueror came with chalk in his hands to mark up lodging-places for his soldiers rather than with arms to force their way) seems also a characteristic of the writer of the ‘Arte.’

In ‘The Wisdom of the Ancients’ (1609) he writes :

‘The fable of Orpheus, though trite and common, has never been well interpreted.’

Then he explains :

‘Orpheus’s music is of two sorts . . . the first may fitly be applied to natural philosophy, the second to moral or *civil* discipline . . . by *persuasion* and *eloquence*; insinuating the love of virtue, equity, and concord in the minds of men, draws multitudes of men to a Society, makes them subject to laws, obedient to government.’

In the grounds of Gorhambury, Bacon erected a statue to Orpheus, inscribed ‘Philosophy Personified.’

In his discourse on the ‘Plantation of Ireland,’ 1608, he stated ‘that Orpheus, by the virtue of the sweetness of his harp, did call and *assemble* the beasts and birds of their nature, *wild and savage*, to stand about him as in a theatre,’ which he explained to imply the reducing and plantation of kingdoms when people of barbarous manners are brought to give ear to the wisdom of laws and governments.

The passage in the ‘Arte’ relating to Orpheus is at the beginning of Book I., chap. iii. After referring to sweet and *eloquent persuasion*, he proceeds :

‘And Orpheus *assembled* the wilde beastes to come in heards to harken to his musicke and by that means made them tame, implying thereby how, by his discreet and wholesome lessons, uttered in harmonie and with melodious instruments, he brought the *rude and savage* people to a more *civil and orderly life*.’

Internal evidence shows the writer of the ‘Arte,’ like Bacon and the writer of the ‘Shakespeare’ plays, to be fond of introducing new and unaccustomed words. In Book III., chap. iv., before proceeding to discuss a number of novel words used by him, the writer of the ‘Arte’ says :

‘And peradventure the writer hereof be in that behalfe no lesse faultie than any other, using many strange and unaccustomed wordes and borrowed from other languages.’

I will next give a few parallelisms between the ‘Arte’ (A) and the writings of Bacon (B), and Shakespeare (S) :

A.—‘Every man’s stile is for the most part according to the matter and subject.’

B.—‘Style is as the subject matter.’

A.—‘He cannot lightly do amiss if he have besides a special regard to all the circumstances of the person, place, time, cause, and purpose he hath in hand.’

B.—‘It is good to vary and suit speeches with the present occasions and to have a moderation in all our speeches, especially in jesting of religion, state, great persons, etc.’

S.—‘He must observe their moods on whom he jests
The quality of persons and the time.’

A.—‘And maketh now and then very vice go for a formal virtue.’

S.—‘There is no vice so simple but assumes
Some mark of virtue on his outward parts.’

A.—‘But now because our Maker or Poet is to play many parts and not one alone.’

S.—‘And one man in his time plays many parts.’

Love in its two aspects is treated much alike by the writer of the ‘Arte’ and by Bacon :

A.—‘For love there is no frailtie in flesh and blood as excusable as it, no comfort or discomfort greater than the good and bad success thereof, nothing more natural to man, nothing of more force to vanquish his will and to inveigle his judgment.’

B.—‘Love is a pure gain and advancement in nature, it is not a good by comparison but a true good ; it is not an ease of pain but a true purchase of pleasures.’

‘It checks with business and troubleth men’s fortunes and maketh men that they can no ways be true to their own ends.’

The above proofs present what I think to be a fair *prima facie* case for ascribing to Francis Bacon the authorship of ‘The Arte of English Poesie.’

Since this was written the late Mr. Walter Begley, in a book entitled 'Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio,' gives independent reasons for assigning to Bacon the authorship of 'The Arte of English Poesie.'

CHAPTER XXIII

BACON'S VERSIONS OF PSALMS

MR. CHURTON COLLINS, in his 'Studies in Shakespeare,' rejected as unbelievable the notion 'that a man should by the very poetry of which he acknowledged himself the composer, refute all possibility of his being equal to the composition of poetry to which he never made any claim.'

The poetry of which Bacon acknowledged himself the composer consists of versifications of seven Psalms.

That of the 126th Psalm is some justification for Mr. Collins's criticism. Those of the 12th, the 1st, the 104th, and the 159th Psalms seem sound and good work, though not brilliant, and yet manifestly better than Milton's excursions in the same field. Milton, on Mr. Collins's line of reasoning, has equally refuted all possibility of his being equal to the composition of 'Paradise Lost.' Venturing, however, to judge a man's capability by his best

work, we should be disposed, after perusal of Bacon's versions of the 90th and 137th Psalms, to dissent entirely from the conclusion which Mr. Collins asks us to draw.

After the attempts of both Milton and Bacon, a critic might be inclined to infer that to give rhymed expression to the solemn and sacred prose of the Psalms is by no means easy of accomplishment. He might also have reasonably conjectured that the man who, at the age of sixty-five, wearied in body and fallen from high estate, could produce the version of the 90th Psalm as an exercise of his sickness, was an experienced poet whose earlier work should be worth looking out for. He would have borne in mind that in 1600 Bacon wrote with reference to Essex, 'At which time, though I profess not to be a poet, I writ a sonnet directly tending and alluding to draw on Her Majesty's reconciliation to my Lord.' The versifier of the Psalms, at the age of sixty-five, was the admitted writer of a sonnet when aged forty. He does not say he was not a poet, but only that he did not *profess* to be one. Three years later, writing to Sir John Davis, he refers to himself as a concealed poet.

The Psalm versions are dedicated to George Herbert, to whom Lord St. Alban says: 'It being my manner of dedication to choose those that I hold

most fit for the argument, I thought that in respect of divinity and poesy met (whereof the one is the matter, the other the style of this little writing), I could not make better choice.'

Poesy, then, with Lord St. Alban was merely a *style of writing*. How satisfactory it would be could one use the style with equal readiness.

The correspondences between these versions and the plays attributed to Shakespeare are numerous. Here are some of them :

Psalm 1.—A yielding and attentive ear.

S.—Attention of your ears.

Ps.—And are no prey to winter's power.

S.—Winter's powerful wind.

Ps.—In the assembly of the just.

S.—My oath before this honorable assembly.

Psalm 12.—Unworthy hands. Subtile speech.

S.—Unworthy hand. Subtile orator.

Ps.—Cloven heart (double heart in Psalm).

S.—Cloven pines, Cloven chin, Cloven tongues.

Ps.—What need we any higher power to fear.

S.—The higher powers forbid.

Psalm 90.—From age to age.

S.—The truth shall live from age to age.

Ps.—Or that the frame was up of earthly stage.

S.—All the world's a stage, and all the men and women in it merely players.

Ps.—Thoughts that mounted high.

S.—Honorable thoughts, thoughts high.
And fit my thoughts to mount aloft.

Ps.—Thus hast thou hanged our life on brittle pins.

S.—Better brook the loss of brittle life.
I do not set my life at a pin's fee.

Ps.—Thou buriest not within oblivion's tomb.

S.—Damned oblivion is the tomb.

Ps.—Even those that are conceived in darkness' womb.

S.—Dark forgetfulness and deep oblivion.

Ps.—Our life steals to an end.

S.—But age with his stealing steps.

Ps.—To spin in length this feeble line of life.

S.—Here is a simple line of life.

Ps.—A moment brings all back to dust again.

S.—Alexander returneth to dust.
The way to dusty death.

Ps.—In meditation of mortality.

S.—Meditating that she must die.
Taught my frail mortality to know.

Ps.—This bubble light, this vapour of our breath.

S.—Of dignity, a breath, a bubble.
Exhalest this vapour vow.

Psalm 104.—The moon so constant in inconstancy.

S.—Not by the moon the inconstant moon.

Ps.—Golden beams. Hollow bosoms. Gentle air.

S.—Golden beams. Hollow bosoms. Gentle air.

Ps.—He made the earth by counterpoise to stand.

S.—In the world be singly counterpoised.

Ps.—Tall like stately towers.

S.—Your stately and air braving towers.

Ps.—The sun, eye of the world, doth know its place.

S.—Seek the beauteous eye of heaven to garnish.

Ps.—The greater navies look like walking woods.

S.—Methought the wood began to move.

Birnam's wood had come to Dunsinane.

Francis Bacon seems to have had some prevision that fate would not treat him fairly, and that in time to come men would spitefully abuse him, and learned scholars forget to preserve good manners when they tried to measure their own intellects with his, for he closed his version of the 90th Psalm with these lines :

‘Our handy-work likewise as fruitful tree,
Let it, O Lord, *blessed* not *blasted* be.’

CHAPTER XXIV

INDUCTION TO 'TAMING OF THE SHREW'

A CURIOSITY of this Induction, as pointed out by Mr. Wigston, is that it is not needed for the play, and that the drunken Tinker who is made to believe that he is a Lord and that the performers of the play are his actors disappears after the first act.

Another odd thing about it is that in the Induction are practically the only associations with Stratford-on-Avon to be found in the 'Shakespeare' plays.

The Tinker calls himself Christophero Sly, and states that he is old Sly's son, of Barton Heath. Barton-on-the-Heath is a few miles from Stratford, and may have been the village at which John Shakspeare was born. He says he was 'by birth a pedlar,' which may be an allusion to his father's trade. 'By education a card-maker.' His father became a woolstapler, and the observation may be an allusion to the making of the instruments of

leather and wire with which wool in that day was carded. 'By transmutation a bear-herd.' This may be an allusion to some employment at Paris Garden, where bears were exhibited and where there was a theatre. 'And now by present profession a tinker' may allude to the retirement of Shakspeare to Stratford and the drinking habits he is alleged to have contracted. Dr. Schmidt in his 'Shakespeare Lexicon' gives 'Tinker' as a name given to a proverbial tippler.

Sly goes on to allude to Marian Hackett, the fat ale-wife of Wincot. This probably alludes to Wilmecote, near Stratford, where Shakspeare's mother was born.

To the landlady who refused to supply him with ale he said :

'Ye are a baggage ; the Slys are no rogues : Look in the chronicles ; we came in with Richard Conqueror. Therefore *paucas pallabris* ; let the world slide : *Sessa !*'

The use of the name Sly, a neighbour and fellow actor of Shakspeare, combined with the story of a Tinker made to appear as Lord, was evidently intended to raise inquiry.

'Look in the chronicles ; we came in with Richard Conqueror' may have an explanation not hitherto suggested. The chronicle play of 'Faire Emm'

with the loves of William the Conqueror 'was a play which Mr. Simpson considered to be attacked in the shake-scene passage in Greene's "Groatsworth of Wit,"' 1592. In this play Shakspeare may have played his first important part. In sequence, as a vizard, Shakspeare followed Christopher Marlowe. In 1607 the play 'Taming of the Shrew' was entered at Stationers' Hall. This would be near upon the time that the player retired to Stratford. In the Induction there is allusion to the pseudo-lord having for fifteen years been in a dream. That would be almost exactly the period that the assumed authorship had then continued.

Very likely Francis thought it unfair to publish these allusions during Shakspeare's life, and accordingly abandoned the projected publication in 1607.

It is singular to find a drunken tinker using Spanish words: 'Therefore *paucas pallabris*; let the world slide: *Sessa!*'

In 1584 Ruiz, the Spanish author, in 'Libro di Cantares,' had the line, 'Pocas palabras cumplen al buen entendedor,' which has been rendered in English as: 'And sparing words suffice for listeners wise.' *Cessa* is Spanish for 'Be silent.'

The meaning may be that 'those wits of sufficient sharpness to pierce the veil' were cautioned to leave the subject to a future time, and not talk

about it in 1623, when the Shakespeare Folio was published.

It is to be hoped that some English barrister or foreign savant will eventually solve the Induction riddle. The average English literary critic is wrapped up in his prepossessions, and in a research which should be peculiarly his own is being left far behind.

CHAPTER XXV

THE EDUCATION OF CHRISTOPHER SLY

OWING to the paucity of available facts, Shakspeare had to be educated hypothetically to suit the situation.

Born in 1564, in the scattered and squalid village of Stratford-on-Avon, licensed to marry in 1582, and having children baptized as late as 1585, we must assume the first twenty-one years of his life to have been spent in and around Stratford.

Our first inquiry should be, 'Did he ever go to school?' In those days, and certainly in that district, boys did not become schoolboys as a matter of course. Thirteen of the village council of nineteen were unable to sign their names. From Ascham's 'Schoolmaster,' published 1571, we learn that a father did not send a child to school unless it had aptitude. Sending a child to school in those days was as much a matter of consideration as sending a boy to the Army or Church is in these.

A dull child, says Ascham, never lacketh beating. Perusal of this little book gives one a better understanding of the

‘Whining schoolboy with his satchel,
Creeping like snail unwillingly to school.’

Supporting the assumption that Shakspeare actually went to school are two facts :

1. He became an actor. Although oral methods of teaching were used in those days, it is not improbable he learnt to read sufficiently to memorize his parts himself.

2. From five signatures of his which have been preserved we may infer that he could write his name indifferently.

If he went to school, we may safely assume it was in Stratford. In 1578 his father could not raise fourpence for rates, and presumably was unable to pay for his son being boarded and educated in a neighbouring town—Coventry, for instance.

In 1535 and onwards Stratford possessed a grammar school. What were these grammar schools, and how did this one develop ?

Says the 1868 Schools Commission Report :
‘Choirs in training to sing the Latin offices appear to have been the nucleus of many of the early

Grammar Schools; and when the Chantries and Monasteries were dissolved at the Reformation, the Schoolmaster was restored with the Latin grammar in his hand.'

According to Dugdale, the Guild of the Holy Cross at Stratford had, in the year 1535, four priests and a clerk, who was also schoolmaster, at £10 per annum. A later survey showed that their possessions, in addition to tithes, comprised a five-roomed priests' house, a garden and dovehouse, and that one of the priests conducted services at a central chapel, and was teacher of the grammar school at the side of it.

All this was very necessary. The choristers had to be trained to read and sing in Latin.

In 1540 the Guild was dissolved with the other English monasteries.

In 1553 Stratford obtained a re-grant of the forfeited tithes, conditional on the town (which was incorporated for the purpose) maintaining a vicar, curate, and schoolmaster, paying some alms-people, and keeping the chapel, bridge, and school in repair.

When Shakspeare was nine years old, the small schoolroom was still preserved and had a schoolmaster.

What books were available to the scholars?

The wills and inventories of the time and district do not disclose the existence of any books as private property.

The Stationers' Register for the period shows, indeed, a singularly poor supply for the whole of England. What books, then, may be expected to have belonged to the school under the personal charge of the master ?

Lilly's Latin Grammar must have been there, and none other, so as to comply with the Queen's Ordinances of 1559 and 1571.

Oceland's 'Latin Panegyric of Elizabeth,' written in 1580, was also enjoined to be read as a classic in every grammar school. For dictionary (Latin-English) they had probably Cooper's 'Thesaurus' (1552). Other likely equipments would be the 'Abcedarium' of 1552, the Psalter, the English Catechism, the A B C, some inkhorns, quills, paper, tallow-candles, and the schoolmaster's rod.

This hardly seems enough educational material wherewith to acquire at Stratford the classical knowledge of Latin shown in the plays and verses attributed to Shakspeare, whilst of education in English there was apparently none.

Mr. Churton Collins (*Fortnightly*, April, 1903) brilliantly demonstrated that the writer of the plays 'could almost certainly read Latin with as

much facility as a cultivated Englishman of our own time reads French ; that with some, at least, of the principal Latin classics he was intimately acquainted ; that through the Latin language he had access to the Greek classics, and that of the Greek classics in the Latin versions he had in all probability a remarkably extensive knowledge.' Mr. Collins, however, felt that he could hypothetically educate his man in Latin, at any rate.

Mr. Spencer Baynes had once essayed the task, and succeeded in bringing *settled convictions* to Mrs. Stopes ; but his notions did not satisfy Mr. Collins.

Mr. Baynes vouched the book of one Hoole, published in 1659, of what happened about 1622 at Rotherham's first school, of which he was head master. At this school one master taught writing, another music, and a third grammar. The statement as to what Latin authors were read in a grammar school about fifty years after the time when Shakspeare could have gone to school is of no pertinent value. But when Hoole goes on to refer to the '*traditional plan* of forcing a child to learn by heart a crude mass of abstractions and technicalities it cannot comprehend, of compelling it to repeat in dull mechanical routine definitions and rules of which it understands neither the

meaning nor the application,' we may safely assume that matters at least were no better in 1573 than in 1630.

After a reference to the book of one Brinsley, who can tell us very little, Mr. Spencer Baynes next vouched the curriculum prescribed in 1583 by its founder, for the Grammar School of St. Bees in Cumberland. Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, was born there, and devoted his last years to founding and endowing this school. He was an eminent scholar, and naturally very particular about the curriculum of the project of his old age ; but as the patent and transfers to the school governors were not confirmed until 1605, it is doubtful whether the school was in working order until that date.

The Archbishop's ordinances are set out in Carlisle's 'Endowed Grammar Schools.' Mr. Baynes argued that the curriculum so carefully prescribed for St. Bees is a fair guide as to the curricula of other grammar schools of the period and many years earlier. An obvious comment is, '*Why, then, was it specifically and in detail prescribed?*'

That the founder was so particular as to the course of reading at a school his own money was to endow is an indication that existing systems

did not meet with his approval. Nor have we any proof that the full course was ever followed, because in the ordinances the schoolmaster is allowed his choice of the prescribed books, 'to take or leave as he thinketh meet, save that the Accidence, the Queen's Grammar and the Catechism shall not be omitted.'

Clearly, this *minimum curriculum* was contemplated by the founder as possibly all that might be practicable.

Mr. Churton Collins very properly rejects Mr. Baynes as an unsafe guide upon the subject of Stratford education in 1573.

I hope to show that Mr. Collins himself was equally in the clouds. He took as representative of an average grammar school course in 1573 the curriculum formulated by no less a person than Cardinal Wolsey in 1528 for a projected school at Ipswich.

'Wolsey,' writes Mr. Chalmers, 'was a liberal patron of literature, of consummate taste in works of art, elegant in his plans, and boundless in his expenses to execute them.'

About 1519 he contemplated an elaborate and expensive scheme of lectureships in Oxford, but three only were realized—Greek, Latin, and Rhetoric—at Corpus Christi Hall.

His schemes of building were grandly conceived, and executed with care and deliberation.

To build Hampton Court Palace occupied Wolsey from 1514 to 1528—a period of fourteen years.

For Wolsey's projected Cardinal College, Oxford, the revenues of twenty-two suppressed religious orders, totalling to £2,000 per annum of money in those days, were appropriated.

The foundation-laying was a big public ceremonial on March 20, 1525. One year's capital outlay on building was nearly £8,000. When Wolsey died, in 1530, only the kitchen, the hall, and about three sides of the quadrangle were finished.

A college of 160 persons had been formed to occupy it, but there were no scholars. These were to be supplied from Wolsey's native town of Ipswich. Let us follow the working of his scheme there.

At Ipswich his plan comprised a college constituted of a dean, twelve canons, eight clerks, and eight choristers. The college building was to have a grammar school attached.

He obtained an old priory site of six acres in March, 1527, and requested the French Court to open a new quarry at Caen to supply him with good stone. For endowment he obtained transfer of part of the possessions of ten monasteries.

In 1528 he drew up in Latin the rules of his college and school. They are to be found set out in a book called 'Essay on a System of Classical Instruction' (London: John Taylor, 1825).

Wolsey evidently intended a large number of classes working on a finely graduated system. Interest was to be excited in the district by publication of the proposed rules. The Corporation had to be won over to the scheme, as some of their lands were required. It is, as it were, this grandiloquent prospectus of a company which did not go to allotment which caused Mr. Collins not to abandon the orthodox notion of the authorship of the plays.

From this hypothetical grammar school those most soundly prepared scholars were intended to be passed on to the college in Oxford, taught by the best men of the day—a college which, according to Wolsey's promises, was to be the repository of copies of all the manuscripts of the Vatican. The curriculum was the best Wolsey could devise.

Was it ever taught? In Wodderspoon's 'Historic Sites of Suffolk' there are some useful facts. The foundation-stone of the college and school was not laid until June 15, 1528, and the Corporation granted their land in the same year.

Mr. Wodderspoon sets out an interesting letter

to Wolsey from the newly appointed Dean, dated September 27 (probably of 1529). It speaks of the delivery of 171 tons of stone from Caen, and that more was expected. The college part appears to have been just set going, but whether in a temporary building or not is not shown.* He speaks of a procession to church of himself, the sub-dean, six priests, eight clerks, and nine choristers, 'with all our servants.' He refers to the difficulty of the sub-dean 'upon his charge of surveying of the works and buildings of your Grace's College.'

He also refers to a Mr. Senthall, who 'is always present at Mattins, and all Masses with Evensong,' and who 'is very sober and discrete, and bringeth up your *choristers* very well, assuring your Grace there shall be no better children in no place of England than we shall have here, and that in a short time.' There is no evidence that anything more than the gatehouse was ever built. Wolsey's disgrace and death were in 1530.

According to Dugdale's 'Monasteries,' the site of the college was granted to someone else in 1532, two years after Wolsey's collapse.

* The priory was taken over with the site; so the priory building may have been used for the college for the time being.

Upon the evidence, *Wolsey's curriculum* was never put into practice, even at Ipswich.

But why go to an Archbishop's school in the North-West, or to a Cardinal's school in the East, of England for relevant inferences about the sort of education available at Stratford-on-Avon?

What evidence is to be gathered from neighbouring towns in Warwickshire? Mrs. Stopes tells us that on Speed's old map of Warwickshire Stratford is shown as second only to Coventry.

At Coventry in 1546 one Hales maintained a school in the choir of the church. In 1573 his executors conveyed to the Corporation revenues to maintain a City Free School, paying £20 per annum to a master, £10 to an usher, and £2 12s. to a music master.

According to ordinances, as late as 1628 charcoal only was to be burnt in the school; the scholars were not to have free run of the library; the dictionaries were to be chained, and the masters were made responsible for all books from the Corporation library.

St. Paul's School, London, was founded by Dean Colet in 1510. Its curriculum, formulated in June, 1518, shows nothing in common with Wolsey's. 'First the Catechism in English, next

the Latin Accidence, then Erasmus and other Christian authors.'

Search the particulars of other schools of the period, and no evidence of uniformity of scholars' courses can be found.

Shakspeare's hypothetical education at Stratford, according to a curriculum prescribed for, but doubtless never practised, at Ipswich, will therefore not stand cross-examination.

But both Wolsey's and Grindal's courses are useful indications of what a good tutor at the University would be likely to teach, and the higher-grade literature which a well-placed student, such as the writer of the plays, according to Mr. Collins, evidently had access to.

Private tuition for the sons of the aristocracy was the main care in those days. Ascham's 'Schoolmaster' clearly shows this.

In view of the cipher story it is interesting to read Ascham's statement about the Queen's literary ability: 'Yes, I believe that, beside her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, she readeth here now at Windsor (1571) more Greek every day than some Prebendary of the Church doth read Latin in a whole week.'

On Mr. Collins's assumption, the man who, before the age of twenty-one, developed such wonderful

classical facility, passed on the way the neighbouring University city of Oxford, in order to become an actor in London.

Mr. Collins's imagination has given to 'airy nothing, a local habitation.' In one of the plays are these lines :

'Some are born great, some achieve greatness,
Some have greatness thrust upon them.'

Shakspeare was an able actor, who filled the position of mask for certain of the writings of a great man. This was in the way of his trade, *and to that position he remained true to the last.* Neither by recorded word of mouth, nor the terms of his will or of any other published document, nor by the facts of his life after leaving the stage, did he seek to mislead. Despite ample wealth, he left his daughter uneducated. He behaved as a retired actor, which he was, rather than a retired author, which he was not. He was no fraud ; he was a vizard. As the Droeshout engraving in the First Folio shows—a mask with eyes surmounting a body with two left arms—*his greatness has been thrust upon him.*

CHAPTER XXVI

ROBERT, THIRD EARL OF ESSEX

ROBERT DEVEREUX, whose father was beheaded at the Tower on February 25, 1600-1, was baptized on January 22, 1591. When James VI. of Scotland took over the throne of England in March, 1603, he must have done so with some misgivings. On April 13 he sent word that Lady Essex's son would be brought up with the young Scotch Princes, and kept his word, making him a sharer in Prince Henry's studies and amusements.

On January 5, 1606, it being thought expedient to get him married, he was, at the age of fifteen, wedded to the Earl of Suffolk's daughter. There were great entertainments and large gifts, but the lady went home to her parents. In the spring of 1606 Robert went to France, where he was entertained by the French King, and was away four years.

On his return his marriage was annulled, the

lady having taken up with one of the King's favourites. After the annulment he retired to Chartley. In 1620 he went to Flanders, and there gained some military experience.

In 1629 he remarried, and had a son, who died in 1636. In 1642 he took command of the Parliamentary forces against the King. Yet his bias was more towards royalty than against it. Still, he did his duty by Parliament, and served it faithfully. In December, 1644, he was approached by the King's party as to a termination of hostilities. Cromwell opposed this, and said that those in high places desired nothing less than a termination of hostilities, in order that they might be continued in grandeur and power. Early in 1645 Fairfax was appointed to command the field army. In April the Earl resigned his command, stating in his letter : ' This proceeding from my affection to the Parliament, the prosperity whereof I shall ever wish from my heart what return soever it brings me, I being no single example in that kind of that fortune I now undergo.' He died on September 14, 1646. This short account is given to show the curious fact that of all the noblemen it was Robert, third Earl of Essex, who carried the fortunes of the Parliamentary party to a high degree of success. He attained great popularity with the army. Is it

possible that in his case there was at one time a hope that the Parliamentary party would restore him to a position which he probably knew to be his own just due? Further, when he found that the Parliamentary party would not place him in a position of great power, is it not possible that, like his father, he gave up the unequal struggle, and died of a broken heart? These assumptions may be wide, but, in view of the cipher story claims, should be noted.

CHAPTER XXVII

CIPHER HISTORY

UNDER the above title, Mr. R. S. Rait contributed to the *Fortnightly* of February, 1902, his reasons for suggesting the biliteral cipher story to be an American concoction. Growing irreverence for the orthodox literary and historical expert in matters Elizabethan is the cause of the following inquiry into the reasonableness of Mr. Rait's conclusions.

Mr. Rait thinks the story of Bacon's birth not chronologically impossible, but denies this as to the birth of Robert, Earl of Essex.

His grounds are that a Spanish gentleman is stated to have had audience of the Queen five days before the *reputed* birthday, and in a letter recording the interview said nothing about her condition.

The cipher story gives no date of Robert's birth, and no record of his baptism can be found. It is

curious that, whereas the undisputed children of Lord and Lady Hereford (afterwards Essex) were born at their only residence, Chartley, Robert is alleged to have been born at Netherwood. Mr. Rait would no doubt admit that for a privily born child of the Queen the newly married daughter of the cousin and lady of bedchamber to the Queen would be a likely person to be passed off as its mother. The subsequent crowding of presents and honours on Lord Hereford, his despatch to Ireland, his death there by poisoning at the hands, it is alleged, of an emissary of the Earl of Leicester, seem to be curious points of confirmation of the *prima facie* truth of the cipher story, and should have given Mr. Rait pause before accusing Mrs. Gallup of concocting the cipher story.

Mr. Rait rejects as impossible the cipher story as to the Queen's admission before certain of the Court ladies of the fact of Francis being her son, and thinks the information must have leaked out. But the fact of such an admission was incapable of proof, and in those days folks who babbled lost their lives. That a Sovereign should have a bastard was not uncommon ; it gave rise to no dynastic problem and called for no serious remark. But it was not to be openly talked about, and when a Norfolk gentleman ventured in 1570 to say in

public, 'My Lord of Leicester had two children by the Queen,' he was condemned to lose his ears.

TRACHIMUS. Why doe you thinke in Court any use to dissemble.

PANDION. Doe you know in Court any that meane to live.
Sapho and Phao, 1584.

Mr. Rait thinks the Seymour story belied by the immaturity of the parties. A dietary of milk, meat, and ale in those days may have matured children rapidly. Early marriages in Court circles were frequent. Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII., married at fifteen. Catherine Parr first married at fourteen. Philip Sydney's wife was sixteen when he married her. Their daughter married at fifteen. 'A girl unmarried at twenty was called an old maid' (Besant's 'London in Tudor Times,' p. 312).

Elizabeth was not much over fourteen when Sir Thomas Seymour sought permission to marry her. Being refused by the Government, he married (by personal consent of King Edward VI., then aged ten) Queen Catherine Parr, with whom Elizabeth resided.

His grossly indelicate behaviour to the young Princess is recorded in public depositions. That he nevertheless obtained her affection is proved by the letter from her of January 28, 1548-9.

She remained under the same roof with him until September 5, 1548, when his wife died. He again applied to Government for permission to marry her. Evidently *her* consent had already been obtained. Shortly afterwards Elizabeth wrote to the Lord Protector complaining of rumours to the effect that she had given birth to a child by Seymour, and requesting a proclamation to stop the slanders. This was done.

Edward VI. was twelve at this date, and died at sixteen. At eight he wrote in Latin. From the age of ten he kept a journal. His biographer states that his intellectual precocity and religious ardour were unaccompanied by any show of natural affection, and that though young he showed traces of his father's harshness of disposition.

This part of the cipher story was of events as to which Francis Bacon could only speak at second-hand, and yet how closely the historical documents corroborate the story.

Further on in his article Mr. Rait denounces the cipher story as a concoction because Francis claimed to be a 'Tidder,' instead of Dudley, the name of his alleged father.

This may be a sound technical objection, to be tested, perhaps, by the question whether our present King would be justified in calling himself a Guelph.

But it is certainly curious that the word should be written 'Tidder,' which we are told is the correct phonetic sound of the Welsh word 'Tudor.' Surely an American fictionist would have written 'Tudor.'

Mr. Rait contends that 'no man who had been Lord Chancellor' would ever have said 'our law giveth to the first borne of the royall house the title of Prince of Wales.' He thinks this the very natural mistake of an American fictionist.

The recent 'Encyclopædia of the Laws of England,' vol. xii., at p. 511, states the law to be as follows :

'The title of Prince of Wales *has belonged* to the heir apparent of the Crown since the reign of Edward I.'

The cipher phrase to satisfy Mr. Rait should thereupon have run :

'Our law giveth to the firstborn of the royall house the right to be entitled Prince of Wales.'

Nor could Mr. Rait take exception to the following phrase from a decipher dated 1622 : 'My attempts in after years to obtain my true, just, and indisputable title of Prince of Wales.'

Bacon must have known the law. Previous to

his time nine Princes had borne the title, and the eldest born of the Royal house had always received it first.

That there were certain formalities of investiture, proclamation, or letters patent must also have been known to him, as he took part, in 1610, in preparing the patent entitling Henry, eldest son of James I., as Prince of Wales. He would also have known what seems to me the crux of the position—namely, that so long as the firstborn of the Royal house was alive the title could not have been legally conferred upon anyone else. But he was, like other people, not always exact. The following is a more modern lapse. In her *Journal* the late Queen Victoria records the parents' delight at the birth of 'a little Prince of Wales.'

Mr. Rait shares the general outcry at the error about Davison. The cipher story says, 'led him to his death,' yet it is quite clear that Davison lived for many years after the period alluded to.

The words occur in a cipher stated to have been completed by Rawley in 1635. Bacon died in 1626. In this cipher Rawley expresses regret for a number of errors, and the question arises whether this was one of them. Davison died when Rawley was a youth, so the latter would know little or nothing about him.

Suppose Rawley made the easy slip of misreading 'her' as 'his' in the written manuscript from which the enfolding manuscript would be marked for the printer, and instead of cipher writing, 'led him to *her* death,' wrote 'led him to *his* death,' the ground for the objection to the passage would be gone.

The passage which is at p. 365 of the first edition of the 'Bilateral Cipher' should be reconsidered. There are a few words further down which help to confirm this view. 'To send th' unfortunate woman *to her death* before her time.'

If the mistake is in the decipher, the misinterpreting of three letters would account for the discrepancy. Thus:

A a b a a b a a a a represents 'er,'
 A b a a a b a a a b ,, 'is.'

Mr. Rait is wrong in saying there was an Earl Strafford at the date of the cipher—Wentworth, the first Earl, was not created until 1640. There was, therefore, no special reason for accuracy in spelling the word 'Stafford,' which appears to have been either carelessly or accidentally written 'Strafford.' Confirming this view, in the list of expenses of the Queen's table for 1576 (Nichols' 'Progresses,' vol. ii., p. 39), Lady Stafforde is

referred to as Lady Strafforde. Proper names at that period were spelt in a variety of ways—Burleigh and Raleigh for instances.

For another instance, Puckering, in the cipher story, should probably be Pickering, meaning the Queen's friend and admirer, Sir William Pickering. Bacon did not know that person, but he did know Lord Keeper Puckering. In the index to Montague's 'Life of Bacon,' 'Puckering' becomes 'Pickering,' and at p. 343 of vol. ii. of Nichols' 'Progresses of Elizabeth,' the Lord Keeper is also referred to as Sir John Pickering.

Mr. Rait is very severe with the cipher-story statement that Lord Montague, who was certainly present at the examination, was also present at the execution of Mary Queen of Scots. He, however, admits that according to some versions a certain Lord 'Montacute' was present, but he says, "'Montague" is a much more familiar name, especially in America, but Bacon must have known all about Montacute.'

Mr. Rait should read a short contemporary account (which appears in Nichols' 'Progresses of Elizabeth,' vol. iii.) of a visit by Queen Elizabeth to Cowdray in 1591. In this short account Lord Montague is also called Montecute, and Lady Montecute is also called Montague. In the list of

Queen's presents in the same volume the name is also spelt 'Mountague.'

Mr. Rait suggests that the cipher-story account of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, viz., that 'Mary stode up in a robe of bloud red,' is cribbed from Froude's 'History of England.'

He says Froude's 'History' does not agree with a contemporary portrait, which proves that at her execution Mary wore a black satin dress. At p. 502, vol. ii. of Nichols' 'Progresses' (quoting from Gunter's 'History of Peterborough,' the town to which Fotheringay Castle is near), it is stated that Mary wore an uppermost gown of black satin with purple under-sleeves, and that her bodice was of crimson satin and her skirt of crimson velvet. The contemporary portrait doubtless depicts the black satin overgown *disrobed before Mary bared her neck for the block*. Thus the cipher story is entirely corroborated. Mary's body appears to have been left for weeks before interment, so that the crimson bodice and skirt were not available to the portrait painter.

Mr. Rait waxed scornful when he discussed the passage at p. 312 of the cipher story: 'Our colonies in all the regions of the globe from remote East to a remoter West.' 'It is,' said Mr. Rait, 'as likely that Bacon wrote Pope's "Homer" and

Froude's "History" as that he penned these words in the reign of King James I. For where were the colonies ?

By 'colonies' at that day appear to have been meant the small bodies of Englishmen established abroad for trading purposes. Under the auspices of the Merchant Adventurers of the East Indies, chartered in 1600, 'colonies' appear to have been established in the 'remote East' at the Canary Isles, at Surat in Hindustan, at Achern, and at Bantam.

As to the 'remoter West,' Mr. Rait will find in Howe's 'Annales' (1615) references to colonies at Newfoundland (p. 942), the patent being issued to Bacon and others, at Guiana in South America (p. 943), and at Virginia (p. 944).

That the above is the correct sense of the passage is shown by a sentence in Bacon's pamphlet, 'Of a Holy War,' in which he refers to the attitude 'of colonies or transmigrants towards their mother country.'

Mr. Rait says that the word 'curriculæ' could only, in Bacon's time, have meant 'race courses,' and therefore that 'students' curriculæ' is a modern expression adopted by the assumed American fictionist.

Yet if he turn to the 'New English Dictionary'

he will find the word 'curriculum' quoted as in common use to express a student's course of instruction as early as 1633, even in Scotland.

Finally, with regard to the Essex ring story, which he adjudges to be a myth, he will find he is not in accord with Mr. H. L. Stephen, an Indian judge, at vol. iii., p. 81, of 'State Trials,' recently edited by Mr. Stephen. That gentleman believes in the story, and gives grounds for his opinion.

Mr. Rait's objections to the history recorded in the cipher story, and his accusations against the decipherer, come to nothing on close examination.

CHAPTER XXVIII

OTHER OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED

ON the principle laid down in the play of 'Pericles' that 'truth cannot be confirmed enough,' we now deal with other objections to the authenticity of the cipher story.

The first to be noticed is the allegation that the Queen wrote two letters on January 20 and 22, 1560-1, and issued a commission to Archbishop Parker on the latter date.

These, while not inconsistent with a birth on the 22nd, may be otherwise disposed of. The first letter is a draft not in the Queen's writing; the second is also a draft in Cecil's handwriting. The commission has the Queen's signature at the top, and was conceivably one of a number of sheets so signed and set apart for use when wanted.

The next suggestion is that Bacon must have known that he was a bastard. In *re Don's Estate*, 27, *Law Journal*, Ch. Kindersley, V.-C., held that

in the strict technical sense a 'bastard' is one not born in wedlock. Bacon was born after wedlock, although base begotten.

It is objected that he could not have styled himself Francis I. The 'History of Successions,' dated 1653, writes of James I. and Charles I. years before a second King of either name had been crowned. Coke at the Essex trial accused Robert Earl of Essex of wanting to be Robert I.

BACON'S ARGUMENT OF THE 'ILIAD.'

In the London *Times* Mr. R. B. Marston accused Mrs. Gallup the decipherer of passing off upon the public as deciphered a concocted prose version of Pope's versification of the 'Iliad.' This he supported by placing in juxtaposition, first, the Greek text; secondly, the following literal translation of it:

'Next, those who held Ormenion and the Spring Hyperia; and those who possessed Asterion and the white peaks of Titanos; these did Eurypylos, Eucamon's glorious son, command. With him followed forty black ships.'

Thirdly, Pope's verse:

'The bold Ormenian and Asterian bands
In forty barks Eurypulus commands,
Where Titan hides his hoary head in snow
And where Hyperia's silver fountains flow.'

Then the alleged decipher :

‘Next Eurypylus led th’ Ormenian and th’ Asterian bands, forty vessels from the land where Titan hideth in snows his hoarie head, or where the silver founts of faire Hyperia flow.’

In the *Nineteenth Century* for January, 1902, Mr. Marston followed up his letter with five passages from the Greek text, of which he claimed the following to be conclusive of plagiarism by Mrs. Gallup.

Pope’s verse :

‘The hardy warriors whom Bœotia bred
Penelius, Leitus, Prothœnor led ;
With these Arcesilaus and Clonius stand,
Equal in arms and equal in command.’

Mrs. Gallup’s decipher :

‘Peneleus, Leitus, Prothœnor joined with Arcesilaus and bold Clonius, equal in arms and in command, led Bœotia’s hosts.’

In ‘Baconiana,’ 1906, the late Mr. W. Theobald, a gentleman of high classical attainments, followed up Mr. Marston’s accusations, and agreed with that critic that ‘the chances are a thousand to one against two translators inventing and adding the same words not in the original.’ Mr. Theobald was able to detect quite a number of coincidences

between Pope's translation and what he more politely called Bacon's, in addition to those noted by Mr. Marston.

The evidence seems full and sufficient, so as to leave virtually three alternatives only :

(1) That Mrs. Gallup is an exceedingly talented and ingenious lady, who has tried to pass off as deciphered from the 1628 edition of the 'Anatomy of Melancholy' an exceedingly able translation of the argument of the 'Iliad,' in which she has, unfortunately for her good name, been unmistakably detected as having borrowed from Pope ; or

(2) That Pope borrowed from Bacon ; or

(3) That Pope and Bacon borrowed from some common source.

On the first point we have Mrs. Gallup's emphatic denial :

'Any statement that I copied from Pope, or from any source whatever, the matter put forth as deciphered from Bacon's works is false in every particular.'

The third point might be capable of proof, but after this considerable lapse of time no proof has been forthcoming.

We are left to consider the second alternative. Bacon and Pope appear to have possessed one

attribute in common. Each could read Greek freely, but neither was a profound student of the language.

According to Ruffhead, who from original MS. compiled a life of Pope within twenty-five years of the latter's death, Pope in translating the 'Iliad' 'used in general to take advantage of the first glow, afterwards calmly to correct each book by the original, then to compare it with other translations, and lastly gave it a reading for the sake of the versification only.'

We learn further, that Pope had no hesitation in publishing, as his own work, translations from the Greek 'Odyssey' done by his friends Broome and Fenton.

It is clear from the biographers that not only had Pope no objection to reading other translations, but he made it his special business to search for all the translations he could find. His object was an entirely proper one—the perfection of his verse.

Before, therefore, we dispose of Mrs. Gallup in the pontifical manner of Mr. R. B. Marston—'And now a bubble burst and now a world'—let us consider whether in the course of Pope's researches and preparations, extending over several years, it would have been possible for him to have come across either—

(1) Bacon's MS. from which Rawley committed the 'Argument' into cipher ; or

(2) An earlier decipher from the 1628 'Anatomy.'

On Mrs. Gallup's showing, the MS. 'Argument' must have been in existence after Bacon's death, in 1626 ; otherwise Rawley could not have ciphered from it in the 1628 'Anatomy.'

The biographers of Bacon and printers of his works, from Rawley and Gruter down to Stephens and Spedding, show that even until 1734, a date long after Pope's translation, great care was taken to transcribe for preservation, but not to divulge certain of Bacon's MSS.

There is a manuscript of part of Pope's verse translation in the British Museum. It breaks off before the end of Book II., and does not contain the Ormenian passage quoted by Mr. Marston, but the light it sheds is useful.

So the Ormenian passage must be considered by itself. It is clear that Pope could not have obtained from Bacon's translation the word 'bold,' but he could get 'bands,' and from Hobbes' 'commands,' and so construct his rhyme. Using Bacon's 'snows' as 'snow,' and 'flows' as 'flow,' turning 'vessels' into 'barks,' 'founts' into 'fountains,' and dropping the word 'fair,' Pope's verse as verse is complete. But it does

not tell its story with the naturalness of the prose passage.

What is the assumption regarding Mrs. Gallup's veracity? The deciphered passage uses 'hoarie-headed' in the same spelling that it appears in Ben Jonson, 1598, and in 'Shakespeare.' Titan was used in Bacon's acknowledged works, and 'silver fountain' is in 'Shakespeare.'

So that expressions which are not in the Greek text were in use earlier than 1628.

Bacon can generally be found producing his poetic similes in more than one place in his writings. The Titan imagery of the Ormenian passage ciphered in 1628 is to be found in 'Mena-phon,' printed 1589, under the vizard of 'Greene' (see p. 49): 'which hee compared to the coloured Hiacinth of Arcadia, her browes to the *mountain snowes that lie on the hils, her eyes to the gray glister of Titan's mantle.*'

The Peneleus passage fortunately happens to be in the MS. Let us therefore suppose Pope wished to versify this passage of Bacon's prose translation.

He wants to end on 'bred' and 'led.' 'Bœotia's hosts' is therefore transformed to :

'The hardy warriors whom Bœotia bred.'

The second line in the MS. reads :

‘Bold Clonius, Leitus, and Peneleus led.’

This left him with two big names for the third line—

‘Prothœnor and Arcesilaus stand,’

which would not do, so he altered (see the MS.) the second, third and fourth lines to read :

‘Bold Prothœnor and Peneleus led,
Clonius, Arcesilaus, and Leitus stand
Equal in arms and equal in command.’

Pope readjusted the second and third lines as finally printed so as to read :

‘Penelius, Leitus, Prothœnor led ;
With these Arcesilaus and Clonius stand.’

The fourth line convicts Mrs. Gallup of copying from Pope or Pope of copying from Bacon. Which is the guilty party? ‘Bold’ is not an epithet in the Greek text. It is used by Bacon. It is used by Pope in his MS. first in association with Clonius, as in Bacon. It is next used in association with Prothœnor, but eventually discarded altogether by Pope. The inference is that he annexed ‘bold,’ tried to carry it first on one shoulder and then on the other, and eventually threw it away, though not before he had been seen in possession of it.

Turning now to the Idomeneus passage, Bacon has, ‘close by them you may see Idomeneus leading the Cretans, aided in the command by Meriones,

equal to Mars, that in four score sable shipps came from Gnossus Lyctus and Gortyna from Rhytium Miletus Lycastus faire Phæstus by the silver Jardan.'

Which is more likely—that Pope's line,

'And Merion dreadful as the God of war,'

is suggested from Bacon, or that 'Meriones equal to Mars' is suggested by Pope's line? In another passage Bacon's 'sacred to the God Apollo' is not in the Greek text, nor is Pope's line 'sacred to the God of Day.' Bacon's familiar knowledge of the ancients is in keeping with the use of their names. The more modern writer, Pope, on the other hand, calls the one the God of Day, the other the God of War.

To return to the Idomeneus passage, with its words 'silver Jardan,' not in the Greek, but yet in both Bacon and Pope, the latter's MS. gives another indication. His third line had 'From Gnossus Lyctus,' as in Bacon; but he struck it out, and it appears in print in his second line as 'Of Gnossus Lyctus,' etc. Again, is it not more probable that Pope rendered Bacon's 'that in four score sable shipps came,' into 'in eighty barks,' than that a lady in pursuance of some intent to defraud or mislead turned the 'eighty barks' into the above plagiarism?

In the same way, one cannot possibly conceive how any lady cribbing deliberately from Pope could possibly have rendered his line

‘And they whom Thebes’ well-built walls inclose’

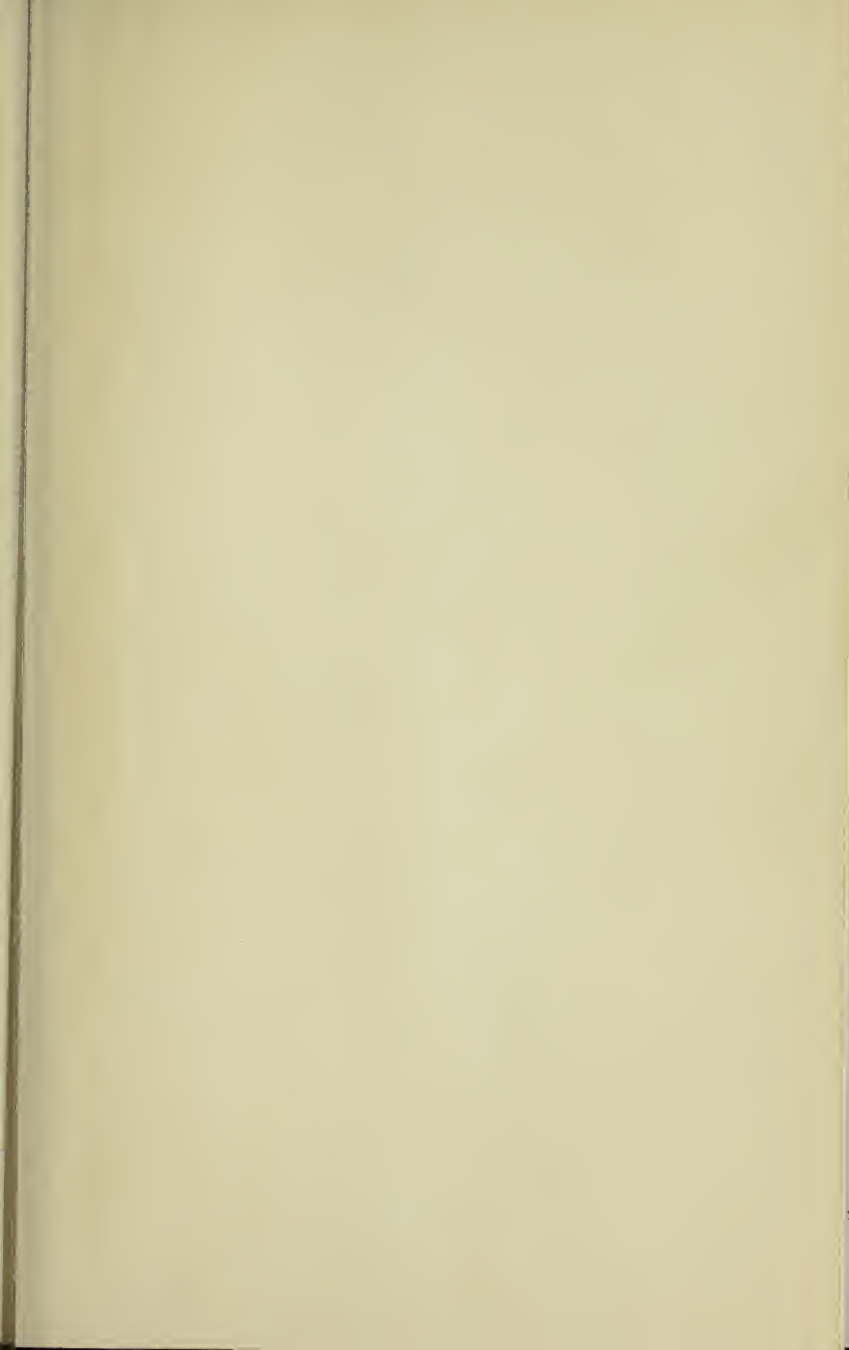
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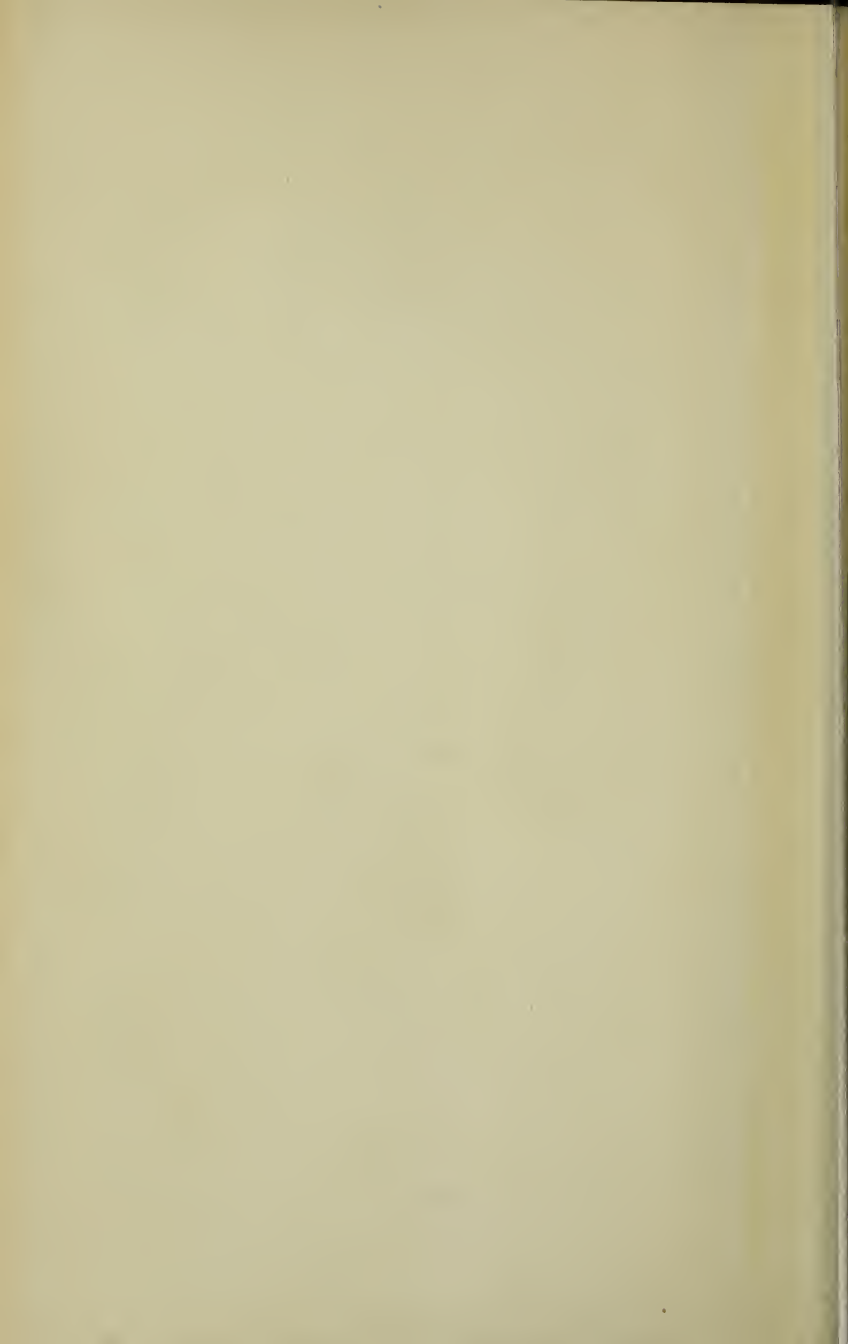
‘In Hypothebae, that well-built city.’

Mr. R. B. Marston in the *Publisher's Circular*, December 20, 1901, alleged that Mrs. Gallup's work was pure invention. It is most probable that Bacon's MS. was in existence after his death, that it was carefully preserved, and at some time used by Pope to assist himself in a translation very difficult to render in verse.

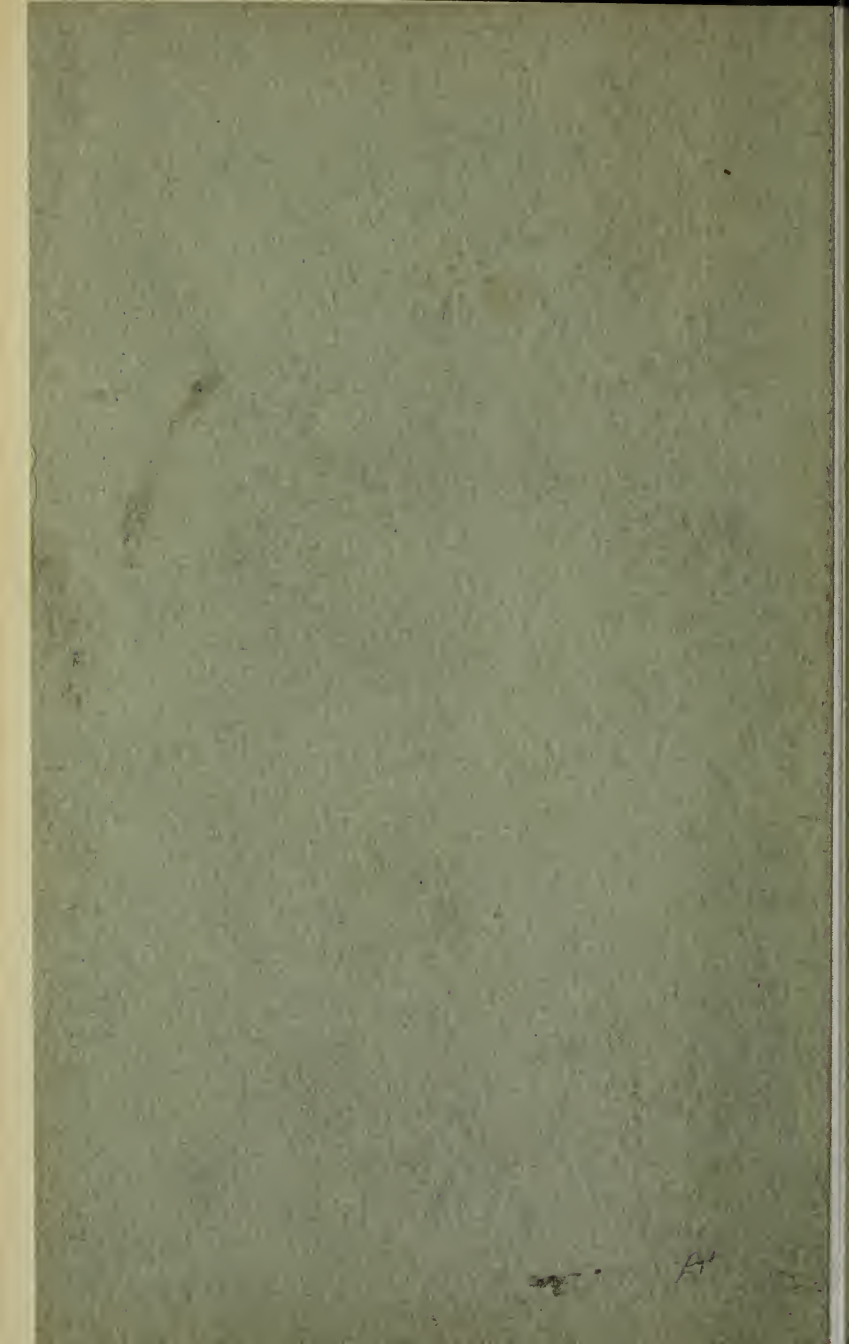
‘And now a bubble burst and now a world.’

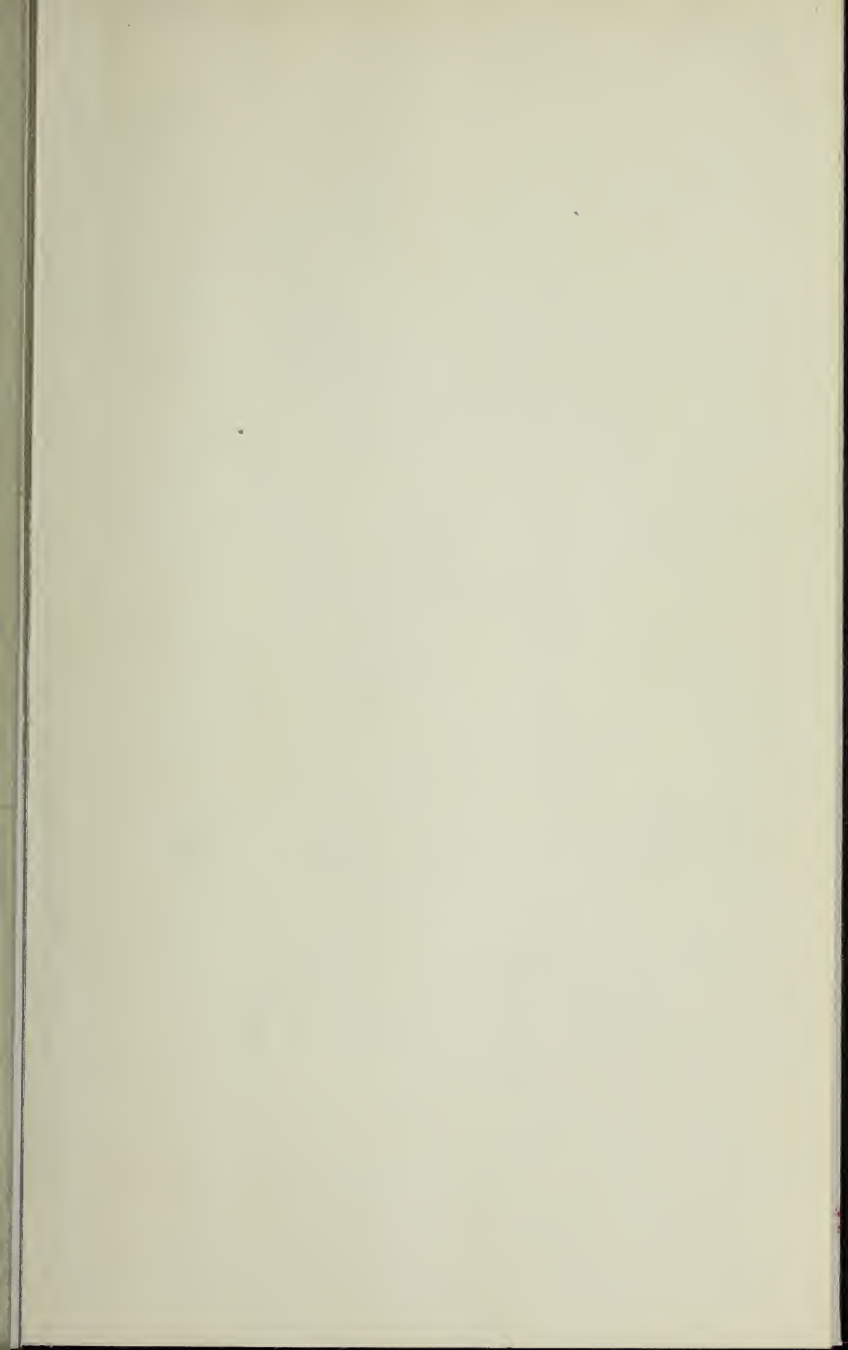






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