

# BACONIANA



Abis Siddiqi,  
Cairo, Egypt.





JANUARY 1904

# BACONIANA

A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE



## CONTENTS

	PAGE
Judge Webb ... ..	1
The "Epistle Dedicatorie" of the First Folio	4
XVIth Century Grammar Schools ... ..	9
A Pleasaunt Invective Against Plaiers ...	18
Sidelights ... ..	25
Anagrams and Acrostics ... ..	39
Shakespeare, Bacon, and Holinshed ...	48
"The 'Baconian Mint': Its Claims Examined by W. Willis" ... ..	53
Notes, Queries, and Correspondence ...	59

LONDON

GAY &amp; BIRD

Cases for Bib  
can be had of  
the Publish

# The Bacon Society.

(INCORPORATED.)

---

THE objects of the Society are expressed in the Memorandum of Association to be:—

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

The annual subscription of Members, who are entitled to vote at the Society's business meetings, is one guinea; that of Associates is half-a-guinea.

The Society's Library and Rooms are at 11, Hart Street, London, W.C. (close to the British Museum), where the Secretary attends daily, and from 3 to 6 o'clock will be happy to supply further information.

VOL. II. THIRD SERIES

# BACONIANA



A Quarterly Magazine

LONDON  
GAY & BIRD  
22 BEDFORD STREET W.C.

1904





## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Judge Webb	1
The Epistle Dedicatorie of the First Folio	4
XVith Century Grammar Schools	9
A Pleasaunt Invective Against Plaiers	18
Sidelights	25
Anagrams and Acrostics	39
Shakespeare, Bacon, and Holinshed	48
The Baconian Mint: Its Claims Examined by W. Willis	53
Notes, Queries and Correspondence	59, 125, 193, 253
English Literature Up-to-date	65
Notes on the State of Religion in Shakespeare's Day	77
The Migration of Woodblocks	91
Symbolic Book Ornaments	99
New Light on Twelfth Night	103
When Did Francis St. Alban Die? Where was He Buried?	107
The Comedy of Errors	115
The Northumberland Manuscript	137
Macaulay and Bacon	150
Studies in Shakespeare	158
When did Francis Bacon Die? Where was He Buried?	166
Bacon of London as Timon of Athens	170
The Night of Errors at Gray's Inn	174
The Fleur de Lys	176
The Bacon-Shakespeare Controversy in France	179
Shaksper and the Stratford Enclosures	182
Reviews	185
Mr. W. C. Hazlitt on Mr. S. Lee and the Baconians	191
Leycester's Commonwealth	201
The Comedy of Errors	210
More Light on Twelfth Night	215
Bacon's Versions of Psalms	228

	PAGE
Significant Book Ornaments ... ..	232
The Discredit of Play-writing ... ..	233
Bacon's Patronymic ... ..	240
The Ethics of Criticism ... ..	244
Shakespearean <i>versus</i> Shakespearean ... ..	248

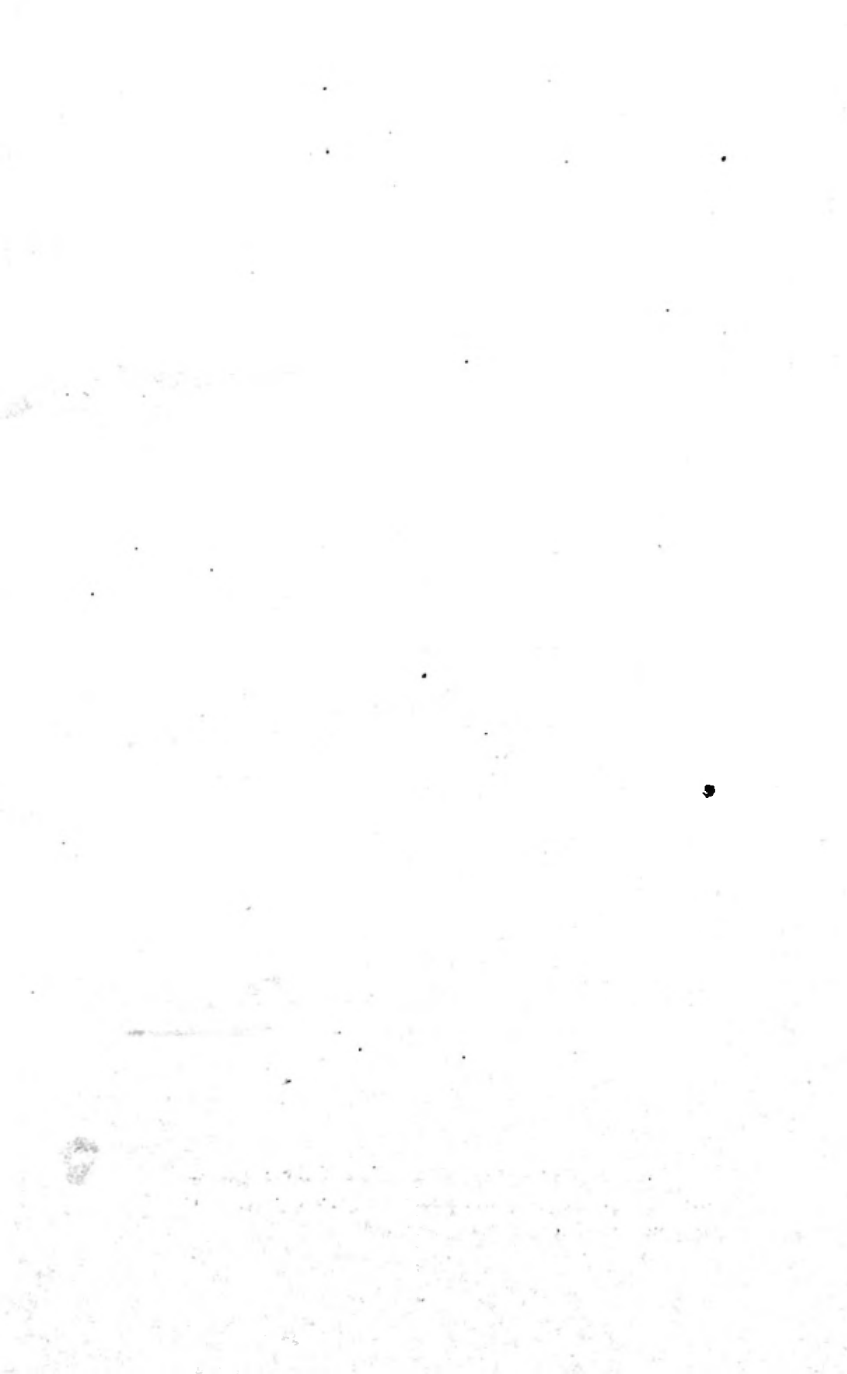
## INDEX.

	PAGE
Alleyn—Author ? ... ..	197
Anagrams and Acrostics ... ..	69
Aubrey, John ... ..	134, 199
Awakening of St. Albans, The ... ..	125
Bacon and Macaulay ... ..	127, 150, 194
Bacon, Francis, When did He Die? Where was He Buried? ... ..	107, 166
Bacon of London as Timon of Athens ... ..	170
Bacon, Shakespeare and Holinshed ... ..	48
Bacon-Shakespeare Controversy in France ... ..	179
Bacon-Shakespeare Pamphlets ... ..	131
Bacon Society, The St. Albans ... ..	126
Bacon's City Mansion ... ..	197
Bacon's Patronymic ... ..	240
Bacon's Versions of Psalms ... ..	228
Baconian Mint, The : Its Claims Examined by W. Willis ... ..	53
Baconians, and Mr. S. Lee, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt on the ... ..	191
Bayley, Harold. A Picasaunt Invective Against Plaiers ... ..	18
"    "    Notes on the State of Religion in Shake- speare's Day ... ..	77
"    "    The Migration of Woodblocks ... ..	91
Bear as Symbol ... ..	99, 200
Bi-Literal Cipher, The ... ..	125
Book Ornaments, Significant ... ..	232
"    "    Symbolic, The Bear Design ... ..	99, 200
Bompas, G. C. The Comedy of Errors ... ..	115
"    The Ethics of Criticism ... ..	244
"    The Northumberland Manuscript ... ..	137
"    When did Francis Bacon Die? Where was He Buried? ... ..	166
Burleigh's Advice to His Son ... ..	64

	PAGE
Change of Treatment, A	127
Clarke, Sir Edward	195
Colonies in America and Tobacco	254
Comedy of Errors, The	115
Concealed Lands	199
Country Fruits	128
Critic Criticised, A	60
Discredit of Play-writing, The	233
Elizabethan Literary Society, The	60
English Literature	196
English Literature Up-to-Date	65
Epistle Dedicatorie of the First Folio, The	4
Ethics of Criticism, The	244
Field, Mrs. Jaqueline	253
Fleur de Lys, The	176
Grammar Schools, XVIth Century	9
Greene, R & T.	256
Hamlet Amendment, A	135
Hazlitt, Mr. W. C., on Mr. S. Lee and the Baconians	191
Hobbs, Thomas, and William Rowley	200
Holinshed, Bacon, and Shakespeare	48
Honorificabilitudine	129, 198
Hutchinson, John. Bacon's Patronymic	240
James, George. Shakespeare, Bacon, and Holinshed	48
Krisch, William. The Fleur de Lys	176
Lee, Mr. S. and the Baconians, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt on	191
Lee, Mr. Sidney, and Mr. W. H.	251
Leycester's Commonwealth	201
Leith, Alicia, Amy. Bacon of London as Timon of Athens	170
"    "    "    New Light on Twelfth Night	103, 215
Literary World, The, The Perplexity of	133
Macaulay and Bacon	127, 150, 194
Migration of Woodblocks, The	91
Night of Errors at Gray's Inn, The	174
Northumberland House Manuscript, The	137, 255
Pamphlets, Bacon-Shakespeare	131
Parallel, A	131
Paris, Rue Bacon	60
P., G. The Epistle Dedicatorie of the First Folio	4
Plaiers, A Pleasaunt Invective Against	18

	PAGE
Play-writing, The Discredit of ... ..	233
Poet's Corner, The ... ..	196
Postscript ... ..	136
Pott, Constance M. When did Francis St. Alban Die? Where was He Buried? ... ..	107
Press, Freedom of the ... ..	132
Psalms, Bacon's version of ... ..	228
R., J., of Grays Inn. Significant Book Ornaments ...	232
"    "    The Night of Errors at Gray's Inn	174
Religion in Shakespeare's Day, Notes on the State of ...	77
Reviews :—	
Bacon's Essays : Edited by Edward Wright ...	189
Ethics of Criticism. R. M. Theobald ...	244
Mr. W. C. Hazlitt on Mr. S. Lee and the Baconians ... ..	191
Shakespeare and the Rival Poet. Arthur Acheson ... ..	188
Shakespeare Still Enthroned. John Rowlands	115
Shakespeare Studied in Eight Plays. Hon. Albert S. G. Canning ... ..	187
Studies in Shakespeare. Churton Collins	9, 158
The Baconian Mint. Judge Willis ...	53
The Northumberland House Manuscript	137, 255
The Shakespeare Enigma. Rev. W. A. Sutton, S.J. ... ..	59
Rowley, William, and Thomas Hobbs ... ..	200
Rue Bacon, Paris ... ..	60
St. Alban, Francis, When did He Die? Where was He Buried? ... ..	107
St. Albans Bacon Society, The ... ..	125, 126
Shakespeare and Sanitation ... ..	63
Shakespeare, Bacon, and Holinshed ... ..	48
Shakespeare Enigma, The ... ..	59
Shakespeare, Studies in ... ..	158
Shakespeare, The Praise of ... ..	130
Shakespearean versus Shakespearean ... ..	248
Shaksper and the Stratford Enclosures ... ..	182
Shaksper's Jug ... ..	61
Sidelights :—	
Die Freimaurerei. R. S. Acerrellos ... ..	32

	PAGE
Sidelights ( <i>continued</i> ) :—	
Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion. Joseph Glanvill ... ..	29
History of Civilisation in England. H. T. Buckle ... ..	25
Method of Studying Physic. Hermann Boerhaave ... ..	26
Remains now set forth under the title of Baconiana. Archbishop Tenison ... ..	26
XVIth Century Grammar Schools ... ..	9
Stratford Bust, The ... ..	193
Stratford Visitors ... ..	196
Stronach, George, M.A. English Literature Up-to-Date ... ..	65
"    "    Macaulay and Bacon ... ..	150
"    "    Mr. W. C. Hazlitt on Mr. S. Lee and the Baconians ... ..	191
"    "    Shakespearean versus Shake- spearean ... ..	248
"    "    The Discredit of Play-writing ... ..	233
Sutton, Rev. William, S.J. Judge Webb ... ..	I
"    "    The Shakespeare Enigma ... ..	59
Theobald, Dr. R. M. Leycester's Commonwealth ... ..	
Theobald, W. The Baconian Mint; Its Claims Examined by W. Willis ... ..	53
Twelfth Night, New Light on ... ..	103, 215
Wanted—Facts ... ..	61, 133, 253
Webb, Judge ... ..	I
Whistler, George. Anagrams and Acrostics ... ..	39
Woodward, Parker. Bacon's Versions of Psalms ... ..	228
"    "    XVIth Century Grammar Schools ... ..	9
"    "    Studies in Shakespeare ... ..	158





“I have been induced to think; That if there were a beam of knowledge derived from God upon any man, in these modern times, it was upon him.”

—*Wm. Rawley, D.D., 1657.*



# BACONIANA.

---

VOL. II. *Third Series.* JANUARY, 1904. No. 5.

---

## JUDGE WEBB.

I N the October Number of the *National Review* a brilliant article on "The Genuine Text of Shakespeare" appeared from the pen of Judge Webb. No one of the many readers whom it must have delighted and instructed, would have supposed that it was the last specimen we were to have of his bright, incisive, and delicately sarcastic style. Nor, if it had been unsigned, would anyone suspect that its author, instead of being in the hey-day of his literary prowess, had already passed his eightieth year. This article reads like a chapter from his admirable work on "The Mystery of William Shakespeare," which, too, has all the sparkle of youth combined with the "health and grave-ness" of maturity, although the author was a very old man when it was written. One who knew him well, says, "In spirit he had no old age, and was as vigorous and keen on his death-bed as any man of forty." Baconians the world over will mourn the passing away of so accomplished and redoubtable a champion of the genuine authorship of Shakespeare.

Judge Webb was born on May 5th, 1821, in Cornwall, where his father was a Nonconformist clergyman.

He gained a classical scholarship in Trinity College, Dublin, in 1845, and carried off all prizes for English essays and poems. He became Professor of Moral Philosophy (Mental Science), in 1858, and in 1863 he became a Fellow, defeating in an extremely close contest, Dr. Mahaffy. In 1867 he was appointed Regius Professor of Law, which position he resigned in 1871. In 1879 he was made Public Orator to the Dublin University. His Latin speeches, introducing the recipients of degrees conferred *honoris causa*, were invariably characterized by that *curiosa felicitas*, which his English style would lead us to expect in so finished a scholar. His philosophical works on *The Intellectualism of Locke* and *The Veil of Isis* (this latter treats of all forms of Idealism) have been pronounced to be "not only brilliant but profound." There is an appendix on Bacon's philosophy in *The Veil of Isis* well worth studying. It is of the *multum-in-parvo* kind. One of the most distinguished critics of the day says of his metrical translation of *Faust*:—"His *Faust* is often very brilliant, and though he knew every word of *Faust*, he didn't know German—at least not much outside *Faust*."

One would have thought that for such a man the life of all others to be preferred would be that of a scholar, a thinker, and a writer, but he himself thought otherwise. He resigned his Fellowship to practise at the bar, to which he had been called in 1861. He made quite a reputation for himself as an orator and a cross-examiner. At the trial of the Phoenix Park murderers, where it is said, "he had the worst case that ever a barrister had to handle," none of the celebrated counsel engaged "displayed such resource, such power in cross-examination, and such readiness in speech."

He was, it is almost unnecessary to say, large-minded in his views. He was in favour of granting to the Irish

Catholics a University, such as they could conscientiously frequent. He had been a Gladstonian till Home Rule made him a Unionist. But for this change his final position would in all probability have been higher than a County Court Judgeship, which he was appointed to in 1888, and which he resigned but a few months ago.

During the long period that Judge Webb was so prominent a figure in Dublin society, he ranked with the first as a wit, and a brilliant conversationalist. Some who write brilliantly and wittily are very disappointing to meet and talk with, but Judge Webb was as interesting and amusing, as suggestive and stimulating in his conversation as in his writings. He deserves great credit for braving by open avowal of Baconianism the wrath or the ridicule of the "orthodox" Shakespeareans.

During his life he enjoyed for the most part remarkably good health, and was remarkable, too, for invariably good spirits. He married in 1849 Miss Susan Gilbert, who survives him. Two sons, one a barrister, and a married daughter, Mrs. O'Dell, mourn his loss. Their grief is shared by all who had the privilege of Judge Webb's acquaintance. He died after an illness of some months (which, however, was not pronounced mortal till about a month before the end), on Nov. 10th, 1903, retaining to the last the keenness of mind and equanimity which had always distinguished him.

## THE "EPISTLE DEDICATORIE" OF THE FIRST FOLIO.

SOME time ago Mr. Wigston asserted that the plays of "William Shakespeare" were saturated to an extraordinary degree with classical learning; and quite recently (*Fortnightly Review*, April, May, July, 1903) in a series of papers entitled "Had Shakespeare read the Greek Tragedies?" Mr. J. Churton Collins furnished—even to the layman—abundant proof that such is the case.

The "Epistle Dedicatorie" of the First Folio purports to have been written by two of Shakspeare's "fellow-actors"—John Heminge and Henrie Condell. The accuracy of these men's statement has frequently been impugned. It is not very surprising, therefore, to find that the source of a considerable part of their "Epistle Dedicatorie" is the Preface to Pliny's *Natural History*. That Messrs. Heminge and Condell were accomplished Latinists has not, we believe, been hitherto claimed for them. An English translation of Pliny was published in 1601, but it will be observed that the "Epistle Dedicatorie" agrees generally much better with the modern translation in "Bohn's Library Edition" than with the earlier, and at that time—so far as we know—the only accessible English translation of Philemon Holland (London, 1601). The author of the "Epistle Dedicatorie"—whoever that may have been—apparently drew upon the original text, and that with considerable skill.

Shakespeare Folio, 1623.  
"Epistle Dedicatorie."  
TO THE MOST NOBLE  
AND  
INCOMPARABLE PAIRE  
OF BRETHREN.  
WILLIAM,

Parallel passages from *The Natural History of Pliny*.  
Translated by John Bostock,  
M.D., F.R.S., and H. F.  
Riley, B.A. . . . Henry G.  
Bohn, London, MDCCCLV.  
(1855). Vol. 1.

Earle of Pembroke, &c., Lord  
Chamberlaine to the *Kings*  
*most Excellent Maiesty.*

AND

PHILIP,

Earle of Montgomery, &c.  
Gentleman of his Maiesties  
Bed-Chamber. Both Knights  
of the most Noble Order of  
the Garter, and our singular  
good Lords. Right Honour-  
able,

1. Whilst we studie to be thankful in our particular, for the many fauours we haue receiued from your L.L. we are falne vpon the ill fortune, to mingle two the most diuerse things that can bee,
  2. feare, and rashnesse; rashnesse in the enterprize, and
  3. feare of the successe. For, when we valew the places your H.H. sustaine, we cannot but know their dignity greater, then to descend to the reading of these trifles:
  4. and vvhile we name them trifles, we haue depriu'd our selues of the defence of our
  5. Dedication. But since your L.L. haue beene pleas'd to thinke these trifles something, heeretofore; and haue prosecuted both them, and their authour liuing, with so much fauour: we hope, that (they out-liuing him, and he not hauing the fate, common with some, to be exequutor to his owne writings) you will vse the like indulgence toward them, you haue done vnto their parent. There
  6. is a great difference, vvhether any Booke choose his Pat-
2. "But my temerity [rashness] will appear the greater by the consideration, that these volumes, which I dedicate to you, are of such inferior importance [trifles]" (p. 4).
  3. "I considered your situation much too elevated for you to descend to such an office." (p. 3).
  4. "And by this dedication I have deprived myself of the benefit of challenge" (p. 3).
  5. "For still thou ne'er wouldst quite despise the trifles that I write" (p. 1).  
Lamb's transl. of Catullus Carni. i., 4.
  6. "For it is a very different thing whether a person has a

rones, or finde them : This hath done both.

For, so much were your L.L. likings of the seuerall parts, vwhen they were acted, as before they vvere published, the Volume ask'd to be yours. We haue but collected them, and done an office to the dead, to procure his Orphanes, Guardians ; vwithout ambition either of selfe-profit, or fame: onely to keepe the memory of so worthy a Friend, & Fellow aliuie, as was our SHAKESPEARE, by humble offer of his playes, to your most noble

7. patronage. Wherein, as we haue iustly obserued, no man to come neere your L.L. but vwith a kind of religious addresse ; it hath bin the height of our care, vwho are the Presenters, to make the present worthy of your H.H. by the perfection. But, there we must also craue our abilities to be considerd, my Lords. We cannot go beyond our owne powers.

8. Country hands reach fourth milke, creame, frutes, or what they haue ; and many Nations (we haue heard) that had not gummies & incense, obtained their requests with a leauened Cake. It vvas no fault to approach their Gods, by what meanes they could.

9. And the most, though meanest, of things are made more precious, when they are dedicated to Temples. In that name therefore, we most humbly consecrate to your H. H. these remaines of your seruant SHAKESPEARE ; that what delight is in them, may be euer your L.L. the reputa-

judge given him by lot, or whether he voluntarily selects one" (p. 3).

7. . . . "even those who come to pay their respects to you do it with a kind of veneration : on this account I ought to be careful that what is dedicated to you should be worthy of you" (p. 4).

8. "But the country people, and, indeed, some whole nations offer milk to the Gods, and those who cannot procure frankincense substitute in its place salted cakes, for the Gods are not dissatisfied when they are worshipped by every one to the best of his ability" (p. 4).

9. . . . "for things are often conceived to be of great value, solely because they are consecrated in temples (p. 6).

tion his, and the faults ours, if  
any be committed, by a payre  
so carefull to shew their  
gratitude both to the liuing,  
and the dead, as is

Your Lordshippes most  
bounden,

JOHN HEMINGE.

HENRY CONDELL.

The following are the corresponding passages from  
"The Historie of the World—commonly called the  
naturall historie of C. Plinius Secundus. Trans. into  
English by Philemon Holland, &c." (London, 1601,  
folio), and text passages from *C. Plinii Secundi  
Naturalis Historia*: D. Detlefsen rec. Berolini apud  
Weidmannos, MDCCCLXVI. (1866).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. "That vvhiles vve studie and<br>muse (as <i>Varro</i> saith) upon<br>these things . . ." (second<br>page after Sig. G 2).   | 1. . . . vel hoc solo praemio<br>contenti quod, dum ista (ut ait<br>M. Varro) <i>musinamur</i> , pluri-<br>bus horis vivimus (Praef. 18). |
| 2. "For mine own part, chal-<br>lenged I may be more still<br>for this my importune and<br>inconsiderate boldnesse, in<br>that I would seeme to pre-<br>sent these bookes unto you,<br>compiled of so slender stuffe<br>and matter as they be"<br>(p. Sig. G 2). | 2. <i>Meae quidem temeritati<br/>accessit hoc quoque, quod<br/>levioris operae hos tibi<br/>dedicavi libellos</i> (Praef. 12).            |
| 3. "I wish full well that you<br>were a greater person far,<br>and I supposed that you<br>would never abase yourselve<br>nor stoupe so low as to read<br>this book of mine" (p. Sig. G,<br>verso).   | 3. <i>Maiorem te sciebam, quam<br/>ut descensurum huc putarem</i><br>(Praef. 6).  |
| 4. "But cut I am from this<br>refuge and meanes of de-<br>fence, in that I expressly<br>make choise of you in this<br>dedication of my worke"<br>(G 2).  | 4. <i>Sed haec ego mihi nunc<br/>patrocinia ademi nuncupa-<br/>tione</i> (Praef. 8).  |
| 5. . . . "You were wont to have<br>some good opinion of my toies<br>and footeries" (p. Sig. G).  | 5. <i>Namque tu solebas nugae<br/>esse aliquid meas putare</i><br>(Praef. 1).   |

6. . . . "for one thing it is to have a judge either pricked by pluralitie of voices or cast upon a man by drawing lots; and a farre other thing to chuse and nominate him from all others" (G 2).
7. . . . "No marvell is it, if those that doe their dutie unto you, salute you, kisse your hand, and come with great respect and reverence: in which regard, exceeding care above all things would be had, that whatsoever is said or dedicated unto you, may beseem your person, and be worth acceptance.
8. "And yet the gods reject not the humble prayers of poore country peasants, yea, and of manie nations, who offer nothing but milke unto them; and such as have no Incense, find grace and favour many times with the oblation of a plaine cake made onely of meale and salt; and never was any man blamed yet for his devotion to the gods, so he offered according to his abilitie, were the things never so simple" (G 2).
9. . . . "for many things there be that seeme right deare and be holden for pretious, onely because they are consecrate to some sacred temples (second page after G 2).
6. . . . quoniam plurimum refert sortiatur aliquis iudicem an eligat (Praef. 8).
7. Te quidem in excelsissimo generis humani fastigio positum, summa eloquentia, summa eruditione praeditum, religiose adiri etiam a salutantibus scio, et ideo cura, ut quae tibi dicantur tui digna sint (Praef. 11).
8. Verum dis lacte rustici multaeque gentis, et mola tantum salsa litant qui non habent tura, nec ulli fuit vitio deos colere quoquo modo posset (Praef. 11).
9. multa valde pretiosa ideo videntur quia sunt templis dicata (Praef. 19).



XVI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

**O**WING to the paucity of available facts, Shakspeare has 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 born as late as 1584, we must assume the first 21 years of his life to have been spent in and around Stratford.

Our first enquiry 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 three facts:—

1st.—He became an actor of small parts. Although oral methods of teaching were used in those days, it is not improbable he learnt to read sufficiently to memorise his parts himself.

2nd.—From five signatures (posterity's only inheritance) we may infer that he could write his name indifferently.

3rd.—The better opinion is that he also wrote the words "By me."

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 School. A Grammar School say some. 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 almspeople, and keeping the chapel, the bridge, and the 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 shews 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.

Ocland'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 "Abceedarium" 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 shewn in the plays and verses attributed to Shakespere, whilst of education in English there was apparently none.

Mr. Churton Collins ("Fortnightly," April, 1903) has 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."

A *Daily News* Reviewer plaintively warned Mr. Collins that he was giving the Shaksperian case away. Mr. Collins, however, seems to have felt that he could still 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 do not satisfy Mr. Collins, nor should they pass muster with anyone.

Mr. Baynes vouched the book of one Hoole, published in 1659, of what happened thirty or so years before 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 seventy 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. Grindall, 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 shew that Mr. Collins himself is equally in the clouds. He takes 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 realised, namely, for Greek, Latin, and for Rhetoric at Corpus Christi Hall.

His schemes of buildings 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 20th March, 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 of this magnificent building 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. This College 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 has saved Mr. Collins to 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? *I think not.* In Wodderspoon's "Historic Sites of Suffolk," there are some useful facts. The foundation stone of the college and school was not laid until 15th June, 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 27th September (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 shewn.\* 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 I venture to assert that *Wolsey's curriculum was never put into practice*, even at Ipswich.

But why go to an Archbishop's school in the Northwest, 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 half as large as Coventry.

Let us refer to Coventry. There, 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 is to be burnt in the school; the scholars are not to have free run of the library; the Dictionaries are to be chained in the schools, and the Masters are 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 Grindall'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 shews this. Francis Bacon, we know, was sufficiently well tutored by the age of twelve as to be sent to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, under Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. He was there from April, 1572, to December, 1575. Thence until September 1576, at the English Court. Then two years and a half at the Courts of France, and probably of Italy. From March, 1579, he was in England, and in 1580, resident at Gray's Inn.

If the cipher story be true, he was the Immerito of the Gabriel Harvey Immerito Correspondence. Harvey would be one of his College tutors and a brilliant young man of 22; Leycester House, from which the Immerito letters are dated, would be a house he would be likely, after Sir Nicholas Bacon's death, to live at when not at the Court. 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 this Church doth read Latin in a whole week."

On Mr. Collins' assumption, the man who, before the age of twenty-one, developed such wonderful classical facility in a one-horse school, next proceeds to desert his wife and children at Stratford, passing on the way the neighbouring University Town of Oxford, in order to become an actor of small parts in London.

I leave out the horse-holding tradition because I want to keep to ascertained facts. Mr. Collins' 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 actor, a masquer; he 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 attempt to further mislead. Despite ample wealth, he left his daughter uneducated. He behaved as a retired actor, which he was, rather than as a retired author, which he was not. He was no fraud; he was a masque and merely played his part. *His greatness has been thrust upon him.*

PARKER WOODWARD.

---

## A PLEASAUNT INVECTIVE AGAINST PLAIERS.\*

**I**N his introduction to "The Poems of Shakespeare," Mr. George Wyndham pictures the youthful Shaksper leaving his native Stratford and plunging into the flood-tide of literary London. "*It is easy to conjecture the experiences of a youth and a poet translated*

\* In the year 1579 a pamphlet was published with the following genial and comprehensive title:—The | Schoole of Abuse | containing a pleasaunt in | -vective against Poets, Pipers, | Plaiers, Jesters and such like | caterpillars of a commonwelth; | setting up the Flagge of Defiance to their | mischievous exercise and overthrow- | ing their Bulwarkes by Prophane | writers, Naturall reason, and | common experience. | A discourse as pleasaunt for | gentlemen that favour lear | -ning, as profitable for all that wyll | follow vertue. | By Stephen Gosson, Stud., Oxon.

*from Warwickshire to a London rocking and roaring with Armada-patriotism and the literary fervour of the 'University pens.'*"

Mr. Wyndham sees, in his mind's eye, the young provincial "caught up in the two most intellectual movements of that day, the new English drama, and the reproduction in the original or in translation of classical masterpieces." He does not discountenance the tradition that Shaksper's first occupation in the "magical unknown" was some menial employment in the theatre yard.

The testimony of contemporary observers does not, however, support the traditional theory that the playhouses were fervid intellectual centres. On the contrary, in 1579 a Mr. Spark termed them "the nest of the devil and the sink of all sin."\* Ben Jonson, in the dedication of *The Fox* (1607), remarks:—"Now, especially in dramatic, or, as they term it, stage poetry, nothing but ribaldry, profanation, blasphemy, all license of offence to God and man, is practised. . . . I have ever trembled to think towards the least prophaneness, have loathed the use of such foul and unwashed bawdry as is now made the food of the scene."

In 1572 Harrison, in his *Chronology*, wrote:—"Would to God these comon plaie(r)s were exiled for altogether as seminaries of impiety and their theatres pulled downe as no better than houses of bawdrie."†

The moral sentiment of Elizabethan London was never over-scrupulously nice, and the behaviour of the players must have been singularly scandalous to have led to such extreme measures as were adopted. Plays were banished and the Corporation forbad the erection of playhouses within the City precincts. For this reason "The Globe" at Blackfriars, "The Curtain" at Shore-

\* Arber Reprint, No. 3, p. 10.

† "Elizabethan England," *Scott Library*, p. 268.

ditch, and the other playhouses were erected outside the boundaries, and within swift and convenient access to those amazing sanctuaries for malefactors known as Alsatia and The Clink.

Gabriel Harvey, the friend of Spenser, describes the theatre districts—Bankside, Shoreditch, and Southwark—as “filthie haunts,”\* and in 1597 we have a luminous definition of theatres by the Lord Mayor of London as—“ordinary places for vagrant persons, maisterless men, thieves, horsestealers, whoremongers, cozeners, coney-catchers, contrivers of treason, and other idele and dangerous persons.”†

It is evident that unimpassioned truth does not countenance any other inference than that the Elizabethan playhouse was a vortex of ignorance and bestiality. It could hardly be otherwise when we recognise that professional players were the dregs of the community. Under the Poor Law of 1572 they were, unless licensed, deemed to be “roges, vacabounds, and sturdye beggars.” On first conviction they were ordered “to bee grevouslye whipped and burnte through the gristle of the right eare with an hot yron of the compasse of an ynch about, manifestinge his or her rogysh kind of lyef.”‡ A second offence was adjudged felony; a third entailed death. In order to evade the stringencies of the law, the unhappy actors—“foolish beasts,” Nash terms them, “mocked and flouted at in every man’s common talk”§—sheltered themselves by enrolment as the servants of some great man. There is a popular but erroneous tradition that aristocrat and actor fraternised together, but as Dyce asserts “plays were scarcely recognised as literature,” and “authors seldom

\* “Foure Letters,” 1592.

† City of London MS. Outlines, p. 214.

‡ 14th Eliz., c. 5.

§ “Summer’s Last Will” (Prologue).

presumed to approach the mansions of the aristocracy."\* Even the revelling students at Grays Inn (after the Twelfth Night fiasco, in which it is not unlikely that Mr. Wm. Shaksper figured) protested against the insult of having had foisted upon them "a company of base and common fellows,"—to wit, professional players.

An excellent example of the Elizabethan actor-dramatist is Mr. Robert Greene. He is assumed to have collaborated with Shaksper, and is popularly supposed to have shared in the literary and philosophic feasts at the Mermaid Tavern. "Whoredome," says Greene, "was my daily exercise,† and gluttony with drunkenness was my onely delight," and, he adds, though "famoused for an arch-playmaking poet," his companions "were lightly the lewdest persons in the land, apt for pilfering, perjury, forgery, or any villainy, who came still to my lodgings, and these would continue quaffing, carousing, and surfeiting with me all day long."‡

Mr. Wyndham pictures London rocking and roaring with "literary fervour." It would be less picturesque, but probably more accurate, to describe Shaksper's surroundings as "unwashed bawdrie." We have it on record in 1579 that three out of every four patients admitted into St. Bartholomew's Hospital were suffering from a disease due to immorality. For this state of affairs the surgeon of St. Bartholomew's blames the great number of rogues and vagabonds and the numerous lewd alehouses, "which are the very nests and harbourers of such filthy creatures."§ The sanitary surroundings in the better class Elizabethan, arouse our astonishment. "Erasmus gives a curious account

\* Works of Marlowe, p. 25.

† "The Repentance of Robert Greene."

‡ "Shakespeare and His Predecessors" (Boas), p. 36.

§ "Social England" (Traill), Vol. III., p. 770.

of English dirtyness. He ascribes the plague from which England was hardly ever free, and the sweating sickness, partly to the incommodious form and bad exposition of the houses, to the filthiness of the streets, and to the sluttishness within doors. 'The floors,' says he, 'are commonly of clay, strewed with rushes, under which lies unmolested an ancient collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, spittle, excrement of dogs and cats, and everything that is nasty.'\*\* If such were the conditions of the upper and middle classes, the sanitary surroundings of the lower and lowest orders obviously defy description.

Probably the poor "harlotry player" (to quote Shakespeare) was not very much worse than his fellow-citizens. It must be borne in mind that, to all intents and purposes, religion was a dead-letter. "To modern eyes," Green writes, "the Church under Elizabeth would seem little better than a religious chaos." After ten years of her rule "the bulk of Englishmen were found to be utterly devoid of religion, and came to church 'as to a May game.'"+

"Many churches," says Goadby, "were closed, and there were hundreds of parishes without incumbents devoting the Sunday to sports and licentiousness. The windows of the sacred edifices were broken, the doors were unhinged, the walls in decay, the very roofs stripped of their lead. 'The Book of God,' says Stubbes, 'was rent, ragged and all betorn.' Aisles, naves, and chancels were used for stabling horses. Armed men met in the churchyard and wrangled or shot pigeons with hand-guns. Pedlars sold their wares in the church porches during service. Morrice dancers excited inattention and wantonness by their presence in costume, so as to be ready for the frolics which generally followed

\* *Curiosities of Literature*, "D'Israeli, Vol. II., p. 38.

† "Hist. Eng. People," Vol. II., p. 308.

prayers. . . . The church ales, in which God's house was turned into a drinking shop for profit—the ale having been brewed by the churchwardens for sale—led to abominable orgies.”\*

It is needless to go into objectionable *minutial*. Characteristic instances of gross manners may be found in Arber's Reprints (No. 3, p. 9), Brand's "Antiquities under May-day Customs" (p. 118), and indeed wherever the enquirer takes the trouble to search.

In *Every Man Out of his Humour*, Ben Jonson throws a grim light upon the condition into which St. Paul's Cathedral had fallen. Scene 1 of Act III. is placed in the "Middle Aisle of St. Paul's," generally known as Paul's Walk.

*Orange*: "What, Signor Whiffe! what fortune has brought you into these west parts?"

*Shift*: "Troth, signor! nothing but your rheum. I have been taking an ounce of tobacco hard by here with a gentleman, and I am come to spit private in Paul's."

"To spit private in Paul's"! What manner of times were these when the interior of the Cathedral served for such uses? In a tract written by Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, it is stated: "No place hath been more abused than Paul's hath been. . . . The south alley was for usury and popery, the north for simony, and the horsefair in the midst for all kinds of bargains, meetings, brawlings, murders, conspiracies. The font for ordinary payments of money as well known to all men as the beggar knows his dish. . . . So that without and within, above the ground and under, over the roof and beneath, from the top of the steeple and spire down to the low floor, not one spot was free from wickedness." †

\* "The England of Shakespeare" (Goadby), pp. 77-88.

† "Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth" (Aiken), p. 186.

It is unnecessary to amplify this picture. Probably it is beyond the power of modern imagination to conceive the degradation of Elizabethan London. "In the time of Shakespeare," says Dr. Johnson, "the English nation was yet struggling to emerge from barbarity. . . . Literature was yet confined to professed scholars, or to men and women of high rank. The public was gross and dark; and to be able to read and write was an accomplishment still valued for its rarity."\*

If Mr. Wyndham were to look deeper into history, he would necessarily picture with his retrospective eye not the traditional London rocking and roaring with literary fervour, but a London turbulent with an evil-smelling † crowd of "rakehells," "bona-robas," "roaring boys," and "roaring girls," "coney-catchers," "cozeners," "Knights of the Grape," and innumerable unclassed varieties of mediæval barbarism.

HAROLD BAYLEY.

\* "Lives of the Poets," p. 517 (*Chandos Classics*).

† "Good soap was an almost impossible luxury, and clothes had to be washed with cowdung, hemlock, nettles and refuse soap, than which, in Harrison's opinion, 'there is none more unkindly savour.'"—"Social England" (Trail), Vol. III., p. 544.



## SIDELIGHTS.

EXTRACT from *History of Civilization in England*. H. T. Buckle, Vol. I., pp. 269, 270. Richards, London, 1903:—

“IT is difficult for an ordinary reader, living in the middle of the nineteenth century, to understand, that only three hundred years before he was born, the public mind was in the benighted state disclosed in the preceding chapter. It is still more difficult for him to understand that the darkness was shared not merely by men of an average education, but by men of considerable ability, men in every respect among the foremost of their age. A reader of this sort may satisfy himself that the evidence is indisputable; he may verify the statements I have brought forward, and admit that there is no possible doubt about them; but even then he will find it hard to conceive that there ever was a state of society in which such miserable absurdities were welcomed as sober and important truths, and were supposed to form an essential part of the general stock of European knowledge.

“But a more careful examination will do much to dissipate this natural astonishment. In point of fact, so far from wondering that such things were believed, the wonder would have been if they were rejected. For in those times, as in all others, everything was of a piece. Not only in historical literature, but in all kinds of literature, on every subject—in science, in religion, in legislation—the presiding principle was a blind and unhesitating credulity. The more the history of Europe anterior to the seventeenth century is studied, the more completely will this fact be verified. Now and then a great man arose, who had his doubts respecting the universal belief; who whispered a suspicion as to the existence of giants thirty feet high, of dragons with wings, and of armies flying through

the air ; who thought that astrology might be a cheat, and necromancy a bubble ; and who even went so far as to raise a question respecting the propriety of drowning every witch and burning every heretic. A few such men there undoubtedly were ; but they were despised as mere theorists, idle visionaries, who, unacquainted with the practice of life, arrogantly opposed their own reason to the wisdom of their ancestors. In the state of society in which they were born, it was impossible that they should make any permanent impression. Indeed, they had enough to do to look to themselves, and provide for their own security ; for, until the latter part of the sixteenth century, there was no country in which a man was not in great personal peril if he expressed open doubts respecting the belief of his contemporaries."

EXTRACT from Archbishop Tenison's "Remains now set forth by him under the title of BACONIANA," p. 5, London, 1679 :—

"I AFFIRM, with good assurance (for Truth is bold) that amongst those few, who, by the strength of their private Reason, have resisted popular Errors, and advanced real and useful Learning ; there has not arisen a more Eminent Person, than the *Lord High Chancellor Bacon*. Such great Wits, are not the common Births of Time : And they, surely, intended to signify so much who said of the Phœnix (though in Hyperbole as well as Metaphor) that Nature gives the World that *Individual Species*, but once in five hundred Years."

[EXTRACT from an anonymous English translation of Boerhaave's "Method of Studying Physic," p. 83 *et seq.* London, 1719.]

BY antiquity I mean till the sixteenth century, and this age excelled all the preceding, which is chiefly owing to the most illustrious Francis

Bacon, Lord of Verulam ; for in reality before his time the learned world was wholly taken up with the trifles of the Peripatetick philosophy, and commentators of the schools who had by their quiddities rendered physicks merely logical.

At that time came up the chymists, who were the first authors of Experimental History, whose knowledge in relation to the causes of things the Lord of Verulam suspecting, before the end of that century rose up in the reign of Queen Elizabeth ; and this great man only certainly deserved this honour, that he alone made greater progress in physicks than all that ever went before him, or succeeded him. The best edition of his works is in folio, printed at Frankfort 1665, though his English epistles are not there.

His character was this : He had so sprightly a genius that he could not be deceived or imposed upon ; for never man was endued with a genius so penetrating into physicks ; he was of an unparalleled diligence and industry ; for while he was Lord-keeper of the Seals and Chancellor of England (which offices he admirably well discharged), he wrote all his works, which are deservedly divided into two parts ; the first considers morals or ethics, and the second is purely philosophical.

I can assure you that in no author you will find greater science, prudence, and candour than in him,

° *Hermann Boerhaave* (b. 1668, d. 1738), "one of the most celebrated physicians of modern times. . . . The genius of Boerhaave raised the fame of the University of Leyden, especially as a school of medicine, so as to make it a resort of strangers from every part of Europe. . . . The reputation of this eminent man was not confined to Europe. A Chinese mandarin wrote him a letter directed 'To the illustrious Boerhaave, Physician in Europe,' and it reached him in due course." . . . (Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. IV.)

who far excelled all Europeans, and even the English themselves, and has all that is good of Descartes.

Next to the Lord of Verulam (and who trod close in his steps) succeeded the illustrious Boyle, likewise an Englishman, and as great a glory to England; what that lord began, this nobleman endeavoured to perfect. Consider the times, and read whatever authors you please before Bacon, and compare their writings with his, and you will find him to have carried away the prize from them all.

At the time Boyle began to publish his Book of Natural Philosophy (excited by the death of Bacon) was instituted the Royal Society of London composed of members from all parts of England; and this society was erected on purpose to search into the secrets of nature. Much about the same time the same work was instituted and carried on in Germany, France, and Italy; that is, there was to be taken into this society men of the greatest ingenuity and candour, who should treat of the affections and dispositions of things natural with the highest circumspection and caution, not speculatively by reasonings or argument, but by experiments.

At the same time the English by publishing several books, began to communicate to the world in a regular method all what they had discoursed of in their private conferences. Which being experiments made according to the Lord of Verulam's plan, you may easily guess what a prodigious work that was: for they were Wallis, Newton, and the greatest mathematicians, naturalists, physicians, and chymists, who collected these experiments which are contained in

the philosophical transactions, a work begun in the year 1665, and continued to the year 1708; and (what is much to be lamented) are now left off.—“A Method of Studying Physic,” Boerhaave, London, 1719; p. 83, *et seq.*

[EXTRACT from the Third Essay in “Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion,” by Joseph Glanvill,\* Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty [James I.], and Fellow of the R. [oyal] S. [ociety]. London, 1676.]

THE later ages have great advantages in respect of opportunities and helps for the spreading and communicating of knowledge, and thereby of improving and enlarging it. This I shall demonstrate in three great instances, viz., printing, the compass, and the institution of the Royal Society. In this excellent history [of the Royal Society in London, by Thomas Sprat, London, 1667], the inquisitive may find what were the reasons of forming such a combination as the Royal Society, what is the nature of that constitution, what are their designs, and what they have done. . . .

But that I may not wholly refer my reader, which may look like a put-off, I'll here offer something concerning this establishment, as it is an advantage for the communication and increase of science. I say, then, that it was observed by the excellent Lord Bacon, and some other ingenious moderns, that philosophy, which should be an instrument to work with, to find out those aids that Providence hath laid up in Nature to help us against the inconveniences of this state, and to make such application of things as may tend to universal benefit; I say, they took notice that instead of such a philosophy as this, that which has usurped the name,

\* Joseph Glanvill. B., 1636; d., 1680.

and obtained in the schools, was but a combination of general theories and notions, that were concluded rashly without due information from particulars, and spun out into unprofitable niceties that tend to nothing but dispute and talk, and were never like to advance any works for the benefit and use of men.

This being consider'd, the deep and judicious Verulam made the complaint, represented the defect and unprofitableness of the notional way, proposed another to reform and inlarge knowledge by observation and experiment, to examine and record particulars, and so to rise by degrees of induction to general propositions, and from them to take direction for new inquiries and more discoveries, and other axioms; that our notions may have a foundation upon which a solid philosophy may be built, that they may be firm, tite, and close knit, and suited to the phænomena of things; so that Nature being known it may be master'd, managed, and used in the services of humane life.

This was a mighty design, groundedly laid, wisely exprest, and happily recommended by the glorious author, who began nobly and directed with an incomparable conduct of wit and judgment. But to the carrying of it on, it was necessary there should be many heads and many hands, and those formed into an assembly that might inter-communicate their tryals and observations, that might joyntly work and jointly consider, that so the improvable, and luciferous phænomena that lie scatter'd up and down in the vast campaign of Nature might be aggregated and brought into a common store. This the great man desired, and formed a SOCIETY of experimenters in a romantick model [!], but could do no more. His time was not ripe for such performances.

These things, therefore, were consider'd also by the later virtuosi, who several of them join'd together, and

set themselves on work upon this grand design; in which they have been so happy as to obtain the Royal countenance and establishment, to gather a great body of generous persons of all qualities and sorts of learning, to overcome the difficulties of the institution, and to make a very encouraging and hopeful progress in their pursuits. For the account of which particulars I refer to the History, and only take notice, how ignorantly those rash and inconsiderate people talk who speak of this assembly as if they were a company of men whose only aim is to set up some new theories and notions in philosophy; whereas, indeed, their first and chief employment is carefully to seek, and faithfully to report how things are *de facto*; and they continually declare against the establishment of theories and speculative doctrines which they note as one of the most considerable miscarriages in the philosophy of the schools. And their business is not to dispute, but work. So that those others also that look on them as pursuing phansyful designs are as wide and unjust in their ill-contriv'd censure; since their aims are to free philosophy from the vain images and compositions of phansie by making it palpable and bringing it down to the plain objects of the senses. For those are the faculties they appeale to, and complain that knowledge hath too long hover'd in the clouds of imagination; so that methinks this ignorant reproach is, as if those that doted on the tales of the Fabulous Age should clamour against Plutarch and Tacitus as idle romancers. For the main intention of this society is to erect a well-grounded Natural History which takes off the heats of wanton phansie, hinders its extravagant excursions, and ties it down to sober realities.

But we frequently hear an insulting objection against this philosophical society in the question, "What have they done?"—to which I could answer, in short, more

than all the philosophers of the notional way since Aristotle opened his shop in Greece; which saying may, perhaps, look to some like a fond and bold sentence. But whoever compares the repository of this society with all the volumes of disputers, will find it neither immodest nor unjust. And their history hath given us instances sufficient of their experiments, observations, and instruments to justify a bolder affirmation. But I insist not on this. The thing I would have observ'd is, that those who make the captious question do not comprehend the vastness of the work of this assembly, or have some phantastical imagination of it. They consider not that the design is laid as low, as the profoundest depths of Nature, and reacheth as high as the uppermost story of the universe; that it extends to all the varieties of the great world, and aims at the benefit of universal mankind.

[EXTRACT (translated into English) from *Die Freimaurerei* (Leipzig, 1835, 2 vols. 8vo.), a German translation by R. S. Acerrellos (anagram of Carl Roessler), of a French work by Reghellini da Schio.]

**B**ACON OF VERULAM approved of the system of the Cabala,\* and upon his island of Bensalem† introduced cabalistic laws.—I., p. 279.

Geber, Raymond Lully, Albertus Magnus, Arnold of Villanova, Bacon, and all alchemical writers consider the Rose to be the symbol of secrecy.—II., p. 6.

The working Masons have since the earliest times been united with the scientific Masons in *one* fraternal

\* The *Cabala*, formerly an important Society, originated among the Jews. Its Founder (?) Simon Ben Jochai, and his book, "Sochar." (?) The latter is full of allegories and metaphors,



Society. They had a *common* origin, their separation being due to the force of Time and the power of Civilisation, which more and more obtained strength and perfection. But it should be noted, notwithstanding, that already before this separation, the Society of working Masons had been always supervised and led by men of very high reputation.

A great number of learned men, and some men of high birth, sought admission into the fraternity. It is well known that both in Germany and France, several centuries ago, those who enjoyed citizenship, of whatsoever rank and station they might be, were obliged to join some guild or society, that is, some corporation of artists and artisans. Therefore, since the guild of the Masons was the most famous and respected, men of rank and learning, for whom it was an easy matter to obtain admission, flocked to it from all sides, and as these men were not artisans, they were distinguished from the latter by the name of *Free* Masons. This designation, entirely equivalent to the other name which they were given, of *Adopted Masons*, was applied, then, to those who were admitted into a Society of artists or artisans, without, however, really practising their art or craft.

This Society, then, which was in the beginning, by but clearer than the Apocalypse. Both books have been useful to Masonry. The system of allegories which they used could not, Reason told them, be converted into an idol.—Note based on C. ROESSLER. "The Cabalists among the Jews are professed anagrammatists; the third part of their art, which they call *themuru*, (*i.e.*, changing) being nothing but the art of making anagrams, or finding hidden and mystical meanings in names, which they do by changing, transposing, and differently combining the letters of those names."

"Encyclo. Britann.," 8th Ed., Vol. II.

p. 745, Art. Anagram.

† *c.f.* *New Atlantis*.

studies and sciences, and for the preservation of these intimately connected with the clergy, separated from the clergy, as the latter was wholly corrupt. . . .

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the members of the fraternity endeavoured to erect a bulwark against the destructive flood of abuses of the Roman power. They conceived, therefore, a plan, according to which their Society should be reformed, and consist henceforth of learned men only. This new Society, formed out of the old elements, separated from the working Masons. Its aim was to counteract religious superstition and the abuses of absolute power.

The first reformers were: in Germany, Rosenkreuz, and afterwards Valentine Andreæ; in England, Ashmole, Bacon, and others. These were joined by all those who, in regard to faith, rejected the teachings of Rome. By such uniting was formed the Fraternity out of the ruins of the old Knights Templar and of the Crusaders of every tongue. From that time on, this Society has ever made it its duty to seek and advance the Beautiful, the True, and the Good.—II., pp. 188—190. (See also p. 192.)

The taste for occult sciences and for the theosophy of the Rosicrucians was kept alive by some German writings, which caused a great sensation, especially in England. To these belong the "Chemical Nights" of Rosenkreuz, and the "General Reformation of the Whole World" by Valentine Andreæ, to which we shall return in speaking of German Masonry.

Nicolai says, and adduces several proofs for it, that in the year 1622 a company of men existed in the Hague, who called themselves Rosicrucians, and busied themselves with alchemy. Its founder was Christian Rose, and its branches were so wide-spread, that meetings of them were held in Amsterdam, Nuremberg, Hamburg, Danzig, Erfurt, Mantua, Venice, and other places.

When they appeared in England, Robert Fludd wrote a treatise in defence of the Rosicrucian Brethren. Fludd was initiated, and had a large number of pupils. He applied the principles of the Gnostics to Physics, and by his system produced the great transformation which the sciences underwent in England.

Elias Ashmole, a famous antiquary, had himself admitted into the Masonic fraternity in 1646. At about the same time, several Englishmen of learning, who clearly saw the need of physical experiments, seized the favourable opportunity to found a Society, which was to keep in view especially the advancement of learning. After some festivity of astrologers, persons of great importance in those days, they founded a Rosicrucian Society, after the model of the association existing in the Hague. They agreed among themselves to write a little less obscurely than the German Rosicrucians, but nevertheless wished likewise to communicate their discoveries to the brethren only, for fear that those discoveries might bring persecutions upon them.

The members of this new association belonged all to the Freemason Fraternity of London. The most famous names among them were Elias Ashmole, William Lully, Wharton, Smitz [sic], Oughtred, Preston, Warren, Thomas Wharton, the Physician, George Wharton, and the reverend gentlemen, John Pearson and John Hewit.

Ashmole improved the ritual of the act of initiation of the Rosicrucians, which was modelled almost completely upon the ancient Egyptian and Greek mysteries, and which have been partly preserved in the act of initiation of the Freemasons. A great number of innovations, which were subsequently introduced, were one of the main causes of the secession of the English Masons, which lasted up to the year 1813.

Ashmole, in his "Memoirs," describes the ceremonies

studies and sciences, and for the preservation of these intimately connected with the clergy, separated from the clergy, as the latter was wholly corrupt. . . .

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the members of the fraternity endeavoured to erect a bulwark against the destructive flood of abuses of the Roman power. They conceived, therefore, a plan, according to which their Society should be reformed, and consist henceforth of learned men only. This new Society, formed out of the old elements, separated from the working Masons. Its aim was to counteract religious superstition and the abuses of absolute power.

The first reformers were: in Germany, Rosenkreuz, and afterwards Valentine Andreae; in England, Ashmole, Bacon, and others. These were joined by all those who, in regard to faith, rejected the teachings of Rome. By such uniting was formed the Fraternity out of the ruins of the old Knights Templar and of the Crusaders of every tongue. From that time on, this Society has ever made it its duty to seek and advance the Beautiful, the True, and the Good.—II., pp. 188—190. (See also p. 192.)

The taste for occult sciences and for the theosophy of the Rosicrucians was kept alive by some German writings, which caused a great sensation, especially in England. To these belong the "Chemical Nights" of Rosenkreuz, and the "General Reformation of the Whole World" by Valentine Andreae, to which we shall return in speaking of German Masonry.

Nicolai says, and adduces several proofs for it, that in the year 1622 a company of men existed in the Hague, who called themselves Rosicrucians, and busied themselves with alchemy. Its founder was Christian Rose, and its branches were so wide-spread, that meetings of them were held in Amsterdam, Nuremberg, Hamburg, Danzig, Erfurt, Mantua, Venice, and other places.

When they appeared in England, Robert Fludd wrote a treatise in defence of the Rosicrucian Brethren. Fludd was initiated, and had a large number of pupils. He applied the principles of the Gnostics to Physics, and by his system produced the great transformation which the sciences underwent in England.

Elias Ashmole, a famous antiquary, had himself admitted into the Masonic fraternity in 1646. At about the same time, several Englishmen of learning, who clearly saw the need of physical experiments, seized the favourable opportunity to found a Society, which was to keep in view especially the advancement of learning. After some festivity of astrologers, persons of great importance in those days, they founded a Rosicrucian Society, after the model of the association existing in the Hague. They agreed among themselves to write a little less obscurely than the German Rosicrucians, but nevertheless wished likewise to communicate their discoveries to the brethren only, for fear that those discoveries might bring persecutions upon them.

The members of this new association belonged all to the Freemason Fraternity of London. The most famous names among them were Elias Ashmole, William Lully, Wharton, Smitz [sic], Oughtred, Preston, Warren, Thomas Wharton, the Physician, George Wharton, and the reverend gentlemen, John Pearson and John Hewit.

Ashmole improved the ritual of the act of initiation of the Rosicrucians, which was modelled almost completely upon the ancient Egyptian and Greek mysteries, and which have been partly preserved in the act of initiation of the Freemasons. A great number of innovations, which were subsequently introduced, were one of the main causes of the secession of the English Masons, which lasted up to the year 1813.

Ashmole, in his "Memoirs," describes the ceremonies

of a Masonic initiation which took place on March 2, of the year 1682 ; a very clear proof that some writers are very much in error who assert that the institution is quite modern, and arose only in most recent times.

The great Bacon had written his "New Atlantis," of which the apparent aim was the building of the house of Solomon, which was to remain concealed from the Profane. The learned men, of whom the Society founded by Ashmole consisted, accepted this allegory of the house of Solomon and retained the marks or devices, emblems, and other allegories of the Masons. They founded seven grades in order to reach the chess-board, in commemoration of the seven days of the creation, and this may have given rise to the seven degrees, which had to be passed through in order to arrive at Gnosis, that is, at Revelation of their secrets, by means of the studies needed for the knowledge of the Great Architect of the World, of His works, of Himself, and of man's duties toward others.

To be sure, the Society was obliged to keep its discoveries very secret, for the whole world regarded experimenting, according to the teachings of Rome, as contrary and hostile to religion and government.

Now, although this separate association was a corporate part of the brotherhood of Working Masons, of the Free and Adopted Masons, yet it did its work only in its secret meetings or councils. The subjects of these works, however, were the ancient mysteries, a philosophical theosophy and the allegorical construction of the house of Solomon.

At that time the desire for self-instruction went hand in hand with the desire to become free from the dominion of the Roman clergy. . . . This desire led to the formation of a second Society, which likewise wished to busy itself with secret sciences, but at the same time wished to oppose the Rosicrucians and act upon the

principle that the discoveries brought to light by experiments and the teachings of the sciences should of necessity be published.

One of its members, the great Bacon, afterwards wrote in such a manner that everyone could understand. For although his writings are composed in a mystical style, they are, nevertheless, much more comprehensible than the books of Rosenkreuz and Valentine Andreæ. He associated with himself John Wallis, John Wilkins\*, Goddard, Foster, Glisson and other learned men, who determined to follow out Bacon's ideas. These he had explained in the "Atlantis," and they concerned the study of nature in her mysterious Being and Works according to a philosophy based upon Reason.

In the "Atlantis," a work which has led to very useful results,† there were allusions to the Crusaders and to the chosen Christians of the first centuries, as well as to the Rosicrucians. Similar allusions occurred in many earlier works. On that imaginary island he who permits the travellers to tarry there, wears a white turban with a red cross over it. We remind the reader of this one allusion; there are, however, many others.

These two societies organised in London had, so to

\* He was the principall reviver of experimental philosophy (*secundum mentem Domini Baconi*) at Oxford, where he had weckely an *experimental philosophicall clubbe*, which began 1649, and was the *incunabile* of the *Royal Society*. When he came to London they met at ye Bull-head taverne, in Cheapside—*e.g.*, 1658, 1659, and after till it grew too big for a clubbe, and so they came to Gresham College parlour.—"Aubrey's Lives," p. 583.

John Wilkins was Lord Bishop of Chester, and first Secretary of the Royal Society. He is the author of a number of scientific treatises, and of "The Secret and Swift Messenger," an interesting book on ciphers first published in London, 1641.—From "Dictionary of National Biography."

† Foundation of Learned Societies?

speak, *one* cradle; both worked in the sciences of experience, the one with the purpose of confiding its discovered results only to its disciples,—the other, on the contrary, of making them generally useful to the human race by publication. Both, consisting of prominent and learned men, worked for the same end, but according to two diametrically opposed principles: the one [Bacon's], exoterically; the other [Ashmole's], esoterically. The members of the latter, who were men of rank and were involved in the English Revolution, joined the party of the king, who succumbed; the defence of their cause brought heavy losses of property upon them, and they became suspected by the victorious party. So they were obliged in their assemblies to make use of the greatest caution. The Society founded by Ashmole, therefore, considered it necessary to narrow its council more and more, and it is apparently quite possible that under these conditions they adopted allegories which had reference to the Scotch, who had given the King and Country proofs of their loyalty. Degrees were, therefore, invented which preserved their memory. Notwithstanding, it is certain that the purpose of this Society always remained the building of the house of Solomon, a favourite allegory of the Masons, to whom it belonged.—II., pp. 199-203.



## ANAGRAMS AND ACROSTICS.

"Notwithstanding the sour sort of critics, good anagrams yield a delightful comfort and pleasant motion in honest minds."—CAMDEN :  
"Remaines Concerning Britaine."

D'ISRAELI, in his *Curiosities of Literature*,\* prints some very interesting evidence with regard to the whimsical and now-a-days discredited subject of anagrams. "Modern critics," says D'Israeli, "are apt to thunder their anathemas on innocent heads: little versed in the eras of our literature and the fashions of our wit, popular criticism must submit to be guided by the literary historian. Kippis condemns Sir Symonds D'Ewes for his admiration of two anagrams expressive of the feelings of the times. It required the valour of Falstaff to attack extinct anagrams; and our pretended English Bayle thought himself secure in pronouncing all anagrammatists to be wanting in judgment and taste: yet, if this mechanical critic did not know something of the state and nature of anagrams in Sir Symonds' day, he was more deficient in that curiosity of Literature which his work required, than plain, honest Sir Symonds in the taste and judgment of which he is so contemptuously deprived. The author, who thus decides on the tastes of another age by those of his own day, and whose knowledge of the national literature does not extend beyond his own century, is neither historian nor critic. The truth is that anagrams were then the fashionable amusements of the wittiest and the most learned."

D'Israeli then gives a number of examples of anagrams, and continues:—

"Even old Camden, who lived in the golden age of

\* Vol. II., "Anagrams and Echo Verses."

anagrams, notices the *difficilia quae pulchra*, the charming difficulty, 'as a whetstone of patience to them that shall practise it. For some have been seen to bite their pen, scratch their heads, bend their brows, bite their lips, beat the board, tear their papers, when their names were fair for somewhat and caught nothing therein.' Such was the troubled happiness of an anagrammatist. 'Yet,' adds our venerable author, 'notwithstanding the sour sort of critics, good anagrams yield a delightful comfort and pleasant motion in honest minds.'"\*

It is safest for the student, in view of the peculiar literary methods of the English Renaissance, to resort to original or early editions, as there is never any telling what and how much may not have been edited out of existence by the modern reviser, who works according to his light, and when he doesn't understand a text, sometimes "improves" (?) upon the author or his supposedly know-nothing printer by correcting, or by substituting what he (the Editor) likes.

The conscientious philosophical investigator, however, unbiassed by academic and popular traditions, not narrowed by excessive specialism, nor overawed by professed authority, who closely studies a wide range of those early editions, will find his researches richly rewarded by glimpses of some remarkable doings (behind the scenes) of the great actors of those days.

Examples there are many, but a few easy and simple ones must suffice here :

William Camden, 1551-1623, "Clarenceux, King of Armes, surnamed the Learned," Patron and Master of Ben Jonson, in the book "Remaines concerning Britaine," attributed to him by Ben Jonson in conversation with William Drummond of Hawthornden (but in

\* "Curiosities of Literature," Vol. II., pp. 229-234.

which, according to James Spedding, Sir Francis Bacon also had a hand) placed at the end of the chapter entitled, "Impreses," the two paragraphs following:—

"Confident was he in the goodness of his cause; and the Justice of our Land, who only pictured *Justitia* with her Ballance and Sword, and this being an Anagramme of his name, *Dum illa, euincam*.

"For whom also was devised by his learned friend, *Pallas* defensive shield with Gorgon's head thereon, in respect of his late Sovereignes most gracious patronage of him with this A—Anagrammaticall [*sic*] word, *Nil malum, cui Dea*."\*

The two Latin mottoes are perfect anagrams of 'VWilliam Camden,' and may well have been intended for a hint to the observant reader, since the first three editions of this work were printed without a name on the title-page, the dedicatory epistle being signed "M. N." How the learned Camden must have chuckled to himself!

Elias Ashmole, 1617-1692, Windsor Herald, Member of the Royal Society, and Founder of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, "the greatest virtuoso and curioso that was ever known or read of in England before his time" † shows similar familiarity with anagrams and some uses to which they could be put, in connection with a work that he did not care apparently to acknowledge before the whole world.

He [Ashmole] also formed the acquaintance of Master Backhouse, a venerable Rosicrucian, who called him son, and "opened himself freely touching the great secret" . . . . On 13th May, 1653, Backhouse "told me [Ashmole] in syllables the true matter of the philosopher's stone, which he bequeathed to me as a legacy."

Dict. Nat'l. Biogr. Art., *Elias Ashmole*, p. 173.

\* From the 3rd Edition, 4to., 1623, p. 197.

† Quoted in "Dictionary of National Biography."

He published in 1652 a collection of alchemical treatises, entitled "Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum," the title-page stating that it is by "Elias Ashmole, *Qui est Mercuriophilus Anglicus.*" His remarks as editor are highly instructive. In the Notes, p. 451, he points out, for instance, a half-hidden pseudonymous couplet in Thomas Norton's "Ordinall." The first line of this couplet is composed of the first syllables of the Proem and of Chapters I.—VI. inclusive. The second line consists of the entire first line of Chapter VII., thus :

TO, MAIS NOR, TON OF BRISE, TO  
A parfet Master ye maie him trowe.

Ashmole seems to have good reason to condemn emphatically any changing of an original text, for he says in connection with this subject (Notes, p. 439):

"But as in other *Artes* and *Sciences*, the fault is scarce pardonable, so chiefly in *Hermctique Learning*, where the injury may prove irreparable," and at the same time he quotes a few lines from the following suggestive passage on p. 11 of Norton's "Ordinall" :

"Now Sovereigne *Lord God*, me guide and speede,  
For to my Matters as now I will proceede,  
Praying all men which this Boke shall finde,  
With devoute Prayers to have my soule in minde ;  
And that noe man for better ne for worse,  
Change my writing for drede of *God's curse* :  
For where quick sentence shall seame not to be  
Ther may wise men finde selcouthe previtye,  
And chaunging of some one sillable  
May make this Boke unprofitable.  
Therefore trust not to one Reading or twaine,  
But twenty tymes it would be over sayne ;  
For it conteyneth full ponderous sentence,  
Albeit that it faute forme of Eloquence ;  
But the best thing that ye doe shall,  
Is to reade many Bokes, and then this withall."

Now, there is a contemporary little alchemical treatise, entitled :

*Fasciculus Chemicus*, or Chymical Collections, expressing the Ingress, Progress, and Egress of the Secret Hermetic Science (etc.), whereunto is added the *Arcanum*, or Grand Secret of Hermetic Philosophy, both made English by

JAMES HASOLLE, ESQUIRE,

Qui est Mercuriophilus Anglicus (etc.).

Who was James Hasolle, Esquire? The answer is almost too obvious to need demonstration. If Elias Ashmole (A) is *Mercuriophilus Anglicus* (B), and James Hasolle (C) is likewise *Mercuriophilus Anglicus* (B), then Elias Ashmole=James Hasolle. The two names constitute, indeed, a perfect anagram. It was found independently as here explained, but is already recorded in p. 562 of

"Auteurs déguisez sous des noms étrangers, Empruntez Supposez, Feints a plaisir, Chiffrez, Renversez, Retournez, ou changez d'une Langue en une autre."

A Paris chez ANTOINE DEZALLIER, etc., 1690.

(The "Avis au Lecteur" is signed A. BAILLET.)

as well as in E. Weller's *Lexicon Pseudonymorum*, Regensburg, 1886, p. 247.

The reader will be no longer surprised to learn that Ben Jonson, 1573 (?) 1637, rare wit and man of letters that he was, also knew all about Anagrams, Acrostics, and even Ciphers.

In the Folio Edition of his works, 1616-1641, vol. I, Epigrammes, there is on p. 779, Epigram XL., "On Margaret Ratcliffe." The initial letters of its 17 lines, read downwards, spell M.A.R.G.A.R.E.T R.A.T.C.L.I.F.F.E. The same kind of device spelling T.H.E A.L.C.H.E.M.I.S.T occurs in the prologue of *The Alchemist*, vol. I, p. 605 (1616.)

In Epigram XCII., "The New Crie," (that new crie being "Ripe statesmen, ripe") we read :

"They all get *Porta*, for the sundrie wayes  
To write in cypher, and the severall keyes  
To ope' the character."

The reference is to Giambattista della Porta's famous book on Ciphers(\*), in which anagrams and acrostics are mentioned as kinds of ciphers.

A "Cambridge graduate," the author of "Is it Shakespeare?" has endeavoured to show that Jonson's Epigrams XXXVII. and LIIII. are aimed at Bacon. No. XXXVII. runs as follows :

"ON CHEV'RILL, THE LAWYER.

No cause, nor client fat, will Chev'rill leese,  
But as they come, on both sides he takes fees,  
And pleaseth both. For while he melts his greace  
For this : that winnes, for whom he holds his peace."

The "Cambridge graduate" omits to point out that the initial letters of the four lines of this quatrain (reading upward) and of the first two words of the title are F.A.B.N.O.C., which, transposed, give F.B.A.C.O.N.

The Rev. Wm. A. Sutton, in his recently published *Shakespeare Enigma* observes that :—

"In the middle ages no new discovery was freely published. All the secrets, real or pretended, of the alchemists were concealed in obscure and enigmatic language ; and to mention a well-known instance, the anagram in which Roger Bacon is supposed to have recorded his knowledge of the art of making gun-powder is so obscure, that its meaning is even now more or less doubtful.

The anagram in question is referred to in Henry B. Wheatley's little treatise "*Of Anagrams, etc.*," Hertford, 1862, pp. 71, 72.

(\*) 1st Edition, *De furtivis literarum notis vulgo de ziferis, lib. IV.* Napoli, 1563, 4to.,—2nd Edition, *lib. V.*, Napoli, 1602, folio,—3rd Edition, entitled, *De occultis literarum notis, etc., lib. V.* Argentorali, 1606, 8vo.

"Anagrams have been sometimes made use of by authors to publish their discoveries to the world; and as an instance Roger Bacon has described the composition of gunpowder under the veil of an anagram in his work '*De Secretis Operibus Artis et Naturæ*, cap. II, thus:—

SALIS PETRAE LURU VOPO VIR CAN  
UTRIET SULPHURIS.

The five italicised words which are senseless mock-Latin may be resolved in the following way (the two U's being placed horizontally, one above the other, against the letter I being equivalent to B; and the U, of course, being equivalent to V) LURU VOPO VIR CAN VTRIET  
= PVLVER CARBON TRITV (O).

We have, therefore, a Triturate (intimate mixture) of Saltpetre, powdered Charcoal and Sulphur; and that is nothing else but gunpowder, the wonderful properties of which Roger Bacon accurately describes. Two forms of anagram appear to have been used to conceal this discovery. The version given by the Encyclopædia Britt. (8th Ed., Art. Gunpowder) is as follows:—

"Bacon, who was apparently afraid of revealing too much, conceals one of the ingredients under the veil of an anagram. He writes: '*Sed tamen salis petræ luru mone cap ubre, et sulphuris, et sic facies tonitrum et coruscationem, siscias artificium.*' The italics are unmeaning in their present form, but the letters may be so combined as to make *carbonum pulvere*, or powdered charcoal. The passage may then be translated thus:— 'But nevertheless, take of saltpetre, with pounded charcoal and sulphur, and thus you will make thunder and lightning, if you know the mode of preparing them.' "

In a note appended to his pamphlet entitled "Are the Shakespeare Plays signed by Francis Bacon?" Dr. Isaac Hull Platt says:—

"I had supposed that the custom of introducing anagrams into works published in the 17th century by their authors for the

purpose of proving property afterwards, was so well known as not to require notice. In this I find I was mistaken."

"Thus Galileo announced his discovery that Venus had phases like the moon. He published a pamphlet containing the sentence: '*Hæc immatura a me jam frustra leguntur-oy*, which is an anagram of '*Cynthia figuræ æmulatur Mater Amorum*,' the object apparently being to protect his claim to priority during the period in which he should be making further observations, and before he was ready to make the full announcement.

"This also illustrates the awkward circumlocutions authors were driven to by the exigencies of the anagram. Galileo is obliged to designate Venus as 'The Mother of the Loves,' and the moon by a Greek name, and then he has two letters left over—oy, about equivalent to 'hello'" (p. 122).

The author of the *Shakespeare Enigma* constructs an ingenious anagram from the words "*Bome boon for boon prescian*" occurring in *Love's Labour's Lost*. 1623 folio, p. 136, Col. 1. By transposition of the letters of this sentence he makes them yield

*"Pro bono orbis F. Bacon e(st) nemo."*

The letters s, t, are absent from the original text, where the Latin jargon is followed by the words "a little scratcht, 'twil serve." He comments upon this obscure passage thus:

"In old Latin books *c* with a scratch or stroke over it, thus *ĉ*, stands for *est*. May it not be that the words 'a little scratched, 'twil serve,' mean that the anagram will do for the purpose intended with the aid of a slight stroke or scratch of the pen over the second *e*" (p. 6).

D'Israeli, in "Curiosities of Literature," instances the case of:—

Francis Colonna, an Italian Monk, the author of a singular book entitled "The Dream of Poliphilus," in which he relates his amours with a lady of the name of Polia. It was considered improper to prefix his name to the work; but being desirous of marking it by some peculiarity that he might claim it at any



distant day, he contrived that the initial letters of every chapter should be formed of those of his name, and of the subject he treats. This strange invention was not discovered till many years afterwards: when the wits employed themselves in deciphering it, unfortunately it became a source of literary altercation, being susceptible of various readings. (Vol. I. p. 300).

Mr. Porterfield Rynd draws our attention to the fact that in 1594, when reasons for concealment of *poetic* authorship were less cogent than those that soon afterwards led to the fabrication of alien authorship of *dramatic* writings, there appeared in quarto:—

“Lucrece. London. Printed by Richard Field for John Harrison, and are to be sold at the signe of the White Grey-hound in Paules Church-yard. 1594.”

The opening stanza reads as follows:—

FRom the besieged Ardea all in post,  
Borne by the trustlesse wings of false desire,  
Lust-breathed Tarquin, leaves the Roman host,  
And to Colatium beares the lightlesse fire,  
Which in pale embers hid, lurkes to aspire,  
And girdle with embracing flames, the wast  
Of Colatine's fair love, Lucrece the chast.

The author's dedication (bearing the name William Shakespeare) commenced with a play upon “beginning” and “end”; or Alpha and Omega. At that time Francis Bacon, whose short signature was usually made “FRA.B.” or “FR.B.,” personified *LAW*, his chosen profession.

It is a curious fact that the first stanza of *Lucrece* contains the ACROSTIC:—FRA.B.LAW.A.O. In other words, the 1st stanza (of a poem, 265 stanzas long) is so designed that the initial and two other capital letters of the 1st line spell “FRA,” and the initials of the next six lines in succession give:—“B.LAW.A.O.”—of course “A.O.” being plainly equivalent to the Alpha and Omega, or “Beginning” and “END,” played upon in the dedication.

In the whole 264 stanzas which follow there is not another acrostic.

Does not this design, Mr. Rynd asks, amount to a concealed declaration that although for intelligible reasons Francis Bacon did not wish or dare to be identified openly as the author of the poem "*Lucrece*," yet in the skilfully devised acrostic "FRA.B.LAW. A.O." he rendered future identification possible?

GEORGE WHISTLER.

---

## SHAKESPEARE, BACON, AND HOLINSHED.

ONE of the most inexplicable problems of the present time defying solution is the apathy and unwillingness to face the relation of Bacon to Shakespeare. That both use the same expressions in hundreds of instances, teach the same lessons, reproduce and paraphrase the same authors, make the same errors, even in quoting an author, is readily acknowledged; yet, when a dozen men from different standpoints express their deep conviction, that one name is but the cover for the other; that the reforming poet-philosopher sought in a cramped and intolerant age to teach men under the mask of fools, clowns, and jesters, gracious lessons of mercy and charity, the simple enunciation of such a theory is enough to place it out of court as fantastic and absurd. The Word of God may be challenged from cover to cover, its inspiration denied, the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch doubted; critics may trace two writers in Isaiah, and assert the post-exilian date of Daniel; the latest Gospel may have its authenticity denied to the critics' own satisfaction, and their numerous

followers. But no sacrilegious hand may lay its fingers on Shakespeare, or suggest that he was but a mask for the master-mind of the new birth of learning.

Many have called attention to the fact that the writer of the plays drew largely from earlier originals, and that a large part of the historical plays is taken from the Chronicles of Holinshed—here paraphrased, there the exact language used! The speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury in *Henry V.* we select as fairly typical, and place a few lines side by side for comparison:—

*Henry V.*—Act I., Sc. I.

“In terram Salicam mulieres  
ne succedant.”

“No woman shall succeed in  
Salique land:”

Which Salique land the French  
unjustly gloze

To be the realm of France, and  
Pharamond

The founder of this law and  
female bar,

Yet their own authors faithfully  
affirm

That the land Salike is in  
Germany,

Between the floods of Sala and  
of Elbe.

Holinshed, page 545.

“In terram Salicam mulieres  
ne succedant,” that is to saie,  
“Into the Salike land let not  
woman succeed.” Which the  
French glossers expound to be  
the realme of France, and that  
this law was made by King  
Pharamond; whereas yet their  
own authors affirme that the  
land Salike is in Germanie,  
between the rivers of Elbe and  
Sala.

To save space we have only given the first few lines of Canterbury's speech, as an average sample of the entire fifty lines. The King asks, “May I with right and conscience make this claim?” The Archbishop replies with eighteen lines more. Of these we instance the first four:—

*Henry V.*—Act I., Sc. I.

The sin upon my head dread  
sovereign

For in the book of Numbers it  
is writ—

When the son dies, let the in-  
heritance

Descend unto the daughter.

Holinshed's Chronicles,—

*Henry V.*, page 546.

The Archbishop further  
alleged out of the book of  
Numbers this saieng: When  
a man dieth without a son, let  
the inheritance descend to his  
daughter.

*Ibid.*

If we may pass, we will ; if  
we be hindered  
We shall your tawny ground  
with your red blood  
Discolor.

*Ibid.*

And yet wish I not anie of  
you to be so unadvised as to be  
the occasion that I dye your  
tawny ground with your red  
blood.

This gives a passable idea how the writer of the plays essentially reproduces and paraphrases the narrative of the old Chronicler, and weaves it into his own work. It occurred to us it would give additional force to this theory if it could be shown that Bacon did the same thing in his acknowledged works. If indeed Bacon were the real author of the plays, it was quite possible he might use Holinshed, and actually (as seemed to be habitual with him) paraphrase the old Chronicler in his important work, *Henry VII.* After a patient search through the black letter edition of 1587, we found our conjectures fully confirmed, for Bacon reproduces and paraphrases the narrative of Holinshed as freely in his history as he does in the plays. We give several examples :—

Francis Bacon's *Henry VII.*

"And thereupon he took a fit occasion to send to the Lord Treasurer and Master Bray, whom he used as counsellor, to the Lord Mayor of London, requiring of the city a prest of six thousand marks ; but after parleys, he could obtain but two thousand pounds."

Holinshed, page 764.

"Sent the Lord Treasurer with Maister Reginald Braie and others unto the Lord Mayor of London, requiring a prest of six thousand marks. Whereupon the said Lord Mayor and his brethren, with the Commons of the Citie, granted a prest of two thousand pounds."

*Ibid.*

"The Staffords likewise, and their forces, hearing what had happened to the Lord Lovel, in whose success their chief trust was, despaired and dispersed. The two brothers taking sanctuary at Colnham, a village near Abingdon, which place upon view of their privilege in the King's Bench being judged

*Ibid.*

"Sir Humphrey Stafford also, hearing what had happened to the Lord Lovel, in great displeasure and sorrowe, and for feare left his enterprise, and in like manner fled and tooke sanctuarie at Colnham, a village not past two miles from Abingdon. But because that sanctuarie was not sufficient

no sufficient sanctuary for traitors, Humphrey was executed at Tyburne, and Thomas, as being led by his elder brother, was pardoned."

*Ibid.*

"There died upon the place all the chieftans, that is the Earl of Lincoln, the Earl of Kildare, Francis Lord Lovel, Martin Swart, and Sir Thomas Broughton, all making good the fight without any ground given. Only of the Lord Lovel there went a report, that he fled, and swam over Trent on horse back, but could not recover the further side by reason of the steepness of the bank, and was drowned in the river."

"The Duke of Saxony having won the town of Dam, sent immediately to the King to let him know it was Sluice chiefly, and the Lord Ravenstein that kept the rebellion of Flanders in life, and that if it pleased the King to besiege it by sea, he also would besiege it by land."

We would call attention to the fact that Bacon largely sets his finest work in contradistinction to the work he uses of older authors. If we take *Henry VIII.* as an example, we find that Buckingham's dying speech is not found in Holinshed, nor Cromwell's conversations with Wolsey, nor Wolsey's speech. The scene in which Cranmer is made to wait with lackeys in the antechamber is not in Holinshed, and in fact, as Courtenay has pointed out, the actual occurrence of the incident did not take place until years after, when Catherine Parr was Queen. We hold that Bacon used

defense (as was proved before the justices of the King's Bench) for traitors, he was taken from that place and brought to execution at Tiborne, but his brother Thomas, that was with him, was pardoned."

Holinshed, page 767.

"For there the cheefe capteins, the Earl of Lincoln, and the Lord Lovel, Sir Thomas Broughton, Martin Sward, and the Lord Gerardine, capteine of the Irish men, were slaine and found dead in the verie places they had chosen alive to fight in not giving one foot of ground to their adversaries.

"Howbeit some affirme that the Lord Lovel tooke his horse and would have fled over Trent, but was not able to recover the further side for the highness of the banke, and so was drowned in the river."

"The Duke of Saxonie having wonne the town of Dam sent to the King of England, that if it would please him to minister anie aid by sea he would besiege Sluis by land."

the occurrence even to misplacing it, in order to reproduce the outrageous treatment that he himself received at the hands of Buckingham. In fact, to understand and appreciate the plays it is needful to have an idea of the original groundwork of each play, to see the additions he makes to the *personel*; to realise where *his own work absolutely* is dovetailed in; and though he often recasts the borrowed work and presents it to us in a beautified form, yet it is in no way comparable to the creations of his own mind. To those whose eyes are open to discern it, it is indeed a charming study, and full of veiled teaching, as indicated in the preface to the "Wisdom of the Ancients" by allegory, metaphor, and allusion.

The instances we have quoted are typical of scores and hundreds; they occur in the majority of instances when no principle is involved, and no Baconian teaching is required; in other words, when it is the bare relation of some historical event (and then it is as if the lion slept), his own peculiar genius is not needed. But right in the middle sometimes of a mere reproduction or paraphrase of one of the old Chroniclers, North's translation of Plutarch, or perhaps a Latin poet; all at once his slumbering genius awakes to the exercise of its mighty power, and, like Samson snapping the green wyths, he is himself again.

GEORGE JAMES.

“THE ‘BACONIAN MINT’: ITS CLAIMS  
EXAMINED BY W. WILLIS.”

THIS plausible brochure was compiled by Judge Willis, for the purpose, amongst others, of inducing the author of “Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light” to cancel Chapter XIV. of that work (p. 98), on the ground that none of the words therein credited to Bacon, as additions to the English language, were either the words of Bacon, or used for the first time in the plays. Judge Willis thus formulates his creed on this point: “As the result of my examination, I firmly believe that Lord Bacon did not enrich the English language by the addition of a single new word, nor by the use of a word in a new or unusual sense” (p. 3).

To this, I would say that Judge Willis, while in some cases successful in detecting trivial errors, entirely fails to prove his sweeping assertion above quoted, as of the 230 words comprised in Chapter XIV. no less than 80 or thereabouts remain unaffected in the slightest degree by his criticism. As regards the remaining 150 words, which directly or by implication Judge Willis asserts that Mr. Theobald regards as originating with Bacon, though Judge Willis is very clear on this point, with respect to his meaning, yet he nowhere specifies in what chapter and in what terms this statement is made. Certainly I can find no such assertion in Chapter XIV. or anywhere else in the book, and Judge Willis must be held to fail in his general argument, from directing it against a proposition which Mr. Theobald has nowhere put forward.

In many instances it is true that Mr. Theobald directs attention to the fact, that the same words either having the same sense or maybe an entirely

different one, occur in the works of Bacon; but this is very far from what Judge Willis charges him with, that is, claiming that all these words, 230 in number, originated with Bacon. There is another very important error made by Judge Willis, an error as little countenanced by facts as it is permissible in common honesty. To bear out this assertion, I would here demur to one "method" of proof adopted by Judge Willis to support his argument, though I emphatically exonerate him from any suspicion in his own mind of the essentially unfair character of that part of his "method"; I allude to the following passage:—

"The reader should bear in mind the following dates; The birth of Lord Bacon, 1561; of Shakespeare, 1564; the publication of the 'Folio Volume of Shakespeare, 1623' " (p. 4).

Of course it is obvious that any word used prior to 1561 could not have been introduced into English by Bacon; or any word prior to 1564 by Shakespeare; but the same suggestion made with regard to the plays (taking 1623, the date of the First Folio), as the critical date wherefrom to calculate, is unfair, not to say absurd. Take, for example, the word "constringed"—

"The dreadful spout,  
Which shipmen do the hurricano call,  
*Constringed* in mass by the Almighty sun.

*Troilus and Cressida*, V., 2, 173.

Of this play, Mr. Furnival says in his preface to the "Leopold" Shakespeare (p. 80): "We only *know* that it was published in 1609." Yet, Judge Willis quotes, as an earlier authority for this word, *Burton's Anatomy*, 1621 (p. 25), and so on in other cases as well. This won't do; and it is surprising that the gross unfairness of such an argument never struck him, as I am confident it never did, or he would not have used it. In the



place, therefore, of this untenable *Hijra* of 1623 I will assume as approximately correct (following in this the "Leopold" Shakespeare) the earliest dates accepted by Professor Delius of the plays as below:—*All's Well*, 1601; *As You Like It*, 1600; *Comedy of Errors*, 1589; *Coriolanus*, 1607; *Cymbeline*, 1610; *Julius Cæsar*, 1601; *King Henry VI.* (1, 2, 3), 1592; *King Henry VIII.*, 1623; *King John*, 1595; *Macbeth*, 1605; *Measure for Measure*, 1603; *The Taming of the Shrew*, 1596; *The Tempest*, 1610; *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 1590; *Twelfth Night*, 1601.

In one of his opening statements (p. 1), Judge Willis makes a serious mistake (if my view is correct) in confounding cause with effect, where he thus expresses himself: "Mr. Theobald says that such words could not be coined by the man who was educated at the Grammar School of Stratford-upon-Avon; that the man who coined these words was none other than Lord Bacon. For this purpose, Mr. Theobald *assumes* a 'Baconian Mint,' in violation of Lord Bacon's teaching, not to take words for things." Now, all this is mere sophistry; the author of "Shakespeare Studies" did not *assume* the existence of any "Baconian Mint," as a basis of proof, but arrived rather at the conclusion that such a "Mint" existed (figuratively speaking) as a necessary deduction from the facts marshalled by him throughout his book to that end. This may seem a trivial criticism of mine, but on a subject like that in question, lax statements are much to be deprecated. Again, Judge Willis says, "Where two men are born about the same time" (p. 2), and so forth, all the while ignoring here, and elsewhere, the difference which inevitably subsists between the "Clown" and the "Courtier," which can neither be evaded nor ignored in the discussion in question, much as those who agree with Judge Willis may wish to do so.

Baconians consistently refuse to acknowledge the existence of an intellectual monster like Frankenstein's creation, as presented to us by such writers as Miss Marriott, Mrs. Stopes, Mr. Sidney Lee, and their predecessors in imaginative biography.

Does Judge Willis, too, seriously wish us to think that Mr. Theobald maintains in Chapter XIV. or anywhere else that "Naso," "Stuprum," and "Cacodaemon" are words invented by the author of the plays, and if so, why does he not quote the passage in the book, whereon he bases so ridiculous a supposition?

"Naso" is lugged in for the sake of a "pun;" "Stuprum" is Ovidian (*Ars Amat.* I. 104); and "Cacodaemon" is used by Buchanan (*Franciscanus*, line 640), with whose writings there is reason to think the author of the plays was acquainted.

Where Judge Willis says, "The Latin word *contriverunt*, found in Bacon, was in use before he wrote a line" (p. 27), does he mean to infer that Mr. Theobald was unprepared to admit as much, else why insist on so obvious a truism?

When commenting on the word "fact," Judge Willis entirely fails to apprehend Mr. Theobald's argument, which was that throughout the plays the word "fact" is never used save in a bad sense (a crime), in which sense it is similarly used by Bacon; and Judge Willis wastes therefore more than a page to prove what Mr. Theobald nowhere questions, namely, that the word "fact" was used in its modern sense long before Bacon was born (pp. 46, 47). The argument of Bacon's using a word in the only sense it is used in the plays may not be very strong, but that does not justify Judge Willis in misrepresenting it.

Judge Willis must indeed be hard driven to find an earlier use of the word "imponed," if he can find no more likely source than State Papers of 1564 (p. 52),

for Shakespeare to come across the word in. We are familiar with the intellectual symposia Shakespeare is supposed to have joined in at the "Mermaid," but "Shakespeare," wading through State documents to gather up the facts and language reproduced in the plays, is a picture the matter-of-fact brain refuses to consider seriously. Judge Willis, however, is possessed with no such scruples, as under the word "indubitate" he quotes the chronicles of Caxton (1480), Fabyan (1490) and Hall as the possible source whence Shakespeare derived the word. Oddly enough Bacon is the only other user of the term, quoted by either Theobald or Judge Willis, and Shakespeare could not have borrowed the word from Bacon ("Life of Henry VII.," 1623), when the play in which it occurs was published in 1588! Curious all this; very! But, *what* I would ask, is not curious that helps to sustain the Shakespeare myth!

At page 99 Judge Willis says, "I feel certain that Shakespeare became furnished with words by his acquaintance with the Latin language, by his knowledge of the rich and varied literature existing in his native tongue, and by intercourse with the cultured men of his age." Judge Willis supports, too, the ability of the Stratford Grammar School (which Shakspeare may have attended for a short time) to impart a classical education, by citing the names of many illustrious men who went straight from their grammar schools to Oxford and Cambridge. But there is no parallel between these cases, for during the period in the lives of the above men when they were completing their education at one of the universities, Mr. Wm. Shaksper was helping as slaughter-man (according to some) or jobbing in a sordid and menial capacity in London, so far as we can judge from the slender records preserved for us.

In conclusion, I deem it but right to give a complete list of the 230 words contained in Chapter XIV. of Mr. Theobald's work, that any reader may see at a glance the points at issue.

In the case of eight words Judge Willis gives references later than the date of the plays wherein they occur: Constringed, 1606 (Burton's "Anatomy," 1621); Convicted, 1595 (Potter, 1617; "Pilgrim Princes," 1607). Illustrate, 1588 (King, 1594). Immanity, 1588 (Arthur Dent, 1607). Plant, 1606 (Ben Jonson, 1610). Palliament, 1588 (Peele, 1594). Port (Magnificence), 1596 (Fairfax, 1600). Retentive, 1601 (Chapman, Odyssey, 1614).

In the case of the word, "retentive" the XIX. Odyssey of Chapman's translation is dated 1611, the plays wherein the word occurs being *Julius Cæsar* in 1601 and *Timon* 1607, not as Judge Willis makes out in 1623 (p. 87). The chief value in Judge Willis's compilation lies in the earlier dates he assigns to numbers of words current in Bacon's day. The idea, however, that by so doing he has refuted any assertion made by Mr. Theobald in Chapter XIV. is a delusion entirely due to a gratuitous error of his own.

The words which I maintain are essentially unaffected by the criticism of Judge Willis are: Abruption, Act, Antres, Cadent, Candidatus, Circummure, Confix, Congreeing, Consequence, Constringed, Convicted, Digested, Exorciser, Extravagancy, Factions, Festinate, Festinately, Fineless, Fortitude, Fracted, Generous, Illustrate, Imminence, Immure, Impertinency, Implo-  
rator, Incarnadine, Inclusive, Infestion, Influence, Ingenious, Insinuation, Insultment, Intenible, Intrinsic, Maculate, Maculation, Mirable, Mure, Mural, Name, Naso, Obligated, Office, Oppugnancy, Ostentation, Partial, Party, Perigrinate, Pernicious, Persian, Plague (A net), Premised, Prevention, Proditor, Propend, Pro-

pugnation, Pudency, Questant, Questrists, Remotion, Retentive, Reverb, Roscius, Sacred, Salve, Sect, Sequent, Speculative, Stelled, Stuprum, Suppliance, Suspire, Suspiration, Umbrage, Uncivil, Unconfinable, Unsisting, Unseminared.

Without, however, going into further details, it is sufficient to say that Judge Willis's entire argument fails, from the fact that it is in no man's power to disprove an assertion which another man never made.

W. THEOBALD.

Ilfracombe, October, 1903.

---

## NOTES, QUERIES, AND CORRESPONDENCE.

### The Shakespeare Enigma.

UNDER the title of "The Shakespeare Enigma,"\* the Rev. Wm. A. Sutton, S.J., has republished some of the excellent articles which have appeared from his pen in the *New Ireland Review*. Like most of those who investigate the subject, Father Sutton finds himself driven by the facts to declare himself a Baconian. He says truly:—"There can be no doubt of the ultimate result of the present controversy. When the triumph of truth in this matter will be generally acknowledged it is impossible to say. Recent events seem to point to a speedier victory than could be hoped for a few years ago. Distinguished scholars who have recently written on the question have forced the matter to the front, so that it is now a world-wide discussion; and it seems to be one which the world, in the long-run, will make up its mind to know the truth about."

\* Sealy, Bryers & Walker. Dublin. Demy 8vo. 208 pp. 3/6.

### “Rue Bacon, Paris.”

THE question of street names has recently been exciting attention in Paris. A writer in the *Eclair* complains that a great number of streets are called after quite undistinguished persons, whose names jostle those of such men as Molière and Bonaparte. An instance is mentioned which is of interest to Baconians. There is a Rue Bacon. “You see in that,” says the writer, “a tribute of homage paid to the Chancellor of England, the author of the works of Shakespeare. Yes, but in what a roundabout way. The owner of the property married a lady who was descended from that illustrious family.”

---

### A Critic Criticised.

THE January Number of *The Pall Mall Magazine* contains a scathing exposure of the crudities of Mr. Sidney Lee. It is from the pen of Mr. George Stronach, M.A.

---

### The Elizabethan Literary Society.

FROM the syllabus for 1903-4 we note the following list of papers to be read at Toynbee Hall :—

Wednesday, January 6th, 1904 :—“Montaigne.” By W. Francis Aitken. Wednesday, February 3rd :—“Golden Argosies.” By O. Sallmann. Wednesday, March 2nd :—“Francis Bacon as a Man of Letters.” By Sidney Lee. Wednesday, April 13th—“Elizabethan Minstrelsy.” By F. Sidgwick. Wednesday, May 4th :—“Thomas Fuller.” By A. H. Bullen.

On the other Wednesdays of the session the Society will meet at eight o'clock to read the plays of Ford and Wycherley in the Mermaid edition, and selected essays of Montaigne in Florio's translation.

## Shaksper's Jug.

A RECENT number of *The Connoisseur* contained an illustration of "Shakespeare's Jug," which is in the Taunton Castle Museum. The jug is of stoneware, and the cleaning of the top of the pewter lid has revealed the following inscription, slightly incised, "*Wm. Shakspere, 1602.*" "The scratching has been pronounced by experts to be genuine, and Sir Augustus Franks who examined it in 1895 gave his opinion that the inscription was coeval with the date of the jug."

Surely this relic should be enshrined at Stratford?

## Wanted Facts.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

IN the January Number (1903) of BACONIANA is an article headed "Wanted Facts." At page 38 the writer, speaking of the collection of thirty-two Elegies on the death of Bacon made by G. Rawley, and published by George Cantor (Halle 1897), says, "As these remarkable Elegies have not received the attention that is due to them, we quote one or two of the more strikingly note-worthy passages addressed to the memory of 'The man greater than all praise can reach—Francis Bacon.'" The writer speaks of "one or two," but the above quotation is the first of seventeen sentences from the Elegies in question. Moreover (as the writer asks for facts), I may say (1) That the quotations are not all from the Elegies themselves, so far as I can discover. (2) That the translations are in some cases wrong.\* (3) That no references are given, so that the reader who wishes to compare the writer's translation with the original, has to waste some hours hunting through the twenty-three pages of Cantor's brochure to find out the particular passages selected for translation. Of the seventeen paragraphs within inverted commas, I have only been able to identify ten in the Elegies, and those all placed higgledy-piggledy; for example the first Elegy is reproduced by the writer in two quotations standing as 7 and 8, on page 38. Quotations 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 16 and 17 I have failed to identify in the Elegies. Quotation 4, contains a grave error, as it represents Bacon as restoring (by the *Novum Organum*) Comedy, in place of Philosophy (as it should be); and the quotation stops short, so as to exclude the

\* [These translations were quoted from back Numbers of BACONIANA (Vols. IV., V. and VI.).—Ed.]

allusion to the *Novum Organum*; or, in other words, the quotation is incorrect, in what it gives, and garbled, through what it omits. The quotations I have identified (the figures in brackets being the numbers of the Elegies) are, 4 (4, 20); 7 and 8 (1); 9 (29); 10 (30); 11 (32); 12 (24, line 5); 13 (5, line, 113); 14 (19); 15 (12, line 7).

The first Elegy by S. Collins is as follows:—

“Albani plorate Lares, tuque optime martyr,  
Fata Verulamii non temeranda senis;  
Optime martyr, et in veteres i tu quoque luctus,  
Cui nil post dirum tristius Amphibalum.”

The writer translates “*dirum Amphibalum*” by “that terrible ensnaring in the net.” Now there is no net in question, nor any sense in the introduction of the word. There is moreover no such word for a net as *Amphibalum*. The writer was, I presume, misled by the first letter of the word not being a capital; but in Elegy IV., line 24, a similar mistake is made, “*virbius*” being printed for *Virbius*. The word “martyr” too occurs but once in the first couplet, and once again in the second, and in neither instance does the phrase apply to Bacon, as the writer would have us suppose! The martyr is, of course, St. Alban. The Elegy should be translated as below.

“O Lares, of St. Albans, and thou (its) most worthy martyr deplore the not to be lightly regarded death of the old man of Verulam. Plunge thou too, most worthy martyr, into long past sorrows, since to you nothing more sad has happened since the days of the fatal *Amphibalus*.” (The cause of your own death).

Consult the life of St. Albans. “Book of Days,” Vol I. p. 808. The first sentence on page 39 which I have been able to trace to the Elegies, is the fourth on the page, commencing from line 16 of the fourth Elegy in the ‘Manes:’

“Talis plicata philologon ænigmatis,  
Petiit Baconem vindicem, tali manu  
Laetata cristas extulit Philosophia:  
Humique soccis reptantem comicis  
Non proprio ardelionibus molimine  
Sarcit, sed instauravit. Hinc politius;  
Surgit cothurno celsiore et Organo,  
Stagirita Virbius reviviscit novo.”

Which the writer thus translates. (Omitting the last six words). “He (Bacon) humbly crept upon the ground (wearing) the flat foot sock of Comedy. With no meddling idle interference did he botch, but restored her (Comedy) completely afresh.”

Here “Philosophy” is omitted, and Comedy (in brackets) quite unwarrantably substituted. I prefer to translate the passage as below.

“So when enveloped in the quibbles of philologists, did Philosophy joyfully raise her head, and make Bacon her champion, who humbly donning the comic sock, not only made



good (her defects), but by a method peculiarly his own completely renewed her. [Whence soaring more ornately on the loftier buskin, he reanimates the Stagirite (like) Virbius, by his *Novum Organum*.] The writer omits the words here given in brackets.

Is it too much to ask the writer to give in some future communication the Latin originals of those passages which I have been unable to identify in Cantor's brochure? The grave defect of omitting references or authorities occurs throughout the paper.

At page 34 for example, the reader is referred to the journal of the "*Quatuor Coronati*," without another word of explanation. Where is this work published or attainable? There are many similar instances, but I will conclude by reminding the writer and others whom it may concern that the *ipse dixit* of an anonymous writer is valueless.

W. THEOBALD.

Ilfracombe, October, 1903.

## Shakespeare and Sanitation.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—In a recent number of the *Spectator* I read, "Care for sanitation is one of the last teachings of wisdom that reach even the civilised who looked after drains in Elizabeth's reign, yet Shakespeare lived then, and Bacon too."

I can find no reference to "sanitation" in the works of Shakespeare, but the following facts on the subject may interest the readers both of the *Spectator* and of *Baconiana*.

Of Stratford in the days of Shakespeare Richard Grant White writes: "Stratford then contained about 1,800 inhabitants, who dwelt chiefly in thatched cottages, which straggled over the ground, &c. The streets were foul with offal, mud, muck heaps, and reeking stable refuse, the accumulation of which the town ordinances and the infliction of which fines could not prevent, even before the doors of the better sort of people." Halliwell-Phillips gives another snapshot of Stratford when he writes: "At this period, and for many generations afterwards, the sanitary condition of the thoroughfares of Stratford-on-Avon was simply terrible. Streamlets of a water power sufficient for the operation of corn mills meandered through the town. . . . Here and there small middens were ever in the course of accumulation, the receptacles of offal and every species of nastiness. A regulation for the removal of these collections to certain specified localities interspersed throughout the borough, and known as common dung hills, appears to have been the extent of the interference that the authorities ventured or cared to exercise in such matters. Sometimes when the nuisance was thought to be sufficiently flagrant they made a raid on those inhabitants who had suffered their refuse to accumulate largely in the high-

ways. On one of these occasions, in April, 1552, John Shakspeare was assessed in the sum of 12 pence for having amassed what was no doubt a conspicuous *sterquinarium* before his house in Hedley-street, and under these unsavoury circumstances does the history of the poet's father commence in the records of England" (I., 24).

No wonder, therefore, that we have no reference to "sanitation" in the plays of Shakespeare.

But what about Bacon? We know that he built for himself, according to his biographers, "a delightful and ingeniously constructed house at Gorhambury for recreation and study," with elaborate fish ponds attached. It is, of course, possible that Bacon in the construction of his mansion altogether neglected the subject of "sanitation." But it is scarcely probable in the light of his Essay "Of Building," where he says: "He that builds a fair house upon an ill seat committeth himself to prison, neither do I reckon it an ill seat only where the air is unwholesome." Bacon continues: "Neither is it ill-air only that maketh an ill seat, but . . . ill markets . . . want of water," &c. Then he recommends that "windows should be level with the floor, no whit sunk under ground, to avoid all dampishness," and so on. The last sentence of the Essay runs:—"As for offices, let them stand at distance, with some low galleries to pass from them to the palace itself."

To those who would build a house on "approved principles" I can give the advice—Turn to this Essay of Bacon's before commencing operations, and you will get more instruction on the subject of "sanitation" than you will obtain from some modern architects, or even from the plays of Shakespeare.

Your obedient servant,

GEORGE STRONACH.

Edinburgh, June 14th, 1903.

---

### BURLEIGH'S ADVICE TO HIS SON.

THE venality at the Court of Elizabeth was so gross, that no public character appears even to have even professed a disdain of the influence of gifts and bribes; and we find Lord Burleigh inserting the following, among rules moral and prudential, drawn up for the use of his son Robert when young: "Be sure to keep some great man thy friend. But trouble him not for trifles. Compliment him often. Present him with many, yet small gifts, and of little charge. And if thou have cause to bestow any great gratuity let it be some such thing as may be daily in his sight. Otherwise, in this ambitious age, thou shalt remain as a hop without a pole; live in obscurity and be made a football for every insulting companion."—"Aikins' Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth," p. 478.

THE list of words referred to on p. 58 will be found in the next Number.—Ed.

APRIL 1904

# BACONIANA

A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE



## CONTENTS

	PAGE
"English Literature" Up-to-Date ... ..	65
Notes on the State of Religion in Shakespeare's Day ... ..	77
The Migration of Woodblocks ... ..	91
Symbolic Book Ornaments ... ..	99
New Light on "Twelfth Night" ... ..	103
When Did Francis St. Alban Die? Where Was He Buried? ... ..	107
"The Comedy of Errors" ... ..	115
Notes, Queries, and Correspondence ...	125

LONDON

GAY &amp; BIRD

22 BEDFORD STREET

Cases for Books  
can be had  
of the Publishers

# The Bacon Society.

(INCORPORATED.)

---

THE objects of the Society are expressed in the Memorandum of Association to be :—

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

The annual subscription of Members, who are entitled to vote at the Society's business meetings, is one guinea ; that of Associates is half-a-guinea.

The Society's Library and Rooms are at 11, Hart Street, London, W.C. (close to the British Museum), where the Secretary attends daily, and from 3 to 6 o'clock will be happy to supply further information.

# BACONIANA.

---

VOL. II. *Third Series.* APRIL, 1904.

No. 6.

---

## “ENGLISH LITERATURE” UP-TO-DATE.

“ENGLISH Literature” is advancing by leaps and bounds, thanks mainly to the efforts of Mr. Edmund Gosse and Dr. Garnett, who have published four large volumes entitled “English Literature: An Illustrated Record,” their criticism ranging over the wide period which they style, “From the beginning” to “The age of Tennyson.”

According to the Publisher's announcement, “the authors have never lost sight of the benefit accruing from the presentation of a scrupulously exact history, combined with attractive and amusing qualities. (!) Life-long study devoted to movements in, and the progress of, English Literature places the writers in a position to offer a history on entirely new lines.”

Dr. Garnett revels in “the fanciful might-have-beens so largely indulged in by Shakspeare's biographers”—the words are those of Mr. F. G. Fleay—and he does his best to show that Mr. Asquith was not far wrong when he stated that “Few things are more interesting to watch than the attempts of scholars and critics to reconstruct the life of a man at once so illustrious and

so obscure as the greatest of our poets." Dr. Garnett believes thoroughly in Mr. Asquith's *dictum* that the work of a Shakespeare biographer is "not so much an Essay in biography as in the, more or less, scientific use of the biographic imagination," and he carries out this belief in admirable fashion in his latest production—the second volume of "English Literature: An Illustrated Record."

Mr. Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, which, according to its author, "reduced conjecture to the smallest dimensions," and in which he said he was unable to promise his readers "any startling revelations"—although he did not keep the promise—is eclipsed by the "revelations" of Dr. Garnett.

Mr. Lee cautiously says:—"The suggestion that he [Shakspeare] joined, at the end of 1585, a band of youths of the district in serving in the Low Countries under the Earl of Leicester . . . is based on an obvious confusion between him and others of his name."

What Mr. Lee refers to is evidently the story that there was sent home to Leicester's wife a letter, which was misdelivered, *per* the actor in the Low Countries known as "Will, my Lord of Leicester's jesting player." We have the names of the principal actors in the Leicester Company, and unfortunately for Dr. Garnett, the name of Shakspeare is not found in the Lowlands programme. The "Will, my Lord of Leicester's jesting player," could only by a huge stretch of imagination be made to apply to Shakspeare. "William Kemp"—the Elizabethan comedian—was a member of Leicester's Company; and we have yet to learn that "William Shakspeare" was doubtless the "jesting player" referred to, as we know that Shakspeare's characters were the "ghost" in *Hamlet* and "Adam" in *As You Like It*. Not much scope here for a comic actor! Could, then, "Will, my Lord of Leicester's jesting player," be

William Shakspeare? It appears improbable, if not impossible.

But Dr. Garnett rushes in where Mr. Lee is afraid to tread, and boldly states :—

“The year 1585 is that in which Shakespeare disappears from observation. Leicester was the great lord of his part of the country, to whose protection he would naturally have recourse. A band of youths from Warwickshire [?] did, we know, follow Leicester, and few Warwickshire youths can have had more cogent reasons for making one of their number than William Shakespeare. . . . Leicester took a company of actors with him to the Low Countries, and Shakespeare may have been of the number of it, but it is quite as likely that he served in some other capacity. Without question the new scene which would open upon him, the magnificent shows and triumphs with which Leicester was received, the view of tented fields and leagues, the daily talk of war and statescraft—the association with all sorts and conditions of men, would go far to bestow that knowledge of good society, and create that easy and confident attitude towards mankind which appears in Shakespeare's Plays from the first, and which are so unlike what might have been expected from a Stratford rustic or a London actor.”

These are certainly new “facts” in the life of Shakspeare!

According to the biographers, Shakspeare, in 1585, was working in Stratford, and did not leave Stratford till 1586. Dr. Furnivall goes further, and says: “His (Shakespeare's) father being thus in fresh difficulties, and Shakespeare himself probably not prosperous, ‘The Queen's Players’—not known to be Burbage's, or the company with which Shakespeare is always connected—came for the first time to Stratford in 1587, and this was probably the turning-point in Shakespeare's life. At any rate, sooner or later (after 1587, be it noted), he left his birth-town for London, and took the way to fame and fortune.” “No doubt,” Dr. Furnivall adds, “he (Shakespeare) could then, in 1587,

have been taking his M.A. degree." According to Dr. Garnett, however, there was one thing which prevented him doing this, as two years previously he had started playing with Leicester's actors on the Continent! And in 1589—two or, at most, three years after Shakspeare left Stratford—Leicester's men produced a play called *Hamlet*, which Charles Knight, Richard Grant White, Howard Staunton, Mr. F. G. Fleay, and other commentators maintain was the work of Shakspeare, who in 1586 had been a butcher's apprentice at Stratford, and had just come from Stratford to London with the manuscript of *Venus and Adonis* in his pocket! One thing is certain, Shakspeare, in spite of his "miraculous and universal intuition," could not be both in Stratford and in the "United Provinces" at the same time. "Miraculous" as Shakspeare was, he could scarcely accomplish this feat. And another thing is equally certain, Shakspeare never wrote *Hamlet* three years after he left Stratford.

We are told that Shakspeare, the actor, picked up all his "classical knowledge" in London after he left Stratford. If he spent so much time with Leicester's company on the Continent *after* leaving Stratford (according to Dr. Garnett), how did he manage to acquire all the "classical knowledge" which Mr. Churton Collins recently showed in *The Fortnightly Review* Shakspeare had made himself master of on his transference to London? If we accept Mr. Churton Collins, it is perfectly clear that we must pitch Dr. Garnett overboard. Both cannot drive in harness together. Each must go with single bridle.

But, perhaps, Dr. Garnett, with some more "probabilities," can reconcile Mr. Churton Collins and Dr. Garnett, and tell us how Shakspeare was acting in Germany while he was employed in felling sheep and oxen for his father, at Stratford, and at the same time



writing *Venus and Adonis*, when the deer were scarce in Sir Thomas Lucy's park. Not content with sending the actor to the Low Countries, Dr. Garnett supposes that the actor must also have been a "schoolmaster" when he wrote *Love's Labour's Lost*—1588, according to Dr. Furnivall! He was actor, lawyer's clerk, and schoolmaster simultaneously!

Mr. Sidney Lee distinctly controverts Dr. Garnett's theory of "practical experience" for what Shakspeare wrote. Shakspeare needed no "practical experience." According to Mr. Lee:

"The knowledge of a soldier's life which Shakespeare exhibited in his plays is no greater and no less than that which he displayed of almost all other spheres of human activity, and to assume that he wrote of all or of any from practical experience, is to underrate his intuitive power of realising life under almost every aspect *by force of his imagination.*"

The italics are mine, not Mr. Lee's.

Then Dr. Garnett states:—

"To suppose Shakespeare's dramas, Bacon's philosophy, and Bacon's politics to be the simultaneous operation of a single brain is to credit the human mind with higher powers than it possesses."

I fail to see Dr. Garnett's argument. The operations of the dramas and the philosophy and politics were not "simultaneous"—they were successive. Read Bacon's *Letters and Life* by Spedding, and you will find that the published fruits of Bacon's labour—labour which Spedding cannot explain—were ten small *Essays*. What was he doing when burning the midnight oil, and incurring reprimands for late-sitting-up from his Puritan mother? Spedding could not tell us—can Dr. Garnett? Surely Dr. Garnett is aware of the fact that the Shakespearean dramas were written when Bacon was unemployed and "struggling for

bread?" Does he appreciate the fact that except the *Essays* and the *Advancement of Learning*, all Bacon's works were written at the end of his life, long after the appearance of the plays? His chaplain, Rawley, says:—

"The last five years of his life being withdrawn from civil affairs he employed wholly in contemplation and studies . . . in which time he composed the greatest part of his books and writings."

Dr. Garnett has the courage to maintain:—

"It is, moreover, the case that no great lawyer has ever been a great poet. Many great poets have been brought up to the law, but one and all have renounced it as soon as they could, and no eminent lawyer has ever produced a work of high imagination."

Has Dr. Garnett ever heard of a lawyer called Sir Walter Scott? Does he mean to tell us that *Waverley*, *Ivanhoe*, *Marmion*, and *The Lady of the Lake* are not "works of high imagination?" If they were possible to Scott, why not the plays to Bacon? The cases of Scott and Bacon are entirely analogous. But Dr. Garnett will say, why did Bacon not acknowledge the plays, if he wrote them?

Dr. Ingleby says, with reference to Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*:—

"This address is eminently suggestive of the low estate of the players at that date, and the discredit which attached to the writers who supplied them with copy . . . Even Lodge, who had indeed never trod the stage, but had written several plays, and had no reason to be ashamed of his antecedents, speaks of the vocation of the play-maker as sharing the odium attached to the actor."

And what reasons did Scott give for concealing his identity as author of the novels and poems? He wrote to Ellis:—

"As I have suffered in my professional line by addicting myself to the profane and unprofitable art of poem-making, I am

very desirous to indemnify myself by availing myself of any prepossession which my literary reputation may, however unmeritedly, have created in my favour."

When urged by his friend Morrith to declare himself the author of *Waverley*, Scott replied :—

"I shall not own *Waverley*. My chief reason is that it would prevent me the pleasure of writing again. In truth I am not sure it would be considered quite decorous for me, as a Clerk of Session, to write novels. Judges being monks, clerks are a sort of lay brethren, from whom some solemnity of walk and conduct may be expected."

When Elliston, the actor, asked Scott to write a play with which to open the new Drury Lane Theatre, Scott replied :—

"Upon a mature consideration of my own powers, such as they are, and of the *probable consequences of any attempt to write for the theatre . . .* I have come to the determination of declining every overture of the kind."

Bacon could have given no better reason for secrecy: yet, surely, novel writing or dramatic writing, at the beginning of the nineteenth century was a more reputable occupation than play-writing at the end of the sixteenth?

Scott had all his manuscript copied for the printer, and his secret was kept till it pleased him to make his confession. Why was this impossible or unlikely in the case of Bacon?

Dean Stubbs once gave a good reason for Bacon's secrecy, which may be new to many :—

"There are some things in Shakespeare I almost fancy that he might have been burnt for had he been a theologian; just as certainly there are things about politics, about civil liberty, which, had he been a politician or a statesman, would have brought him to the block."

Would it not then be absolutely necessary for Bacon,

if he wrote the plays, to issue them either anonymously or in another name to avert such a calamity?

In Dr. Garnett's eulogy of Shakspeare we have such gems as these :—

(1) " Another important factor in Shakespeare's education must not be overlooked—the English Bible, which would be diligently read in school. Shylock's speech, ' When Jacob grazed his uncle Laban's sheep,' shows Shakespeare's intimate acquaintance with Scripture narrative."

Yet Shakespeare's father was brought up for not attending church, but the son, according to Mr. Sidney Lee,

" must have been a regular attendant at the parish church, and may at times have enjoyed a sermon."

(2) " ' When he killed a *calf*,' says Aubrey, ' he would do it in a high style and make a speech.' The lad would not yet be old enough to slaughter an ox, but would be fully up to a calf."

Surely! Baconians fully admit *that* possibility in Shakspeare's Life!

(3) " Leaving the literary side of the question [Shakspeare's penmanship] out of sight, he must, as actor and manager, have continually received letters in the Italian character, and it would be surprising if he could not write what he must have been well able to read."

Shakspeare must have known the " Italian character," considering, as Dr. Garnett states, he went on " a confidential errand " to Germany and returned " by way of Venice." More Shakesperean biography! What may have been the purpose and occasion of this " confidential errand "? I do not find it mentioned by Mr. Sidney Lee.

(4) Over the " errand," Dr. Garnett, says :—

" Nothing would so well fit in with the long voyage which he certainly must have made at some time or other of his life."

Naturally, or he could never have written the sailors' language in *The Tempest*. But did Shakspeare ever see the sea? If so, let us have the date. We know that Bacon crossed the Channel several times—once in a storm, when his ship had to take refuge in Dover,—and he was more likely to be sent on a “confidential errand” when he was a member of the Paris Embassy than was the butcher's boy of Stratford.

(5) *Re* the address to the players in *Hamlet*, Dr. Garnett says:—

“No one, surely, can doubt that the writer of this scene had been in the constant habit of giving instructions to the performers. If he were Shakespeare, no question arises; but if he were Bacon?”

According to Dr. Garnett, Bacon couldn't do it, although Bacon wrote Masques and superintended their production, and in his works refers to acting and the stage over and over again.

According to Sir Henry Irving and Dr. Garnett, the man who wrote the Plays was an actor; he could not possibly be anything else, from his knowledge of “stage-craft.” Well, there is a Play called *Antony and Cleopatra*, written by this “matchless playwright,” and this Play is thus constructed:—

*First Act*, five scenes.

*Second Act*, seven scenes.

*Third Act*, thirteen scenes (Scene 8 consists of five lines; Scene 9 consists of four lines).

*Fourth Act*, fifteen scenes (Scene 1 consists of fifteen lines; Scene 10 consists of nine lines; Scene 11 consists of four lines).

*Fifth Act*, two scenes.

Is this the work of a practical playwright? I have seen a few plays in my time, but none of the scenes were limited to five or four lines, and none of the Acts extended to thirteen or fifteen scenes! Then, if the author of the Plays was such a supreme master of

"stage-craft," how does it come about that Kean, Phelps, Irving, and other acting managers knew so much more than the author, that they shifted about the author's scenes and language in a manner scarcely recognisable to a reader of the first Folio? Was it an actor or a philosopher who wrote the magnificent soliloquy—"To be or not to be?"

(6) Dr. Garnett writes:—

"His (Jonson's) eulogium on Drayton appears to us a thinly disguised satire."

Why not treat Jonson's eulogium on Shakespeare in the same light? Dryden does.

(7) Again we read:—

"The eccentric bequest to his wife of his second-best bed must have been explicable by some circumstance unknown to us. Could it have been Mrs. Shakespeare's marriage bed?"

Probably; but why not "Mr. Shakespeare's?"

(8) "After this it should be superfluous to dwell on the occurrence in the plays of words in the Warwickshire dialect."

A peculiarly Warwickshire word has never yet been found in all the plays.

(9) Dr. Garnett: "They (the Sonnets) tell us most about himself."

[S. Lee: "My conclusion is adverse to the claim of the Sonnets to rank as autobiographical documents."]

(10) Dr. Garnett: "Shakespeare, after his retirement to Stratford [1611], for some time regularly supplied the London theatre with two plays a year."

[S. Lee: "In 1611 Shakespeare abandoned dramatic composition."]

The only play after 1611 was *Henry VIII.* (1613).

(11) In complimenting my friend, Mr. Begley, on his book, *Is it Shakespeare?* Dr. Garnett says:—

"We can only remark that Mr. Begley's case will be much fortified when he is able to produce from Bacon's acknowledged writings lines so instinct with the innermost spirit of poetry, as

'But that wild music burdens every bough.'

Or—

'Bare ruined choirs, where late the sweet birds sang.

Bacon might be deemed capable of composing the speeches of Ulysses, but these wood notes wild!"

In a forthcoming article I shall endeavour to show, from the evidence of his prose works, that "Bacon was a poet" (Shelley), and that "the poetical faculty was great in Bacon's mind" (Macaulay). Dr. Garnett may then be convinced that Bacon was a poet, even in his prose works.

Meanwhile, I may point out that Bacon wrote the following lines, in his translation of the 90th Psalm:—

"Thou carriest man away as with a tide ;  
Then down swim all his thoughts that mounted high ;  
Much like a mocking dream, that will not bide,  
But flies before the sight of waking eye ;  
Or as the grass, that cannot term obtain,  
To see the summer come about again."

Not the highest form of poetry, certainly, but very respectable verse, and quite equal to *The Phoenix and the Turtle*, or—

"Blest be the man that spares these stones,  
And curst be he that moves my bones ;"

or even Milton's—

"Thy precious ear, O Lord, incline,  
O hear me, I Thee pray  
For I am poor, and almost pine  
With need and sad decay."

The man who wrote these lines is credited with the authorship of *Paradise Lost*! Is it possible? Bacon

never descended to this level even in his translation of the Psalms.

Dr. Garnett asks for poetry from Bacon. Here are three passages from Bacon's prose works:—

“ Have you ever seen  
A fly in amber, more beautifully entombed  
Than an Egyptian monarch ? ”

“ Truth may come, perhaps,  
To a pearl's value that shows best by day,  
But rise it will not to a diamond's price  
That showeth always best in varied lights.”

“ There is nothing under heaven  
To which the heart can lean save a true friend.”

This is worthy of comparison with the following lines:—

“ My eldest Sister, Anne,  
My Mother, being Heire unto the Crowne,  
Marryed Richard, Earle of Cambridge,  
Who was to Edmond Langley,  
Edward the thirds fift Sonnes Sonne;  
By her I clayme the kingdome ;  
She was Heire to Roger, Earle of March,  
Who was the Sonne of Edmond Mortimer,  
Who marryed Phillip, sole Daughter  
Unto Lionel, Duke of Clarence.”

This last example is taken from the second part of *Henry VI.* as it appears in the First Folio. It reads uncommonly like Bacon's *History of the Reign of Henry VII.*, where I find such prose as this, put in blank verse form *without alteration of a single word*:—

“ There was a subtle priest called Richard Simon,  
That lived in Oxford, and had to his pupil  
A Baker's son named Lambert Simnell,  
A comely youth, and well favoured, not without  
Some extraordinary dignity and grace of aspect.  
And for Simnell there was not much in him



More than he was a handsome boy,  
And did not shame his robes."

I do not think that this *prose* of Bacon is much behind the *poetry* in *Henry VI.* and others of the Shakesperean historical dramas. But then Dr. Garnett has settled the business for ever when he states: "It ought to be evident that whoever the author might have been, he could not be Bacon."

GEORGE STRONACH.

---

## NOTES ON THE STATE OF RELIGION IN SHAKESPEARE'S DAY.

**T**O contrast the contemporary state of religion with the writings of Shakespeare is a step towards the better appreciation of Bacon's labours "for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate."\* In a recent commemoration sermon at Stratford-on-Avon, the preacher remarked that Shakespeare had uttered in his Plays sentiments so bold and heretical that had he been a theologian instead of a player, he would undoubtedly have been burnt at the stake.

One is apt to forget that religious persecution did not cease on the advent of "*That bright occidental star, Queen Elizabeth, of most happy memory;*" as a matter of fact the crimes and brutalities perpetrated by the Reformers upon their opponents probably equalled the horrors of the reign of Mary.

In their energetic determination to exterminate the abuses of the Church of Rome it is clear that the Reformers rooted up wheat and tares together; charity was "reformed" completely out of the land.

\* *Advancement of Learning.*

The attempt to enforce the acknowledgment of Elizabeth as Supreme Governor of the Church in England led to numbers of parish priests throwing up or being evicted from their benefices, but the evictions of this period were trivial in comparison with the wholesale exodus caused a few years later (1583—85) by the determination of Whitgift to attain uniformity by compelling all ministers to subscribe to certain Articles of the Church of England :

"How many godly, able, painful Ministers were outed all over England, I cannot tell, but *ex ungue Leonem*, I have seen a MS. which gives an account of the names of sixty odd in Suffolk, twenty-one in Lincolnshire, sixty-four in Norfolk, thirty-eight in Essex ; which, though they seem comparatively few, yet are a great many when we consider that in Essex at that time, there was an account given of 163 Ministers that never Preach'd, only read Prayers and Homilies, and 85 more, Pluralists, Non-residents, or persons most notoriously bebaucht."<sup>o</sup>

To replace the evicted clergy was found to be impracticable, and consequently parish after parish was left abandoned and forlorn. Some authorities assert that out of a total of nine thousand benefices one half were unoccupied and unserved during Elizabeth's reign ; others place the total even higher. In a paper drawn up by Sir F. Knollys in 1584, it is asserted :—

"It is impossible to have so manye preachers as this byll (against pluralism and non-residence) doth require resydent, because there be nine thousand parishes, and *but three thousand preachers in the realme.*"†

The lack of teaching and discipline had its inevitable

\* "History of Conformity, or the Proof of the Mischief of Impositions from the Experience of More than One Hundred Years." London : Printed by A. Maxwell and R. Roberts, 1631, p. 12.

† "A Book about the Clergy." J. C. Jeaffreson. Vol. II. London, 1870, p. 59.

results. Strype in his *Annals* records that the "abundance of parishes utterly destitute of ministers" led to "no small apprehension that in time a great part of the nation would become pagans."\*

Sampson's "Supplicatory to the Queen" quoted in Strype's *Annals*,† sets forth that "There are whole thousands of us left untaught; yea, by trial it will be found that there are in England whole thousands of parishes destitute of this necessary help to salvation, that is a diligent preaching and teaching."

From every part of England we find similar reports of the prevailing desolation and degradation. The Bishop of Hertford wrote to Cecil in 1561 that his diocese was "a very nurserye of blasphemy, whordom, pryde, superstition and ignorance."‡ In 1583 the Bishop of St. Davids reported that there was now little popery, but that the people were "greatly infected with atheism and wonderfully given over to vicious life."§ Dr. Chaderton, of Litchfield, writes plaintively about the same time that he considers his diocese to be "the very sink of the whole realm both for corrupt religion and life."||

The dearth of clergy was unhappily in no way counteracted by mental ability.

"Of the hundred and sixteen clergymen of the Archdeaconry of London, in the year 1563, forty-two were almost Latinless, thirteen had no tincture of classic learning whatever, and four were 'indocti'—so uniformly ignorant and untrained, that their tenure of clerical offices was scandalous. . . . In the letter in which he communicated these facts to Samuel Pepys, in 1696, Edmund, then Domestic Chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and subsequently Bishop of Lincoln, observed, 'If

\* Vol. I., pp. 512, 513. Oxford, 1824.

† Vol. III., Part I., p. 327. Oxford, 1824.

‡ "Domestic State Papers, Elizabeth." Vol. XVII., No. 32.

§ "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth." Vol. CLXII., No. 29.

|| Strype's *Annals*, Vol. III., Part I., p. 35. Oxford, 1824.

the London clergy were thus ignorant, what must we imagine the country divines were?'"\*

It happens that we are not left solely to the imagination. There is abundant testimony that the bulk of the country clergy were men of low caste, ignorant, and immoral. Although two out of every three Churches were abandoned, and falling into ruin, the crying want of clergy compelled the Reformers to muster together a veritable Falstaff's army of undesirables. Among them we read were "tinkers, tapsters, fiddlers, and pipers."†

Archbishop Jewel admits that many ministers were made from "the basest sort of people." Cardinal Allen characterised the Elizabethan clergy as "the very refuse of the worst sort of men." Richard Baxter‡ has provided us with an instructive pen picture of the vicious condition of affairs. "We lived," says he, "in a country that had but little preaching at all."

"In the village where I was born there were four readers successively in six years' time, ignorant men, and two of them immoral in their lives, who were all my schoolmasters. In the village where my father lived, there was a reader of about eighty years of age that never preached, and had two churches about twenty miles distant; his eyesight failing him, he said Common Prayer without a book; but for the reading of the psalms and chapters, he got a common thresher and day-labourer one year and a taylor another year (for the clerk could not read well); and at last he had a kinsman of his own (the excellentest stage-player in all the country, and a good gamester and good fellow), that got orders and supplied one of his places. After him another young kinsman, that could write and read, got orders; and at the same time another neighbour's son that had been a while at school turned minister, and who would needs go further than the

\* "A Book about the Clergy," p. 286, Vol. II.

† "Holinshed's Chronicle, Elizabethan England." *Scott Library*. London, pp. 74—76.

‡ Born 1615, died 1707.

rest, ventured to preach (and after got a living in Staffordshire); and, when he had been a preacher about twelve or sixteen years, he was fain to give over, it being discovered that his orders were forged by the first ingenious stage-player. After him another neighbour's son took orders, when he had been awhile an attorney's clerk and a common drunkard, and tumbled himself into so great poverty that he had no other way to live. It was feared that he and more of them came by their orders the same way with the afore-mentioned person. These were the schoolmasters of my youth (except two of them); who read Common Prayer on Sundays and Holy-days, and taught school, and tumbled on the week-days, and whipt the boys when they were drunk, so that we changed them very oft. Within a few miles about us, were near a dozen more ministers that were near eighty year old a-piece, and never preached; poor ignorant readers, and most of them of scandalous lives; only three or four constant, competent preachers lived near us, and those (though conformable, all save one) were the common marks of the people's obloquy and reproach, and any that had but gone to hear them, when he had no preaching at home, was made the derision of the vulgar rabble, under the odious name of a Puritan.\*

Such being the *morale* of the clergy it is not surprising that their neglected flocks behaved like savages. *Within* the Churches sacrilege and profanity ran riot. *Without* the people "pranked and pranced in their pride." "Like rats and swine" they "rested in gluttony and drunkenness," in "brawling and railing," in "wantonness," "toyish talking," and "filthy fleshliness." "It doth too evidently appear," says a contemporary observer, "that God is more dishonoured, and the devil better served on the Sunday than upon all the days in the week beside."†

In 1578 the schoolmaster of Tonbridge deplored that the greater part of Sunday was

"horriblie prophaned by divellishe inventions, as with Lords of Misrule, Morice dauncers, May games, insomuch that in some places they shame not in ye time of divine service to come and

\* Quoted in "A Book about the Clergy," Vol. II., p. 185.

† See "A Book about the Clergy," Vol. II., p. 129.

daunce aboute the Church, and without to have men naked dauncing in nettes, which is most filthie."\*

In 1586 the immorality in London was so awful that Bishop Aylmer, with a view to averting the wrath of God, ordered the Commination Service to be read more frequently. In 1572, it is recorded in Scotland that

"maintenance of Kirk and poor has gone to profane flatterers at court, ruffians and hirelings; the poor are oppressed with hunger, the Churches decayed for lack of clergy, the schools utterly neglected, the sacred buildings are like sheep cotes."†

So shocking grew the state of the country that on all hands the gentry became alarmed, "gentlemen of all sorts took heart; they pitied their (ejected) ministers, their wives and children," and they delivered frequent petitions to Bishop Whitgift,

"craving that in regard to the souls of the people and their own, he would accept such a subscription as the law expressly appointed, and restore the poor men, both to their preaching and livings."

To the dishonour of Whitgift "*this second means prevailed with him no more than the first.*"‡

Some of the civil authorities appear to have done what they could to remedy the terrible state of affairs, but men capable of teaching had apparently gradually ceased to exist. Anthony à Wood records in his Annals of the University of Oxford that in the year 1561 no degrees were given "in Divinity and but one in the Civil Law, three in Physic and eight in Arts." Students were so poor and beggarly that they were frequently driven to obtain a license under the Commissary Seal to wander about the country and beg for their living. The Poor Law of 1572 included in the term vagabond

\* Arber Reprints, Vol. III., p. 9.

† "Social England." Traill. Vol. III., p. 557.

‡ Quoted in "The History of Conformity," 1681, p. 13.

"scholars of the universities begging without license from the university authorities."\*

In addition to lack of teachers Avarice and Corruption were rampant. Bishopricks were deliberately kept empty in order that the court might absorb their revenues; "profane flatterers" added to the prevalent chaos by obtaining grants of five and sometimes six livings, and screwing profit out of them by farming them at a miserable pittance to scandalous persons.

The Edict of the Royal Commissioners ordering the destruction of all "copes, vestments, albes, missals, books, crosses, and such like idolatrous and superstitious monuments whatsoever," let loose a torrent of ribaldry, blasphemy, and sacrilege. The churches were stripped of everything stealable. Organ pipes were melted into pots and pans, and priestly vestments were cut up into stomachers for parsons' wives, or served as theatrical properties for wandering mountebanks. The expression "Hocus pocus" is a survival of blasphemous parodies of the Mass, the phrase "Hocus pocus" being a ribald caricature of the priest's words, *Hoc est corpus*, used on the Elevation of the Host. Altar stones were employed as pig-styes, or put to baser uses. Roofs were widely destroyed by being stripped of their lead, and dead bodies were thrown out of their coffins for the sake of their leaden wrappings. These infamous acts were not merely the excesses of an ignorant mob or a few frenzied fanatics. They were the duly sanctioned policy of the people's spiritual leaders. Archbishop Grindal is, for instance, particular in enjoining that "The churchwardens shall see that the altar stones be broken, defaced, and *bestowed to some common use.*"†

\* "Social England." Traill. Vol. III., p. 756.

† "Injunctions of Edmund Grindal" (1571). London: Wm. Serres.

The Dean of Durham used the stone coffins of the Priors of Durham, whom he termed "Servants of the Synagogue of Satan," as swine troughs, and the brass holy water stoups of the Cathedral as kitchen utensils. The character of too many of the Elizabethan prelates appears to have been coarse and brutal. They seem to have moulded their manners too much upon the character of Martin Luther. Luther, it will be remembered, termed schoolmen "locusts, caterpillars, frogs, and lice." Reason he denounced as the "Arch whore" and the "Devil's bride." Aristotle was a "Prince of Darkness, horrid impostor, public and professed liar, beast, and twice execrable." \* We find Thomas à Bècket referred to by the Bishop of Durham as a "stinking martyr." † Bishop Bale terms the old clergy "puffed up porklings of the Pope." His love for alliterative sentences led this prelate to phrase his sentiments in villainous language. We find in his works such passages as :—

"Let beastly blind babblers and bawds with their charming chaplains then prate at large out of their malicious spirit and idle brains." ‡

Roman Catholic Bishops, in the estimation of Bishop Bale, were :—

"Two-horned whoremongers, conjurors of Egypt, and lecherous locusts leaping out of the smoke of the pit bottomless." §

The Bishop of Hereford indulged in "choleric oaths and manifold rare upbraidings." The Bishop of Carlisle deemed Roman Catholic priests "Impes of Antichrist." || Among the Elizabethan church leaders

\* See "Pioncers of Evolution" (Clodd), p. 81. Richards. London, 1897.

† "Pilkington's Works." Parker Society. London, 1842.

‡ "Bale's Works," p. 249. § "Bale's Works," p. 249.

|| "Domestic State Papers (Elizabeth)," Vol. XVII.



were learned and enlightened men; but, on the other hand, the demeanour of many of these Ecclesiastics arouses a suspicion that "Shake-speare" had them in his mind when he wrote:—

"Man, proud man,  
Drest in a little briefe authoritie;  
Most ignorant of what he's most assur'd,  
(His glassie essence) like an angry ape,  
Plaies such phantastique tricks before high heaven  
As makes the angels weepe."\*

The editor of the Works of Bishop Bale has registered his conviction that certain of them "could not with propriety be presented to the public," but the style and sentiment of this particular Bishop were not singular or peculiar. The shouting of the captains was, almost everywhere, very shrill and very strident. Among the dialectics to be found in the religious literature of this time there abound such graceful flowers of fancy as:—"The whore of Babylon's chemise" (the surplice); "Anti-christ's shyrt" (ditto); "Little Jack in the Box" (The Host); "Abbey lumbers," "Massmongers," "Apes of Antichrist" (Priests), and so forth.

The actions of the authorities towards recusants and those who failed to attend the reformed services were merciless in their severity:—

"At any moment one was liable to be arrested and hurried off before the appointed courts to be interrogated on oath as to whether or not they had been to Church; where, when, and how often they had received the Lord's Supper, and whether they held the parson's certificate that this had been publicly done. If not, they were condemned as recusants to fines and imprisonment. . . . To know that a priest was at a certain place, and not to seize or betray him was a crime. To give him food, shelter, or money, was also a crime. To remain away from the

\* *Measure for Measure*, II. ii.

services of the desolate and ruined Churches was a crime; torture, imprisonment, and death were the punishments." \*

Under the laws against recusancy acts of a hateful nature were systematically practised. The wealthier recusants were fined until they recanted, or their estates were absorbed. † They were then imprisoned or banished. Of the poorer recusants, the prisons and dungeons were "full of all sorts, old and young men, wives, widows, and maids." Batches of these unfortunates were tried at a time. On one occasion as many as 203 were condemned in the course of three days. Men and women were stripped to the waist, flogged till the blood flowed down their backs, bored through the ears with a red-hot iron, and turned adrift to swell the already frightful roll of wandering and

\* "The Church under Queen Elizabeth" (Lee), Vol. II., p. 4. London, 1880.

† Even the enlightened Bacon does not seem to have regarded it as dissonant with religion and honour to "spur" recusants. In 1614 we find him writing to King James:—

"I have heard more ways than one, of an offer of 20,000*l.* *per annum*, for farming the penalties of recusants, not including any offence capital or of *præmunire*; wherein I will presume to say, that my poor endeavours, since I was by your great and sole grace your Attorney, have been no small spurs to make them feel your laws, and seek this redemption; wherein I must also say, my Lord Coke hath done his part: and I do assure your Majesty, I know it somewhat inwardly and groundedly, that by the courses we have taken they conform daily and in great numbers. And I would to God it were as well a conversion as a conformity: but if it should be by dispensation or dissimulation, then I fear that whereas your Majesty hath now so many ill subjects poor and detected, you shall then have them rich and dissembled. And therefore I hold this offer very considerable, of so great an increase of revenue: *if it can pass the fiery trial of religion and honour, which I wish all projects may pass.*"—Spedding. Vol. V., p. 102.

starving outcasts. It will be remembered that the name of Shakespeare's father was returned as that of a recusant. It appears, however, that in his case it was not a question of conscience, but coyness to appear in public "for fear of process for debt."

Punishment was sternly and swiftly dealt out to all stragglers from the narrow and frequently shifting path of orthodoxy. "The spirit of Calvinistic Presbyterianism," says Green, "excluded all toleration of practice or belief. . . . For heresy there was the punishment of death. Never had the doctrine of persecution been urged with such a blind and reckless ferocity."\*

The Government inquisitors were authorized to use "such torture as is usual for the better understanding of the truth."† They did so, and the barbarities that followed challenge comparison with the infamies of Nero and Torquemada.

Bodies were racked, and legs crushed to pulp in "The Boot;" men were nailed to the pillory and left to free themselves by cutting off their ears with their own hands; needles were driven into the finger-tips between the nails and the flesh, and abominations too fiendish for detail were widely practiced.

Those who suffered death for their convictions were executed under revolting conditions. In 1583 two Anabaptists were burnt alive with "roaring and crying." For the offence of harbouring priests, permitting Mass to be said in her husband's house, and sending her son abroad to be educated in a foreign seminary, a lady of thirty was condemned to death in the following form:—

"Margaret Clitheroe. Having refused to put yourself to the country, this must be your sentence. You must return from

\* "Short History," p. 469.

† "Domestic State Papers (Elizabeth)," Vol. CCXXX., p. 57.

whence you came, and there in the lowest part of the prison be stripped naked, laid down with your back upon the ground and as much weight laid upon you as you are able to bear, and so to continue three days without meat or drink except a little barley-bread and puddlewater; and the third day, your hands and feet being tied to posts and a sharp stone being put under your back, you are to be pressed to death." °

The more ordinary method of execution was, however, to hang the victim by the neck, cut him down, and, while yet alive and conscious, tear out his heart and entrails, and fling them into a cauldron of boiling tar or water. As a special concession the condemned man sometimes begged that he "might not be bowelled ere he was dead."

On the gateways and bridges were gathered the Benin-like trophies of human heads, boiled and tarred, and weather-worn. In 1582 executions were so frequent that complaint was made that London was "but as one shambles for human flesh." On the strength of this four or five sufferers were sent into the country for execution.

The government of Elizabeth was a pure and simple despotism of a very degraded character:—

"If unpopularity met any man of rank or mark; if, in the hearing of a spy of Cecil's or of some long-eared and contemptible informer, he uttered a word or sentence which might be twisted and turned against him, or if the Queen found him less pliant or obsequious than she thought he ought to be he stood henceforth in the greatest danger of liberty, or life. Both those who adhered to the old religion, and those who were for proceeding further along the road of reform alike suffered." †

Notwithstanding the dangers surrounding would-be reformers, Bacon drew up (probably some time during 1589) "An Advertisement touching the controversies of

° See "The Church under Elizabeth" (Lee), Vol. II., p. 181.

† "Church under Queen Elizabeth," Vol. I., p. 282.

the Church of England." It was a bold attempt to throw oil upon troubled waters, and it is difficult to believe that its author was a brilliant young courtier aged only 28. Its measured sentences read like the composition of a man of 60. "It is more than time," says the youthful philosopher, "that there were an end and surseance made of this immodest and deformed manner of writing lately entertained.\* . . . To turn religion into a comedy or satire; to search and rip up wounds with a laughing countenance; to intermix Scripture and scurrility sometimes in one sentence is a thing far from the devout reverence of a Christian, and scant be- seeming the honest regard of a sober man."

Bacon contrasts the "overweening and turbulent humours of these times," the "passionate and unbrotherly practices" of both parties with the lives of the Apostles and primitive Christians. "God grant that we may contend with other Churches as the vine with the olive, which of us beareth best fruit, and not as the briar with the thistle which of us is most unprofitable." He concludes: "These things have I in all sincerity and simplicity set down touching the controversies which now trouble the Church of England; and that without all art and insinuation, and therefore not like to be grateful to either part. Notwithstanding, I trust that what hath been said shall find a correspondence in their minds which are not contracted in partiality, and which love the whole better than a part. Whereby I am not out of hope that it may do good."

Singular words these from a young courtier to grave and painful divines! †

\* The reference is probably to the scurrilous Martin Marprelate controversy.

† In this "Advertisement" (see Spedding, Vol. I.) Bacon uses the curious expression "*captious and strainable*." Shakespeare (*All's Well*, I. iii.) refers to a "*captious and intenable sieve*."

In later years he again intervened by a second tract, entitled, "Certain Considerations touching the better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England," wherein *inter alia* he attacks non-residence and pluralism.

In his old age we find him writing :—

"Remember, O Lord, how Thy servant hath walked before Thee ; remember what I have first sought and what hath been principal in my intentions. I have loved Thy assemblies. I have mourned for the divisions of Thy Church I have delighted in the brightness of Thy Sanctuary. . . . The state of the poor and oppressed have been precious in mine eyes. I have hated all cruelty and hardness of heart. I have, though in a despised weed, procured the good of all men."

The foregoing crudely sketched facts may possibly assist in arousing some slight conception of the state of religion and the human mind in "Shakespeare's" day.

"Do you suppose," says Bacon, "that when the entrances to the minds of men are obstructed with the darkest errors (and these deep seated, and, as it were, burnt-in) smooth, even spaces can be found in those minds so that the light of truth can be accurately reflected from them? A new process must be instituted by which we may *insinuate* ourselves into natures so disordered and closed up. For as the delusions of the insane are removed by art and ingenuity but aggravated by opposition and violence, so must we choose methods here that are adapted to the general insanity." \*

Shakespeare's fame will eventually be measured by the profundity of the abyss from which he has raised, and is raising, the human mind.

HAROLD BAYLEY.

there any connection of ideas between "strainable" and "intenable sieve" ?

\* "*Temporis Partus Masculus.*"

## THE MIGRATION OF WOODBLOCKS.

PROFESSOR GARDINER, writing in the "Dictionary of National Biography,"\* observes that "in *The New Atlantis* there are two conspicuous points. On the one hand is the desire to benefit mankind by a science founded upon observation and experience: on the other hand is the tendency to under-estimate the difficulty of the task which leads to the belief that it can be entrusted to an official body organised for the purpose. If Bacon had been allowed to carry out his scheme it would probably have been found that officialism would have smothered scientific enquiry."

Other deterring considerations besides that of red tape will immediately occur to the reader. State officialism or in other words the overwhelming barbarism of the time, would assuredly have hanged, burned, or otherwise silenced enquirers. Officialism placed Bacon's "*Advancement of Learning*" on the Italian *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.† It suppressed Sir W. Raleigh's "*History of the World*" for being "too saucy in censuring the acts of Kings." The illustrious Roger Bacon "soon learnt that to confront authority with experience or break away from the useless intricacies of scholastic metaphysics was an unpardonable offence, and his work was thwarted at every turn . . . his superiors managed to suppress his writings so effectually that nothing was printed till 1733."‡

There are books in public libraries to-day bearing the marks upon them of the bonfires that burnt their

\* Vol. IV., Article "Bacon."

† Baconus (Franciscus) de Verulamio. De dignitate, and Augmentis Scientiarum. *Donc corrigatur* Decr. 3 Aprilis 1669. *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. Romæ, Mdcccxli.

‡ "Social England." Traill. Vol. II., p. 102. (*Query date correct?*—ED.)

authors. In Spain, even until the year 1788, if not later, the despotism of the universities prohibited Newton and modern philosophy.\* Nothing was permitted to supplant Aristotle and the superstitious fathers and doctors of the Church. For the slightest infraction, or supposed infraction, of political or religious propriety : authors, printers, and booksellers were everywhere maimed, imprisoned, or hung. It is recorded that—

“ Voltaire, among other schemes for benefitting France, wished to make known to his countrymen the wonderful discoveries of Newton, of which they were completely ignorant. With this view he drew up an account of the labours of that extraordinary thinker ; but here again the authorities interposed and forbade the work to be printed. Indeed the rulers of France, as if sensible that their only security was the ignorance of the people, obstinately set their face against every description of knowledge. Several eminent authors had undertaken to execute on a magnificent scale an Encyclopædia which should contain a summary of all the branches of science and of art. This, undoubtedly the most splendid enterprise ever started by a body of literary men, was at first discouraged by the government, and afterwards entirely prohibited.” †

It is sufficiently obvious that a frontal attack upon the citadel of European ignorance would have been not only futile, but suicidal. To have proclaimed the building of Solomon's Temple amid a flourish of publicity would have brought ruin upon architect and builders alike. No one imagines that Bacon would have been guilty of so puerile a folly ; yet, that behind the scenes of European literature deep movements were being hatched and great actions enacted is not open to doubt. In the preceding number of *BACONIANA* was quoted an extract from Glanvill's *Essays* (1676), in which we were told that Bacon actually “ formed a society of experimenters in a romantick model, but could do no

\* See Buckles “ Hist. of Civilisation,” Vol. II., p. 418, Richards.

† Ibid, p. 188.



more. His time was not ripe for such performances." The "romantick model" is presumably *The New Atlantis*, hence, to those who study human history this unfinished little fable becomes invested with great importance. Into the mouth of the "Father of Solomon's House" Bacon puts, among other statements, the following :—

"We have consultations which of the inventions and experiences which we have discovered shall be published and which not, and take all an oath of secrecy for the concealing of those which we think fit to keep secret. . . . Lastly, we have circuits or visits of diverse principal cities of the Kingdom where, as it cometh to pass we do publish such new profitable inventions as we think good."

There are some curious facts in connection with printed books that seem to be explicable only by the theory that certain European literature was produced by a secret league who did their publishing on the circuit system. Many of the supposed printers' imprints upon title pages tend to support this idea. Figs. 1 and 2 are rather noteworthy examples. The eagle is obviously flying from town to town. It bears the motto *Movendo*—by moving, and further, Fig. 1 is surrounded by roses—the emblems of *secrecy*. Roberts in his *Printers' Marks*\* expresses his opinion that "shorn of all romance and glamour which seem inevitably to surround every early phase of typographic art a printer's device may be described as nothing more or less than a trademark," but that this is an erroneous deduction will be obvious to anyone who takes the trouble to acquaint himself with actual facts. The commercialism of mediæval publishers is very much open to question; probably the truth is better expressed by the editor of *Harrison's Elizabethan England* † :—

\* London, 1893. Intro. † *Scott Library*. London.

TANAQVILLI  
FABRI  
EPISTOLÆ

PARS POSTERIOR.  
EDITIO ALTERA PRIORI EMENTATIONE

*Addite sunt*

ARISTOPHANIS

ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΖΟΥΣΑΙ

*Cum Interpretatione nova, Notis & Emendationibus;*



SALMÛRI,

Typis & Sumptibus  
ISAACI DESBORDES  
&  
IOANNIS LESNERII

M. DC. LXXIV.

M. FABII QUINTILIANI  
INSTITUTIONUM  
ORATORIARUM  
LIBRI DUODECIM.

Summa diligentia ad fidem verustissimorum  
codicum recogniti ac restituti.

*Accesserunt huic renovatae editioni*

DECLAMATIONES, quæ tam ex P. PITHORI,  
J. C. Clarissimi, quam aliorum Bibliothecis  
& editionibus colligi poterunt.

Cum TURNEBI, CAMERARI, PAREI, GRONOVII,  
& Aliorum Notis.

*Cum Indicis leopoldinis, factis in Textum, quædam Novæ.*



LUGD. BATAV. } Ex Officina HACKIANA.  
ET }  
ROTTERODAMI.

clio 5 c l x v.



Fig. 3. Headline from *A History of the World* (Raleigh). London: 1665.



Fig. 4. Headline from *Ætiii Antonii Dictionarium*, Madrid, 1683.

"It was a stirring age, and great human upheavals made sudden shiftings and scattering of kindred. . . . Harrison's own life just spans that stormy period which settled the destiny of the English race and left the race the masters of the earth. The part played in this mighty struggle by the printer boys of Aldersgate is something beyond all exaggeration. They made and unmade men and measures, and uprooted empires as well as recorded their history. Above all else these printers kept their own secrets ; for life and death were in every utterance."

To speak of the mediæval printers with tolerant superiority is, of course, foolish. They were mostly men of erudition,\* they may indeed be said to have been the salt of their age, and they assuredly had every inducement to keep their own secrets.

Apart, however, from the subject of imprints there are other considerations which appear to point to a system of publishing on circuit under the direction of some superintending authority. As everyone knows, early books are often decorated with elaborate Head- and Tail-pieces. We find identically the same designs in books published thousands of miles apart. Fig. 3 is from "Raleigh's History of the World," London, 1665. Fig. 4 is from a Spanish dictionary published in Madrid in 1683. It will be observed with what infinite care every scrap of detail has been reproduced by the Spanish engraver. If the books of this period were mere ordinary commercial speculations, it is difficult to understand why the publishers went to the expense of adorning them so lavishly and needlessly with wood

\* Established at Antwerp in 1555, he (Plantin) surrounded himself, as had the Estiennes and Alduses, with most of the learned and literary men of his time, among them Justus Lipsius, to whom Balzac attributed the Latin prefaces signed by Plantin. . . . His artistic probity caused him to submit the proofs of his works to strangers, with promise of recompense for faults indicated ; the Estiennes employed the same system.— "The Printed Book." Bouchot. London: 1887 ; p. 140.

engravings, and furthermore, why one publisher should slavishly copy the complicated designs of another!

We have, however, to deal with a fact even yet more curious than anything so far considered. The Bacon Society has in its possession a roughly classified collection of Head and Tail pieces, among which may be seen many examples of prints of *identical blocks*, employed by "rival" printers. Nowadays it is a simple matter by the aid of the electrotype process to make manifold reproductions of any desired woodblock, but in olden times such methods were unknown, and the appearance of a facsimile print in Lisbon of an impression made 37 years previous in Paris, implies that the original block was transferred across the Pyrenees. By whom? and why? The difficulties and expenses of transport need no emphasis.

On every hand we find ourselves faced with similar problems. The Head piece used over the dedication of Wats' translation of the *Advancement of Learning*, produced at Oxford in 1640, was used six years previously by a London printer as the Head piece to Book IV. of *Moses and Aaron*. There is a blemish in the two prints conclusively proving them both to be impressions from the same block. How came it to be transferred from London to Oxford? We have before us as we write, impressions from a block which was at Amsterdam in 1687, at Paris in 1697, and back again at the Hague in 1720. Similar instances of migration could be multiplied indefinitely. The 1720 edition of Pope's *Iliad*, "printed by W. Hunter for Bernard Lintott, contains a very curious design. In the previous year it was employed in Boerhaaves' *Method of Studying Physick*, "printed by H. P. for C. Rivington."

If we compare the three folio editions of Shakespeare's Plays, we are confronted at once with another instance of the same striking problem. The first folio

(1623) is "printed by Isaac Jaggard and Ed. Blount;" the second (1632) is "printed by Thos. Cotes for Robert Allot;" the third (1664) is "printed for P. C." Thomas Cotes, the printer of folio No. 2, uses at least 8 blocks (including an initial letter) that were employed 9 years previously by Jaggard. The printer of folio No. 3 uses at least 3 blocks that were employed by Thos. Cotes 32 years earlier. A writer in *The Library*, discussing an edition of a certain disputed work, observed recently, "But supposing for the sake of argument that some printer had wished to reprint the work, should we expect to find him in possession of exactly similar type to that used 20 or 30 years previously and of exactly the same initial letters, head and tail pieces and ornaments as those used by Wolfe in 1559? I think this highly improbable."\*

It is of course quite wildly improbable; yet apparently it is a very frequent fact, and a solution must, sooner or later, be forthcoming.

[The above article has been submitted to Mr. Charles T. Jacobi, of the Chiswick Press, London. Mr. Jacobi is the author of "Books and Printing," London (1902), and several other works on typography. He writes as follows:—

"It is a well-known fact to Bibliographers that the same blocks were sometimes used by different printers in two places, quite far apart, and at various intervals during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. That the same blocks were employed is apparent from a comparison of technical defects of impressions taken at different places, and at two periods. There was no method of duplication in existence until Stereotyping was first invented in 1725; even then the details were somewhat crude, and the process being new, it met with much opposition and was practically not adopted until the early part of the nineteenth century. *Electrotyping*, which is the ideal method of reproducing wood blocks, was not introduced until 1836 or thereabouts. Of course it was quite possible to re-engrave the

\* *The Library*. No. 9.

same design, but absolute fidelity could not be relied on by those means, even if executed by the same hand.

"These remarks are not intended to convey any opinion for or against the theories advanced in the article you have submitted.—C. T. JACOBI."]

---

## SYMBOLIC BOOK ORNAMENTS.\*

### THE BEAR DESIGN.

THE Bear is strangely and peculiarly introduced in many of our Hieroglyphic Pictures.† Usually he is sitting up on his haunches. This bear cannot be interpreted as an allusion to the crest of the Nevilles, for though ragged, he is without his rugged staff and chain. We suggest that here is a parable of the method by which Bacon perfected his works and taught others how to achieve perfection. In the *Sylva Sylvarum* (or *Nat. Hist.*) he notes that *Bears lick their whelps to bring them into shape*. Dr. Rawley in his brief "Life of Bacon" says that his master did with his works *as Bears do with their young*, licking them over many times, to bring them into shape. In a play of much earlier date than the "Life," *Shakespeare* shows a similar acquaintance with the then unpublished scientific note.

"Deformity doth mock my body,  
To disproportion me in every part,

\* Preceding articles on this subject have appeared as follows :—

THE PAN TAIL-PIECE. BACONIANA, No. 6, Vol. II.

THE NEW BIRTH. BACONIANA, No. 7, Vol. II.

FLOWERS AND FRUITS. BACONIANA, No. 8, Vol. II.

See also BACONIANA, No. 18, Vol. V.; No. 24, Vol. VI.; No 25, Vol. VI.; No 36, Vol. IX.; and Nos. 1 and 2. Vol. I., New Series, 1903.

† See Figs. 3 and 4.

Like to a chaos, or an unlick'd bearwhelp  
That carries no impression like the dam."

—3 Hen. VI. iii. 2.

A dateless metrical version in English of Launay's *Histoire Tragique de Romeo et Juliet* has in the *Introductions to the Reader* a few lines about the Bear :—

"Amid the desert rockes, the mountaine beare,  
Bringes forth unform'd, unlike her selfe, her yong :  
Nought els but lumpes of fleshe withouten heare,  
In tract of time, her often lycking tong  
Geues them such shape, as doth (ere long) delight  
The lookers on. . . . Right so my Muse  
Hath now (at length) with trauell long brought forth  
Her tender whelpes, her diuers kindes of style,  
Such as they are, of nought, or little woorth  
Which carefull trauell and a longer whyle  
May better shape."

Here is the perfect idea of the parable penned in the *Sylva Sylvarum*, and mentioned by Rawley in his description of Francis Bacon's method of perfecting his works. Here, too, is the full interpretation of the "Bear design" in the head-lines and tail-pieces.

It must not be supposed that Dogs in Emblem pictures represent anything malevolent, truculent, or worrying. Emblems were adornments of Bacon's beautiful Palace of Truth and Divine Wisdom.

"There's nothing ill can dwell in such a temple.  
If the ill-spirit have so fair a house,  
Good things will strive to dwell in't."

We therefore look for another explanation of the Dogs to be seen in old books, remembering that amongst the pre-Baconian water marks we noticed many Dogs, chiefly Talbots, such as are found (apparently with a similar signification) in the prints. Dogs were, in the symbolism of India, types of the Messengers of Truth,



and Hunting Dogs figured as *Seekers after Truth*. A Dog with a book before him is the Egyptian hieroglyph for Learning, Science, Wisdom. Diana (the Holy Spirit) is represented as accompanied by a Dog; she is a huntress, and in the Greek legends Æsculapius, the great Healer of souls, is figured by a Dog, his name being a compound of "AISH CALEB" (the Dog of Isis)—again the Holy Spirit.

It appears, then, that *Bacon* had these things in his mind when he spoke of "the hunting and hounding of Nature," and that thus the Dog, whether in the woodcuts or in the occult language of the Rose Cross brethren, became a symbol of *Reason, Hunting, Research, Experiment, &c.* Plutarch (of whom *Bacon* was a great admirer), when speaking of the Egyptian myths, has this passage:—

"Can it be imagined that it is the Dog himself that is thus revered under the name of Hermes (*Mercury*)? They are the qualities of the animal, his constant vigilance, and his acumen in distinguishing friends from foes, which have rendered him, as Plato expresses it, a fit emblem of that God who is the more immediate patron of Reason."

There are but few metaphors in *Bacon*, drawn directly from the Dog, so we observe with the more interest that these few are all concerned with the *Hunt of Pan*, or the hunting out of a true natural philosophy by the aid of Reason.

Thus, in comparing straightforward speech with sophistry, he says that "the one is as the greyhound which has his advantage in the race, and the other as the hare that has her advantage in the turn.\* In the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, when arguing that Poverty and Learning usually go hand in hand, the author says: "It is held by

\* *Adv. L. ii. 1.*

some that to keep them poor will make them study. . . . *A fat dog cannot hunt.*" It may, however, be suggested that the hunting Dog is kept lean by his exertions. In the head-lines, besides Dogs with noses to the ground, on the scent, and hunting, are others with heads erect and tongues stretched out as if to taste or lap. Sometimes these tongues reach towards winged or fawn-like creatures, which we take to be the "elementary" or "vital" spirits of Nature; sometimes such Dogs remind us of those "who, being thirsty" for knowledge, "lap hastily of the waters of the River Nilus (Wisdom), only to serve their necessity as they run along the shore;" or, as Bacon would say, "as they sail round the coasts of all Provinces of Knowledge."

Other kinds of Dogs (*not* hunting) are, as we all know, catalogued by *Shakespeare* † for the sake of distinguishing "everyone, according to the gift which bounteous Nature hath in him closed, whereby he does receive particular addition from the bill that writes them all alike—and so of men." In those last words lies the pith of the matter to our Poet. We are now able to see why, although Francis Bacon loved his Dog, his "familiar" and most sympathetic four-legged companion, yet little is said in books which we chiefly associate with that name of the Dog as a domestic animal. It was not thus that the Dog was to be considered on the pages of the emblem writers. In the metaphors, similes, and figurative allusions he is to be classed with beasts of prey, and chiefly in view of his "affinities" to two-legged creatures of similar dispositions. In the Parabolic Pictures or Hieroglyphic Designs we are to think of him as *the Hunting Dog*, a symbol of patient, persistent, Experimental Philosophy—"smelling out" a trail, following it up and seizing it; or, in other

\* *Macb.* iii. 1.

words, as an Emblem of the Pursuit of Knowledge, and of Reasoning upon Experience.



Facsimile of Headpiece from Pope's Translation of  
*The Iliad*. London. 1720.

## NEW LIGHT ON *TWELFTH NIGHT*.

**A**MONG the Harleian MSS. is a Diary by Manningham, a student of the Middle Temple, in Elizabeth's reign. He tells how the Play of *Twelfth Night* was performed in the great Hall of his Inn of Court. It is a matter of surprise that, interested as he seems to be in the Play, he does not mention the author. It is true, he casually remarks that Shakespeare was present, but he does not connect him by any word with the author of the Play. He gives a short *précis* of it in these words:—

"At our feast, Feb. 2, 1601—2, we had a Play called *Twelve Night*, or *What You Will*, much like the *Comedy of Error*, or *Menechmi* in Plautus, but most like and neere to that in Italian called *Inganni*. A good practise to make the steward believe his lady widowe in love with him, by counterfayting a letter, as from his lady in general terms, telling him what she liked best in him, and then when he came to practise, making him believe they took him to be mad."

Tradition says that the characters of the Play were drawn from life, and that they were well-known persons at court.

Seeing what a world of criticism the Plays have evoked since their first appearance in print, it is a matter of marvel that until now the true originals of the Lady Olivia and the Steward have escaped detection. According to scholars, the Spanish predecessor of Olivia in *Los Engannos* was the Lady Clavella. But I have no doubt whatever that the original of Olivia the Countess, was Arabella the Countess, that mysterious, deeply fascinating character of history, the ill-fated daughter of Darnley's brother Charles Stuart and Elizabeth Cavendish, who was daughter to the Countess of Shrewsbury, better known as Bess of Hardwicke.

Charles Stuart died when Arabella was barely two years old, and Mary Queen of Scots, who apparently took a considerable interest in her, added a clause to her will, giving: "To my niece Arabella the earldom of Lennox held by her Father."

And he "for whose dear love they say, she hath abjured the sight and company of men,"\* is he forthcoming in the story of Arabella's life? Surely, he was no less a personage than Robert Essex, whose execution plunged her into the most profound melancholy for a year after.

In 1601 she writes to Sir Henry Brounker:—

"I have lost all I can lose or almost care to lose, now I am constrained to renew those melancholy thoughts by the smarting feelings of my great loss: who may well say I never shall have the like friend."

The anniversary of his death she spends shut up alone in her chamber, sending Sir Henry the "ill-favoured picture of her grief."†

\*"Like a cloistress she will veiled walk, and water once a day her chamber round with eye-offending brine: all this to season a brother's dead love, which she would keep fresh and lasting, in her sad remembrance."—*Twelfth Night*, Act I., Scene 2.

†"Life of Arabella Stuart," by E. T. Bradley, Vol. I., p. 146.

The Captain tells Viola in the Play that the Countess Olivia will "admit no kind of suit, no, not the Duke's," and in a private letter we have Sir William Fowler's statement that the Lady Arabella "will not hear of marriage."

In lieu of the one Duke Orsino, we have many Dukes who sue for Arabella's hand in vain. Duke Ulrich, the Dane, the Queen's brother, Duke of Holstein; Count Maurice of Nassau, who "pretendeth to be Duke of Gueldres;" and last but not least, Duke Esme Stuart, of Lennox, the Lord D'Aubigny, the favourite and relation of James, who before his own marriage was so desirous that he should wed Arabella. We hear of Esme that he "longeth after her," and this places him unquestionably in the position of the love-lorn Duke of Illyria. What the devotion of Esme failed to win, the green love of a boy accomplished. The Duke to whom she alludes in a letter as "the Duke" was rejected, and William Seymour, the younger son of Lord Beauchamp and grandson of the Earl of Hertford, was loved passionately and married. As with Olivia so with Arabella. Her biographer gives us her impressions of this love story much in the same words as she might comment on the loves of Olivia and Sebastian: "It is only too likely that Arabella's infatuation for the handsome boy overpowered her reason, and that in spite of all opposition she insisted on the marriage."

This occurred eight years after the Play was produced at Shrovetide, in the Middle Temple. But as the wooing of the Lady and the boy had been ten years in progress, the author of *Twelfth Night* may well have taken Seymour for his Hero Sebastian, and have guessed to what Arabella's hot-headed whims would lead her. The Play discloses a very close acquaintance in the author with the *on dits* and inner intrigues of Court life, and that is very suggestive and interesting for us..

And now to discover in the whimsical person of Malvolio the "ridiculous" and "fantastical" Sir William Fowler, who was Queen Anne of Denmark's secretary, and had become, as E. T. Bradley tells us, "intimate with Arabella's relations through his father." Sir Thomas Fowler was the steward and faithful friend and adviser of her grandmother Margaret, the dowager Countess of Lennox.

"William Fowler was a ridiculous personage, at once simpleton and buffoon; but extravagant as is his language, there is a ring of sincerity about his praises of the lady (Arabella), which has led to the supposition that Fowler would, if he had dared, have joined the ranks of her suitors." He calls her the eighth wonder of the world, and writes two Sonnets "unto my most virtuous and honourable lady." A poem is given to prove the extravagant admiration evinced by Fowler for the Lady Arabella. In I. D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, he describes this "rhyming and Fantastical Secretary" as "one of the butterflies who quiver on the fair flowers of a Court," and he quotes from letters of his concerning the Princess, the words, "I dare not attempt her" which lend themselves to the interpretation that he aspired where he could not hope to win. Not one thing only indicates Arabella and Fowler as the originals of Olivia and Malvolio, but point after point. The Play itself, as I hope to show in another Paper, is far older than Shake-speare's *Twelfth Night*.

In conclusion, there is a signature to be found in an Autograph Book belonging to Arabella Stuart, which is interesting as evincing a certain friendship between her and the writer. The name stands thus, *Francis Bacon*. The Book was left her by Mary, Queen of Scots, and the signature was added after it came into her possession.

ALICIA AMY LEITH.

WHEN DID FRANCIS ST. ALBAN DIE?  
WHERE WAS HE BURIED?

WHEN, as individuals or as a Society, we enter upon any serious study or research it is desirable that we should make sure our foundations—that we should be absolutely clear as to what we are talking, arguing, and inquiring about, and as to the ultimate result and benefit of these inquiries.

This may appear a trite and common-place remark, and so with regard to most literary students it would be. With Baconians the case is different, because, since the beginning of methodised researches more than forty years ago, these very inquisitions and explorations have led those engaged in them into entirely new regions, and into heights and depths of speculation quite beyond the original scope of our design. And what was that original design or aim? It was doubtless the same which is being followed at the present day by at least ninety per cent. of even earnest Baconians, until by reading and examination they have advanced farther towards the heart of the mystery. This one predominating and ever-absorbing question we all know well; it is this—“*Did Francis Bacon Write Shakespeare?*” To hear the discussions of many literary people one might suppose that in this question the whole of Baconism lies as in a nutshell, and that this problem once settled there would be nothing left to “*wrangle*” about. That the man Shaksper, Shakpurre, or Shaxberd, was not “*Shakespeare*” (a witty, allusive and punning name for the great Poet-philosopher), and that every line of the works called “*Shakespeare*” was penned by the “concealed poet,” Francis “*Bacon*,” is as absolutely proved as it is possible to prove anything by any hitherto accepted method of analysis,

whether of words or matter. But we must not be allured from the main subject to its various important and fascinating side-paths. The question set down is not *the Thing*, but a branch of it; for is it not true that at the present moment the proper study of Baconians is "*Bacon*," Who was he? Where was he born? How and where did he live? What were his aims? What did he achieve? With many more such simple but unanswered questions.

Let us pass all these, and to-day enter upon a brief inquiry as to *When and where did Francis St. Alban die?* It will probably be thought that this is indeed "a bootless inquisition," for is it not known to every reader of Bacon's "Life" that he died on Easter Sunday, April 9th, 1626? Dr. William Rawley, his Chaplain and Secretary, gave this information in the "Life," first published in 1657, and several times re-printed, with slight or considerable variations, to which we may by-and-by return. In passing, it is well to remark that this "Life" by Rawley goes for very little as an historical document. It seems, on the contrary, to be an example of the ingenious method by which Bacon instructed his followers, on occasion, "*to conceal as well as to reveal*." The opening statement shows this:— "Francis Bacon, the glory of his age and nation, the adorer and ornament of learning, was born in *York House or York Place*, in the Strand," &c. The biographer wishes the general public to suppose *York House* and *York Place* to be one and the same. But *York House* was the residence of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and was in the Strand; whereas *York Place* was the old name for the *Palace* of Whitehall.\* Any observant reader must be struck by the scantiness of the particulars given by Rawley concerning the death and burial

\* There are several other most questionable points in this "Life" upon which so much has been made to hang.



of his beloved master. There is no mention of any person who was with him when he died; no one recorded his last words; no one is said to have attended his funeral; no clergyman is mentioned as having read the service, or delivered the customary funeral sermon. And yet, despite the meagreness of these records, the few particulars which are handed down to us differ so much as to persuade us that not one of them is true.

Men like Dr. Sprat and Dr. Wallis (Presidents of the Royal Society), and Dr. Thomas Fuller, Sir Julius Cæsar, the Bacons' cousin, cannot have been unacquainted with the circumstances of Bacon's death, or with the account of it written by his chaplain, Dr. Rawley. Why, then, do these others ignore Rawley, saying, one that Bacon died at the house of his friend and physician, Dr. Parry, in London; another that he died at the house of Dr. Witherbourne, a mile and a-half from Highgate; a third, that he died at the house of "his cousin, Sir Julius Cæsar." Whereas Rawley states that he died "at the Earl of Arundel's place in Highgate, near London, to which place he casually repaired about a week before." The form of illness will also be found differently given by the various witnesses. Surely these were "all honourable men"—honest one would suppose, and not likely to speak of things which they did not understand. Why, then, did they all deliberately contrive that their witness should not agree together? That is one question; and since Rawley also states calmly and simply that "he\* was buried in St. Michael's Church, St. Albans," no pains have been spared in the attempt to discover if this were true.

With all the inquiries made on the spot, and with the correspondence which ensued, it is

\* The Name is never again mentioned after the opening words of this "Life,"

unnecessary to trouble present readers; it is sufficient to say that in the end I received *a most positive assurance* from the late Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury, that Francis St. Alban was *not*, as had been supposed, buried in the vaults of the Church of St. Michael's. Those vaults were thoroughly examined by himself and a party of experts, and every coffin was seen and identified before the final bricking up of these crypts, by order of the Board of Works. "*Bacon was certainly not buried there.*"

In the *Sylva Sylvarum* several notes occur concerning the preservation of documents, structures, and human bodies from the ravages of time. Bacon speaks of Numa and his two coffins of lead, one for his embalmed body, the other for his works; and although it is evident from the whole passage that it is ambiguous, and intended to be a parable of the preservation of Bacon's own writings, still when Mr. Donnelly was here, in 1888, we thought it worth while to examine into the possibility of Bacon having imitated Numa, by causing himself, and the keys to his writings and method, to be enclosed in the base of the monument in St. Michael's; for it must strike any lover of art that no sculptor or architect would have designed so disproportionately high a base for that fine statue unless some purpose were to be served *by the base itself*. Moreover, there is a crack across the black marble plaque which bears a portion of the inscription, as though violence had been used in attempting to force it out. The old caretaker of the Church told me that when he was a boy, sixty years before, he and his father had entered the Church early one morning and found, to their amazement and distress, that an effort had been made to remove the statue. It was pulled crooked on its base, and the right hand and projecting part of the right foot were broken off. This the old man supposed to be the work

of "body snatchers," or of "some folks who went to get skulls out of graves."

However, on measuring the monument it seemed evident that no human creature taller than a child or a dwarf could have been enshrined within that supposed tomb, and we could only speculate and ponder upon the possibility that this "burial place" might be known to initiates as a repository for some of Bacon's precious documents written like Numa's "in parchment, and covered over with watch-candles of wax, three or four fold."

Future inquirers will do well to observe that there is in the inscription on the monument at St. Michael's Church nothing which expresses that Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount of St. Alban, was buried in that place. It is not even stated that he was dead, but—"Light of the Sciences, Law of Eloquence, *thus he sat.*" For the date, it does not appear that it was *the date of his death*, but in 1626 when he was 66 years of age, his *connection* (his composed or organised body of friends and assistants) was *dissolved*. Like Prospero perhaps he dismissed his ministering spirits to the elements—"Be free," he said to each, "and fare thou well." He had made all smooth for them, and they could now shift for themselves. In future, as Prospero hints in his epilogue, he will work *by his own strength which is his own*, but helped by the "good hands, and gentle breath" of such as care to stay with him in his loneliness.

But to return from fancies to facts, in February 1900, a very learned German gentleman with whom I had for twelve years been in somewhat close correspondence wrote to this effect: "On such a date four years ago I received a letter from you in which you stated a belief that there was but one great author in the century between 1570—1670, and that Bacon did not die in 1626,

*he only died to the world*, but that he lived to a great age. May I ask if you are still of those opinions, and your reasons for them?" Although assured that my correspondent was well aware of these reasons of belief, I wrote them out at full length, repeating my conviction that Francis St. Alban *died only to the world in 1626*. As to later dates I stated a strong suspicion that he was alive, and busy revising and writing new and voluminous works on many subjects in 1640—1. It would be very satisfactory, and would explain every difficulty if it could be proved that he was doing the same in 1662; but perhaps the books then issued were of earlier date or published (like so many of the "minor Poets and Dramatists") *traditionally*.

In answer to this came an enthusiastic letter—triumphant, because "not an American, not a German, but a true Englishwoman" had discovered this "the capital secret" of Rosicrucianism. The writer then stated as an absolute matter of fact that Francis St. Alban lived to the age of 106—(*that is the age assigned to the Rosicrucian Father*). He died in 1668 in full possession of his faculties, having for forty years after his supposed death continued to produce a mass of literature of which hereafter we may have occasion to speak.

Meanwhile I was also informed that "Our Francis" retired into the life of a hermit or recluse, and assumed the name of "Father X." My kind friend also sent me a small portrait of Our Francis as he appeared in his plain black gown without collar or ruff, and with hair and beard cut short. Still there is the "front of Jove himself" the delicately formed nose and mouth, the fine facial outline, and the upstanding curl on the forehead. The engraving is modern, and carefully clipped to prevent identification. From what was it taken? Where is the original? The artist and publisher were

clearly of the *secret Society*, since as usual with such portraits, the eyes are ingeniously made to look out at different angles, and to be of different sizes, yet not so as seriously to injure the drawing.

Shortly after this communication, and the gift of the picture, my learned and inspiriting patron wrote brief regrets that he was no longer able to continue our correspondence. A few corroborative particulars have since that date (1900), been gleaned with regard to the death of Francis St. Alban. Will not some amongst our growing Society take up these loose threads and spin upon them?

1. Who was the Philosopher with whom Thomas Bushel went to the Isle of Man, and there lived in a cave? The bibliography of the Isle of Man should be consulted, and every attainable book closely examined.

2. The history of St. Francis Xavier, said to be so thoroughly well known, now has doubts cast upon its authenticity. All that has been attributed to St. Francis is said to be full of interpolations and unauthentic particulars. Is it possible that Father X travelled to India, or that through agents he established the great Freemason influence amongst the natives which is now found to exist there?

3. My attention has been drawn to a charming little compilation from the writings of Francis Bacon, entitled, "Thoughts that Breathe, and Words that Burn." It is edited by Dr. Alexander B. Grosart, and opens with a glowing Introduction in praise of "this supreme thinker and writer," "an artist of cunningest faculty," ever uplifting his readers, "Immortal."

On page 16 of this little book is a piece headed "Bacon in Retirement, 1629." It is an Epistle Dedicatory to Bishop Andrews in the Volume of "*Holy Wars*," and the date is there 1629; three years later than the writer is supposed to have died. It will be

easy for opponents to say that the date 1629 applies to the date of *publication*; for the "Advertisement touching an Holy War" was published in that year. But first, the date is added to "Bacon in Retirement, 1629," next, no other piece in the book has the date of publication; and lastly, the title-page of the book itself states that it was "written in 1622," "whereunto the author prefixed an epistle to the Bishop of Winchester *last deceased*." Now Andrews, Bishop of Winchester died in 1626, so he could not be "last deceased" to Francis St. Alban if the latter also died early in that year. It will be desirable in future to observe the dates on books, and to note any case where it appears to be the time of *writing*, and not of *printing*, which is truly recorded.

4. The latest piece of intelligence received is the following:—The Head of a large school for ladies "spent her Christmas holidays at Berlin. One evening her host supped out. On his return he told of how 'an old Professor (?) whom he had met—and *who must be cracky*, said that Bacon had not died in 1626, but lived on in Germany; married, and had children. Many of his descendants are alive there to this day.'"

Let it be enquired how much of this is true. The "Children" we may conceive to be the many "*Heirs of his Invention*," which Our Francis produced in retirement, of which he said that they were the true progeny of childless men. But with regard to a residence in Germany, may not that also be true? The dragging-in to *Hamlet* of the name of the Rosicrucian centre, Wittenberg, and of the two Rosicrucian names Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, the "Golden Star" of Truth, are suspicious incidents. We see how little as yet we know, but it is a step forward when we discover that there is something worth knowing, and a step farther when we become convinced that we know nothing.

CONSTANCE M. POTT.

## THE COMEDY OF ERRORS.

THE *Comedy of Errors* is the first of the Shakespeare plays of which we have any notice. Its history is interesting as affording one of the few glimpses we possess of the real life of William Shakspeare. It is instructive as illustrating the early date of the plays, an important branch of the inquiry into their authorship.

For William Shakspeare, who was born in 1564, came to London from Stratford not earlier than 1585, in which year his twin children were born, and more probably not before the last quarter of 1587; since in September, 1587, he concurred with his father and mother, John and Mary Shakspeare, in mortgaging his mother's farm of Ashbies to John Lambert. Moreover, in 1587, John Shakspeare's fortunes reached their lowest ebb, and he was imprisoned for debt; in the same year several theatrical companies visited Stratford; and all circumstances point to the probability that William Shakspeare, no longer gaining aid from his father's trade, followed one of these companies to London and commenced his theatrical career about the end of 1587. If any of the Shakespeare plays were in fact produced before that date, William Shakspeare cannot have been their author.

A *Historie of Errors* was acted before Queen Elizabeth at Hampton Court by "the children of Paul's" in 1576—eleven years, therefore, before William Shakspeare left Stratford. This was apparently the first form of the *Comedy of Errors*. The play is adapted from the *Menæchmi* of Plautus, no translation of which was published until 1595. The writer must therefore have been a classical scholar, and had some interest at Court to get his play acted before the Queen.

The play must have pleased the Queen, since it was

taken up by the Lord Chamberlain's Company ; and we learn from the Account of Revels that "*A Historie of Ferrars* (doubtless the same play misspelt) was shewed before Her Majesty at Wyndesor on Twelf daie (1581) at night, enacted by the Lord Chamberlayne's servants." The play remained with the same company until the time of James I., and was acted by them before the King in 1604.

Was William Shakspeare or Francis Bacon the author of this play ?

In 1576 William Shakspeare was a boy of 12 at Stratford School.

Francis Bacon, in this very year, came for the first time to attend Elizabeth's Court for a few months, before the Queen sent him to Paris in the train of her Ambassador, Sir Amyas Paulet. He had left Cambridge the previous Christmas, after nearly three years' residence, overflowing with classical and other learning, already a favourite of the Queen, and eager to increase her favour.

Brilliant and accomplished, devoted to the drama as he afterwards proved himself, what wonder if Francis Bacon should contrive such an entertainment for the Queen, and with his Court interest readily obtain the services of the "children of Paul's" and a representation at Hampton Court.

In February, 1587, a masque of *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, partly, if not wholly devised by Francis Bacon, was presented to Her Majesty by the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn, which was Bacon's Inn, where he was chief director of the revels; and in 1592 and 1594 he wrote two masques, *The Conference of Pleasure* and *The Indian Prince*, for Essex to present before the Queen. It is certain, therefore, that Francis Bacon did repeatedly provide entertainment for the Queen's dramatic taste.



The coincidence of the date of the production of this play with Francis Bacon's first appearance at Court, his classical qualifications, his dramatic skill, and his courtier aspirations, all point to Francis Bacon as a possible and even the probable author of this play; nor can any other known author of this date be easily suggested. Lilly, the earliest Elizabethan dramatist of note, began writing, it appears, in 1578; he never claimed this play, nor is it in his style. William Shakspeare, at this date at least, had no part in it.

The next notice we have of the *Comedy of Errors* is very remarkable and suggestive. *A Comedy of Errors like to Plautus his Menæchmi* was played at Gray's Inn on 29th December, 1594. The play was acted after a long masque, of which Spedding assures us Bacon was in whole or in part the composer. The proceedings are recorded in the *Gesta Graiorum*,\* from which Halliwell-Phillipps extracts a full account.

The play then acted belonged, as we have seen, to the Lord Chamberlain's Company, and was doubtless substantially the same as that acted in 1579 and 1581; but signs of revision have been pointed out. In the play, as printed for the first time in the Folio of 1623, allusion is made to the civil war in France—France being described as “making war against her heir” (Act III., Sc. 2, l. 125). This war lasted from 1589 to 1594, and the reference to it must have been added after 1581, and about or shortly before 1594. The allusion tends to identify the play printed in the Folio with that acted in 1594.

The Lord Chamberlain's actors were Burbage and his company, including William Shakspeare himself. This company had been acting two comedies or interludes before the Queen at Greenwich, on the 26th and

\* “Outlines,” Vol. I., pp. 122—4.

28th December, which is the first record of William Shakspeare having acted before the Queen.

Halliwell-Phillipps \* says :—

"In accordance with the then usual custom of the Inns of Court, professional actors were engaged for the representation of the *Comedy of Errors*, and, although their names are not mentioned, it may be safely inferred that the play was acted by the Lord Chamberlain's Company, that to which Shakspeare was then attached, and the owners of the copyright."

Mr. Sidney Lee † indeed says :—

"Shakespeare was acting on the same day before the Queen at Greenwich, and it is doubtful if he were present."

Judge Webb, ‡ however, points out that the play was not acted until the second day of the revels—the 29th December.

If, therefore, we may assume that the play was acted at Gray's Inn by the Lord Chamberlain's Company, and that William Shakspeare was himself present as one of the actors, we have here a glimpse of the real life of William Shakspeare. We naturally enquire whether he was then and there recognised as the author of this play, afterwards attributed to him, and as the author of the four or five other Shakespeare plays which had already been produced.

So far from any such recognition being recorded, we are told that on the following evening the prime mover of the revels was arraigned, for having "foisted a company of base and common fellows to make up our disorders with a play of errors and confusions."

Of this "company of base and common fellows" William Shakspeare was an undistinguished member. It seems impossible, therefore, to suppose he could have

\* "Outlines," Vol. I., p. 124.1

† "Life of William Shakespeare," p. 70.

‡ "The Mystery of William Shakespeare," p. 49.

been known to be the author of the play. Yet Bacon, who controlled the revels, must have known who was in fact the author, and, if he was himself that author, may well have kept silence.

But, further, it must be noted and considered that in this same year, and the preceding year, 1593, were published the much-admired poems of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, each dedicated to the Earl of Southampton in the name of William Shakespeare, a name not uncommon, but never before spelt in this fashion. Moreover, we are invited by Mr. Sidney Lee to observe how “the terms of devoted friendship” used in the second dedication, “suggest that Shakespeare’s relations with the brilliant young nobleman had grown closer since he dedicated *Venus and Adonis* to him in colder language a year before.”

Southampton was a member of Gray’s Inn; he must have been present at the play. Can the despised actor, this “base and common fellow,” have been Southampton’s devoted friend?

Nay more, according to Mr. Sidney Lee,\* “Of the 154 (Shakespeare) Sonnets that survive outside his plays, the greater number were in all likelihood composed between the spring of 1593 and the autumn of 1594.” These, he argues, were addressed to Southampton, and the ascription is probable. The first seventeen Sonnets urge Southampton to marry. Already Lord Burleigh’s grand-daughter, Lady Elizabeth Vere, had been offered to him in marriage, but he was reluctant. Later Sonnets touch on even more delicate matters, rivalry in the affections of some lady of the Court. Can it be reasonably believed that one of these “base and common fellows” was Southampton’s intimate monitor, and his rival in the favours of the Court lady.

Surely the recorded facts attending this performance

(\* Page 85).

of the *Comedy of Errors* in 1594 are irreconcilable with the claim of William Shakspeare to be the author of the Play, of the Poems, or of the Sonnets.

Nor does William Shakspeare, the actor, appear to have thereafter emerged from this neglect and disesteem, nor is there any ground for supposing that he did claim the authorship of this play, which, though often acted, was first printed in the Folio of 1623. Even had he revised it, of which there is no evidence, how could he call it his own, and ignore the classical scholar who adapted it from the Latin! and would that scholar have made no protest?

But this, according to the current Shakespeare theory, was William Shakspeare's normal standard of literary morality.

In 1579, the very year Francis Bacon returned from Paris (and let the coincidence of date be noted), the second Shakespeare play appeared, namely, "The Jew shewne at the Bull, representing the greedinesse of worldly choosers, and bloody mindes of usurers." This was the earliest form of *The Merchant of Venice*, taken from two Italian novels, one at least not then translated. The author, therefore, was an Italian scholar. Yet this play, we are assured, was appropriated by William Shakspeare, who called it his own; and the Italian scholar made no sign!

In 1584, while William Shakspeare was still at Stratford, the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, then called *Felix and Philomena*, was acted before the Queen. This play was taken from the Spanish, by a Spanish scholar, enjoying Court favour, and this play also, we are assured, was appropriated by William Shakspeare, and the Spanish scholar never murmured!

And sometime before 1589, before or about the time when William Shakspeare left Stratford, *Hamlet* was produced, taken from the Latin or from the French, by

some scholar who was also a philosopher. This play gained immense popularity; yet this also William Shakspeare appropriated, called it his own, and built upon it his highest fame. But the philosopher made no objection!

Is this story even plausible? Were not the Latin, Italian, Spanish and French scholars, and the philosopher one and the same, having good reason for remaining anonymous, and was not that one Francis Bacon?

How, then, came these and the other plays to be attributed to William Shakspeare?

In 1594, and until 1598 the plays were produced and published anonymously; a strong fact against the Shakspeare authorship, for why should he hide his light? But from 1595 we find the plays began to be attributed to the same author as the poems.

John Weever, in 1599, addressed an epigram to “honey-tongued Shakespeare” praising the poems as “an unmatchable achievement,” and mentioning as his work “*Romeo and Richard*, and more whose names I know not.”

In 1598 *Love's Labour's Lost* was published, with the name of “W. Shakspeare” on the title-page; and in the same year Meres praises “mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare” for his poems and “his sugared Sonnets” among his private friends; and also as the most excellent in both tragedy and comedy for the stage, enumerating six tragedies and six comedies, including *Gentlemen of Verona*, *Errors*, and *Merchant of Venice*, which, however assigned to Shakspeare, he cannot have originally written.

Dr. Ingleby, who collected the contemporary allusions to Shakespeare in his *Centurie of Praise*, points out that none, before the publication of the Folio of 1623, directly identify the man or the actor with the writer of

the plays and poems; and it is not a little remarkable to find that the actor, notwithstanding the praise bestowed on the plays, seems to have remained unnoticed.

In 1599 Burbage, the head of the company to which Shakspeare belonged, and who therefore knew him well, built the Globe Theatre, and "to ourselves we joined those deserving men Shakspeare, Hemings, Condall, Phillips, and others;" and when he occupied the Blackfriars Theatre in 1609, he placed in it "men players, which were Heming, Condall, Shakspeare, &c." No distinction is made between Shakspeare and his fellow-actors.

In 1601 Shakspeare acted with his company before the Queen, the night before Essex's execution, without apparent suspicion that he was in any way concerned with the play of *Richard II.*, although the acting of that play, on the eve of Essex's insurrection, was one of the acts of treason alleged against that noble's accomplices.

At James's Coronation, in 1603, Shakspeare, who with Burbage and others were now licensed as the King's Company, walked undistinguished with the other actors in the procession; and all alike received four and a-half yards of scarlet cloth, the badge of their profession.

And in January, 1604-5, the summoning of Burbage's Company to play before James's Queen at Southampton's house is thus described by Sir Walter Cope, in a letter to Viscount Cranborne "at the Court":—

"I have sent and bene all thys morning huntynge for *players, juglers and such kinde of creaturs*, but fynde them hard to fynde; wherefore leaving notes for them to seeke me. Burbage ys come, and sayes ther ys no newe playe that the Queene hath not seene, but they have revived an olde one cawled *Love's Labore Lost*, which for wytt and myrthe, he says, will please her exceedingly, and thys ys apointed to be playd to-morrowe night at my

Lord of Southampton's, unless you send a wrytt to remove the *corpus cum causa* to your house in Strande. Burbage is my messenger ready attending your pleasure.”

Was one of that “kinde of creaturs,” then Southampton's bosom friend?

After Shakspeare's retirement to Stratford, in 1611, some respect was shewn to his wealth, but no honour to his dramatic talents. In the next year, 1612, the performance of all stage plays at Stratford was forbidden by the municipality under a penalty of £10. No notice seems to have been taken of his death in 1616, although some time before 1623 the monument, with its effusive epitaph, was erected, but by whom does not appear.

When Bacon died, and when Ben Jonson died, a host of elegies bewailed their loss.

It may be supposed that Francis Bacon used Shakspeare as his go-between with the theatre, and his scribes at Twickenham doubtless supplied the unblotted copies, which Heming and Condell in their simplicity admired. Shakspeare's fellow-players may have recognised in him the real or nominal author of the plays, without caring to enquire further. But Ben Jonson at least scoffed at his pretensions, well knowing that many of the plays were earlier than Shakspeare's theatrical career, and further, that he was incapable of such productions. This ambiguous position is expressed in Ben Jonson's epigram, to the “Poet Ape who would be thought our Chief,” which Sir Theodore Martin, and other Shakespearians, admit must refer to Shakspeare, as the only poet-actor who had gained wealth, and could claim pre-eminence; in it Ben Jonson dubbed him “a bold thief, and added :

“A first he made low shifts, would pick and glean,  
Buy the reversion of old plays. Now grown

## "The Comedy of Errors."

To a little wealth and credit in the scene,  
He takes up all, makes each man's wit his own."

In 1623, the Shakespeare plays were collected and published in the Folio, under the auspices of Ben Jonson, who, at the same time, was, as we learn from Archbishop Tenison, Bacon's literary assistant. Bacon was petitioning the King for official employment, and could not disclose his authorship, which must remain veiled behind the name under which the plays had long been known.

To return to the *Comedy of Errors*. This play, as originally written, and twice acted before Elizabeth, was not written by William Shakspere, of Stratford. If he afterwards revised the play, of which there is no evidence, he had no just title to call the play his own. The circumstances attending the third production of the play in 1594 appear to show that he did not claim to be the author, nor was recognised as such, nor indeed as the author of the Poems and Sonnets then already published.

The facts combine to point to Francis Bacon as the author of the play.

G. C. BOMPAS.



DELUSION and error do not perish by controversial warfare. They perish under the slow and silent operations of changes to which they are unable to adapt themselves.—EDWARD CLODD (Pioneers of Evolution).



## NOTES, QUERIES, AND CORRESPONDENCE.

### The Bi-Literal Cipher.

WE are happy to state that Mrs. Gallup has furnished the Bacon Society with the means of checking some of her deciphered work. She has been good enough to forward manuscripts of the complete italic text of *Henry VII.* (1622). The letters have been marked off into groups of five, of which each unit is assigned to A or B font.

The Council are taking steps for a complete and careful scrutiny, and the result will be made public with the least possible loss of time.

We greatly regret to hear that Mrs. Gallup has not yet recovered from the physical break-down which unhappily disabled her two years ago.

---

### The Awakening of St. Albans.

IT is a satisfaction to record that the result of several successful meetings at St. Albans has been the formation of "The St. Albans Bacon Society for the Study of Elizabethan Literature." It is hoped that the Right Hon. the Earl of Verulam will accept the Presidentship. The inaugural meeting took place on Friday, March 4th, 1904, when Sir William Wasteneys occupied the chair; after the necessary business, Mrs. C. H. Ashdown delivered a Lecture upon "The Haunts and Homes of Francis Bacon," illustrated by the lantern, the major portion of the slides and also of the subject matter having been kindly furnished by Mrs. H. Pott.

The new Society has issued the following prospectus:—

THE ST. ALBANS BACON SOCIETY,  
*For the Study of Elizabethan Literature.*

The objects of the Society are :—

1. To encourage the general study of literature, with special regard to the Elizabethan period.
2. To encourage the study of the works of Francis Bacon as philosopher, lawyer, statesman, and poet; also his character, genius, and life; his influence on his own and succeeding times; the tendencies and results of his writings, and his connection with St. Albans and its neighbourhood.
3. To study and investigate the works of Shakespeare, and their connection with contemporary drama; also to receive, discuss, and impartially consider, evidence relating to their authorship.
4. To found a library of Elizabethan literature in St. Albans dealing with the subjects enumerated above.
5. To encourage the visits of eminent students of Elizabethan literature to St. Albans, with a view to popular lectures, &c.
6. To afford assistance to the many visitors, English, foreign, and especially American, who annually visit the local places of interest associated with the name of Francis Bacon.

It will be seen from the preceding that the object in view is to found a Literary Society confined mainly to the Elizabethan period, the introduction of the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy giving the touch of opposition which is necessary to encourage critical research, while at the same time being desirable from the ever-increasing interest which it evokes.

At the same time the foundation of such a Society would remove the stigma which now rests upon St. Albans of "knowing nothing of its greatest man," for to many in the town Bacon is but a name, vaguely associated with Gorhambury and some system of philosophy. He says, "For my name and memory I leave it to men's charitable speeches, and to foreign nations, and the next ages" To Albanians this name and memory should be a precious heritage to be rescued at all hazards from the limbo of dull forgetfulness to which it has been locally relegated for many generations.

The leader of this admirable movement is Mr. C. H. Ashdown, the author of the standard "History of the City of St. Albans." His efforts have been energetically and ably seconded by Mr. J. M. Wood.

## Lord Macaulay.

IN his lately-published work, "William Penn," by Augustus C. Buell, we find the following criticism of Macaulay, with reference to his remarks on "William Penn," and the "Maids of Taunton," in his "History of England":—

"As a model of English composition, Macaulay has no superior; as a guide to the truth of history many equals! He always wrote for an object—party and the peerage. He gained his ambition. Macaulay dearly loved a lord. But all his love was lavished upon live lords. He licked the hand that fed him—a good trait. He bit the hands that did not feed him. Occasionally he made a vicious snap at some hand, which, having once fed him, had quit. He wrote his 'History of England' to defame the Stuarts. This was not because he himself hated them, but because he knew that defamation of them would please the *régime* to which he must look for his peerage."

Mr. Buell evidently knows what he is writing about. One of Macaulay's *bêtes noires* was Bacon. Bacon was *not* a live lord, hence the slanders in the Essay on Bacon.

---

"A Change of Treatment."

FROM the ever-entertaining *Literary World*, March 4th, 1904:—

"A reviewer of Mr. Churton Collins's 'Studies in Shakespeare' seems to think that the only way to kill the 'Baconian craze' is by the way of kindness. 'The truth is (he says) that an *idée fixe*, like the Baconian craze, will never yield to the methods of the bludgeon; it needs a calmer and more persuasive style, more consciousness of the stronger points, few as they are, of the craze—in a word, more good temper and less excitement.' The 'Baconian craze' has certainly had a fair amount of bludgeoning. There may be something in the contention that a change of treatment is necessary."

We shall expectantly await the studied argument, the calmer, more persuasive style, hitherto so conspicuously lacking.

### “Country Fruits.”

WITH reference to the passage in the “Epistle Dedicatorie” of the First Folio, “Country hands reach foorth milke, creame, fruits, or what they haue,” a correspondent sends us the following parallel from a letter from Bacon sent to Sir George Villiers, upon the sending his patent for Viscount Villiers to be signed.

“And now, because I am in the country, I will send you some of my country fruits ; which, with me, are good meditations ; which when I am in the city are choked with business.”

The remainder of the letter runs as follows :

“After that the King shall have watered your new dignities with his bounty of the lands which he intends you, and that some other things concerning your means which are now likewise in intention shall be settled upon you ; I do not see but you may think your private fortunes established ; and therefore it is now time that you should refer your actions chiefly to the good of your sovereign and your country. It is the life of an ox or beast always to eat, and never to exercise ; but men are born (and specially Christian men), not to cram in their fortunes, but to exercise their virtues ; and yet the other hath been the unworthy, and (thanks be to God) sometimes the unlucky humour of great persons in our times. Neither will your further fortune be the further off : for assure yourself that fortune is of a woman's nature, that will sooner follow you by slighting than by too much wooing. And in this dedication of yourself to the public, I recommend unto you principally that what I think was never done since I was born ; and which not done hath bred almost a wilderness and solitude in the King's service ; which is, that you countenance, and encourage, and advance able men and meriting men in all kinds, degrees, and professions. For in time of the Cecils, the father and the son, able men were by design and of purpose suppressed ; and though of late choice goeth better both in church and commonwealth, yet money, and turn-serving, and cunning canvasses, and importunity prevail too much. And in places of moment, rather make able and honest men yours, than advance those that are otherwise because they are yours. As for cunning and corrupt men, you must (I know), sometimes use them ; but keep them at a distance ; and let it appear that you make use of them, rather than that they lead you. Above all, depend wholly (next to God) upon the King ; and be ruled (as hitherto you have been) by his instructions ; for that is best for yourself. For the King's care and thoughts concerning you

are according to the thoughts of a great king ; whereas your thoughts concerning yourself are and ought to be according to the thoughts of a modest man. But let me not weary you. The sum is, that you think goodness the best part of greatness ; and that you remember whence your rising comes, and make return accordingly. God ever keep you.

“Gorhambury, 1616.”

### Honorificabilitudine.

A CORRESPONDENT informs us that he has found in “*Les Bigarrures et Touches du Seigneur des Accords* [pseudonym for Estienne Tabourot] *avec les Apophthegmes du Sieur Gaulard et les Escraignes Dijonnoises*,” a curious little work brimfull of Rebus, Anagrams, and similar allusive devices, in the 2nd edition, Paris, 1608, 12mo, Vol. I., p. 127, at the end of a chapter on Leonine Verses, this “*addition of another* :”

“J’ay leu dans un vieil Legiste, barbare *quidem* à son parler, mais fort decisif, ce quatrain mignard, trousseé, veridique :

“Annis mille iam peractis  
Nulla fides est in pactis,  
Mel in ore, verba lactis,  
Fel in corde, fraus in factis.”

This quatrain is almost identical with the one on the famous Northumberland MS., followed there by a sort of signature written by the same hand at the same time :

“Multis annis iam transactis,  
Nulla fides est in pactis,  
Mell in ore Verba lactis,  
Fell in corde, ffraus in factis.  
“Your lovinge  
“ffrend,  
“honorificabili(?)tudine.”

The same correspondent says that the last word is not, as commonly supposed by some Baconians, “honorificabilitudino.” The letter (italicized in the quotation above) after the *l* cannot be an *i*, for it looks in the MS. rather like a *c* or *e*, and has, moreover, no

dot. The last letter of the word is not an *o*, but an *e*, which may be readily seen by comparing it with the *o*'s and *e*'s of other words in the MS., for instance, of the word "*ore*" in the stanza. The examination of another contemporary handwriting showed the same difference between the letters *o* and *e*, the latter looking there, as here, like *o* with a little loop at the top.

This form of *e*, naturally misleading to anyone not familiar with Elizabethan handwritings, was very likely developed from the form  $\epsilon$  by the peculiar manner in which this letter apparently was often made in the 16th and 17th centuries: first the lower half (the pen moving downward); then the upper half (the pen likewise moving downward). The rapid doing of these two separate curve movements would tend to keep the pen to the paper, and so to unite these two movements into one, which would in hasty or careless writing produce a figure intended for *e*, but looking so very much like an *o*. The upper curve would tend to become a *small* loop, because the pen was often carried rapidly from this letter right on to the next.

The correctness of this explanation will be evident to anyone who tries to write an  $\epsilon$  rapidly a number of times as here described.

For these reasons the mock-Latin word at the end of the above Latin quatrain is not "honorificabilitudino," and it does not, therefore, permit the anagrammatic interpretation given it by Dr. Isaac Hull Platt.

---

### "The Praise of Shakespeare."\*

THIS is an anthology of criticism in prose and verse; an excellent work for which Baconians and

\*"The Praise of Shakespeare": an English Anthology, compiled by C. E. Hughes. With a preface by Sidney Lee Methuen and Co. 3s. 6d.

Shakesperians alike owe Mr. C. E. Hughes a debt of gratitude.

The first flower in Mr. Hughes's garland is from Meres's *Palladis Tamia*, the last from Judge Willis's "Trial at Bar." Why this last lengthy and farcical quotation is honoured by a place in an otherwise dignified and well chosen selection we cannot say. The book is admittedly a missile aimed at Baconian beads, and we can only surmise that having ransacked the world of literature Mr. Hughes deems Judge Willis to be the most potent and irresistible writer in the Shakespearian ranks.

The book is vouched by a preface from the pen of Mr. Sidney Lee. It displays the facile assurance and the authentic style which we are wont to associate with the name of this writer.

---

### Bacon-Shakespeare Pamphlets.

ARRANGEMENTS are in progress for the issue of a series of pamphlets, which will present in a concise and uncontroversial form the main features of the Baconian theory. A second series, refuting the inaccuracies and misstatements of prominent critics, is likewise in preparation.

The first number of this series is already in the press and will be ready shortly. It is a revised and enlarged reprint of Mr. Stronach's recent article in *The Pall Mall Magazine*, "A Critic Criticised: Mr. Sidney Lee and the Baconians."

---

### A Parallel.

A CORRESPONDENT draws our attention to the following parallel:—

I'll ride in golden armour like the sun ;

And in my helm a triple plume shall spring,  
 Spangled with diamonds, dancing in the air,  
 To note me Emperor of the three-fold world ;  
 Like to an almond-tree y-mounted high  
 Upon the lofty and celestial mount  
 Of ever-green Selimus, quaintly deck'd  
 With blooms more white than Erycina's brows,  
 Whose tender blossoms tremble every one  
 At every little breath that thorough heaven is blown.

MARLOWE (*Tamburlaine II.*, Act IV., Sc. 3).

\* \* \* \* \*

Upon the top of all his loftie crest,  
 A bouch of heares discoloured diversly,  
 With sprinckled pearle and gold full richly drest,  
 Did shake, and seem'd to daunce for iollity ;  
 Like to an almond-tree ymounted hye  
 On top of greene Selinis all alone,  
 With blossoms brave bedeckéd daintily ;  
 Whose tender locks do tremble every one  
 At everie little breath that under heaven is blowne.

SPENSER (*Fairy Queen*, B. I., C. vii., St. 32).

The above passages both appeared in print for the first time in the same year, 1590.

---

### Freedom of the Press.

**M**R. C. Y. C. DAWBARN draws our attention to the following proclamation. It was issued in the year 1585 :—\*

“Whereas dyvers bokes filled bothe with heresy, sedityon, and treason, have of late, and be dayly broughte into thys Realme out of foreine countries and places beyond the seas, and some also covertly printed within this Realme and caste abroad in sundrye partes thereof, whereby not only God is dishonoured,

\* Arber Reprints, vol. i., p. 92.



but also an encouragemente geven to disobey lawful princes and governors. The Kyng and Queenes majesties for redresse hereof by this their present proclamation declare and publishe to all their subjectes that whosoever shall after the proclaymyng hereof be founde to have any of the sayde wycked and seditious bokes, or finding them doo not forthwith burne the same, without showing or reading the same to any other person, shall in that case be reputed and taken for a rebel, and shall without delay be executed for that offence according to the order of marshall lawe. Given, &c.

"God save the Kyng and the Quene."

As late as 1583 two men were hanged in Suffolk for the sole offence of distributing a work by Robert Brown, the would-be ecclesiastical reformer.

---

### Wanted Facts.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—In your January number, Mr. Theobald asks what is the *Quatuor Coronati*, and where obtainable?

The "Quatuor Coronati" is the name of the Masonic Lodge, No. 2076. It has published reprints of several masonic manuscripts, and also publishes a magazine entitled "Ars Quatuor Coronati."

FRA. J. BURGOYNE.

Tate Library, Brixton.

---

### The Perplexity of "The Literary World."

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

It is interesting to learn, on the authority of *The Literary World*, that M. Guillaume Apollinaire takes for granted the pseudonymic character of the name "William Shakespeare."

Writing in *L'Européen* on the tercentenary of Cervantes, he begins what he has to say as follows:—

"On the 23rd April, 1616, there died an obscure English actor named Shekspere, to whom, on account of the similarity of the names, people afterwards attributed the works of a more illustrious unknown, who signed himself 'William Shakespeare.'"

Considering the facts of history as they have come down to us, this reads like sound commonsense, yet *The Literary World* naïvely remarks, "We do not understand why M. Apollinaire should start his article with this extraordinary paragraph." One

would have thought, after all that has been written on the subject, that an explanation might at least have suggested itself.

HELEN STEWART.

### John Aubrey.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—In the October number of *BACONIANA*, in the article "Shakespeare Reminiscences," there are one or two points in the way of slips and misapprehensions, which you will, perhaps, allow me to draw attention to, as I have not seen any reference to them in the January number.

Mr. Hutchinson, the writer of the article, says, "that very soon after 1630 John Aubrey visited Stratford-on-Avon." What I would ask to be allowed to point out is that, so far as I can find, there is absolutely no direct evidence that Aubrey ever visited Stratford at all. Writers on Shakespeare all seem to make the statement that he *did*. Halliwell-Phillipps, for example, speaks of him visiting Stratford on one of his equestrian journeys, and so with the other authorities. But I am quite unable to find whence they get their fact, apart from Aubrey's statement in his "Life" that he had "been told heretofore by some of the neighbours that when he was a boy he exercised his father's trade." Certainly these words would commonly be taken to imply that Aubrey had visited Stratford, but there is no indication that I can find in Britton's "Memoir of John Aubrey," that he ever was there.

The notes which constitute Aubrey's "Lives," were written about 1680. They appear to have been written very hastily, in the year or years immediately preceding that date, and more or less worked over subsequently. We must take them as they are. Aubrey himself describes them as "these Minutes of Lives" put in writing, "tumultuarily, as they occurred to my thoughts." Thus the notes, such as they are, cannot rank very highly as biography or biographical material. Still, they have a distinct value of their own, and I think the contemptuous manner in which Halliwell-Phillipps alludes to them in his "Outlines" is very unjust and very improper. He calls Aubrey a foolish and detestable gossip. Aubrey was a scholar, a man of wide culture and sympathies, a distinguished antiquary and topographer, sagacious as well as industrious, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. Whatever may be the shortcomings of his writings, it is not seemly to stigmatise such a man as a foolish and detestable gossip.

When Mr. Hutchinson spoke of Aubrey's "Peregrinations round Stratford, sometime about 1642," he was, perhaps, misled by his recollection of the mention of that date in the notes about Shakespeare, where Aubrey, referring to the village constable

at Grendon, in Buckinghamshire, says, "And there was living that constable about 1642, when I first came to Oxon." In that year Aubrey was 16 years old, and was entered at Trinity College, Oxford.

This point of Aubrey's visiting Stratford is both interesting and important, and it would be a useful service if anyone would produce direct evidence that he did make such a visit. It is in the belief that no such evidence exists that I have written this note, in order to draw attention to the point.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

A. HASTINGS WHITE.

## A Hamlet Amendment.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR, — May I draw your attention to a misreading of Shakespeare? It has been curiously overlooked by commentators. Polonius, in reading Hamlet's letter [Act II., Sc. ii.], says, in modern editions, "beautified Opelia is a *vile* phrase." The folio of 1623 gives it as *viled* phrase, quite another thing. In John Spencer's *Promus*, or "Storehouse of Similes," printed at Sion College, MDCLVIII. occurs this passage, "The Scripture . . . whence may be gathered . . . phrases to polish our speeches with . . . far above all *filed* phrases of human elocution."

Again, in Todd's edition of Samuel Johnson's Dictionary [1827], we find under *File*, "There hath flourished in England so fine and *filed* phrases . . . as may countervayle the doings of Virgil, Ovid, etc." Todd says Johnson gives Shakespeare as using the word in this sense without reference.

In our Baconian edition of the Plays this error should be corrected.

Yours truly,

ALICIA A. LEITH.

Hampstead.

## LIST OF WORDS OMITTED ON PAGE 58 OF PRECEDING ISSUE.

ACADEME, Accite, Acknownd, Admiration, Advertising, Aggravate, Argentine (in the spurious Play, *Pericles*), Artificial, Aspersion, Cacodæmon, Capricious, Captious, Cast, Casual, Circumscribe, Civil, Collect, Collection, Comfort, Complement, Composition, Composure, Compound, Concert, Conduce, Conduct, Confine, Confineless, Confix, Congruent, Consign, Consist, Contain, Content, Continent, Contraction, Contrive, Conveniences, Convent, Conversation, Convince, Crescive, Crisp. Decimation, Defused, Degenenerate, Deject, Delated, Delation, Demerits, Demise, Depend, Deprave, Derogate, Derogation, Determine,

Determinate, Determination, Discoloured, Dissemble, Distrust, Distraction, Document, Double. Eminent, Epitheton, Err, Errant, Erring, Evitate, Exempt, Exhaust, Exhibition, Exigent, Expedient, Expedition, Expostulate, Expulsed, Exsufficate, Extenuate, Extirp, Extracting. Facinorous, Fact, Fatigate, Fine, Fraction, Frustrate. Glory, Gratulate, Immanity, Imponed, Impose, Imposition, Incense, Incertain, Include, Indigent, Indign, Indubitate, Inequality, Inform, Infortunate, Inhabitable, Inherit, Inheritor, Insisture, Insisting, Instance, Instant, Intend, Intensively. Lethé. Mere, Merely, Merit, Modesty. Occident, Officious. Paint, Painted, Palliament, Perdition, Perdurable, Periapt, Permission, Perpend, Person, Pervert, Plant, Plausibly, Port, Portable, Prefer, Preposterous, Prevent, Probation, Propension, Recordation, Reduce, Refelled, Religious, Remonstrance, Renege, Replete, Repugn, Repugnancy, Repute, Rivage, Ruinate. Scope, Secure, Security, Seen, Segregation, Semblable, Sensible, Septentrious, Simular, Solemn, Sort, Substitute, Success. Tenable, Terms, Translate. Uंबर'd.

---

### Postscript.

MR. J. CHURTON COLLINS' *Studies in Shakespeare* will be dealt with in the following number. It is regrettable that so able a writer should disfigure his work by vituperative vulgarity.

In the March Number of the *Pall Mall Magazine*, Mr. George Moore avows his belief that "for purely poetical reasons" Bacon adopted as a pseudonym "the sweet illusive pen name" of Shakespeare.

The March Number of *Broad Views* contains an anti-Shakespearean article entitled "The Great Stratford Superstition." This is to be followed by other articles from alternate sides.

The American Monthly, *The Open Court* for January and February, contains excellent articles negating the possibility of the play-actor Shaksper being the author Shakespeare. Neither writer is at present prepared to accept Bacon as the authentic Shakespeare, but a little further investigation will doubtless bring both to that assured conviction that is born of doubt. *Broad Views* and *The Open Court* are published by Kegan Paul & Co., Ltd.

Reviews of *Shakespeare Still Enthroned* (Rowland's), and *The History of the Conversion of Sir Tobie Mathew* (Mathew) are held over until the following Number.

JULY 1904

# BACONIANA

A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE



## CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Northumberland Manuscript ... ..	137
Macaulay and Bacon ... ..	150
"Studies in Shakespeare" ... ..	158
When did Francis Bacon Die? Where was He Buried? ... ..	166
Bacon of London as Timon of Athens ...	170
The "Night of Errors" at Gray's Inn ...	174
The "Fleur De Lys" ... ..	176
The Bacon-Shakespeare Controversy. in France ... ..	179
Shaksper and the Stratford Enclosures ...	182
Reviews ... ..	185
Mr. W. C. Hazlitt on Mr. S. Lee and the Baconians ... ..	191
Notes, Queries, and Correspondence ...	193

LONDON

GAY &amp; BIRD

23 BEDFORD STREET

Cases for Bind  
can be had from  
the Publisher

# The Bacon Society.

(INCORPORATED.)

---

THE objects of the Society are expressed in the Memorandum of Association to be :—

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

The annual subscription of Members, who are entitled to vote at the Society's business meetings, is one guinea ; that of Associates is half-a-guinea.

The Society's Library and Rooms are at 11, Hart Street, London, W.C. (close to the British Museum), where the Secretary attends daily, and from 3 to 6 o'clock will be happy to supply further information.

# BACONIANA.

---

VOL. II. *Third Series.* JULY, 1904.

No. 7.

---

## THE NORTHUMBERLAND MANUSCRIPT.

THE Northumberland Manuscript is well known to most students of the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy. It was found with other papers in a box, for many years unopened, at Northumberland House, Charing Cross. It consists apparently of a quire of twenty-four sheets, including the cover, one sheet and half the cover being now missing, and now contains ninety pages, in which various documents have been copied, mostly speeches or other papers composed by Francis Bacon. The points of chief interest of the document are, that on the cover are written lists of papers, some of which are copied within, and some are not so copied, and that these lists include, besides writings of Francis Bacon, two of the Shakespeare plays (not copied), namely, *Richard II.* and *Richard III.*, and further that the cover is written all over with a "scribble" of words, names and phrases, amongst which appear the name of Francis Bacon nine or ten times, and the name of William Shakespeare in full or abbreviated, ten or fifteen times. There are also Shakespeare quotations from *Lucrece* and from *Love's Labour's Lost*.

This association of the names and works of Francis

Bacon and William Shakespeare is remarkable, and constitutes the great interest of the Manuscript. How should it be explained?

The Duke of Northumberland has recently allowed the whole of the Manuscript to be photographed, and it will be immediately published by Messrs. Longmans. It has been carefully edited by Mr. Frank J. Burgoyne, librarian of the Lambeth Public Libraries, and collytype facsimiles, with transcripts on an enlarged scale of the cover, will be given.

Mr. Douse has recently published an interesting monograph on the Manuscript, with a facsimile of the cover.\*

Mr. Douse's careful research has identified, with high probability, the name of the scribe who wrote the whole or great part of the "scribble," a success on which he is to be congratulated. The document may be further studied in this fresh light, to endeavour to ascertain the circumstances under which it was written.

Mr. Douse identifies the writer of the "scribble" with John Davies, of Hereford, a professional scrivener, and the most skilful penman of his time, whose profession it was to copy documents for his various employers, and also to give instruction in the art of writing. Davies was employed for some time by the Earl of Northumberland (in the possession of whose descendants the Manuscript now is), and instructed the Earl's family in his art. He was also a scholar, educated at Oxford University, and a writer of numerous sonnets, among them several addressed to the Earl and Countess of Northumberland and other members of their family, and one addressed to Francis Bacon.

Mr. Douse supposes that the document was possibly presented by Bacon to the Earl of Northumberland, but

\* "The Northumberland Manuscript," by T. Le Marchant Douse, B.A. Taylor and Francis, 1904.



that it was more probably written by John Davies under the instructions, or for the use of the Earl. Neither of these hypotheses appears satisfactory.

John Davies certainly would not have so defaced with "scribble" one of his employer's books, nor would Bacon have presented a book so defaced to the Earl.

Mr. Douse agrees with Mr. Spedding that the "scribble," consisting of about 200 entries, was written by the penman "either for the trial of his pens or for experiments in handwriting." Why John Davies made use of this cover for the purpose, instead of taking a separate sheet, we know not; this it seems lay to his hand, and he so used it. Mr. Douse believes that the outer sheet was the outer page of the quire of paper which, when folded and stitched together, formed the manuscript book in which the contents were written. If this is so, the whole book must have belonged to John Davies himself, with the right to deal with it as he found convenient. This fact forms the basis of the history of the book. The book, as Mr. Douse points out, originally contained only the "Praises," of which a list is given in a handwriting different from the "scribble" at what Mr. Douse calls the N.E. quarter of the cover. These "Praises," called by Spedding "A Conference of Pleasure," were written by Francis Bacon in 1592, for a device to be presented by Essex before the Queen. Several copies of these speeches would doubtless be required for the performance, some of which would afterwards be superfluous, and this may be one.

Francis Bacon, as we know from his letters, employed scribes at Twickenham to write out or copy manuscripts for him, and would need such as were both skilful and scholarly. In 1592 John Davies was 27, and at the beginning of his career. It was fifteen years later, in 1607, that an entry appears in the Northumber-

land accounts of a payment showing his employment by the Earl. It seems highly probable, therefore, that in 1592 John Davies may have been in the employ of Francis Bacon, and this is confirmed by the following facts :—

(a) Seven of the documents in the book are Bacon's works, then unpublished, to which Davies could scarcely have access unless in Bacon's employ.

(b) Francis Bacon's name appears nine or ten times in the "scribble," showing some close connection.

(c) Eighteen or nineteen years afterwards, in 1610 or 1611, Davies published a sonnet to Francis Bacon, praising his bounty, from which, as Mr. Douse says, "it seems that Bacon had recently made him a present in money, or, more probably, had paid him lavishly for some assistance." Between 1603 and 1609 Bacon published a series of philosophical treatises, including the *Advancement of Learning*, and for these, or other work, would require the aid of a good penman and competent scholar, qualifications which Davies possessed, and which doubtless were liberally rewarded.

It may, therefore, be fairly inferred that John Davies was in Bacon's employ for some time, commencing about 1592, and again eighteen or nineteen years later.

The "Praises" are said to be written in the common engrossing hand, the uniform style of which precludes distinction of handwriting, but Spedding says that the use or misuse of points and capitals shows that the writer was probably "an ignorant lawyer's clerk." If so, these were not written by Davies in the course of his employment either for Bacon or the Earl, but may have been written by his clerk or by another scribe, and retained with Bacon's permission for Davies' own use.

Some years later the Manuscript seems to have come into the possession of the Earl of Northumberland, or

more likely, perhaps, of one of his sons when a pupil of Davies, and who might take interest in tilt-yard speeches. But during the period the "scribble" was being written, the book and its contents must have belonged to the writer, John Davies.

The "scribble" appears to relate to the first period of Davies' employment by Bacon, and must have been written when Davies was employed upon more important work, written out by himself, and for which he was trying his pen, or experimenting. On examination it will be found to extend over several years, and to give some clue to the nature of John Davies' employment, for a copyist trying his pen or experimenting in his handwriting would generally and naturally use some word or phrase from the document he was copying, and not let his imagination wander.

The ownership of the book by John Davies goes far to account for the desultory way in which the contents were selected, and for the irregular and imperfect lists indorsed on the cover, being in great part notes of documents not copied in that Manuscript, but upon which the writer was in some way engaged. These irregular lists are little consistent with the hypothesis of a formal Manuscript prepared by order of the Earl, or presented to him by Bacon.

The "Praises" constitute the first list written on the cover, and may be assigned to 1592, in which year the "Praises" were written.

The four documents copied in the book immediately following the "Praises" are all Bacon's works, probably of early date; one is said to have been written in 1589. None of these are mentioned on the cover. We are told nothing of the handwriting, and must assume that they were written by John Davies, the then owner of the Manuscript, or by his clerk, soon after the date of the "Praises."

Next follow four documents, also copied into the book, three of which are enumerated on the cover, and of these two are speeches composed by Bacon for the Earls of Essex and Sussex, "at the tilt," in 1595 and 1596.

Next follow on the cover "Orations at Graies Inne Revels," "Letter to the Queen's Maty by Mr. Francis Bacon," and "Essaies by the same author." None of these are copied.

The seven last-mentioned documents form the second list on the cover and must be assigned to 1595 to 1597. Bacon's Essays, first published, appeared in 1597.

Then follows the third and last list. There is written on the cover "By Mr. Francis Bacon"—"William Shakespeare," these nearly side by side, and a little below are written, "Rychard the second," "Rychard the third," "Asmund and Cornelia," "Ile of Dogs, fragment by Thomas Nashe, inferior plaier." None of these are copied in this book; they would be too long to be contained in it, but these entries seem to show that John Davies was employed on or intended to copy them.

*Richard II.* and *Richard III.*, though written about 1592 or 1593, were first printed anonymously in 1597. Nash's play of the *Ile of Dogs* was produced in 1597.

These lists and the documents copied show that the connection between the writer and Francis Bacon continued up to 1597, and perhaps for some years later.

Let us now consider the contents, and search in the "scribble" to find any further clue to the work on which this skilful penman was engaged during this period.

That he had been working for Francis Bacon, and upon his writings, is indicated by the nine or ten repetitions of his name in the "scribble," and is confirmed by the contents of the Manuscript.

It also appears that the writer was engaged in some way on works of William Shakespeare, whose name in full appears in the "scribble" five times, and the surname in full three times, besides seven incomplete beginnings of the name. Moreover, the two plays, *Richard II.* and *Richard III.*, are named, and two scraps quoted from *Lucrece* and *Love's Labour's Lost* are also found in the "scribble." What, then, was John Davies' employment in connection with these works?

Observe first that the name is always, eight times over, spelt "Shakespeare," a new form invented in 1593 and never known to be used before, first appearing in print at the foot of the dedication to Lord Southampton of *Venus and Adonis* in 1593, and reappearing in 1594 in the dedication of *Lucrece*, and after 1598 printed on the title-page of many of the plays.

Who invented this new form of the name? The common theory seems to be that William Shakspeare, when first about to appear in print in 1593, determined to adopt this form in lieu of the "Shakspere" of his baptismal register, or the "Shagspere" of his marriage bond, or any of the numerous variants used by his family; but if so, why did he never so sign his name in any of his five known signatures?

John Davies, who had probably entered Bacon's employment in the previous year, 1592, the year of the "Praises," seems to have been amazingly struck with this new or transformed name, writing it out so many times, and always in the new form. Where did he find the name until it appeared in print? and, if it had already so appeared, what could be the use of writing it out repeatedly?

Why did John Davies so diligently practice his pen in this new name? Must not his purpose have been, that he was intending to write this signature to some document, and this by Bacon's instructions?

Now the only documents to which the signature "William Shakespeare" is known to have been ever placed are the two dedications to Lord Southampton of *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*. And someone at or about this period did write this signature at the foot of each of these dedications, and John Davies was at or about this same period practising the signature with intent to write it somewhere, but where if not to these dedications?

The "scribble" itself contains a curious piece of evidence confirmatory of John Davies being the writer of the signatures to the dedications. For it contains a line from *Lucrece*, "Revealing day through every crany pepes, and"—this seems to indicate that the writer was then engaged in copying that poem; and this must have been before the poem was printed and published. The broken sentence betokens a scrap copied, rather than a quotation from memory. If John Davies was employed to write out *Lucrece*, he may well have also written out *Venus and Adonis*.

Some further points must be noted.

All the repetitions of the name "William Shakespeare" whether inchoate or complete, are found in a group at the foot of the cover. The uppermost of the group, a well-written signature, follows on just below the quotation from *Lucrece*, and seems to be in the same handwriting, and to be connected with it. The rest of the group are more irregular. It is possible these were experiments of the previous year, when *Venus and Adonis* was being copied. This, however, is conjecture, based only on the likelihood of these experiments having been made when the name was first used, and before it had appeared in print, and on the bolder character of the upper signature.

It seems likely that a penman trying his pen upon the outer cover of a partly filled manuscript book would

begin his scribble at the bottom of the cover, leaving the upper space free for additional lists. This seems to have been the course in the present case. This group of names, if written when the poems came out, was so written when only the first list appeared on the upper part of the cover. The group, except the upper name, may have been written in 1593, when *Venus and Adonis* and its dedication were copied. Then the quotation from *Lucrece*, and its accompanying signature, may have been written in 1594.

After this the second list of documents of 1595 to 1597 would be written, and then the third list containing the titles of *Richard II.* and *Richard III.*, which may be assigned to 1597.

If Francis Bacon was the real author of these poems, whose polished and classic verse could scarcely emerge from Stratford, he would require a skilful penman to copy them for Southampton, and afterwards for the printer; and the scribbled quotation from *Lucrece* is some evidence that John Davies, then in his employ, did copy that poem, and he may also have copied *Venus and Adonis*. But the penman would also have to copy the dedications and the new signature, *and it would be necessary that the form of signature to be adopted, with its lines and flourishes, should be studied and its execution practised.*

We may thus in this manuscript be witnessing the birth of the name "William Shakespeare."

This would completely explain John Davies' action, otherwise seeming inexplicable.

If Francis Bacon devised and adopted the name "William Shakespeare," he must be the author not only of the poems, but also of the plays published under that name.

If the author of the plays was desirous of concealment, he would need to discover or invent some poet,

to whom the authorship of the plays, then appearing anonymously, might be plausibly assigned. And in or about 1595, the year following the publication of *Lucrece*, the plays, though still anonymous, were already attributed to the author of the poems, for Weever in one of his epigrams (which he says were mostly written four years before their publication in 1599), addressed to "honietong'd Shakespeare," praises the poems, and refers to the same author "Romeo and Richard, more whose names I know not."

The mention in this manuscript of the two Shakespeare plays, *Richard II.* and *Richard III.*, and the quotations from *Lucrece* and *Love's Labour's Lost* are, therefore, consistent with, and tend to confirm the suggested origin of the name "William Shakespeare;" shewing a common origin of plays and poems, issuing apparently from the same scriptorium, under the direction of Francis Bacon.

No certain reliance can perhaps be placed on the proximity of the two names Francis Bacon and William Shakespeare, but it deserves note.

The more important points are that these plays, which are believed to have been produced in the years 1592 and 1593, were printed anonymously in 1597, but not until 1598 with the name of William Shakespeare.

In 1597 copies of these plays would be required for the printer, and in that year John Davies seems to have been engaged on them, and apparently while in Bacon's employ.

How should Francis Bacon, if he was not the author, obtain copies from the theatre? and why, if not the author, should he wish to have them copied?

If Francis Bacon was the author he would require also copies for the theatre, "unblotted copies" such as Heming and Condell admired.

Another of the Shakespeare plays, *Love's Labour's*



*Lost*, first printed in 1598, appears to have come under Davies' hands for copying. The long word "honorificabilitudine" appears in the "scribble," nor is it surprising that Davies should experiment upon it, before committing it to writing in his fair copy.

Why should Bacon desire a copy of this play? and where should he obtain it, unless he was the author? in which case the facts are remarkably consistent. The coincident dates connect Davies' employment with the poems and plays then being produced.

A discrepancy has been noticed between the quotations from *Lucrece* and from *Love's Labour's Lost* and the received text, but the quotations may have agreed with the early editions.

If, however, Francis Bacon was the real author of these poems and plays his authorship was carefully concealed. John Davies, like others, was allowed to suppose that William Shakspeare wrote them, and in 1610 he addressed one of his numerous epigrams in the "Scourge of Folly" to "Our English Terence, Mr. Will Shakespeare" in which, and in another poem in his "Microcosmus," his praise of Shakespeare's wit is qualified by pity for his profession.

In the light of present knowledge and criticism the close connection of Francis Bacon with the poems and these early plays is curiously significant.

Mr. Douse notices that after the words on the cover "Essaies by the same Author" appears a word which he reads "printing," and he suggests that the intended printing of the Essays accounts for their not being copied. Perhaps a simpler explanation would be that the Essays are noted to be copied for printing. The like explanation might extend to the notice of the plays mentioned just below.

Of the other entries in the "scribble" one was doubtless written while Davies was employed by Bacon,

namely, "Anthony comfort and consort," which was perhaps part of a draft dedication of the "Essaies" mentioned among the list of documents to be copied, which, when published in 1597 were dedicated to his "loving and beloved brother." Other entries appear, as Mr. Douse says, to be part of the subscription to letters. Of others the connection cannot now be traced.

*Asmund and Cornelia* is an unknown play.

"The *Ile of Dogs* by Thos. Nash, a fragment," appears in the list and brings down the date of the entries to 1597, in which year it was produced. The author was sent to prison on account of its scandalous character, notwithstanding his excuse that he only wrote the first part, probably the "fragment" referred to.

On careful examination this document appears to be one of the many facts, which while not amounting separately to demonstration of Francis Bacon's authorship of the Shakespeare plays, yet curiously and exactly fit into that theory, and are indeed difficult otherwise to explain.

Mr. Douse has imbibed, and expresses in no measured terms, a strong prejudice against Francis Bacon, ignoring Spedding's vindication of his character from Macaulay's unfair and inaccurate estimate. The judgment of Bacon's friends who most intimately knew him, should outweigh the accusations of his enemies; and Aubrey testifies that "all who were good and great loved and honoured him." Mr. Douse's prejudice even leads him to imagine, that the scrivener's quotation of Francis Bacon's touching apostrophe to his brother "Anthony comfort and consort," "suggests a rebuke of the toadyism of Francis in selecting and *more suo* grossly flattering the terrible old termagant on the throne in preference to such a brother!" With equal logic Mr. Douse supposes, that "it is upon Shake-

spere that the scribbler most fondly expatiates, besides quoting twice from him, *for he loved him!* ”

This prejudice detracts from the value of Mr. Douse's investigation and limits its scope.

The Northumberland Manuscript, fully and fairly considered, appears to point to the following conclusions. That the writer of the “scribble” whom we may accept as identified with John Davies, of Hereford, was in the employment of Francis Bacon during several years from about 1592 to 1597, and again some eighteen or nineteen years later. That the greater part of the “scribble” was written during the earlier period of his employment by Francis Bacon. That the writer was during this period engaged on works written by Bacon, and also on the Shakespeare poems, then produced under the new or transformed name of “William Shakespeare,” and also upon some of the plays produced at the same time, and attributed to the same author. That the writer diligently practised this new name presumably for the purpose of writing it in some document. That as the only documents to which that signature is known to have been subscribed are the dedications to Lord Southampton of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, and these were so subscribed at that period, the fair inference is, that it was John Davies, acting under Bacon's instructions, who subscribed this name to those dedications. That the quotation from *Lucrece* is some evidence that he was employed to copy that poem, and therefore the dedication, and he may not improbably have also copied *Venus and Adonis*, and this he must probably have done before the poems were printed and published. That this conclusion is strengthened by the polish of the verse, and by Bacon's intimacy with Southampton. That the inclusion in the lists of two, and the quotation from a third of the plays published at this period, and attributed to the author

of the poems, indicates that John Davies was employed by Francis Bacon to copy these plays before their publication, and points to Francis Bacon as the author of the poems and plays published under the name of "William Shakespeare."

G. C. BOMPAS.

---

## MACAULAY AND BACON.

IT is beyond doubt that the present-day estimate of Bacon's character is mainly founded on the opinions of Macaulay formulated in his notorious *Essay*. Indeed, only the other day in an edition of Bacon's *Essays*, prescribed for the King's Scholarship Examination, 1904, an Editor had the courage to write, "Bacon did not feel much interest in the English language," and "Bacon was not a great original thinker like Berkeley, nor an imaginative genius like Shakespeare," and follows this *dictum* up with the bold assertion:—"No attempt has been made in this edition to treat of Bacon's life; an *unbiassed* account of it is within the reach of most students in Macaulay's *Essays*." Fancy going to Macaulay for an "unbiassed" account of Bacon's life!

The fact is, Macaulay is at last being found out, and his true value appraised. Lord Acton, in his letters to Mary Gladstone, wrote:—

"When you sit down to Macaulay, remember that the *Essays* are really flashy and superficial. He was not above par in literary criticism; his Indian articles will not hold water; and his two most famous reviews, on Bacon and Ranke, show his incompetence. The *Essays* are only pleasant reading, and a key to half the prejudices of our age. It is the history (with one or two speeches) that is wonderful. He knew nothing respectably before the seventeenth century; he knew nothing of foreign history,

of religion, philosophy, science, or art. His account of debates has been thrown into the shade by Ranke, his account of diplomatic affairs by Klopp. He is, I am persuaded, grossly, basely unfair. Read him, therefore, to find out how it comes that the most unsympathetic of critics can think him very nearly the greatest of English writers."

Later on, Lord Acton describes Macaulay as "utterly base, contemptible, and odious." As a corrective of Macaulay's criticism of Bacon, I would recommend every Baconian to purchase a copy, price half-a-crown, of the latest volume of Longmans' British Classics — "Macaulay's Essay on Bacon," edited by David Salmon, Principal of Swansea Training College. This is a scholarly little work, full of information.

In his Introduction Mr. Salmon says:—

"Macaulay was always profoundly convinced of the correctness of his own view, and deeply anxious, even to the extent of becoming strident and over-emphatic, that everyone else should agree with him. So he readily wins over the uncritical, while in the more censorious he rouses opposition. He may be said truly to write 'at the top of his voice.'"

Then Mr. Salmon launches out with the conviction that the Essay on Bacon is:—

"The least successful partly because it is the longest. It is weakened by what Falstaff would call 'damnable iteration,' by digression after digression, by digression within digression, by elaborate demonstrations of propositions which no man with sense would deny, and more elaborate demonstrations of propositions which no man with knowledge would admit. It is not surprising, therefore, that Macaulay should be so late in reaching the end when he succumbs so often to temptations to leave the direct road."

According to Mr. Salmon,

"The Essay is divided into two sections, the first half the life, and the second the writings, as chief subject, and if anything could exceed the exaggeration of the faults of Bacon's life in the

first, it is the misrepresentation of the aims and results of his writings in the second. Macaulay had undertaken a task for which his mental constitution unfitted him. . . . Macaulay's method did very well for one whose business is epigram—like Pope. . . . But the business of the historian is truth, not epigram."

No less severe is Mr. Salmon on Macaulay's "impartiality." This is what he says:—

"Macaulay, besides lacking the insight necessary to the understanding of a complex character, lacked impartiality. He was bound to take a side, and that side was always dazzling white, while the other was always unrelieved black. His mind was an advocate's, not a judge's. Instead of examining all the facts and weighing all the arguments, and then arriving at a conclusion, weak in proportion as the facts and arguments were mutually destructive, he began with a strong conclusion and proceeded to state the reasons for it, ignoring or flouting the rest. If he had chosen the wrong conclusion to start with, the greater the dialectic skill with which he arrayed the resources placed at his disposal by his vast reading and marvellous memory, the farther did he go astray from truth.

"A kindred defect to partiality was dogmatism. It was natural that a man who honestly thought his side entirely right and the other side entirely wrong should express himself strongly. Sydney Smith wished that he wished he could be as sure of one thing as Macaulay was of everything."

Mr. Salmon continues the onslaught on Macaulay in the following vigorous fashion:—

"Macaulay denies to Bacon the benefit of excuses which he himself tenders for others. When speaking of the statesmen who, during the reign of Mary, 'had contrived to have business on the continent, or if they stayed in England' had 'heard mass and kept Lent with great decorum,' and who intrigued with James while professing undivided loyalty to Elizabeth, he says, 'It is impossible to deny that they committed many acts which would justly bring on a statesman of our day censures of the most serious kind, but,' he adds with perfect equity, 'when we consider the state of morality in their age and the unscrupulous character of the adversaries against whom they had to contend,

we are forced to admit that it is not without reason that their names are still held in veneration by their countrymen.' Still, when he comes to deal with the faults of Bacon (many of them, in Bacon's own words, *vitia temporis* and not *vitia hominis*) he will make no allowance; the offences of the sixteenth century must be measured by the standard of the nineteenth. Hence, when as prosecuting counsel he should have been content with the French finding of 'guilty, with extenuating circumstances,' he presses for an unqualified verdict and a rigorous sentence.

"This is strikingly illustrated in the case of Peacham. That unfortunate ecclesiastic appears to have been a bit of a fool and a good deal of a liar, and his innocence of the charges brought against him is doubtful; but he did not necessarily deserve the rack because he did not deserve admiration. Macaulay, therefore, did well to be angry, but the vials of even righteous wrath should not be poured on the wrong head. He speaks of Bacon's being employed to torture the prisoner (p. 49, l. 9) and going to the Tower to listen to his yells (p. 52, l. 24). This is a gross injustice, and it is hard to understand how so honourable a man as Macaulay could have perpetrated it knowing all the facts, while it is equally hard to understand how so omniscient a man as Macaulay could have perpetrated it without knowing them.

"Bacon had no more to do with the arrest of Peacham, with the formulation of the charges, with his preliminary examination, with his committal to the Tower, or with the order for his torture, than with the casting of the prophet Daniel into the lions' den. Macaulay has not a word of indignation for the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Treasurer, and the other high and mighty persons who signed the warrant for the torture; he reserves his reproaches for a subordinate law-officer who was bound to be present at it in the discharge of his official duties, and speaks of him in terms which could hardly have been stronger if Bacon had worked the rack with his own hands to gratify his lust of cruelty.

"... I have thought it sufficient to give the student this general warning, that in the elaborate contrast which Macaulay institutes between modern science and ancient philosophy he misrepresents both. He asserts that the object of the one is, and assumes that the object of the other ought to have been, utility. The man of science is engaged, and the philosopher was engaged, in the pursuit of truth, not in the invention of

machines; and the fact that the results achieved by the one can often be applied to machines while the results achieved by the other could not, arises not from a difference in their aims, but from a difference in their materials.

"The philosopher was engaged in ethical and metaphysical speculations, and the result of his discoveries would be, not useful contrivances but rules of conduct or views of life and destiny. To blame him for failing to introduce new crafts is equivalent to blaming Moses for presenting the Commandments written on tables of stone instead of teaching the art of printing on paper."

Few scholars will disagree with this estimate of Macaulay's treatment of Bacon, and fewer still will be inclined to combat the statements made by Mr. Salmon in the valuable "Notes," appended to the work, where, in some instances, Macaulay is simply scalped and flayed alive.

Here are a few :—

*"The most abject apologies.*—Macaulay was incapable of making a statement which he knew to be false, but in the course of an argument he often, unconsciously, presented facts in such a way as to produce a false impression. The letter to the Lord Treasurer was not an abject apology (indeed for Bacon it was a bold justification), and the letter to the Lord Keeper, though not what we should consider manly, is not so unmanly as Macaulay represents it."

*"Let us be just to Bacon.*—Bacon appeared against Essex at both trials, the first before the Commission at York House, and the second after the failure of the rising in the City. In both Bacon had but one alternative to appearing for the Crown—resigning his position as Queen's Counsel—and thus not only aggravating his chronic money difficulties, but also destroying all hopes of success in his profession. There is abundant evidence that up to and after the first trial Bacon had done all he could to restore Essex to favour; indeed, he had been so zealous for his patron that he had roused Elizabeth's anger. He was commanded to draw up an account of what had been done, and he passed over the faults of Essex so lightly that the Queen said she 'perceived old love would not easily be forgotten.' With regard to



the treason case, Bacon's contemporaries do not blame him for the way in which he had acquitted himself so much as for not refusing to have anything to do with it. 'Mr. Francis Bacon's behaviour towards the Earl at his trial was perhaps less exceptionable than his submitting to any share in it.' (Birch)."

"*To murder the Earl's fame.*—If the 'Declaration' is a truthful statement, it was Essex himself who murdered the Earl's fame, and if it was not a truthful statement Bacon should not be singled out for special reprobation, as the Queen and the whole Council were equally guilty, his draft having been 'perused, weighed, censured, altered and made almost a new writing' by the Councillors, and afterwards 'exactly perused by the Queen herself and some alterations again made by her appointment.' And Bacon could not consistently have refused the use of the most skilful pen then in the service of the Government. The refusal to write an account of the treason would have been the severest condemnation of Bacon's own act in helping to bring the traitor to his doom."

"*Bacon's 'Mercenary Marriage.'*—That portion, a quarter of her father's fortune (which she shared with her three sisters) seems to have been £220 a year. As Bacon settled an additional £500 a year on her, the suggestion that he made a mercenary marriage is unfounded."

"*Oliver St. John.*—It is difficult to see much that is blameworthy in the conduct of Bacon in this business. As Attorney-General he was bound to prosecute for the Crown. When a barrister defends a person of whose innocence he is not convinced he is not held to approve the crime with which the person is charged; similarly, when Bacon prosecuted a person who had tried to stop the flow of contributions to the King, he could not be held to approve of the subscription. As a matter of fact, he did approve of it, and Coke himself had declared that it was not contrary to the laws of the realm. We may think it strange that Bacon did not consider the attempt to obtain benevolences wrong, but we can hardly reproach him for discharging his official duties when he considered it right."

"*Peacham.*—With regard to the second count, if Macaulay had not been more eager to prove a case than to ascertain the truth he would not have singled Bacon out for special condemnation. Bacon was not 'employed' to torture the prisoner; he did not instigate the torture, and he was present at it only in the discharge

of his duties, as were seven other officials, several more highly placed than he."

"The warrant for the torture was issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Steward, the Lord Privy Seal, the principal Secretary of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Master of the Rolls, and Lord Stanhope. Bacon was one of the persons to whom it was addressed, and up to this time there is no evidence that he had had anything to do with the case, directly or indirectly."

"There is no reason why Macaulay should exert all the resources of rhetoric to secure the condemnation of one who played only a subordinate part, and that only in the discharge of his official duties, in an act which he did not regard with the horror with which Macaulay rightly regarded it."

*Examined by Bacon.*—Macaulay has no authority whatever for this. Bacon was, of course, present, but the report of the first examination is in the handwriting of Winwood, and the second examination is expressly stated to be made by the four law-officers. (Spedding, "Letters," V. 94, 127)."

*The yells of Peacham.*—To represent Bacon as going to the Tower 'to listen to the yells of Peacham' passes the bounds of even unfair criticism."

*He made the most of his short respite.*—In the following sentences Macaulay's paraphrase grossly misrepresents his authority, Thomas Bushell, one of Bacon's servants, and that authority is a bad one at best, as Bushell wrote only from memory, and long after the event, and we know that many of the statements which he makes respecting Bacon are wrong. In addition to which Mr. Spedding places at a period anterior to the bribery charges the interview at which the words are said to have been spoken. ("Letters," VII. 199)."

*He assures us that Bacon was innocent.*—Of all the presents made to Bacon a very small number indeed came from the parties to pending suits—the rest were strictly in accordance with the established custom. The custom was bad, but if Bacon was black he was very little blacker than the men of his time—than many who are highly praised earlier in the Essay. If Macaulay had correctly represented Montagu he would have saved himself the trouble (or deprived himself of the pleasure?) of writing the next dozen pages of argument and declamation."

*Solemnly declares himself guilty.*—I must repeat that Montagu does not impute such conduct to Bacon."

To those wiseacres, who have never read Bacon's works, but who declare that Bacon had only one style—a "dry-as-dust" style, they call it, and quite unlike that of Shakespeare, of course—and to Macaulay, who maintained that Bacon had only two styles, an earlier, and a later; Mr. Salmon provides an excellent reply in his quotation from Dr. Abbott:—

"Bacon's style varied almost as much as his handwriting; but it was influenced more by the subject-matter than by youth or old age. Few men have shown equal versatility in adapting their language to the slightest shade of circumstance and purpose. His style depended upon whether he was addressing a king, or a great nobleman, or a philosopher, or a friend; whether he was composing a State paper, pleading in a State trial, magnifying the Prerogative, extolling Truth, discussing studies, exhorting a judge, sending a New Year's present, or sounding a trumpet to prepare the way for the Kingdom of Man over Nature. It is a mistake to suppose that Bacon was never florid till he grew old. On the contrary, in the early Devices, written during his connection with Essex, he uses a rich exuberant style and poetic rhythm; but he prefers the rhetorical question of appeal to the complex period. On the other hand in all his formal philosophical works, even in the *Advancement of Learning*, published as early as 1605, he uses the graver periodic structure, though often illustrated with rich metaphor."

After these extracts from Mr. Salmon's admirable little work, readers of BACONIANA will be inclined to agree with Sidney Smith when he said he wished he could be "as sure of one thing as Macaulay was of everything."

GEORGE STRONACH.

## "STUDIES IN SHAKESPEARE."

**M**R. CHURTON COLLINS, the author of these recently republished essays (Constable & Co.), is admittedly a learned and able man. Let him alone while he is holding the floor upon a subject of which he has mastery and all will be well. He illuminates and delights. But if some poor gentleman venture to cross his line of thought he turns and rends with the fervour and assumption of a Dr. Johnson. It is this boisterous dogmatism which pleases the journalists, whose comments in their turn increase Mr. Collins' sense of his own infallibility. In what he believes to be the service of truth, but what is more probably the defence of a prepossession burnt into his mind while editing Shakespeare for the use of schools, he cannot discriminate between the author of plays, who adopted, to use the words of Mr. George Moore, "the sweet illusive pen name of Shakespeare," and the actor whose name was so skillfully utilised.

A sound classical education and good manners do not necessarily go together, and one at least of these studies conveys a strong indication of the unsuitability of an emotional temperament to the discussion of a question of circumstantial evidence. "Lawyers," remarks Mr. Collins, "are constitutionally insensible of what relates to æsthetic." This defect appears to be shared by purely literary men. How otherwise could Dr. Johnson, for instance, have missed perceiving the supreme quality of Shakespeare's prose?

Says Mr. Collins: "Yet Dr. Johnson, who edited Shakespeare, could say that Sir William Temple was the first writer who gave harmony to English prose!" Professor Dowden is also to be found unable to detect the Shakespearean flavour of *Titus Andronicus*. At page 125 of the "Studies" Mr. Collins sums up:

“Such is the case for *Titus Andronicus* which Professor Dowden coolly dismisses as the work of an anonymous writer.” Baconians agree with Professor Dowden, but they go further and assert that they have succeeded in discovering who the anonymous writer was. Perhaps the most interesting study in connection with Mr. Collins' work is to note the continual conflict waged between his intellect and his prepossessions. He proves to demonstration the facile and complete classical knowledge shown in the plays, but satisfies himself with the pure speculation that an advanced *curriculum* projected by England's magnificent Cardinal for a special school at his birthplace—which school by-the-bye was never built—was taught in a little school-room at Stratford-on-Avon, and this despite what is recorded as to the collapse of learning even at the Universities at this period (1570—1590).

Because the school was there, he assumes that the actor attended it. The available evidence points rather the other way. A scholar should be able to write. The school was in existence when the actor's father was a boy, yet *he* could not sign his name. It existed when the actor's daughter was growing up, nevertheless *she* used a mark. There is nothing in the five possible specimens of the actor's signature to suggest facility with the pen, or even that he learned to write at Stratford. Mr. Collins surmises that he went to school at the age of seven, but the boy was far more likely to have been busily employed in helping to look after his younger brothers and sisters.

Upon this branch of enquiry I give an interesting sentence by Mr. Collins (page 14), who writes, “Sainte Beuve has finely said that the first aim of criticism should be the discovery of truth” :—

“The headmaster when Shakespeare entered the school was Walter Roche.”

It is true that a schoolmaster is recorded to have been at Stratford from 1570 onwards, drawing an annual stipend of £20. But why *headmaster*? What were the names of the junior masters, if any, and what was the date of Shakspeare's entry? Mrs. Stopes, writing upon this subject, confines her observations to this:—"Thomas Hunt was the schoolmaster in Shakspeare's time." I prefer her modesty of statement to Mr. Collins' gratuitous assumptions.

In another "Study" Mr. Collins illustrates the legal attainments of the author of the plays, and concludes: "Enough have been cited to prove not only that Shakespeare had a remarkably extensive and accurate acquaintance with the English law, but that his memory during his whole career was habitually reverting to it and to its associations." Why "*memory*," and why "*reverting*?" They must be accounted for by the prepossessions of Mr. Collins' mind. He is satisfied that Shakespeare was once a lawyer's clerk at Stratford, so that his "*memory*" of what was familiar to him when a clerk has to suit the hypothesis by "*reverting*."

In what way does Mr. Collins satisfy himself, how does he pursue his chief aim—the discovery of truth? This is how he proceeds:—"It is therefore quite possible that the conjecture of Chalmers corroborated by Malone, and supported by Payne Collier and Lord Campbell, namely, that Shakespeare was in early life employed as clerk in an attorney's office may be correct."

"What is truth?" said jesting Pilate. Mr. Collins would reply, Sufficient for me is a *corroborated conjecture* supported by Payne Collier. Mr. Payne Collier was a practical man. Finding Shakspearian evidence very deficient he supplemented it with fabrication. For a list of his fabrications reference may be made to Mr. Lee's "Life of Shakespeare." To such a solid

substratum why did Mr. Collins add Lord Campbell? His name might surely have been spared the association, particularly seeing that eighteen pages earlier Mr. Collins states: "Campbell, while acknowledging that there is not sufficient evidence to justify the conclusion that Shakespeare was actually a clerk in a lawyer's office, expresses," etc.

Lord Campbell noticed (though Mr. Collins fails to remind us) that the author of the plays "had a deep technical knowledge of the law" and "was very familiar with some of the most abstruse proceedings in English jurisprudence." Let it first be discovered whether there existed any Stratford attorney during Shakspeare's youth. We are told that a small debt court existed there, and presumably, but by no means surely, an attorney or two. We are next asked to assume that Shakspeare was clerk to such an attorney, and then left to guess how, without text books, which were not to be had except amongst the barristers of the Inns of Court, without access to the few Norman Latin reports then in existence, without Chancery practice, and probably without any conveyancing to speak of, this clerk acquired the extensive and accurate acquaintance with English law to which his "memory," according to Mr. Collins, was habitually "reverting." One thing an attorney's clerk is free to do, likes to do, and generally does, is to make his own Will. Shakspeare employed a Warwick scrivener.

I find more satisfaction in Mr. Collins' "Shakespeare and Sophocles," in which he gives an exceedingly life-like character study of Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam Viscount St. Alban, although ostensibly describing the writer of the plays.

"He was essentially aristocratic in temper and sympathy."

"He was profoundly interested in the public events of his time, employing the drama as a commentary on current State

affairs, and a direct means of political education as the ally of the Ministers of Elizabeth and James."

"In him coexisted the temperament and pursuits of the poet and of the philosopher, with the tastes and habits of a man of the world."

"He possessed easy temper, geniality, good nature, modesty, and pleasant wit."

"He possessed æsthetic sensibility and profound reflexion, inspired insight into spiritual truth, and sympathetic insight into dramatic truth."

"He had comprehensiveness in combination and minute and exact accuracy in observation."

"With as precise a hand as Bacon does he sunder the celestial from the terrestrial kingdom, the things of earth from the things of heaven."

Much to the same effect has been already said of Lord St. Alban. Mark many coincidences of expression:—

"The judgment of average men he despised as a thinker, a politician, and a courtier."—*Dean Church*.

"He took an active part in every Parliament; he was an adviser of the Crown."—*Macaulay*.

"A most indefatigable servant of the King and a most earnest lover of the public."—*Tobie Matthew*.

"Bacon was a poet. His language has a sweet and majestic rhythm which satisfies the sense no less than the almost super-human wisdom of his philosophy."—*P. B. Shelley*.

"Scarcely any man has been better entitled to be called a thorough man of the world."—*Macaulay*.

"A man most sweet in his conversation and ways."—*Tobie Matthew*.

"He was abundantly facetious, which took much with the Queen."—*Sir Robert Naunton*.

"His language when he could spare or pass by a jest was nobly censorious."—*Ben Jonson*.

"His powers were varied and in great perfection, his nerves exquisitely acute."—*Montagu*.

"This lord was religious."—*Rawley*.

"With great minuteness of observation he had an aptitude of comprehension such as has never yet been vouchsafed to any other human being."—*Macaulay*.



Ages ago was laid down the axiom that things which are equal to the same are equal to one another. Let X stand for the play writer and B for the person whose surname does not appeal to “æsthetic.” The comprehensiveness and minuteness of observation which Mr. Collins notices in X, Macaulay observes in B. Both state their subject to have been a thorough man of the world. The poetic and philosophic temperament Mr. Collins remarks in X, a great authority (Shelley) praises in B. The easy temper, geniality, and pleasant wit which Mr. Collins detects in X is severally testified concerning B by three witnesses who knew him personally and intimately, viz., Tobie Matthew, Ben Jonson, and Sir Robert Naunton. Finally, while X, according to Mr. Collins, used the drama as a means of political education and as the ally of the Government, B, from the age of 25 until his death, was engaged in politically educating his sovereign and superior ministers.

Mr. Collins tells us that the author of the plays loved and immortalized in description the place of his birth, but he fails to specify the “numberless passages in Shakespeare’s poems and plays recalling Stratford.” On the other hand, we do know that frequent references to London and St. Albans are to be found in the plays. May I add the affectionate references to the same cities: to London in the “Prothalamion,” and to old St. Albans ‘Verlame’ in the “Ruines of Time,” which, according to the cipher story, were written by Lord St. Alban under the name of Spenser.

With regard to the “Study,” entitled, “The Bacon-Shakespeare Mania,” which, following the example of Mr. Lee in the “Life of Shakespeare,” and of Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in “Shakespear,” Mr. Collins places at the end of his book, it may be said generally that the case for Baconian authorship is now so vast and extensive that there must necessarily be weak points for critics to

attack. The late Judge Webb may or may not have been correct in his surmise as to the meaning of the sonnet referring to invention in a noted weed, but Mr. Collins' criticism does not elucidate the point.

Then with regard to the flower parallelism. As a lawyer, I must, according to Mr. Collins, be constitutionally insensible of what relates to æsthetic, but when I find in one work written, "Lillies of all kinds, the flower de luce being one," and in another, "Flower de luce and lillies of all natures," and in the one, "For you there's rosemary and rue, these keep seeming and savour all the winter long," and in the other, "You must take such things as are green all winter, rosemary, lavender, etc.," it seems to me an instance of a man who on each occasion of naming certain flowers, cannot well avoid recalling and naming the attributes associated with them in his memory. There are parallels of this sort by the hundred.

I regret that Mr. Collins' prepossessions have been too much for him. He has all the advantages of a high priest of literature. The entire press is open to him just as in the days before Luther the high priests of religion had the full command of the pulpits and the control of governments. Mr. Collins can fulminate against our views and suggest all sorts of deficiencies in our brain tissue, either from the cover of anonymous journalism, or in the signed essay. Now he is in the open I hope he will stay there, and in good time see the error of his ways. It is not his fault any more than it was Dr. Johnson's that he did not grasp the situation at the outset. Lord St. Alban has been too subtle for him, and misled him and many others by "style." "Shakespeare," said Mr. Collins, "attempted several styles, he excelled in all." Bacon, in his acknowledged writings, said, "Style is as the subject matter." In the cipher story he says, "I varied my

style to suit different men, since no two shew the same taste and like imagination.” Style in order to afford concealment had to be thorough in those days. His life almost depended upon it. In the address to Elizabeth in his “Masque of the Indian Prince,” there are two significant lines :—

“To her thy son must make his sacrifice  
If he will have the morning of his eyes.”

The anonymous “Arte of English Poesie,” 1589 (I object to it being attributed to one Puttenham as being mere conjecture), likewise gives some useful information on the subject of style, “many times natural to the writer, many times his peculiar by election and arte, and such as he either keepeth by skill or holdeth on by ignorance, and will not, or peradventure cannot, very easily alter into any other.” Mr. Collins has drifted into the belief that Bacon had no other style than that of his serious writings. The anonymous writer of “Papp with a Hatchet” (1589), alluding to Martin Marprelate, said very truly, “Faith thou wilt be caught by the style.”

Mr. Churton Collins is netted in similar toils, but his strong common-sense may eventually emancipate him.

PARKER WOODWARD.

---

How constantly one is misled by the assumption that incontestible proofs will change mens opinions. Where there exist strong prepossessions no amount of evidence produces any effect.—*Herbert Spencer.*

## WHEN DID FRANCIS BACON DIE? WHERE WAS HE BURIED?

**A**CCORDING to Dr. Rawley, Francis Bacon's chaplain and faithful friend,

"He died on the 9th day of April, 1626, in the early morning of the day then celebrated for our Saviour's resurrection, in the 66th year of his age, at the Earl of Arundel's house in Highgate, near London, to which place he casually repaired a week before. God so ordaining that he should die there of a gentle fever, accompanied with a great cold, whereby the defluxion of rheum fell so plentifully on his breast that he died of suffocation, and was buried in St. Michael's Church, at St. Albans, being the place designed for his burial by his last will and testament, both because the body of his mother was entred there, and because it was the only church then remaining within the precincts of Old Verulam; where he hath a monument erected for him in white marble (by the care and gratitude of Sir Thomas Meautys, Knight, formerly his lordship's secretary, afterwards clerk of the King's Honourable Privy Council under two kings), representing his full portraiture in the posture of studying, with an inscription composed by that accomplished gentleman and rare wit, Sir Henry Wootton."

Dr. Rawley's account of Bacon's death and burial is therefore confirmed both by Sir Thomas Meautys and Sir Henry Wootton.

The event became immediately known. A letter is extant written on April 10th, the day next after Bacon's death, by Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, from Whitehall, to Sir Francis Nethersole, in which the writer says, "My Lo' St. Albans is dead, so is Sir Thomas Compton."—(*State Papers, Domestic, Charles I. Vol. 24.*)

John Aubrey, in his "Miscellanies," published 1696, writes:—

"Mr. Hobbes told me the cause of his Lordship's death was trying an experiment. As he was taking the aire in a coach with Dr. Witherborne (a Scotchman, Physician to the King)

towards Highgate, snow lay on the ground and it came into my Lord's thought, why flesh might not be preserved in snow as in salt. They were resolved they would try the experiment presently. They alighted out of the coach, and went into a poor woman's house at the bottom of Highgate Hill and bought a hen, and made the woman exenterate it, and then stuffed the body with snow, and my Lord did help to doe it himselfe. The snow so chilled him, that he immediately fell so extremely ill, that he would not return to his lodgings (I suppose them at Gray's Inne) but went to the Earle of Arundell's house at Highgate, where they putt him into a good bed warmed with a panne; but it was a darnp bed that had not been layn in above a yeare before, which gave him such a cold that in 2 or three dayes as I remember he (Mr. Hobbes) told me he dyed of suffocation."

Mr. Hobbes was one of Bacon's most intimate literary friends. He confirms Dr. Rawley's account with additional details.

A letter from Bacon to Lord Arundel, written during his illness, from Lord Arundel's house, is printed in Spedding's "Life."

Francis Bacon's Will, dated 19th December, 1625, was proved on 13th July, 1627, by Sir Robert Rich and Sir Thomas Meautys, to whom, as Creditors, Letters of Administration were granted, the Executors named in the Will having been cited and renouncing probate. To obtain Letters of Administration the Administrators must have made oath of the Testator's death. It was not then the practice to file the affidavit leading the grant, and it is not extant, but Sir Robert Rich and Sir Thomas Meautys must have sworn to the fact of his death. His widow married again shortly after his death; of the fact of his death she must have been well assured.

Some years later, in 1634, an "Inquisition post mortem" was held, according to the practice of the period, to ascertain of what real estate Francis Viscount of St. Albans died seized.\*

\* For this Inquisition I am indebted to Mrs. Kindersley's research.

## The Inquisition was

"taken at Chipping Barnett in the County of Hertford on the 15th day of October in the 10th year of the reign of our Lord Charles by the grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland King defender of the faith etc., before Richard Luchin Esquire Escheator of the said Lord the King of the aforesaid county, by virtue of the said Lord the King's etter of Mandamus addressed to the same Escheator and annexed to the Inquisition, for enquiry after the death of the very noble Francis Lord Bacon late Viscount of St Albans deceased by the oath of Roger Marshe gentleman John Howe John Perkin John Clark George Barley John Hill Daniel Hudson Thomas Potter Nicholas Pratt Robert Clarke Joseph Dolton John Pettett Thomas Grubb William Archer Thomas Browne and John Leonard, trustworthy and lawful men of the aforesaid county, who being sworn say upon their aforesaid oath, that the aforesaid Francis Viscount of St. Albans on the day before his death was seized in his demesne and in fee of and in the Manors of Gorhambury Westwicke and Praye with their rights members and appurtenances, and of and in 12 Messuages 3 Mills, 6 Pigeon houses 12 Gardens 1200 acres of land 100 acres of meadow 40 acres of wood and view of frankpledge in the parishes of St Michael St Stephen St Peter St Alban and in Redburne and Hemsteed in the said County of Hertford. and of and in the advowsons of the vicarages of the Churches of St Michael and Redburne aforesaid."

The Inquisition then sets out the settlement of this property made on his marriage with Alice Barnham, by which the same property was settled on his wife for life, and in the event of her surviving him, then to Trustees named in the Will.

"And further the aforesaid jurors say upon their aforesaid oath, that the aforesaid Francis Viscount of St. Albans being thus as is set out seized of and in all and singular the aforesaid manors and other premises with appurtenances at the aforesaid Gorhambury in the said County of Hertford died thus seized in such his estate on the 9th day of April 1626 without heirs of his body lawfully begotten, and that Thomas Bacon Esquire is and at the time of his death was the relative and next heir of the same Francis Viscount of St Albans and was at the time of the

death of the said Viscount of the age of twenty-six years and more. And that the aforesaid Alice Viscountess of St Albans is surviving and is in full life."

The Inquisition further states that the property is worth yearly beyond charges £25, that, from the time of the death of the aforesaid Francis Viscount of St. Albans until the taking of the Inquisition, the aforesaid Alice Viscountess of St. Albans had been in possession and receipt of the rents, and that the aforesaid Francis Viscount of St. Albans had no other landed estate.

The Inquisition is sealed by the Escheator and by the Jurors, and was handed into Court on 18th Oct., 10th Charles 1st.

We have here the oaths of 16 "trustworthy and lawful men" of the County of Hertford confirming the statement of Dr. Rawley, Sir Thomas Meautys, Sir Henry Wootton, Mr. Hobbes, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, and Sir Robert Rich, that Francis Bacon died on 9th April, 1626, and explaining the devolution of his property upon and since his death.

Thomas Fuller, in his "Worthies of England," written in 1661 and published in 1662, thus writes of Francis Bacon's death:—

"He died Anno domini 1626 in the house of the Earl of Arundel at Highgate, and was buried in St Michael's Church in St Albans, Master Mutis his grateful servant erecting a monument for him. Since I have read that his grave being occasionally opened, his scule (the relic of civil veneration) was by one King, a doctor of physick, made the object of scorn and contempt; but he who then derided the dead is and will become the laughing stock of the living."

The date of 9th April, 1626, for Bacon's death is adopted without question by all his biographers, and can scarcely be displaced by the suggestion, unsupported by evidence, that a Rosicrucian Father lived to the age of 106, and a conjecture that he may have been Francis Bacon.

The late Earl of Verulam's statement, that the coffin was not discovered in the vaults of St. Michael's Church, seems insufficient evidence against the positive statement of contemporaries that the burial took place there in accordance with the directions of his will. The interment may have been in the churchyard, but according to Fuller, the grave was since opened and Bacon's skull found.

That Bacon's last illness occurred at Lord Arundel's house at Highgate appears well established. It is probable, however, that his physician, Dr. Parry, would be summoned from London to attend him, and it is possible that, when the seriousness of the illness became apparent, he may have been removed to Dr. Witherborne's house near Highgate, where he might be better nursed. This, though but a conjecture, might account for the varying accounts said to be given of the place of Francis Bacon's death, which accounts I have been unable to verify or trace. Fuller agrees with Dr. Rawley's account.

---

## BACON OF LONDON AS TIMON OF ATHENS.

IT seems a fitting moment, when Mr. J. H. Leigh has put *Timon of Athens* so intelligently and picturesquely on the stage of the Court Theatre, to draw attention to facts that make Baconians claim Bacon of London as the real author and principal figure of the play. Brandes naïvely protests how utterly at a loss he is to find any parallel in the life of Shakespeare to the incidents therein recorded.

He strains his points and endeavours in each play to find imagined resemblances to personal details in



William's biography, but at last Timon proves too much for him. He confesses it as follows :—

"In all the obscurity of Shakespeare's life-story nowhere do we feel our ignorance of his personal experiences more acutely than here."—"Critical Study of William Shakespeare," G. Brandes (Heinemann, 1898).

Francis St. Alban was deprived of the seals and committed to the Tower in May, 1621. In 1623 he was compelled to sell his beloved York House; his poverty, but not his will consenting. *Timon*, Gervinus tells us, was "without doubt one of the Poet's latest works," while Brandes also states it was first printed in the Folio of 1623. Those who have followed the tale of Bacon's woes and noted how his false friends, Sir George Hastings and Sir Richard Young, lied at his trial and at his sick bed, and brought him to shame; how friends on whom he had lavished his money and his friendship deserted him at his most need—must confess the closeness of the parallel between the open-handed Athenian, Timon, and the open-hearted Londoner, Bacon.

I quote what Thomas Bushell says, his loving and faithful servant, who, a gentleman of fortune, alone, with the exception of Meautys, among his secretaries and *attachés* seems to have clung to him with an affectionate tenacity as touching as that of honest *Flavius*. Bushell's letter, addressed to Mr. John Eliot, is published in a book called, "*The Superlative Prodigal*," London, 1668.

"The ample testing of your true affection towards My Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, hath obliged me your servant. Yet, lest calamitous tongues of men might exterminate the good opinion you had of his worth and merit, I must ingenuously confess myself and others of his servants were the occasion of exhaling his virtues into a dark eclipse, which God knows could not have long endured both for the honour of his king, and good

of the commonalitie, had not one whom his bounty nursed, laid on his guiltless shoulders our bare and execrable deeds to be scorned and censured by the whole Senate of a State where no sooner sentence was given, but most of us forsook him, which makes us bear the badge of Jews to this day."

In this spontaneous confession of Bushell we read the truth. Where he looked for gratitude or return for kindness, he found desertion and ingratitude, the hardest sting of all.

In Vol. X. of *Baconiana*, New Series, 1902, I gave a brief sketch of "Arthur Wilson." On page 9 is a short account of Lord St. Alban by Wilson:—

"He had a sickly taste, and he did not like the beer of the house, but sent to Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, in neighbourhood for a bottle of his beer, and after some grumbling the butler had orders to deny him. So sordid was the one that advanced himself to be called Sir Phillip Sidnie's friend, and so friendless was the other after he had dejected himself from what he was."

Stage Timon differently. Let the scene be York House. The time 1616-1623. Let Timon be represented as Francis Bacon, and no one could fail to see the likeness of the hero of the play to the man we hold to have been its author.

Naturally the Poet being the man he was, and holding the mirror up to the faults of Man, painted Timon without the divine philosophy he himself possessed. Prospero, rather than Timon, in his fall he called Divine Reason to his aid. Instead of giving way to weakness he found strength in sorrow. And instead of falling into a frenzy and encouraging morbid rancour and misanthrophy, he bore his sorrows with nobility. Possibly, as Gervinus suggests, the subject of the play was "taken up under a temporary feeling of vexation and disappointment." But Bacon's love for mankind was never soured or embittered, and

Bushell\* and Meautys, as we know, were his "fellows" to the end. Bushell gives us a curious little bit of "Timonian" evidence. He writes in a letter to "My only Lord,"

"I am resolved to become your Lordship's bondsman in some solitary cell, and endeavour to make myself worthy of your Honour's company in the other world."

Bushell retired to the Isle of Lundy, moated about by the sea, walled by "inaccessible rocks," and fed on herbs and such like simple diet. The *Dictionary of National Biography* has much to say about him. At 15 he entered Francis Bacon's service. The gorgeousness of his attire attracted the attention of the king when he accompanied Bacon to court as Lord Chancellor.

After Bacon's supposed death he lived in "the desolated island called the Calf of Man" on a "parsimonious diet of herbs and oil, mustard and honey, with water sufficient, most like to that of our long-lived fathers before the flood." This brings forcibly to everyone's memory Timon's last resting place, a solitary cell by the rocky sea shore, and his occupation, digging for roots. Bushell says he waited for the "funeral pomp" to be over ere retiring "with a man" to Lundy. I commit Timon to the earnest study of all Baconians.

A. A. LEITH.

\* See BACONIANA, Vol IX., pp. 43—48, article on Thomas Bushell.

## THE NIGHT OF ERRORS AT GRAY'S INN.

**A**N article by Mrs. C. C. Stopes, in the *Athenæum*, of 30th April last, is one of those amusing exercises on "Possibilities and Probabilities," which the upholders of the player "Shakespeare" offer as arguments to show that he wrote the plays. Faced by the fact that Kempe, Shakespeare, and Burbage presented a comedy before Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich, on the same day that the *Comedy of Errors* was played at Gray's Inn, viz., Innocent's Day, 28th December, 1594. Mrs. Stopes says:—

"This discovery was, to say the least of it, discouraging, until it dawned on me that the second performance at Greenwich was said to have taken place 'on Innocent's Day' not 'on Innocent's Day *at night*' as was usual. A day performance might give time for the players, with good horses, to find themselves in London by the late hour suggested in the story of the revels, after all the confusion, and at least some of the dancing."

She suggests that the play at Greenwich was the *Comedy of Errors*, that the players rode up in, or with, their costumes, that the Earl of Southampton, a member of Gray's Inn, had supper with them, then went to the revels, and, on confusion arising there, slipped out and brought the players to repeat at Gray's Inn the comedy which they had performed the same day at Greenwich! There is no evidence whatever to support any of these suggestions. An account of the revels is given in "Gesta Grayorum" set out in Nichol's "Progresses of Queen Elizabeth," Vol III., p. 262, and also to be found in the library of Gray's Inn. Mrs. Stopes cites passages from this work, and refers to the arraignment of the

"conjurer" who was charged by the revellers with having brought "base, and common fellows" in to play. Strangely enough, she does not seem to suggest that Southampton was the conjurer, and less strangely she does not care to conjecture who this conjurer was. He is anonymous in the "Gesta," but is referred to there in the following terms: "The next night upon this occasion, we preferred judgments thick and three-fold, which were read publicly by the clerk of the Crown, being all against a sorcerer or conjurer that was supposed to be the cause of that confused inconvenience. Therein was contained, how he had caused the stage to be built, and scaffolds to be reared to the top of the house, to increase expectation. Also how he had caused divers ladies and gentlemen, and others of good condition to be invited to our sports; also our dearest friend the *State of Templariá*, to be disgraced, and disappointed of their kind entertainment, deserved and intended. Also that he caused throngs and tumults, crowds and outrages, to disturb our whole proceedings. And lastly, that he had foisted a company of base and common fellows, to make up our disorders with a play of Errors and Confusions; and that that night had gained to us discredit, and itself a nickname of Errors . . ." The prisoner was arraigned at the bar, and on being tried presented a petition "wherein was a disclosure of all the knavery and juggling of the Attorney and Solicitor, which had brought all this law-stuff on purpose to blind the eyes of his Excellency" — the Prince of Purpoole—"and all the honourable Court there, going about to make them think that those things which they all saw and perceived sensibly to be in very deed done, and actually performed, were nothing else but vain illusions, fancies, dreams, and enchantments, and to be wrought and compassed by the means of a poor harmless wretch, that never had heard of such great

matters in all his life : whereas the very fault was in the negligence of the Prince's Council, Lords, and Officers of his state that had the rule of the roast, and by whose advice the commonwealth was so soundly misgoverned. To prove these things to be true, he brought divers instances of great absurdities committed by the greatest; and made such allegations as could not be denied . . . and thereupon the prisoner was freed and pardoned, the Attorney, Solicitor, Master of the Requests, and those acquainted with the draught of the petition, were all of them commanded to the Tower; so the Lieutenant took charge of them. And this was the end of our law-sports, concerning the *Night of Errors*."

Our readers will not refrain from wondering who was this unnamed "conjurer" of such influence at Gray's Inn that he could "cause a stage to be built, and scaffolds to be reared to the top of the house, and guests 'of good condition' to be invited, and himself to be honourably acquitted, and his accusers condemned for the confusion of the entertainment. Was it Proteus of the following Shrove-tide masque at Court by the Gray's Inn revellers, or Prospero of the *Tempest*, or Mr. Francis Bacon, a Bencher of the Inn?"

J. R., of Gray's Inn.

---

### THE FLEUR DE LYS.

**A**MONG the many symbols which appear in mediæval literature, either in the form of printer's ornament or watermark, one of the most frequent is the *Fleur de Lys*. The *Fleur de Lys* or Flower of Lewis was adopted by Lewis VII. (1137—1180) as an emblem of the national standard. Charles VI. in 1365 reduced the number of the flowers to three,

the mystical number of The Church. Guillim, in his "Display of Heraldrie," 1610, states that the device is:—"Three toads erect, saltant," in allusion to which Nostradamus, in the sixteenth century, had already called Frenchmen *crapauds* (toads). Nevertheless, the *Fleur de Lys* was chosen by Flavio Gioja to become the permanent mark of the north point of the compass, as a compliment to the then King of Naples, who was of French descent.

As to the meaning of the symbolic *Fleur de Lys*, Lewis VII. scattered these emblems of the Trinity broadcast over his standards to resemble the starry heavens, and to indicate the blessings of this and the next world to be gained under his standards. Charles VI., who, as his sad end proved, had a fatal leaning to mysticism, reduced the number to Three, whereby the meaning of the *Fleur de Lys* becomes considerably increased.

According to Protius, Three is the first perfect number, a middle, and an analogy. The Pythagoreans, and also their indirect and, in principle much diversified, successors, the Brethren of the Rose Croix, read the Book of Nature, and referred to Physiology all that pertains to the Microcosm. Thus, with them, the triad is chiefly concerned with triple dimensions and the triangle figures as the chiefest and most perfect principle of Geometry. Logic claims the Triad as the finite number of the necessary terms. Astrology counts 3 Quaternions of celestial signs, and in every zodiacal sign 3 Faces, 3 Decans, and 3 Lords of their triplicity. Among the planets, again, there are numbered 3 Fortunes and 3 Infortunes. Music counts in Harmony 3 Symphonies: Diapason, Diapente and Diatessaron. Mythology tells of 3 Fates, 3 Furies, 3 Graces, 3 Judges of Hades, and Hesiod mentions the 3 Horæ: *Eunomia* (Order), *Dike* (Justice) and *Eirene* (Peace). Neptune's

weapon is a trident; Cerberus had 3 heads, and Jupiter's thunderbolt is triformis. Hecate is always triple. The letter Yod, of the Hebrew alphabet, within an equilateral triangle was the symbol of the ineffable name of Jehovah, and Shin, as the monogram of Jehovah has three rays.

Further, we get the Royal Arch sign, "the Triple Tau," 3 Stones of the Arch, 3 Principals and 3 Sojourners; 3 Veils; in the Craft Lodges, 3 officers, 3 degrees and 3 perambulations.

There is no system of worship in the world, but the Triad has its place. The Romans, the Celtic Druids, the Hindoos, and Norsemen with their three-rooted Ash Tree *Yggdrasil* and their three Norns (Fates), all have testified their strong belief in the inherent power and potent meaning of the number 3. Even to-day, there are 3 crossings with water in Baptism, 3 Creeds, 3 publications of the Banns of Marriage, and 3 signs of the Cross by a Bishop in benediction. The usher of a court of law 3 times repeats the Norman-French admonition: "*Oyez*," (listen!) The Irish Shamrock or Trefoil, the 3 legs, united at the hips, of the Isle of Man, and their origin, the Sicilian mariner's *Trinacria* are geographical vestiges of the mysterious attraction of the number three.

Enough has been said to show, that the symbolism of the number Three altogether depends upon its use and the nationality, and the status of the person who uses it.

WILLIAM KRISCH.

[We deeply regret to announce that Dr. Krisch died on May 29th, 1904. Dr. Krisch was in his 72nd year.—Ed. "Baconiana."]



## THE BACON-SHAKESPEARE CONTROVERSY IN FRANCE.

[We have been favoured by the following notes. Our French correspondent requests us to revise his English, but our readers will certainly prefer the charm of the original.—ED.]

THE first time the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy has been seriously spoken about by French critics was, as far as I know, in the year 1885. A paper was written at first in the *Revue Internationale* (25 *Janvier*) by Mr. Franz Meyer, whose tendencies were evidently Baconian. But this was more or less a second-hand article, only summing up a larger one of Dr. Karl Müller-Mylius in the German review, *Unsere Zeit* (*Octobre*, 1884).

In the *Revue Britannique* (*Mai*, 1885), was issued a paper by Alexandre Büchner, a well-known Shakespearean scholar. The latter seemed,—though he does not say it,—to have borrowed much from the article of Franz Meyer. But he endeavours to refute it. His whole argumentation merely amounts to this, that :

1.—Shakspeare was not such an ignorant as the Baconians describe him.

2.—On the other hand, although the Plays are monuments of a very comprehensive genius, they do not bear witness to a wide amount of positive and exact knowledge. Shakspeare was therefore quite able to write them.

The article of Mr. Henry Cochin in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* (1 *Novembre*, 1885), was a very moderate and erudite one, the style of which was much better than that of the two precedent. The writer is indeed anti-Baconian, but does not lose his time, like Mr. Büchner, in humouristic jottings about Mrs. Delia. In Mr. Henry Cochin's opinion, Heminge and Condell,

when they were publishing the First Folio, could not be mistaken in ascribing the Plays to Shakspeare, whose life and works they had always witnessed. But in spite of this conclusion, it would be easy to point out in that paper many statements which are nothing but the very starting-points of the Baconian system.

As the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* is looked upon as an authority by the whole French critic, it was thought a matter of course by every Frenchman that the Baconian theory was not worth speaking of. Moreover, it must be said that French poets, musicians and writers, like Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, Berlioz, etc., had paid a kind of worship to Shakespeare during the 19th century. Therefore they were not likely to deny him the authorship of the Plays and to take away his statue from the Boulevard Haussmann. Thus there were no important writings about the Baconian controversy during a long time. A professor of English literature at the Sorbonne, Mr. A. Beljame, was once announcing he would deliver a series of lectures about that question; but he did not carry out his purpose.

Only in 1903 there was a new movement of Baconism in France. Since eighteen years, the English and American Baconians had gone much further in the matter; it was no more possible to be unacquainted with their works, or still to say all of them were but lunatic. The fortnightly review, *Etudes*, was the first to bring anew the controversy on the carpet with a series of articles, the first of which BACONIANA has been referring to (*cf.* BACONIANA, 1903, p. 192). The writer in the *Etudes*, although he did not agree with us in every point, showed himself to be aware of the question, and was in the whole a stickler for the theory.

A few weeks afterwards, Mr. Jean Carrère wrote in the *Revue hebdomadaire* (13 Juin, 1903) a paper, where he chiefly cut easy jokes on Mr. Edwin Bormann, and

graciously (as he probably means) sifted all the names the Baconians have ever been called by irascible gentlemen like Dr. Furnivall and Mr. Richard Grant White. Such arguments did not make up for his superficial knowledge of the controversy.

Quite different are the three papers written in the *Journal des Debats* (25 Août, 23 Septembre, 21 Octobre) by Mr. Auguste Filon, who is a man of true scholarship and perfect courtesy. He drew a very clear sketch of the matter, his mind being only in the third paper biassed by the Shakespearean worship, so as to say Francis Bacon was neither *une vaste intelligence* nor *une grande âme!* But he also sincerely made this statement: "The Baconian thesis has up to this day been asserted in presence of three successive generations by able and more sincere writers. . . . Such a controversy is therefore not disdainfully to be set aside nor *a priori* declared unworthy of consideration."

Only for memory may it be said that various less important articles have been written by Mr. E. Lepelletier in the *Echo de Paris* (1 Dec.), Henry Bidou, in the *Journal des Debats* (1 Juin), X. de R., in the *Renaissance Latine* (15 Octobre). To speak the truth, the most of them are unfavourable to the Baconian claims. But they cannot prevent the theory to be winning its way in France. As a proof, whereas all the French books about English literature did not speak of it a few years ago, they now generally find a room to a more or less large discussion of the controversy.

## SHAKSPER AND THE STRATFORD ENCLOSURES.

LEAVING on one side the question of to whom the world is indebted for the Shakespeare plays, it is remarkable how loth is the present age to admit its indebtedness to Lord Bacon. It is almost denied that he has any claim whatever upon the gratitude or respect of mankind, yet his career was a sustained protest against oppression, and a continual effort for the betterment of men's bread and wine. It is again the story of Orpheus being rent in pieces by the Bacchides; if the modern critic cannot rend, he prefers to take refuge in silence.

In Vol. III. p. 481, of that excellent work, "Social England," edited by H. D. Traill and J. S. Mann, and now in course of re-issue in an enlarged and revised form, there is a characteristic instance of injustice to Lord Bacon.

"It was perhaps by the efforts of Wm. Shakespeare, himself a commoner, that the attempt of the Lord of the Manor to enclose the common fields at Welcombe, near Stratford-on-Avon, was defeated" (!).

It is possible but highly improbable. The evidence, far from encouraging, is hostile to any such assumption, in fact, the assertion has rather "a countenance of gravity than any sincerity of truth." Biographers are in agreement that Shaksper was in all probability successfully bribed to abet an unscrupulous piece of land grabbing.

As stated by Halliwell-Phillipps, and again by Sidney Lee, the facts are briefly as follows. William Combe (the son of John Combe, "a notable usurer") attempted to enclose the common fields that belonged to the Corporation of Stratford. Acting in concert with

Combe was a neighbouring landowner, named Mainwaring. "The latter," says Halliwell-Phillipps, "who had been practically bribed by some land arrangements at Welcombe, undertook to protect the interests of Shaksper, so that there can be no doubt the three parties were acting in unison."

The Corporation of Stratford resolved to offer the scheme a stout resistance, and in formal meeting drew up a letter to Shaksper imploring his aid. "But," says Mr. Lee, "it is plain . . . he continued to lend Combe his countenance. Happily Combe's efforts failed, and the common lands remain unenclosed."

Had the writer written Shakespeare in inverted commas we could endorse his otherwise fanciful surmise. "Tell her," says Shakespeare, "my love, more noble than the world, prizes not quantity of dirty lands."\*

To Bacon it was due that in 1597 Parliament stepped in and put an end to the encroachment of landowners, and the unscrupulous eviction of small tenants. In the teeth of opposition, his propositions became law, and by good fortune a short report of the speech made in Parliament upon the occasion has come down to us. It runs thus:—

"Mr. Bacon made a motion *against depopulation of towns* and houses of husbandry, and for the maintenance of husbandry and tillage. And to this purpose he brought in two bills, as he termed it, not drawn with a polished pen, but with a polished heart. . . . And though it may be thought ill and very prejudicial to lords that have enclosed great grounds, and pulled down even whole towns, and converted them to sheep pastures, yet, considering the increase of people, and the benefit of the commonwealth, I doubt not, but every man will deem the revival of former moth-eaten laws in this point a praiseworthy thing. For in matters of policy ill is not to be thought ill, which bringeth forth good. For enclosure of grounds brings depopulation, which

\* *Twelfth Night*, II., 4.

brings forth first, idleness ; secondly, decay of tillage ; thirdly, subversion of homes, and decrease of charity, and charge to the poor's maintenance ; fourthly, the impoverishing the state of the realm. . . . And I should be sorry to see within this kingdom that piece of Ovid's verse prove true, *Fam seges est ubi Troja fuit* ; so in England, instead of a whole town full of people, none but green fields, but a shepherd and a dog.

"The eye of experience is the sure eye, but the eye of wisdom is the quick-sighted eye ; and by experience we daily see, *Nemo putat illud videri turpe quod sibi sit quæstuosum*. And, therefore, almost there is no conscience made in destroying the savour of our life, bread I mean, for *Panis sapor vitæ*. And, therefore, a sharp and vigorous law had need to be made against these *viperous* natures who fulfil the proverb, *Si non posse quod vult, velle tamen quod potest*."<sup>o</sup>

The writer of the Shakespeare plays seemingly had access to this speech, and assimilated Bacon's sentiments and phraseology.

In *Coriolanus* we find :—

*Sicinius*.—What is the city, but the people ?

*Citizens*.—True, the people are the city.

*Sicinius*.—Where is this viper that would depopulate the city ?

We are peremptory to despatch this *viperous* traitor.

(Act III., Sc. i.)

A comparison of this passage with Bacon's speech brings out the conjunction in both cases of "depopulation," "towns" and the curious word "viperous."

<sup>o</sup> "Spedding," Vol. II., p. 82.

## REVIEWS.

AS a preventative to the insidious spread of Baconism, Mr. John Rowlands has written *Shakespeare Still Enthroned*.\* Mr. Rowlands observes :—

“Some may consider such a work unnecessary, and the author himself would have maintained that opinion a few years ago. But having met with persons of all classes, and students of all grades who fancy that Bacon was the real author, it is scarcely necessary to apologise for attempting to show, rather than assert, that the idea is preposterous. The knowledge which these people, however, possess of the above standard authors (Bacon and Shakespeare), their lives as well as their works, is seldom very thorough, and often superficial.”

Having acquired what he seemingly considers to be an adequate knowledge of the subject—derived apparently by the study of Macaulay's *Essay*, and the casting of a transient eye upon Bacon's *Essays*—Mr. Rowlands presents for our reprehension a lamentable picture of Lord Verulam's turpitude. We can only repeat Spedding's observation, that it is futile to write and disprove untruths if men decline to read the proofs, yet continue to reiterate their erroneous statements.

After, in Part I., exhibiting the broad-browed Verulam as an unrespectworthy character, Mr. Rowlands, in Part II., bids us regard a very different picture,—the gentle player, Mr. William Shaksper. Of contemporary testimony to Shaksper's genial personality Mr. Rowlands maintains there is abundance. He cites as evidence the hackneyed passage from Spenser's *Tears of the Muses* :—

“Spenser's testimony is doubly interesting, his lines having reference to Shakespear's general disposition no less than to his genius. He writes :—

\*94 pp., Crown 8vo. London, 1/6

'The man whom Nature's self had made  
To mock herself and truth to imitate,  
With kindly counter, under mimic shade,'

while in the next line he speaks of this author 'as our pleasant Willy.' "

Mr. Rowlands should really have completed the quotation of which the final line runs :—

"Our pleasant Willy, ah, *is dead* of late !"

Spenser died in 1598 or 1599, Shaksper not until 1616. How, therefore, the recently deceased "Willy" can be identified with the Swan of Avon has always passed our comprehension.

The theory by which Mr. Rowlands accounts for the premature withdrawal of the prosperous actor to the foetid surroundings of Stratford is that "his work was nearly done, and he retired, having, so to speak, exhausted his soul." The reason why we possess no scrap of Shakespeare MS. is probably the disastrous fire which destroyed the Globe Theatre in 1613. Ten years later Messrs. Heminge and Condell asserted that they had collected Shaksper's "true originall copies," and that they then, in 1623, had them in their possession, —but this is a detail, and it seems pedantic to spoil so ingenious and well-worn a Shakespearean fiction.

The Baconian theory Mr. Rowlands deems "a monstrosity of mental delusion such as no man with an even balanced mind can believe." He is transported into an ecstasy by the intellectual beauty of the Droeshout portrait. This and the sublimity of the Stratford Bust inspire him to perorate as follows :—

"In conclusion, we may be excused for drawing the reader's attention to the dramatist's portrait as being expressive of great genius. The portrait by Martin Droeshout, prefixed to the edition of 1623, when Shakespere's countenance was still fresh and clear to the minds of editors and readers alike, impresses us greatly



with the grandeur of its features, and in particular with the abnormal and altogether magnificent development of the forehead, the large, luminous eyes being full of inspiration and love. The lines which follow it with the signature 'B. J.' (Ben Jonson) attest the faithfulness of the picture. The bust at Stratford, by Gerard Johnson, erected after the dramatist's death, is of the same character, and a sufficient proof of the genuineness of the likeness, which is the grandest face in all the splendid gallery of our great men. It is a noble, perfect countenance; we could not conceive of it being different. It is suggestive of all that is great, and all that is beautiful in the being of man, a glorious mirror of a glorious soul."

This is the same wonderful work of art of which Mrs. Stopes writes (*Monthly Review*, April, 1904): "There is an entire lack of the faintest suggestion of poetic or spiritual inspiration in its plump earthliness. The designer has put a pen and paper into his hands, after the manner of the schoolboy, who wrote under his drawing of something-on-four-legs, 'This is a horse.' The pen strives to write 'This is a literary man,' but there is nothing to support the attribution."

It evidently all depends upon the colour of the spectacles one wears when gazing on the counterfeit presentment of the man of Stratford.

---

In his *Table Talk* William Hazlitt observes:—

"If we wish to know the force of human genius, we should read Shakespeare. If we wish to see the insignificance of human learning, we may study his commentators."

We are reminded of this remark by Mr. Canning's *Shakespeare Studied in Eight Plays*.<sup>\*</sup> Lest it be imagined that we are unjust or hypercritical, we clip a portion of the critique which appeared in the *Morning Leader*:—

"In a prefatory note to this portly volume the author explains

<sup>\*</sup> "Shakespeare Studied in Eight Plays," by the Hon. Albert S. G. Canning. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1903. 16s. net.

that it is not intended for Shakespearean scholars, but 'simply to render the eight plays treated of more interesting and intelligible to general readers.' It is always sad that what has evidently been a considerable labour, and as evidently a labour of love, should be worthless when accomplished. It may be that some readers whose lack of dramatic instinct makes Shakespeare seem 'uninteresting and unintelligible' will have some obstacles removed from their path by Mr. Canning's method of exposition. That method is to take eight plays—*Troilus and Cressida*, *Timon of Athens*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Richard III.*, *Henry VIII.*, *King Lear*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*—and follow them scene by scene, and almost line by line, with what are practically minute and laborious stage-directions. When Wolse breaks into his memorable outburst,

'O Cromwell, Cromwell !

Had I but served my God with half the zeal  
I served my king, He would not in mine age  
Have left me naked to mine enemies ;'

and Cromwell breaks in with, 'Good sir, have patience'—most people will feel that it is superfluous to be told that Cromwell is 'naturally trying to calm his sudden agitation.' Yet this is not an unfair specimen of Mr. Canning's method."

It would be superfluous to add to this excellent comment.

---

In *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet*\* Mr. Acheson essays to prove "that Professor Minto's conjecture as to Chapman's identity as the 'Rival Poet' is absolutely true."

From the same data I shall prove the truth of the contention of the Southamptonites ; I shall throw an altogether new light on *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Troilus and Cressida*, and give a definite date for their production and their revision ; I shall show

\*"Shakespeare and the Rival Poet : displaying Shakespeare as a Satirist and proving the Identity of the Patron and the Rival of the Sonnets," by Arthur Acheson. London and New York : John Lane. 5/- net.

the truth of very interesting internal evidence in the Sonnets, which has hitherto been quite misunderstood or altogether unnoticed, and shall set forth a fairly definite date for their production.

Although we cannot accept all Mr. Acheson's conclusions, his work is an able piece of inductive reasoning, modestly and agreeably presented. Mr. Acheson supports the personal theory of the Sonnets, he believes that Holofernes in *Love's Labour Lost* and Thersites in *Troilus and Cressida* are portrait caricatures of George Chapman, and he suggests that the lines :—

“Fair Diomed, you do as chapmen do,”

and

“Beauty is bought by judgment of the eye,  
Not uttered by base sale of chapmen's tongues,”

are veiled allusions tending to support his theory.

The fact that Mr. Acheson dates from Chicago, probably accounts for his reference to the Baconian theory as being dead. In this country it has never been more healthy.

---

We have received an edition of Bacon's *Essays*, edited by Mr. Edward Wright, and published by Messrs. Methuen & Co. This volume we can cordially recommend to the attention of Baconians for its able and fair introduction and notes, and for a pure text adopted from that of Mr. Aldis Wright. We have here the best short summary of Bacon's *life* that has come under our notice, and its value is enhanced by a succinct appendix, entitled, “The First Three Dedications, and a Bibliographical Note on the Essays,” a valuable supplement to Dr. Arber's “Parallel” edition of the *Essays*,—the most useful ever printed.

But Mr. Wright is not *altogether* a Baconian, although

he is singularly fair in his view of the "Controversy." This is what he says:—

"The popular question as to whether or not Shakespeare and Bacon were the same writer is not an entirely unprofitable subject for discussion. It may, perhaps, serve to inform those who have studied neither their works nor their lives, that the greatest English dramatist and the greatest English prose-writer were men of almost equal genius, who lived in the same age, and submitted to much the same influence, so that they necessarily have some scattered thoughts, and even scattered expressions in common. It is not at all improbable that Shakespeare, like lesser men, 'conveyed' passages from Bacon's works when they circulated in manuscript."

We would say it was most improbable, unless Mr. Wright admits that the complete manuscripts of the Shakespearean plays were borrowed *in toto* by Shakspeare from Bacon, the lower-life and tap-room passages being supplied by the actor for the benefit of the "penny knaves" in the pit of the Globe Theatre.

Mr. Wright, fair as he is, can scarcely have studied the Bacon-Shakespeare argument, when he refers to the "scattered thoughts" and "scattered expressions" common to the two authors. The thoughts and expressions are not "scattered," they are as "thick as leaves in Vallambrosa." No two men ever lived in the history of the world at the same time, who re-echoed each other "thoughts" and "expressions" so powerfully, so conclusively, as Francis Bacon and William Shakespere. "It is," says David Masson, "as if into a mind poetical in *form* there had been poured all the *matter* that existed in the mind of his (Shakespeare's) contemporary Bacon. In Shakespeare's plays we have thought, history, exposition, philosophy, all within the round of the poets. The only difference between him and Bacon sometimes is that Bacon writes an essay and calls it his own, while Shakespeare writes a similar

essay, and puts it into the mouth of a Ulysses or a Polonius.”\*

---

MR. W. C. HAZLITT ON MR. S.  
LEE AND THE BACONIANS.

MR. SIDNEY LEE is not faring so well at the hands of the critics. Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt, in the new edition of his *Shakespear: Himself and his work*, rubs it well into the standard biographer. Here are a few extracts:—

“It is essential for a literary inquirer, even of the exalted pretensions of Mr. Lee, if he introduces such particulars, to study accuracy and truth. He [Mr. Lee] fails to do so here, and I shall have occasion to show that it is an habitual fault.”

“That gentleman has not only dealt incompletely with some biographical points from an imperfect acquaintance, I presume, with the data, or an inadequate valuation of their importance, but he has left numerous others absolutely untouched.”

“It is not unjust to this gentleman to affirm that, had it not been for the generous perseverance of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, the *Life of Shakespear* by Mr. Lee could not have been even what we see it. As it is, the work is imperfect and inaccurate enough, and even where Mr. Lee had the advantage of his predecessor's volumes at his elbow, he has not always translated their sense quite correctly or faithfully; nor has he by any means fully profited by the opportunity supplied by other readily accessible stores of information.”

“The literary speculator, of whom Mr. Lee does not impress me with the notion of knowing much, was immensely before his time, according to Sidney Lee, whose childish census [of the *First Folios*] has recently fallen under my eyes.”

Pretty severe this from one Shakespearean to another !  
Mr. Hazlitt has not forgotten the Baconians, whose

\* Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, and other Essays, 1874. Essay V., p. 242. Reprinted from *North British Review*, 1853.

opinions he describes as "this unparalleled heresy," "failure to grasp all the facts," "a more or less diffused creed," &c., and yet Mr. Hazlitt acknowledges that "the Baconian theory may nevertheless have some measure of verisimilitude," saying, "I harbour the opinion, an empirical and diffident one, I allow, that such as the first drafts of *Henry IV.*, *Henry V.*, and *Henry VI.*, were *not improbably* of Baconian origin, far more probably, indeed, than from the pens usually named in connection with them, and that these products of a man of genius, wholly destitute of the stoical experience beyond such as sufficed to set forth a Court or Gray's Inn pageant, were laid before the practical artist even without a clue to the authorship, in a reviewer's transcript." A remarkable admission from a Shakespearean, truly. And again, according to Hazlitt, "1580—82, for instance, in an almost blank interval, during which he [Bacon] may have occupied his time with dramatic experiments." "There are indications," we are informed, that the composition of the historical series, commencing with *Henry IV.*, had already started in 1587, before Shakspear entered on the scene, and when Bacon was very young. What Bacon may have written of this nature we are quite authorized [by whom?] to conclude unfit for theatrical use; but the first drafts of *Henry IV.*, *V.*, *VI.*, were possibly his, yet not even as they were originally exhibited and published, but submitted to a revising pen. "If that pen was Shakspear's, we are unable to believe that he engaged in this kind of work prior to 1590, and thenceforward during some years he did little else in a dramatic direction." So that four years after leaving Stratford we have the *experienced* lad of Stratford revising the plays of the *inexperienced* Francis Bacon.

Then we have Mr. Hazlitt's admission:—

"That Bacon, situated as he was in constant and anxious

expectation of loyal advancement, did not venture to associate himself publicly with such performances, had they even been capable of utilization as he left them, is perfectly obvious."

Just what Baconians have always maintained.

Mr. Hazlitt concludes as follows :—

"It had always struck us as extraordinary, and almost as a problem to be explained, how the two greatest Englishmen belonged to one era, nearly to the same interval of years, how they lived, as it were, side by side, face to face, yet, so far as we could learn, were strangers to each others: one a poetical philosopher, the other a philosophical poet, and at length, according to some, the mystery is unravelled, the veil is rent asunder, and not Stratford, but Gorhambury, is entitled to the glory of being the first village in the world. A Cathedral City without a Bishop, a shrine with relics canonized by no Church, only by the voice of all educated mankind."

Very well put, Mr. Hazlitt.

G. S.

---

## NOTES, QUERIES, AND CORRESPONDENCE.

### The Stratford Bust.

IN the April No. of *The Monthly Review*, Mrs. Charlotte C. Stopes has an interesting article on the Stratford Bust. She produces evidence chiefly in the form of illustrations from Dugdale's "*Warwickshire*" and other early sources, tending to show that the monument has been "restored" out of recognition. In the earliest pictorial representation (Dugdale, 1656) the attitude and features are quite different to their present form. "Far from resembling the self-contented, fleshy man of to-day, the large and full dark eyes look out of cheeks hollow to emaciation." Mrs. Stopes is of the opinion—seemingly well founded—that it was "the

sculptor who collaborated with Hall in 1746 who deprived us of the original outlines of a memorial so dear, either through ignorance, vanity, or culpable carelessness." As a consequence, the present bust "in its plump earthliness" is in all probability purely a fancy portrait.

It is a great pity that Mrs. Stopes mars so much of her excellent research work by the intrusion of romantic imagination. Referring to the early Dugdale reproduction, she observes:—"In it there is something biographical, something suggestive; it shows us the tired creator of poems, exhausted from lack of sleep, 'Nature's sweet restorer,' weary of the bustling London life, who had returned as soon as possible to seek rest among his own people, and met an over early death in the unhealthy spring-damps of 1616."

Whence does Mrs. Stopes get this information about "the unhealthy spring-damps of 1616"? Mr. Sidney Lee merely mentions that "according to the testimony of John Ward, the vicar, Shakespeare entertained at New Place his two friends Michael Drayton and Ben Jonson in this same spring of 1616, and 'had a merry meeting,' but 'itt seems drank too hard, for Shakespeare died of a feavour there contracted.'"

---

### Lord Macaulay.

**D**URING the past few months Macaulay has fared unhappily at the hands of various writers. Lord Acton's views are quoted elsewhere. From the newly published Carlyle letters, we learn that Carlyle's estimation was not flattering. He sums up Macaulay as—

"The sublime of the commonplace, not one of whose ideas has the least tincture of greatness and originality or any kind of superior merit, except neatness of expression."



A harsh sidelight on the famous talker is cast from the diary of the late Thomas Creevey, M.P.\*

"Yesterday I dined at Stanley's. Mr. Macaulay and Mr. Jordon were the only performers after dinner, and two more noisy, vulgar fellows I never saw."

---

### Sir Edward Clarke.

**S**PEAKING on St. George's Day at a Savage Club "House" dinner, Sir Edward Clarke referred unsympathetically to the Baconian theory. He conceded, however, that "there were certain parts of some of the accepted plays of Shakespeare which nothing in the world would induce him to believe that Shakespeare wrote."

Sir Edward commented upon the thorough grasp displayed by Shakespeare of every department of life, and added, "It was a mystery. No intelligible explanation could be given for the knowledge which was invested into every part of those plays."

This is somewhat disrespectful to Mr. Churton Collins, Mr. Sidney Lee and other experts who have provided "explanations" for all and every difficulty.

Sir Edward Clarke does not appear to regard the professional critic with that awe which is evinced by the general press. We recall, with amusement, the passage at arms which took place in the columns of *The Times* in December, 1902. Sir Edward put his point thus:—

"Mr. ———, at a large public gathering, obtained an after-dinner laugh by speaking of me as 'a certain prominent advocate who did not always confine himself to his own business,' and he seems to think that no one is entitled to discuss literary subjects who does not earn his living in the profession of letters. It is a ridiculous claim. The literature of England is a fair and spacious domain, and it does not belong to Mr. ———. He is

\* *The Creevey Papers*. Edited by Sir H. Maxwell (Murray).

rather like the intelligent rustic whose business it is to open one of the gates. It is a useful occupation, and I do not grudge Mr. ——— its rewards. But I have not used that entrance, and I know the estate well enough to find my way about it without his assistance. In a pontifical manner he, as the representative of literature, rebukes me for my presumption in having an opinion and in venturing to express it. Surely I am entitled to examine his own credentials. If they prove to be defective, that is Mr. ———'s misfortune and not my fault."

---

### "English Literature."

THE American *Nation* (March 3rd, 1904), has the following:—

"The treatment of Shakspeare's work is full and judicious, but that of his life is not quite so satisfactory. While the author of a separate biography of the poet may feel it his duty at least to mention every apocryphal tradition and absurd mare's-nest that gossip has handed down or conjecture invented, one would think that a work like this would keep soberly to the ascertained facts and to probabilities only just short of certainty, and, where there are gaps in the record, let them be gaps, without trying to fill them up with brain cobwebs."

It is announced, by the way, that Dr. Garnett has written a play in which William Shakespeare is one of the characters.

---

### Stratford Visitors.

AT the annual meeting of the Birthplace Trustees it was announced that during the past year the number of visitors had largely increased. The total of 31,519 exceeded the preceding total by nearly 4,500.

---

### "The Poet's Corner."

MR. MAX BEERHOLME's latest caricatures, entitled *The Poet's Corner*, include a design showing Shaksper with an expressive gesture receiving from a

figure remarkably like Francis Bacon the MS. of *Hamlet*. The drawing is subscribed "William Shakespeare. His method of work."

---

### Bacon's City Mansion.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—In William Maitland's *History of London* (1739) occurs this passage, p. 482: "St. Olive, Silver Street. Near the north end of this noble street stood the city mansion of Lord Bacon." Has anyone heard of this mansion before?

In Maitland's edition of 1775 this house is omitted altogether. But the index refers us to p. 1370, with these words: "Lord Bacon his House."

An assistant librarian at Guildhall Library and I searched in vain for any such House on p. 1370. The only reference I could find was a description of the first play house erected in the neighbourhood of the City of London. On p. 1371 there was a description of Canonbury House at Islington, more generally called Cambray House. But with no reference whatever to the fact that Francis Bacon ever lived there.

A large presentation copy, scarce, of Thomas Edlyne Tomlin's *History of Yseldon* (1858), is in the Guildhall Library, and that contains the information denied us in so many large and important histories that Bacon was closely and long associated with Canonbury.

Sir Thomas Fowler had a fine mansion here at Canonbury. Is this the "Malvolio" of our last issue? Baronet, created 1628, died 1656. His lease dated 1599.

A. A. L.

---

### Alleyn—Author?

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—May I point out that in the memoirs of Edward Alleyn, by Payne Collier, p. 184-5, stands this: "It might be supposed from certain memoranda in Henslowe's account-book that Alleyn was an author; in August, 1602, he received £4 for two books, 'Philip of Spain' and 'Longshanks.' In October of the same year he was paid 40s. for 'his booke of Tamber came,' etc. Nevertheless, it is not to be supposed that he was concerned in the writing, though he very likely was instrumental in the getting up of those pieces, the unnamed poets having entrusted their productions to him in consequence of his interest in the theatre. Alleyn doubtless lent his assistance in

preparing it for the stage (Tamar Cam), and in this way, possibly, he entitled himself to the 40s. paid to him by Henslowe. He might, however, only receive it in trust for those who were engaged with him in bringing it before the public."

John Taylor, the water poet [folio 1630, p. 142, *et seq.*], has the following verse as his testimony to the way acting managers posed as authors in his day:—

"Thou brag'st what fame thou got'st upon the stage.  
Upon St. George's Day last, sir, you gave  
To eight Knights of the Garter (like a knave),  
Eight manuscripts (or books) all fairlic writ;  
Informing them they were your mother wit,  
And you compil'd them; then were you regarded,  
All this is true, and this I dare maintain,  
The matter came from out a learned brain."

Fennor was the delinquent who produced "*England's Joy*." It seems that Heming and Condell might easily have been led by Shaxper to believe him the author of the plays he produced.

A. B.

10, Clorane Gardens, Hampstead.

## Honorificabilitudine.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—I notice in BACONIANA for April, an unsigned note headed "Honorificabilitudine" in which you say that a correspondent informs you—among other things—that the letter after the l in the word as it appears in the Northumberland MS. is not i, but either e or c and that the last letter of the word is c not o. I have never seen the original MS., and have formed my opinion from the production in Mr. Reed's "*Bacon versus Shakspeare*."

I believe, however, that the latter of the two propositions is correct, that the final letter is e, because that would give the word the form of the ablative of the third declension, which it is, and not second declension. The attempt to substitute c or e for i after the l is, however, absurd, because in neither case would the combination of letters spell anything. The inability to distinguish the dot of the i in a MS. of that age and in condition that that is, is quite to be expected.

But what I want to call your especial attention to is the injustice you have done me in the final paragraph, "It does not permit the anagrammatic interpretation given it by Dr. Platt." I never gave it any anagrammatic interpretation. The anagram I called attention to a few years ago is of the word honorificabilitudinitatibus in "*Love's Labour Lost*," and in regard to which there can be no doubt of its spelling. All I said of the

Northumberland MS. word that it might—and of course it might not—have resulted in an experiment to work out an anagram, and that it was an anagram of "Hi ludi, Fr. Bacono initio." This was of no consequence and was merely suggested. Moreover, the change of the final letter to e makes no practical difference, for you in that case simply write *Bacone* and the sense remains the same, and I do not know why he might not decline his name in the third declension if he saw fit; but, anyhow, I only suggested that it might be a rejected form.

ISAAC HULL PLATT.

Bryn Mawr, April 27th 1904.

---

### "Concealed Lands."

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—S. Lewis Junr., in his History of St. Mary, Islington, [Guildhall Library, 1842] states that the Manor of Highbury, 10th January, 1625, was granted to Bacon in trust for Charles on a lease of 99 years, which became merged in the Crown. He speaks of *Concealed Lands* and says that these were only let or leased to people who would search them, and that these are called "Concealers." Were Canonbury and Highbury both *Concealed Lands*? and was Francis Bacon a "Concealer"? Esmé, Count D'Aubigny, is mentioned as one of these "Concealers," and we know James I. gave him a lease of St. John's Gate in 1612, in which spot the rehearsals of Shakespeare plays were held.

A STAUNCH BACONIAN.

---

### John Aubrey.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—In regarding Aubrey's visit to the neighbourhood of Stratford as a fact, I relied not only on the testimony of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps and, so far as I am aware, all other writers on the subject, but on what appears to me the convincing internal evidence afforded by the notes on Shakspeare themselves in his "Lives." As regards the exact date of the occurrence I spoke loosely, as, at whatever period of Aubrey's life it happened (if it happened at all, as I took it for granted), it must have been at a date not further removed from the death of the Stratford player than the investigations of Canon Rawnsley from the decease of the poet of Rydal, and this was sufficient for the purpose of my little article.

It will be interesting to see whether Mr. Hastings White's inquiry elicits any further evidence on the subject.

JOHN HUTCHINSON.

## Bears.

## TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—On page 99 of BACONIANA for April, 1904, occurs the statement that the mode adopted by bears of licking their young into shape, was the mode Rawley describes Bacon as adopting to perfect his own literary works; and the writer goes on to add that "Shakespeare shows a similar acquaintance with the then unpublished scientific note."

This is erroneous, as the circumstance of Bears so shaping their young is recorded by Pliny in Book VIII. cap. 54.

W. THEOBALD.

## Thomas Hobbs and William Rowley.

## TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—Were Thomas Hobbs and William Rowley, [gents] who figure in an agreement drawn up between the theatrical company of the Hope Theatre and Edward Alleyne, Manager-actor, Francis Bacon's secretaries? [p. 127, Edward Alleyne's memoirs.] William Rowley, D.D., may have only taken holy orders (as other actors of that day were known to have done) late in life. Would it be as well to trace their signatures, his and Hobbs, in the document, with a view to identifying them? Thomas Lodge, player, practiced as Doctor of Physic [Edward Alleyne's memoirs, p. 46], and Ben Jonson, player, is called "bricklayer" in *Henslowe's Diary*. Robert Green, actor, is said to have taken holy orders and been a Royal Chaplain. Mr. Dyce infers Greene was a divine from a note in a copy of *George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield*, "Written by—— a minister who acted the pinner's part in it himself. Teste W. Shakespeare."

Samuel Rowley "was a servant to the Prince," and a writer of "*When you see me you know me*," and "*The Noble Soldier*," in striking likeness to Shakespeare. Who was Will Rowley?

L. A.

OCTOBER, 1904

# BACONIANA

A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE



## CONTENTS

	PAGE
"Leycester's Commonwealth" ... ..	201
The Date of "The Comedy of Errors" ...	210
New Light on "Twelfth Night" (II.) ...	215
Bacon's Versions of the Psalms ... ..	228
Significant Book Ornaments ... ..	232
The Discredit of Play-writing ... ..	238
Bacon's Patronymic ... ..	240
"The Ethics of Criticism" ... ..	244
Shakespearean v. Shakespearean ... ..	248
Queries and Correspondence... ..	253

LONDON

GAY &amp; BIRD

33 BEDFORD STREET

Cases for B  
can be had  
the Publis

# The Bacon Society.

(INCORPORATED.)

---

THE objects of the Society are expressed in the Memorandum of Association to be :—

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

The annual subscription of Members, who are entitled to vote at the Society's business meetings, is one guinea ; that of Associates is half-a-guinea.

The Society's Library and Rooms are at 11, Hart Street, London, W.C. (close to the British Museum), where the Secretary attends daily, and from 3 to 6 o'clock will be happy to supply further information.



# BACONIANA.

---

VOL. II. *Third Series.* OCTOBER, 1904. No. 8.

---

## LEYCESTER'S COMMONWEALTH.\*

ON the title page of the Northumberland House MSS., among other entries we find "Leycester's Commonwealth." As this occurs as one item in what is apparently a catalogue of the underlying contents of the portfolio in which these MSS. of work, presumably by Bacon, are contained, the question at once arises, Did Bacon write this as well as the rest? Part of the MS. of Leycester's Commonwealth is included in this collection, but only part, that which is contained between pp. 55 and 160 in this edition. The presumption of Bacon's authorship is not so strong in reference to this as to the other writings. For Leycester's Commonwealth is a severe and most damaging indictment of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leycester, who was, when the book was published, the most powerful man in the Kingdom. The book was apparently written and published about the year 1584, when Bacon was 23 years old. It was printed on the Continent, probably at Antwerp. Probably no English printer or publisher would handle such compromising matter. Every effort was made to suppress it in

\* *Leycester's Commonwealth*, a reprint of the 1641 edition. Edited by Frank J. Burgoyne, librarian of the Lambeth Public Libraries, pp. 247. Longmans, 1904. 7s. 6d.

England, where it excited considerable interest. Many copies were seized and destroyed, consequently it was much circulated in manuscript. In fact, as Mr. Burgoyne states, many more manuscript copies now exist in England, than copies of the printed book. Doubtless the copy found in the Northumberland House collection may be one of these, even although the writing is by an amanuensis of Bacon's. Still this does not entirely dispose of the presumption that Bacon was the author, and we may reasonably look for internal evidence bearing on the subject.

In the first place we need not be deterred by the description given of it by Sir Philip Sidney and the Government. The Queen spoke of it as "most malicious, false and scandalous, and such as none but an incarnate devil himself could dream to be true." But this invective is only in ordinary official style—"pretty Fanny's way"—and only means that the Government thought it dangerous. Sir Philip Sidney calls it an "inveterate and scurrilous libel," "characterised by all the venom and rancour that the most ruthless hatred could suggest." But it is remarkable that Sir Philip Sidney does not attempt to answer the libel; he only concerns himself with the lineage of his maternal ancestors. Surely Sir Philip Sidney would have answered it if he could. For it is worth an answer. Whether true or false, it is not scurrilous, or scandalous; no venom or rancour is manifest in its composition. It is indeed a most elaborate indictment of Leycester, but the style is calm and dignified; it is an eloquent, masterly and judicial statement, in which the alleged facts are stated without any artificial colouring, without a trace of invective or extravagance. We know that Leycester was, as Walpole said, "a bad man," and that the accusations of this pamphlet are in exact conformity with what we know of his life and ambitions. Froude

speaks of him as a scoundrel—"the most worthless of her Majesty's subjects." Consequently the unsupported invective of those who sought to suppress it rather confirms than confutes its accuracy.

As far as style is concerned there is nothing inconsistent with Bacon's authorship. For clear, concise, lucid, historic narrative, for masterly marshalling of facts, for brilliant literary style and lofty eloquence, it may challenge comparison with the writings of Bacon or the greatest masters of English literature. It resembles in this respect and in its general tone, Bacon's *Henry VII.* It is also curiously like the "Advertisement Touching a Holy War," for it is written in the form of a dialogue in which the speakers do not rapidly change, but generally take long innings; and neither argument nor statement of facts is confined to one of the interlocutors.

Nor is the temper and morality of the piece unworthy of Bacon. If he was gentle and charitable in his judgments, and had "the aspect of one that pitied men," this made him capable of fiery indignation against cruelty and oppression; and the pity of his nature intensified his anger against those whose cruelty was pitiless. Incapable of personal rancour, he was easily stirred to altruistic indignation.

Looking more closely at the sentiments as well as the structure of this work, we find first of all, Bacon's characteristic views in regard to religious and political toleration accurately reflected, a view that was by no means current at that time. Since every man wishes that the Prince or Government under which he lives should be of the same religion as himself, there is in this a possible motive for treason or rebellion. But so long as this does not lead to "some actual attempt or treaty against the life of the Prince or State, by rebellion or otherwise, we do not properly condemn them as traitors,"

nor enforce the statutes that make it unlawful for them to exercise the rites of their religion. So that Papists and Puritans may be "both guilty and guiltless," and neither should be condemned simply for their beliefs. This opinion is supported by much and cogent reference to actual experience in other countries, and by such remarkably Baconian sentiment as the following:— "Misery procureth amity, and the opinion of calamity moveth affection of mercy and compassion, even towards the wicked; the better fortune is subject to envy, and he that suffereth is thought to have the better cause" (p. 18).

The knowledge of law here displayed is most remarkable, and it is stated with the lucidity, the comprehensive completeness, and the technical accuracy of a practised lawyer. Legal points are expounded with a fulness of knowledge only possible to a professional lawyer. Indeed this may be used as an argument against Bacon's authorship, on the ground that when Bacon was only 23 or 24 it is scarcely likely that he would have acquired such a mastery, either of legal material or judicial form as this work shows, and that at this time he was more attracted by "Invention," and by his early philosophical designs,—his *partus masculus* and such like scientific introits,—than by law studies. But it must be remembered that Bacon's father was Lord Keeper, and that he had lived in a legal atmosphere all his life. Also he ripened early, and when his father died, when he was little more than a boy, his earnest legal studies began, and from sheer necessity, took a primary place in his occupations. So that although he had no great relish for these studies,—was *multum incola*, and often tempted to forsake them and betake himself to Cambridge and his books, as a pioneer in the mine of truth,—yet he did not either forsake or neglect the studies on which his livelihood depended; and as he in

all respects ripened early, he became a great lawyer, with the dignity and majesty of a Judge, long before he was solicitor or attorney, or chancellor. Before his public life began he was lecturer and reader in the Inns of Court to which he belonged. I see no reason why he should not have been competent to write law in the style of this work when he was in the third decade of his life. The legal arguments given with such amplitude and precision on pp. 171—194 may be still commended to law students as eminently deserving their study and admiration.

If in this respect this *brochure* is worthy of Bacon, it is as much so in the knowledge of English history which it displays. In explaining most exhaustively the origin and motive of the long strife between the houses of York and Lancaster, the writer is speaking of the same historic incidents which are the topics of historic plays in Shakespeare; and the Genealogies, and reasons for strife, contention and animosity between the rival houses, cover much the same ground as the *Henry IV.*, *V.*, and *VI.*, plays. Here, also, we find ample knowledge and lucid exposition quite worthy of Bacon, dealing with events and times which he had carefully studied.

There are many other allusions which are common to this work and Bacon's other writings. The expulsion of the entire family of the Tarquins for the crime of one member is referred to, pp. 47-8. Calamities resulting from the favourites of princes are illustrated by the case of Gaveston and Edward II., p. 229. The favour shewn by Queen Margaret to the Duke of Suffolk, and the beheading of Suffolk, when he attempted escape by sea, remind one irresistably of the same narrative in *2 Henry VI.* Julius Cæsar must almost of necessity make his appearance in such a work, if written by Bacon. Accordingly, his friendship with Brutus, who killed him, is not forgotten, and is used to point a moral for his

own prince and his own times, p. 213-4. The writer is partial to Latin quotations, pp. 47, 84, 105, 237. And it would be well to ascertain—which is not at present within my opportunity—whether these quotations are accurately given, or whether they contain such slips and changes as Bacon often made when quoting from memory.

Many phrases and turns of expression are found to which Bacon was much addicted. *Painted words* occurs twice, pp. 25, 121. The *aspect* of princes, as enjoyed by those living near the Court or in presence, is referred to, p. 76. The power and importance of *opinion*, or current reputation, as a factor in public life, is alluded to in the passage already quoted. It is found in pp. 18, 87, 88, 237. The *wheel* of felicity is at p. 108. In Bacon and Shakespeare there are about twenty of these *wheels*. Machiavelli is referred to twice, pp. 127, 237. Aristotle is mentioned, p. 115. *Money* as the *sinews* of war is twice spoken of, pp. 84, 114. The tempest of tyranny is characterized as *boisterous*. No reader of Shakespeare could, without a start of surprise, read such a sentence as this:—"But if ever I hear at other hands of these matters hereafter, I shall surely be quack-britch [*i.e.*, apparently, agitated, shaking with fear], and *think every bush a thief*."

No less suggestive of Bacon's hand is the following, in which Bacon's favourite allusions to planetary predominance, and the guidance of mariners by the Polestar, is reproduced:—"Throughout all England my Lord of Leycester is taken for *Dominus fac totum*, whose excellency above others is infinite, whose authority is absolute, whose commandment is dreadful, whose dislike is dangerous, and whose favour is omnipotent. And for his will, though it be seldom law, yet always is his power above law: and therefore we lawyers, in all cases brought before us, have as great regard to his inclina-

tion as astronomers have to the planet predominant, or as seamen have to the North Pole. For as they that sail do direct their course according to the situation and direction of that star which guideth them at the Pole, and as astronomers who make prognostications do foretell of things to come according to the aspect of the planet predominant, or bearing rule for the time, so do we guide our client's bark, and do prognosticate what is like to be the issue of his cause, by the aspect and inclination of my Lord of Leycester" (p. 82).

If Bacon did not write this it must have been written by his double.

I should like to quote the passage of surpassing eloquence, with that irresistible rush of accumulation which marks a practised orator, in which the writer describes the "infinite ways of gaining that Leycester hath." There are about fifteen separate items in the clauses of this tremendous indictment (pp. 85—87) in support of the assertion that "his treasure must needs in one respect be greater than that of her Majesty; for he layeth up whatsoever he getteth, and his expenses he casteth upon the purse of his Princes."

The metaphor of a river *stopped*, its power augmented by resistance, is familiar to all readers of Shakespeare and Bacon. Here it is again:—"For as a great and violent river, the more it is stopped or contraried, the more it riseth and swelleth big, and in the end dejecteth with more force the thing that made resistance, so his Lordship being the great and mighty Potentate of this realm, and accustomed to have his will in all things, cannot bear to be crossed or resisted by any man, though it were in his own necessary defence" (p. 101).

We are reminded of *Promus* notes, and of many Shakespearean passages by such a clause as this:—"Ambition being always the *mother* of suspicion." Bacon was accustomed to look on various mental

qualities as bearing a sort of parental relation to one another, a habit which is reflected in the brief and almost cryptic *Promus* note 1,412:—*A son of somewhat.*

This *mother* passage may be compared with the following:—

“Fear is the mother of deformity” (*Conference of Pleasure: Fortitude*).

“Natural History . . . the nursing mother of Philosophy” (*De Aug.* II., iii.).

“This canon [text of Scripture] is the mother of all canons against Heresy” (*Med. Sac.*).

“The mother of Virtue is real good, so the mother of Desire is apparent good” (*De Aug.* II., xiii.).

“Fortune is to be honoured if it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Authority” (*Antitheta*).

“Fear . . . the mother of sedition” (*Essay of Union*).

“Hardness ever of hardiness is mother” (*Cymb.* III., vi., 21).

“Sable night mother of Dread and Fear” (*Lucrece*, 118).

For most of these references I am indebted to Mrs. Pott.

Doubtless the same kind of expression may be found in other writers, especially in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*. But it is more characteristic of Bacon than of any other author.

The writer refers in a guarded and cautious way to the more than friendly relations between Leycester and the Queen, and to his own insinuation, that he might become the father of her child; and to the murder of Amy Robsart, his lawful wife, in order that the Royal alliance might be legitimately accomplished. In reference to this it is clear that Bacon would not have handled this delicate topic at all, much less have referred to it in terms imputing infamy to one of those concerned, if he himself had been the offspring of this semi-attached, semi-detached, couple. The writer was



evidently quite familiar with most of the personages about the Queen, and with the Queen herself, but there is no indication that he had any exceptional connection with Royalty or the Court.

I do not offer these comments and comparisons as a conclusive proof that Bacon wrote "Leycester's Commonwealth." I merely suggest this as possible, and as not inconsistent with the actual contents, as to matter and form, of this remarkable composition. The discussion of this question arises immediately out of the Northumberland House MS., is almost prompted by it, and it may be discussed on its own merit quite apart from the Bacon-Shakespeare Controversy. It need not share the contumely of our "Craze," or be tossed aside as one of the phantoms of our insanity. It is not a crank, but an intelligible and lawful problem. If Bacon, however, is accepted as the author, a very strong additional buttress is supplied to our contention, because it goes far to prove the common authorship of all the essays, and letters, and pamphlets, and plays, whose titles are scribbled on the tell-tale title page, except those which are expressly attributed to other writers,—“Nash, and inferior players.”

R. M. THEOBALD.

THE DATE OF  
*THE COMEDY OF ERRORS.*

THE play of *The Comedy of Errors* was learnedly and exhaustively dealt with by Mr. Bompas in the April number (at p. 115 of Vol. II., third Series) of this Magazine. The following evidence as to the date at which the play must have been originally written strongly confirms the conclusion on this head there arrived at.

The article suggests the play to have been originally written as early as 1576. In that year Francis Bacon had just left the University of Cambridge, and the play was exactly such an academic one as would be naturally written by a clever youth just fresh from college. It was founded upon the then untranslated classical play of the *Menæchmi* of Plautus. Mr. Bompas points out, too, that the play was again performed at Court in 1581. This is the first occasion on which we read that it was played there subsequently to Bacon's return from abroad, two years before. It is but natural to suppose that it was, after the fashion usual with the "Shakespeare plays," accordingly "written up to date" on that occasion. Nothing is more striking to an Englishman who is travelling abroad for the first time than the sight of the vines climbing on stakes in the vineyards in the South of France, and to elms in Italy. When *The Comedy of Errors* was written by Bacon in 1576 he had never seen this. It is morally certain that the allusion to the sight was introduced by him in 1581 on his then revision of the play. It is in Act II., Scene 2. The play yet again was performed, in December, 1594, on an occasion on which Queen Elizabeth is claimed to have been present; when Shakspeare, the young actor

of Stratford, for the first time, played before her Majesty. On this occasion many of the judges and great lawyers of the day would be certain to be present. Plainly, it would be highly appropriate that the “Sorcerer,” who was Master of the Ceremonies, should on such occasion introduce into the play a characteristic quibble and joke, including a pun about a “fine and recovery.” And we accordingly find it done in Act II., Scene 2, the very same part of the play as that in which the writer’s experiences of foreign travel had previously found mention. An explanation of the then familiar process of “Fine and Recovery” is pointed out by Mr. Reed (page 257, No. 488), to be also given by Bacon in his “Use of the Law,” written at some date not now exactly known, though beyond question at no late period of his life. Attention is directed to these points, since they all have considerable bearing upon the question as to the date at which *The Comedy of Errors* was first written; and they seem to be, like the main question, considerably corroborated by the evidence which will be mentioned below.

On a careful examination of the structure of the play, with a view to ascertaining with what well-known productions of Bacon’s pen it contains matter in common, we are at once struck by a startling fact. We find that, of the thirty-six plays contained in the folio of 1623, *The Comedy of Errors* is the only one which contains no matter whatever which is also found in the *Promus*, or Note Book, kept by Bacon. Every other play in the volume, save this, will be found to contain some passage or passages (many have numerous ones) also contained in the *Promus*. Why does this play alone contain none?

The explanation is obvious and easy, and strongly confirms Mr. Bompas’s conclusion that the play was first written in 1576. The “*Promus*,” it will be recol-

lected, was not commenced until December, 1594, and not much was done on it till the following January. This was about eighteen years after *The Comedy of Errors* had been originally written. Though the play was "written up" about the same time (1594) for reproduction at Gray's Inn, nothing occurred which suggested insertion among the striking expressions, by which Bacon's attention had been so arrested that he was beginning to note them in the *Promus*. It evidently never occurred to Bacon that the effort of his youth contained any expression which deserved to be extracted and preserved in his Note Book for future use. He seemingly had commenced the Note Book with a view to keeping in mind remarkable expressions, having been warned to do this by Greene's comparatively recent death, and by finding he had already forgotten some of the Spanish expressions he had picked up from the deceased. It is, accordingly, quite natural that there should be in the play of *The Comedy of Errors* no expressions common alike to it and the Note Book, or "*Promus*."

Expressions found in the play, and common alike to it and to other writings of Bacon, are altogether only six in number; much fewer than in any other Shakespeare play. They shall be dealt with one by one, as they are thus so limited in number. The presence of each of these seems to be quite naturally accounted for, and to be quite consistent with the early date ascribed to the original composition of the play by Mr. Bompas.

Two of the allusions common alike to this play and to other known writings of Bacon are two classical stories. One is the comparatively common tale of Circe and her cup of enchantment. It is hardly surprising that the academic play of a young man should make allusion to a well-known classical story, again

referred to in later life by the writer ; especially as the allusion is made in terms which suggest no very striking “parallelism” or identity of thought on the subject. Indeed, the language does no more than suggest that the writer had, on both occasions, thought of and alluded to the legend of Circe, alike during his writing *The Comedy of Errors* and when he was—perhaps twenty years or a quarter of a century later—engaged in his *Advancement of Learning* (see Reed's *Parallelisms*, page 242—3, No. 683).

But another classical story, alluded to both in *The Comedy of Errors* and in the *Sylva Sylvarum*, published nearly half a century later, does betray the identity of the two writers in a very singular way. Bacon in both made a mistake, and mistold the tale ; and in both places the mistake made is identical ! The classic writers of antiquity—Homer, Ovid, Virgil, and the less-known Hyginus—all unite in describing the ever-shifting Proteus as a being who, when captured, could only be got to prophesy by being bound down by a chain. But he is described in the play (Act II., sc. 2) as one who could be got to prophesy by being held by the sleeve. In the *Sylva Sylvarum* identically the same error, or “variant,” is made in telling the story. Our friends, the “orthodox Stratfordians,” explain the notorious mistake, in referring to Aristotle's remark as to the unfitness of young men for *political* philosophy as having reference to *moral* philosophy, made in common in *Troilus and Cressida* and in Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* (Reed's *Parallelisms*, p. 45, No. 69), by saying that Erasmus was the originator of the blunder, and that both writers “doubtless” followed him. But to what writer, earlier than 1576, can they refer as having misled Bacon at eighteen, and again in 1623 ; or the Stratford actor, at any date they please to fix as that at which they think that he “must” have written *The Comedy of Errors* ?

Two more allusions, also made in subsequent prose work writings by Bacon, are also found in *The Comedy of Errors*. One of these goes to identify its writer with Bacon's physical characteristics; the other betrays one of his marked mental views. All his life, Bacon suffered from indigestion, or "Dyspepsia." *The Comedy of Errors* tells us (Act V., Scene 1) that "Unquiet meals make ill digestions." Bacon, in some private Memoranda dated in 1608, notes a similar experience, and that one of the causes productive of indigestion is "Strife at meats." The parallelism is noted by Mr. Edwin Reed on page 200, and is No. 375. The marked mental view held by Bacon, which was at some time incorporated into the play, was his doctrine as to the human soul. He held, as he confesses in his *De Augmentis*, published in 1622, that this doctrine "has two parts; the one treating of the rational soul, which is divine; and the other of the irrational, which we have in common with the brutes." What is the enquiry of the Duke in Act V., Scene 1 of *The Comedy of Errors*, but one made in this very spirit, when in answer to Adriana's declaration that she sees two husbands, he replies,

"One of these men is Genius to the other; . . .  
Which is the natural man, and which the spirit?"

Mr. Edwin Reed has this as No. 261 on page 146.

Neither of these passages in *The Comedy of Errors* reflects, it is true, very much of Bacon's deep philosophy; nor do any portions of this play do this. But this is exactly consistent with the theory that the play was written at a period of his life (about 18) when the philosophy of its writer would naturally not yet have assumed many correct forms. Could it indeed be otherwise?

"*The Shakespeare Story: An Outline*," as told by the

Shakespeare plays, will, it is the writer's hope, be laid by him before the general public within a few weeks; and will help to popularize the tale they tell; and to render those familiar with the story, who have not the patience to read a long or a "learned" book. But the "Evidence" on which the story rests will, it is believed, be appreciated by those who, like the readers of this Magazine, are already deeply versed in the subject, and are consequently able to appreciate the strength of evidence such as is here presented. The proofs offered in this "Evidence" will contain, amongst other matters, an analysis of the structure and contents of the 1623 Folio, of a nature somewhat similar to that which has here been submitted as to the date of the *Comedy of Errors*.

G. PITT-LEWIS.

---

## MORE LIGHT ON *TWELFTH NIGHT*.

### II.

WE have already seen by "Manningham's Diary" that some part of the plot of *Twelfth Night* was used first by Plautus, B.C. 224. And that in more modern times Niccolo Secchi, the Italian, produced his version. There seems to have been an earlier Italian version, called *Gl'Ingannati*, by an unnamed member of the *Accademia degli Intronati*, of Siena. Dr. Garnett says this play was published in 1537.

Thomas Love Peacock translated the scenes relating to *Twelfth Night*, and this was reprinted in the third volume of Sir Henry Cole's edition of his works.

Gervinus believes this Italian version was taken from the Spanish one.

But the Spanish *Los Engaños* which was supposed to

be written by Lope de Rueda, called the father of Spanish Comedy, appeared first in 1556. My authority for this is *Mariaro Ferrer é Izquierdo, Estudio Historico, Madrid, 1899.*

The Spanish version makes a very interesting link in our knotted chain, one which I look forward to discuss later. At present our business is with our English play, apparently at one time known as *Malcolio*.

Among other very interesting things in Windsor Royal Library, I saw the other day the copy of the Shakespeare Folio which Charles the Martyr treasured when imprisoned in Carisbrooke.

Peculiar interest attaches to it, for Charles had scored out with his pen the title, and written *Malcolio* instead.

Now the steward who thus gave his name to the play was one of four characters newly introduced into the old foreign plot by our English poet.

The other three were the Countess (or Princess as she is called), Olivia's uncle,—Sir Toby Belch,—and his friend Sir Andrew Ague Cheek, and the Lady Olivia's clown, Feste.

Halliwell Phillipps tells us that *Twelfth Night* was appreciated at an early period as one of the author's most popular creations. And when Ordish says that "there is little doubt that the characters are drawn from originals in London," one hardly wonders at its great popularity.

In Mr. Bompas' *Problem of the Plays*, p. 59, he tells us that one version of the play under discussion appeared as early as 1584 or 1585, as a thinly-veiled satire on members of the English Court, quoting as his authority: "*Renaissance Drama, by William Thomson, 1880.*"

This is more than likely, but what I hold is that our version as published in the Folio is a faithful reflexion of certain living personages well known at the time, and that the mirror has been held up to actual breathing



fish and blood realities that can be traced and recognised.

Let us take Malvolio first, who was so well known to Charles that he insists on giving his name to the Comedy. From his childhood, "Baby Charles" must have been familiar with the puritanical, self-conceited "politician," Sir William Fowler, son of the Thomas Fowler who had been so intimately connected with Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Lennoxes, Arabella Stuart's grandparents. William seems to have been engaged in negotiations with England before James' accession, and to have been appointed secretary to Anne of Denmark about 1590.

Gervinus gives us the perfect picture of him when he describes Malvolio, "An austere puritan, pedantic, conscientious and true, grave and sober." "He regards himself as far superior to the society in his mistress's house." "He looks down contemptuously on shallow things." "Self love is therefore the distinguishing feature of his nature." He speaks of the "high soaring vanity of Malvolio," whose "thoughts soar in laughable fashion."

These quotations are quite enough for our purpose.

Will. Fowler is spoken of by E. T. Bradley, Arabella Stuart's biographer, as the "ridiculous William Fowler." "At once simpleton and buffoon, but extravagant as is his language, there is a ring of sincerity about his praises of the lady, which has led to the supposition that Fowler would, if he had dared, have joined the ranks of her suitors" (pp. 173—6). A letter from him to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury is quoted.

It shows what our Puritan thought of the frivolity of Anne of Denmark's Court.

Woodstock, Sept. 11th, 1603:—

"But I am too saucy and overbold," he says, "to

trouble your honours ; yet I cannot forbear from giving you advertisement of my great good fortune in obtaining the acquaintance of my Lady Arabella, who may be to the first seven, justly the eighth wonder of the world. If I durst I would write more plainly my opinion of things that fall out here among us, but I dare not, without your lordship's warrant, deal so. I send two sonnets, one is a conceit of mine drawn from an horloge, the other is that worthy and most virtuous lady, your niece."

The following is the absurd sonnet written to Arabella :—

" Whilst organs of vain sense transport the mind,  
 Embracing objects both of sight and ear,  
 Touch, smell, and taste, to which frail flesh inclined,  
 Prefers such trash to things which are more dear ;  
 Thou godly nymph, possesst with heavenly fear,  
 Divine in soul, devout in life, and grave,  
 Rapt from thy sense and sex, thy spirits doth steer  
 Toys to avoid which reason doth bereave.  
 O graces rare ! which time from shame shall save,  
 Wherein thou breath'st (as in the seas doth fish,  
 In salt not saltish) exempt from the grave  
 Of sad remorse, the worldling's wish.  
 O ornament both of thy self and sex,  
 And mirror bright where virtues doth reflex !  
 In salo sine sale."

He corresponds much with Arabella's relations and describes how, amidst the gay Court, she "sets apart certain hours every day for lecture, reading, hearing of service and preaching." What he thought when she took an active part in the Masque of Beauty in a gorgeous costume and jewels we dare hardly imagine ! He was, as we believe, a Scotchman, sharing, no doubt, the unpopularity of his nation. Knight, in his "London" (p. 325, Vols. III.—IV.), tells how their self-sufficiency and pride made them disliked in London, and how they were regarded "as a set of

hungry adventurers flocking southward in the train of King Jamie, to pick up the crumbs that fell from the Royal table."

A further proof of his character comes to us in the National Biography:

"Sir Will. Fowler was a Scottish poet, in France, before 1581, whence he was driven, so he said, 'by the Jesuits.' Fowler, in answer to a calumnious letter, sets forth what he alleges to be the 'errors of Roman Catholics.' He also claims acquaintance with the Earl of Crawford, Sir James Balfour, and other distinguished Scottish statesmen. He was prominent as a Burgess of Edinburgh, and about 1590 became Secretary to Queen Anne, and, engaged in negotiations with England, accompanied his royal mistress to England in 1603, and was re-appointed, not only her Secretary, but Master of the Requests. His leisure was always devoted to poetry. Fowler's sister was married to the first Laird of Hawthorden."

Knight says, "The Scotsman and Presbyterian came to be regarded as synonymous terms." In fact, Fowler was as Maria describes him: "Sometimes he is a kind of Puritan." When she calls him "Monsieur," the title seems to allude to his stay in France. In the interview with him and the clown his surname is wrapped in a conceit. (Act IV., Sc. ii.)

*Clown.*—"What is the opinion of Pythagoras concerning WILde FOWLE?"

*Malvolio.*—"That the soule of our grandam might happily inhabite a bird."

*Clown.*—"Feare to kill a woodcocke, lest thou dispossesse the soule of thy grandam."

Who but a *Fowler* would kill a woodcock, the authorised manipulator of springes?

Camden insists in his "Remains" on the inner meaning of surnames and nicknames, "He doth not

teach well which teacheth all, leaving nothing to subtle wits to sift out." (*Camden.*)

He quotes from Isodore:—

"*Granted Verity* that names among all nations are significant and not vain, senseless sounds."

"What's in a name?" Perhaps a key to make us wise.

Gilbert Talbot and Mary Cavendish, the Queen Elizabeth's cup-bearer, were Arabella's staunch friends always. She lived under Gilbert's care at one time, and she and her uncle were on good terms. He married Maria, or Mary, the sister of Arabella's mother, Elizabeth Cavendish.

Whether these two are immortalised as Maria and Toby I cannot say. The name Toby is not unlike Talbot, and we know that Elizabeth considered Gilbert her enemy, so that she might have been glad that he should be presented in a humourous light. This is a mere suggestion. It is with Sebastian and Olivia we have now to do.

Since writing my last article on this subject fresh evidence has made it still more clear that William Seymour, Lord Beauchamp's younger son, was the original of Sebastian.

As Malvolio stands for "Ill Will," so Sebastian stands for Seymour. The first syllable, as a Shakespearean pointed out to me, is undoubtedly the same; and then the word Bastion, part of the fortifications of a walled enclosure, and Mauer, Mure, Mur and Mour all are one and the same.

Halliwell Phillipps tells us that it was at Christmas, 1602, the present play was supposed to have been rehearsed at the Blackfriars, for the Christmas entertainment at Whitehall before Elizabeth, on January 5th. Arabella did a very strange thing three weeks

before that Christmas. She sent to the Earl of Hertford a messenger, John Doddridge. She said that the arrangements of a marriage between her and his young grandson might be renewed, but must be carried out in a different manner.

“The matter,” so the message ran, “hath been considered by some of her friends; for they think your lordship did not take an ordinary course in your proceedings. It was thought that the parties might have had sight, the one of the other, to see how they would like each other.

“If his lordship were desirous of this still, he might send his grandchild, guarded with whom his lordship thought fit, and he could come and go easily at his own pleasure, either to tarry or depart.”

Then she suggests that the boy should come *disguised* as the son or nephew of one of his attendants, “an ancient man.” That they should come from Wales or somewhere, to sell land.

As a fact, one, Owen Tydder, was mixed up with the business of this lover of Arabella's. He was an ancient man of Lady Shrewsbury's, a relation probably of Seymour, who was the descendant of Margaret Tudor; and this Tydder was then living in Wales. He was examined about this message to Hertford, which came to Cecil's ears, and then to the Queen's. The Queen was furious, but Arabella stuck to her lover, and wrote some very interesting letters to the Queen about him. Before quoting these it must be noticed that Owen Tydder confessed that this marriage had been broached “some three or four years before;” and Isaac D'Israeli, in his chapter on Arabella's Loves, mentions the fact that she knew young Seymour long before her marriage. “She renewed a connexion with him,” he says, “which had been commenced in childhood” (Page 269, *New Series of Curiosities of Literature*).

Owen Tydder's son was page to Arabella, after "the ancient man" left Lady Shrewsbury's service. Was this Seymour? Did he play the part of page?

Now for her letter. It is undated, but it was sent to the Queen in her last days. She speaks of "that infinitely dear adventure," a mysterious love affair. She says, "I will reveal some secrets of love concerning myself, and some others which will be delightful to her Majesty to understand. I will offend none but my uncle of Shrewsbury, my aunt, and my uncle Charles, and them it will anger as much as it angered me, and make myself as merry at them as the last Lent they did at their pleasant device, for so I take it, of the gentleman with the revenges."

Curiously suggestive of Maria's words in *Twelfth Night*:—"Most freely I confess myself and Toby set this device against Malvolio here. . . . How with a sportful malice it was followed may rather pluck on laughter than revenge."

Malvolio justifies the title of the "gentleman with the revenges" by his words in the last scene:—"I'll be revenged on the whole pack of you."

Perhaps the merry scene with the letter was really enacted at Fowler's expense? It is more than probable he was in England before James's accession. Cecil was busy sending messengers to and fro to Scotland, which would have made him known at Court and to Arabella, if indeed he had not known her when she was a child living with her grandmother, Margaret Countess of Lennox. This is more than likely, as his father was a faithful servant of that family.

Arabella's letters are mysterious, and full of hidden fun. She alludes to her "little, little love;" and in an undated letter to Lady Shrewsbury, sent to the Queen to see, in 1602, she says: "I may compare the love of this worthy gentleman (which I have already

unreservedly accepted and confirmed, and will never repent whatsoever befall) to gold." "He assured me that her Majesty's offence would be converted into laughter, when her Majesty should see the honest cunning of the contriver." This reads like the plot of a play, especially the sentence following: "I am desirous her Majesty should understand every part and parcel of the device, every actor, every action."

In another letter she says: "I am accused of continuing a comedy."

There seems little doubt that young Seymour, then about fifteen or sixteen, was introduced to Hardwicke secretly, either as a page or a messenger of sorts. That Arabella fell in love with him, and that they plighted their troth and were married secretly we know.

In 1609 William Seymour said to a friend, that "by reason of a former pledging of his faith to her he had resolved to marry her."

In other words: "And having sworn truth, ever will be true" (*Twelfth Night*, Act IV., Sc. iii.).

If we formed our own ideal of Arabella at twenty-seven, and William Seymour, when he was invited by her to arrive in disguise, we could not have a more perfect and accurate description drawn for us than Shake-Speare gives us in Olivia and Sebastian, with Olivia's garden for a background. Either one of the glorious gardens described by Ordish, in his "Shake-speare in London," in our great Illyria on the Thames. Gardens full of the flowers that Bacon says are particularly suited to the climate of London, or the garden at Hardwick.

The play seems to place Olivia's garden near the palace of the duke, and we know that London play-goers liked to feast their eyes on scenes placed in their immediate neighbourhood. So we may fancy her garden was at Blackfriars, where Arabella retired, we

are told. There was also a house belonging to her uncle, to which she went, in Broad Street, and there the lovely gardens of the Austin Friars made the City beautiful.

The Sebastian, who arrived at some popular landing stage, Hythe or Paul's Wharf, is just the very same in mind and character, the same virtuous, manly, unselfish, intellectual, warm-hearted fellow that Arabella's lover was.

E. T. Bradley describes him thus:—"A man, indeed, after the poor lady's own heart, very different to the frivolous courtiers by whom she had been surrounded for so long. He was grave and serious above his years, loving his book above all other exercises. What wonder that Arabella fell in love with one whose tastes so exactly resembled her own. . . . In after years her young lover became one of the most beloved and respected men at the Court of Charles I., and at the Restoration respected, so Clarendon tells us, even by the opposite party."

The subtle touch of the scholar is given to Sebastian's miniature in the play. Instead of frequenting the taverns and quaffing his beakers of Rhenish, he insists on first making a tour of the antiquities and other interesting things of the city. A grave and sober youngster, in truth.

He was bound, no doubt, to Baynard's Castle, the residence of Illyria's ruler, Lord Pembroke, as Ordish points out. It was within earshot of Saint Bennet's bells, spoken of by Feste, and was the great place or palace near to Saint Anne's Parish Church.

But it was to Esmé Stuart he was bound, not to Pembroke. Esmé was given Saint John's Gate, at fashionable Clerkenwell, in 1612, but where he was at this time I do not know. During this time the Shakespeare plays were rehearsed, we know, in the Gate. It



is quite possible he may have been a guest at the Castle.

The allusion to Saint Anne's and Saint Bennet's brings us to Feste, and here, too, we have no difficulty in finding his model.

If Arabella was at Blackfriars, her faithful servant, Cutting, was there too, for he had not yet left her, as he did afterwards, for his royal master, the King of Denmark.

Cutting—a wound made by a sharp instrument—is easily converted into Feste, the old French for a wound that is festered.

Tarleton may have been the first clown pictured, but the clown of the folio is Arabella's musician, a lute player of no mean skill, trained by the best Masters (as she says herself in one of the letters which deal so fully with his virtues), and named Cutting.

No one can hear Feste sing his songs and hear him discourse without feeling his superiority. He is a prince of jesters. His remark, "My lady has a white hand," may have a still more cryptic meaning, but I have no doubt it also alludes to Arabella's hand—so white that it was recognised in her disguise on board the boat in which she made her escape from England, and its discovery brought her back again—a prisoner.

"The Mermidons are no bottle-ale houses."

I follow the spelling of the folio. It is strange the modern editions should go out of their way to spell the word myrmidons; it obscures its meaning.

The literary club, the Syren, was founded, it is said, by Sir Walter Raleigh, and it met at the Mermaid, in Bread Street, the first Friday of every month. So Edmund Gosse tells us in his "Life of Donne" (p. 86, vol. ii.). He says, "The members of the Right Worshipful Fraternity of Sirenical Gentlemen were twenty-five in number." He gives a few, and when I wrote to ask where I could find the rest of the names I

received no answer. Giffard gives the names as Shakespeare, Beaumont, Fletcher, Seldon, Cotton, Carew, Martin, Donne; but as he says the Mermaid is in Friday Street he is not quite to be relied upon.

“What things have we seen  
 Done at the Mermaid I heard words that have been  
 So nimble and so full of subtle wit, flame  
 As if that everyone from whence they came  
 Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest,  
 And had resolv'd to live a fool the rest  
 Of his dull life.

Wit that might warrant be  
 For all the whole city to talk foolishly  
 Till that were cancelled: and when that was gone  
 We left an air behind us, which alone  
 Was able to make the two next companies  
 Right witty; though but downright fools, mere wise.”

—*Beaumont to Jonson.*

What were these Mermidons of whom Feste speaks? Play-houses? Surely! There was one in Southwark, and one in Hackney—a fashionable resort, where Pembroke had a house—and there was the renowned one in Bread Street. But there is another meaning to be attached to the word. Mary Queen of Scots was called among a certain set the Mermaid, so that it had a political significance as well as a literary and dramatic one.

I close my Notes on *Twelfth Night* with a curious little bit of flower-lore. Gerard has a word to say about the London flower, Clown's Woundwort, which he further describes as All-Heal. Our “Corrupter of Words” was a “Wound-word,” a play upon the word, a corrupter because a Feste. And he, like all the Shakespeare clowns, was a part of the All-Heal system for which his great dramatic creation, our English Stage, was founded.

A quotation from Gervinus and I am done.

"The matter in this play . . . is not the plot . . . but the actors themselves, and their nature and motives; it is not the effect, but the causes and the agencies." And again:

"Shakespeare's first enquiry was as to the kind of nature which could possibly and probably have fallen into the foolish error of a hopeless passion: to this enquiry he found no answer in his authorities, the answer which he gave to it in his play explains it to us on all points."

To Sir Francis Bacon alone could all the details we have gathered together have been known, and alone by him could they have been woven into the incomparable comedy of

"Malvolio, or What You Will."

ALICIA AMY LEITH.

[I must correct my statement made in last issue that Manningham states in his Diary that Shakespeare was present in the Hall when *Twelfth Night* was acted to the Middle Temple students. He did not say so. It was Canon Ainger, the author of an interesting article in the "English Illustrated" on the subject, who says, "There can be little doubt Shakespeare was also among the actors on the occasion."]

## BACON'S VERSIONS OF PSALMS.

**M**R. CHURTON COLLINS, in his *Studies in Shakespeare*, rejects as unbelievable "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.

Being a lawyer, and therefore, in the judgment of Mr. Collins, "constitutionally insensible of what relates to æsthetic," I had hitherto contented myself with reading what others have written concerning Bacon's acknowledged poetry. Recently I read the whole seven Psalm versions, and compared them with the Psalms themselves.

That of the 126th Psalm is some justification for Mr. Collins' 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' 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, I should be disposed, after perusal of Bacon's versions of the 90th and 137th Psalms (which to me are simply beautiful), 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 writes 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 reconcilment 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. What became of the Sonnet? Could it have been that beautiful verse of fourteen lines beginning:—

"The quality of mercy is not strained,"

and ending,

"When mercy seasons justice,"

which is to be found in the quarto of *The Merchant of Venice*, printed in 1600, the year of Bacon's remark?

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. This dedication may give some clue to another vexed question, namely, who was the W. H. of the Sonnets?

Assuming Bacon to have written the Sonnets, W. H. was a person that he held most fit for the argument. This should rule out the William Hammond (W. C. Hazlitt), William Hall (Lee), and William Hervey (selected by the author of *Is there any resemblance*

*between Shakespeare and Bacon ?* 1888, Simpkin & Co.), and leave the field to William Herbert or Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton.

I must now pass to a more serious matter, which seems to have escaped the notice of one so sensible of æsthetic as Mr. Collins. I have come painfully to the conclusion that when Lord St. Alban wrote these Psalm versions he must have had a print of the 1623 Shakespeare First Folio propped up in his bed. What I venture to quote is certainly not to be found in the Psalms from which these versions were taken, and if Judge Willis cannot at once be commissioned to find them in contemporary Elizabethan literature, I fear Lord St. Alban is open to the grave charge of plagiarism. I quote expressions from the Psalm versions, and corresponding expressions from Shakespeare. I do not give references, as they can be readily found in Cowden Clarke's Concordance:—

*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 buricest 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.

I think with this evidence of plagiarism a Shakesperian jury would convict without waiting for a forcible speech from Mr. Collins, or a summing up by Judge Willis.

Lord St. Alban 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 goth Psalm with these lines:—

“Our handy-work likewise as fruitful tree,  
Let it, O Lord, *blessed not blasted* be.”

PARKER WOODWARD.

## SIGNIFICANT BOOK ORNAMENTS.

EVIDENCE has already been given in *Baconiana* to prove that Francis Bacon not only wrote of and for the *Advancement of Learning*, but was the head or, at least, a member of some fraternity working with the same object, and that the association was secret. Signs of this can be traced in the Literature of the Period. Except some librarians and our own readers, few persons have any idea of the vast number of instructive books which issued from the press in the latter half of the sixteenth and earlier half of the seventeenth century, imparting the knowledge of the age on a great variety of subjects—history, natural history, geography, religion, medicine, agriculture, botany, &c., &c. Many of these works seem to have been intended to contain the whole learning on the subjects to which they are devoted. Some are original, some translations, others profess to be translations, while suspicious facts



raising doubts as to the true authorship abound, and signs that the publications were under some general scheme are visible to attentive eyes. Personal, religious, and political reasons for secrecy of authorship are obvious to any one familiar with the life of Bacon and the history of his time. The plays attributed to the actor Shakespeare, may well form part of the great plan for the promotion of universal science set forth by Bacon. They comprise large chapters in English History and Natural History, viz., the history of human nature, and may be the very part of the *Instauratio Magna* which he is delineated as composing in the fine portrait on the title page of Wats' translation, *Of the Advancement and Proficiency of Learning*, printed at Oxford in 1640. There four volumes, numbered 3, 4, 5, 6, are shown on a shelf above Bacon. Two, numbered respectively 1 and 2, lie beside him. Another is open before him; in it he is writing "*Connubio jungam stabili*"—his pen is on the last letter, *i*. What is the application of this half-uttered line from Virgil? Does the designer mean Bacon to say that he will join in firm union another volume—unnumbered—to the rest, or merely refer to a passage in the Preface of *De Augmentis* on the union between the experimental and rational faculty—or both?

Nearly ten years ago Mrs. Constance Pott drew attention in these pages to the fact that the head-piece ornament of the First Folio "Shakespeare" may be found—with variations so slight as to escape ordinary notice—in many other works printed and published by different persons at or about the same period, and she gave a list of no less than 33 such works, Bacon's *Instauratio Magna* being amongst them. A singular foot-piece ornament which she has named the "Pan" tail-piece, to be found in the First Folio and other contemporaneous volumes, was also noted and explained

by her. In several of the volumes about to be mentioned these head and tail-pieces will be found, but the object of this article is to supplement Mrs. Pott's discoveries by directing attention to a certain significant male figure—ostensibly a mere ornament to initial letters—in a few Elizabethan and Jacobean books possessed by the writer, and to incite research for others. The figure is that of a man in a long gown. Behind him is often a St. Andrew's Cross. Sometimes he has a halo around his head, sometimes none. His attitudes vary. In some designs he is kneeling, in others sitting, in others standing, but he has nearly always a book, scroll, or tablet, in some cases closed, in others open. Occasionally there are two such figures together in the same vignette. Variants of the figure often occur in the same volume. Most of them are to be found in the first work to which our readers shall be referred. It is *The History of Great Britaine*, by John Speed, printed at London by William Hall and John Beale for John Sudbury and George Humble, 1611. At the foot of chap. 6 is the Folio Shakespeare head-piece with the difference of three feathers instead of five in the tails of the two birds. The chapters begin with initial letters in a square dotted border. Behind "B" is a beardless man seated with an *open* book on his knee and uplifting a pen in his left hand. "A" is between two averted figures each holding and reading an *open* book. On the right of "I" is a bearded man with a halo, seated and leaning against a St. Andrew's Cross and pointing to an *open* book on his knees. Behind "H" is the upright figure of a pilgrim with scrip and staff and an *open* book in his left hand. Within "C" is a partially kneeling and averted bearded man with a halo, reading intently a tablet held *open* before him by a child. "N" is in front of a man with a miserable expression of face but a halo round his head; he is admonishing a dog which

stands on its hind legs. Behind "P" is a bearded man seated, his right arm through some triangular object and the left holding up an *open* book. Inside "D" is a bearded man writing in a scroll on his knee. "V" is before a bearded king playing on a harp and seated in a carule chair between two birds, and "Y" is before a bearded man with a sacrificial knife in his right hand and an *open* book in his left. But "T" has behind it a bearded man with a halo, kneeling or seated, holding a *clasped, closed book* in his right hand.

Turning now to another Chronicle by different printers, let us examine the *Annales*, begun by John Stow, and continued and augmented by Edmond Howes—a folio printed by Thomas Dawson for Thomas Adams, 1615. It has the "Shakespeare" head-piece, but with the three tail feathers instead of five. Some of the Speed initials, but within undotted borders, are in this work. Thus the initial "T" of the preface and three chapters is the "*clasped book*" design, and the same figure pointing to an *open* book and leaning against a St. Andrew's Cross begins the chapter on King John and the dedication by George Buc, of the third university of England which forms the appendix. The "H" with a pilgrim commences each of the chapters on the Henrys. "B," with the beardless writer, begins "A Briefe Description of England, Scotland, Wales, and Cornwall" following the preface. Without stopping to point out other peculiarities, initials, head and tail-pieces, mispagination, &c., worth notice in this work well-known to the Bacon Society, let us pass on to another history, viz., *The Historie of all the Roman Emperors*, a quarto printed for Matthew Lownes, 1604. It has a curious frontispiece, and the first initial "I" has no border but the figure of a sage with a halo sitting against a St. Andrew's Cross on the *left* side of the letter and pointing with his left hand to an *open*

book on his knee. This occurs three times only in the volume, and the other initials throughout it are of smaller size and contain no figures. This same initial "I" will be seen in the preface to a *Preparative Treatise to the Apologie for Herodotus* in *A World of Wonders*, purporting to be a translation by R. C., a small folio printed for John Norton, 1607. The initial "T," with the "clasped book" design used in Speed and Howe's *Chronicles* respectively, may be found in a religious work of earlier date, viz., *A Right Godly and Learned Exposition upon the Whole Booke of Psalmes*, 4to., printed for T. Man and W. Brome, 1586, in *Enquiries touching the Diversity of Languages and Religions*, by Edward Brerewood, a 4to. printed for John Bill, London, 1614, in *A Worke Concerning the Truenesse of Christian Religion*, translated by Arthur Golding, 4to printed by George Purslowe, London, 1617, and in *The Institution of Christian Religion*, translated by Thomas Norton and printed for John Norton, 1611. The initial "A" between averted figures reading, which is in Speed and Howes, is also in Holinshed's *Chronicle*, 1587, chapter 15, and commences an address to the reader by A.P., forming the preface of *The first part of the Life and Raigne of King Henrie the VIII.* by John Haywarde, 4to. printed by John Wolfe, London, 1599, and a similar design, slightly altered, forms the initial "A" of the dedication of *The Living Librarie*, translated by John Molle, a folio printed by Adam Islip, London, 1621, and having a curious frontispiece. The initial "P," with the figure as in Speed, is also the first letter of *The Rogue, or the second part of the Life of Guzman de Alfranche*, folio printed by G. E. for Edward Blount, London, 1623—a work alleged to be a translation from the Spanish of Matteo Aleman. The "C" in Speed, but without any border, begins a short address, *Au Lecteur* in *Les Essais de Michel, Seigneur de Montaigne*, published by Charles Sevestre, Paris, 1617, 4to.

Lastly, both the initial "T" with the sage holding a clasped book, "I" with the open book and the St. Andrew's Cross, and the "H" with the pilgrim holding a closed book begin the dedication and the address to the reader respectively of *Sylva Sylvarum*, written by the Right Honourable Francis Ld. Verulam Viscount St. Alban, published after the author's death by William Rawley, doctor of divinity, late his Lordship's Chaplaine. The second edition, London, printed by J. H. for William Lee, at the Turkes Head in Fleet Street, next to the Miter, 1628. The only other figured initial in this volume—also in Speed—is that of the first word of the first chapter, viz., "Digge," it is in a dotted border like that enclosing the other Speed initials. Within the "D" is seated a man with a misshapen profile, a halo round his head, and inkpot in his left hand, in his right a pen. He is writing on his knee. At the end of the *Sylva* is bound up the *New Atlantis*. On the title page of it is a strange device of Time with Pan's lower limbs, liberating a naked female figure—Truth—from a cave. Around this device is the legend, *Occulta veritas tempore patet*. Surely. Meanwhile let our members examine in the Museum, or Bodleian, some more of the prose literature published in Bacon's time and unknown to mere literary men who profess an exclusive intimacy with the poets and dramatists of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods.

J. R., of Grays Inn.

## THE DISCREDIT OF PLAY- WRITING.

**I**N *Broad Views*, Mrs. Stopes recently wrote:—

“It is quite a mistake to imagine that a good play would have discredited him [Bacon]. On the contrary, the having written the first English blank verse tragedy was, even at that time, considered the highest distinction of a more aristocratic man than Bacon, Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, a diplomatist too.”

Is it “quite a mistake?” Halliwell-Phillipps says: “It must be borne in mind that actors occupied an inferior position in society, and that even the vocation of a dramatic writer was considered scarcely respectable.”

And Ingleby writes: “Lodge (a contemporary of Shakespeare), who had never trod the stage but had written several plays, speaks of the vocation of the playmaker as sharing the odium attached to the actor. At this day we can scarcely realise the scorn which was thrown on all sides upon those who made acting a means of livelihood.”

But did Sackville and Norton write *Gorboduc* for “the stage?” What are the circumstances? Bacon, at the age when Sackville wrote the tragedy (1559) was quite as “aristocratic” as Sackville. Bacon was the son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, for twenty years keeper of the Great Seal under Elizabeth. Sackville was plain Thomas Sackville, son of Sir Richard Sackville, under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, Governor of the Inner Temple, and was only created Lord Buckhurst eight years after the production of *Gorboduc* which, by the way, like Bacon’s masques, has dumb shows, &c., was “built on classic lines” (Fleay), and was printed without the consent of the authors, under the title *Ferrex and*

*Porrex.* Mrs. Stopes should know that Sackville and Norton were, at the time, both students at the Inner Temple. As students they wrote *Gorboduc*, not for public performance, but for a Twelfth Night entertainment, in 1560—61, acted by the students, as Bacon's devices were, and witnessed by Queen Elizabeth, who commanded the second performance. This, recollect, was before any *theatre* had been erected in the country. According to Mrs. Stopes, if dramatic writing was so dignified and reputable in the hands of Sackville, it should have been equally so in the hands of Bacon. She forgets that Sackville wrote for his fellow-students—not the public—and his work was performed by "the gentlemen of Thynner Temple." Sackville never wrote for "the company of base and common fellows" (Shakespeare one of them perhaps), who caused the commotion at Gray's Inn in 1594. It was quite another thing writing for the "penny knaves who pestered the Globe and Blackfriars Theatres" (Ingleby), for "such dull and heavy-witted worldlings as were never capable of the witte of a commedie," plays "sullied with the smoaky breath of the multitude," and "clapper-clawed with the palmes of the vulgar." [Preface to *Troilus and Cressida*.]

Another point, showing the difference in the relative contemporary estimation of public performances of plays and private (Court) performances of masques and devices is, that at the time "public opinion in England deemed the appearance of a woman on a public stage to be an act of shamelessness on which the most disreputable of her sex would hardly venture." [S. Lee.] How, I would ask Mrs. Stopes, was it, that "ladies of rank were encouraged at Queen Elizabeth's Court, and still more frequently at the Courts of James I. and Charles I., to take part in private and amateur representations of masques and short dramatic

pageants?" [S. Lee.] This distinctly shows that a different valuation was placed on the two classes of performances—that a gentleman could write a masque and a lady could act in it, but that such "privileges" were impossible with regard to a public play, as *Gorboduc* was not. This appears to me to be an additional argument in favour of the necessity of secrecy on Bacon's part in connection with the authorship of the dramas.

---

### BACON'S PATRONYMIC.

**L**ORD BYRON, in a couplet entirely unworthy of him and of which he was probably afterwards ashamed, endeavoured to throw odium upon a very worthy man who had given him no provocation, literary or otherwise, by casting ridicule upon his name—

"Oh, Amos Cottle! Phœbus! what a name  
To fill the speaking trump of future fame!"

he exclaims, in his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, deliberately, or carelessly, altering the Christian name of his victim the better to serve his purpose, and being ignorant, apparently, that the surname, though not, perhaps, so euphonious as his own, was, in point of origin, quite as honourable and dignified—the Cottles or Cottells, "Lords of Cottells Atteward," Wiltshire, being quite as "good people" in their way and day as the Burons or Byrons of Normandy. But, letting that pass, the attempt to raise a laugh on the part of the ignorant or inconsiderate against another by playing upon the accident of his family name was, as above said, altogether unworthy of the writer, who, moreover, is said to have prided himself more on his title of



gentleman than that of poet, and can only be excused on the ground of youthful vanity and impetuosity. Byron was no doubt smarting at the time under a punishment he felt was undeserved, and which drove him to hit out blindly, regardless where his blows fell.

The same excuse can hardly be urged for the smaller wits, who, in these times, take similar liberties with a nobler name, that of Francis Bacon, choosing, either in their ignorance or perversity, to associate it with the ordinary common noun of that spelling. "Bacon! what a name!" they say in effect, "to fill the speaking trump of future fame"—to be echoed on Parnassus, and revered in the haunts of the Muses—Bacon, suggestive of eggs, rather than poetry, etc. No insistance, of course, upon the fact that the association they find so comical is purely imaginary will have the least effect upon these gentry—they must have their facile joke; but, as there are others, who, whilst not joining in their hilarity, may, perhaps, be unaware how little it is justified, it may not be amiss to remind these that the name of our great philosopher-poet is, in all probability, simply the Normanized form of the old Scandinavian surname "Bekan," still preserved in English place-names as Bekansgill, Beaconhill, Beacontarn (where "beacon" is probably a corrupt form of it), as pointed out by Ferguson in his *Northmen in Cumberland*.

What its origin etymologically may be—whether the root-word of "beacon," or, as others maintain, of "beech," it is difficult to say. In either case it is equally honourable, and it may be said, appropriate; for who, if not the father of modern philosophy, is there whose name stands out so prominently as a "beacon light" to mankind; or who, if not the author of the *Novum Organum* (not to speak of the "First Folio"), is there who should take his patronymic from the tree which

has given us the name of "book"? That the name may be traced from either source is clear, the words "bacon," and "beechen," and "bacon" and "beacon," being synonymous in each instance. As illustration, boys' tops made of beech are still called "bacons," and spots where beacons were wont to be lighted are not uncommonly provincially spoken of as "Bacon" hills or fields. Indeed, the boy who, though laughed at, cited Macaulay's famous line as—

"The *bacon* blazed upon the roof of Edgcumbe's lofty hall,"

was not so ridiculous as his hearers imagined.

But, whatever the origin etymologically of the name, the Bacons—the men who bore it—were from the very first people of distinction. The Bacons of Molay, in Normandy, were territorial magnates there before the Conquest of England. The first of them is said to have settled in that country under Rollo, acquiring as the reward of his services the seigniorship of Vieux-Molay by Bayeux, since known as Molay-Bacon. Another branch of the family seems to have settled in Maine.

The name in Norman records appears under a number of forms, as Bascon, Bascoun, Bacun, Bathon, as well as Bacon. The first of the name to settle in England was, according to some, Richard, according to others, William Bacon. The name of Bascoun, without qualification, appears on Holinshed's Roll of Battle Abbey, whilst the companion of the Conqueror is described by Wace by his territorial title only—"le sire de Viex-Molei." It is difficult, therefore, to say which of these is the correct Christian name. Other members of the family speedily acquired possessions in England, their names occurring as land-owners in the Pipe Rolls and other records in very early times, in Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Middlesex, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk and other counties. Doubtless there, in their several

stations, they acted the part of good citizens and loyal subjects; but it is remarkable that, in days when military glory was the great attraction to men of rank and fortune, we find none of the name of soldierly fame. The companion of the Conqueror, indeed, is said to have borne himself bravely on the field of Senlac, challenging, with others, the English king to battle; but his descendants or relatives seem from the first to have been distinguished less by physical than intellectual qualities. The brother of the first of the Norfolk branch was a cleric, and there is, perhaps, no family which has contributed a greater percentage of members to the ranks of learning and literature. The Dictionary of National Biography enumerates no less than twenty-six of the name as worthy of distinction out of a not very numerous *gens*. Of these, of course, the name of our great philosopher-poet stands *facile princeps*; but even without his the list would be remarkable. It would appear, indeed, that the Bacon name was synonymous with "brains," rather than the article of food which the little jokers have in their minds whilst sniggering over it. There may, of course, have been stupid Bacons, but the specimens we have of them on record, from the celebrated "Friar" down to the worthy dispenser of justice in the Bloomsbury County Court, appear as witnesses to the contrary.

JOHN HUTCHINSON.

## "THE ETHICS OF CRITICISM."

THE final essay of Mr. Churton Collins' *Studies in Shakespeare*, of which some notice is contained in our last number, has called forth a protest from Mr. R. M. Theobald,\* to whom, with Judge Webb, is imputed, with delicate irony, an attack of "Bacon-Shakespeare mania." The situation is not without its humorous side.

Mr. Churton Collins, in his saner and calmer moments an able and acute scholar, has been writing a series of delightful articles on Shakespeare; expatiating with varied illustrations upon the classical attainments of the author of the plays, proving transparently that the author possessed a familiar knowledge of the whole range of classical literature, both Greek and Latin, and exploding the notions of those old-fashioned critics who denied that the plays showed any signs of classical culture, lest these should transcend William Shakespeare's meagre education. In another essay he compares Shakespeare and Sophocles as profoundly moral and philosophic poets. In another he extols Shakespeare's mastery of English prose. Another essay is devoted to Shakespeare's legal knowledge, "extraordinary alike both in its accuracy and extent," by which his mind and memory were so saturated that "at least a third of his myriad metaphors are drawn from it." It suffuses the plays, so that, as Mr. Churton Collins observes, were a play to be found without constant recurrence of legal metaphor and phraseology, that play could not be attributed to Shakespeare.

Now this classical attainment, this philosophic temper, this linguistic culture and this legal knowledge

\* *The Ethics of Criticism, illustrated by Mr. Churton Collins.* Watts & Co., London, 1904.

of the author of the plays, have of late been made the subject of repeated and earnest discussion.

Mr. R. M. Theobald, in his *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light*, devotes a chapter to the classical use of words in the plays, showing, as clearly as do the allusions cited by Mr. Churton Collins, how deeply the author's mind was imbued with a knowledge of the classics.

Judge Webb, in *The Mystery of William Shakespeare*, enlarged on the author's abundant use of classic legend, on his familiarity with philosophy and science in their various branches, and his minute acquaintance with the technicalities of the law.

Lord Penzance's treatise on the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy, which Mr. Collins seems unacquainted with, or ignores, insists on the wide knowledge of the author both classical and various, but especially on the accurate legal training evinced by the plays.

Now all these authors, and others besides, concur in and support the view elaborated by Mr. Churton Collins as to the varied attainments, classical, philosophical and legal of the author of the plays. But the humour of the situation is, that he cannot enjoy their support, or accept their alliance, because they each draw the obvious conclusion that the man who achieved and displayed this accumulated store of knowledge cannot have been the graceless Stratford youth, but must have been a laborious scholar, a profound philosopher, a trained lawyer, and also a courtier and a statesman, such as was Francis Bacon. To cite as Mr. Churton Collins does Chatterton's forgeries and Burn's ballads as parallel and equal to the Shakespeare plays, and “equally beyond the range of possibility under normal conditions,” only shows how far prejudice and prepossession can warp sound judgment.

As Mr. Churton Collins admits that these notions are

not only "distasteful but repulsive" to him, we may conjecture that he refrained from casting an eye upon any of these inconvenient books, until, perchance, some candid friend pointed out whither his eulogies of the author of the plays were tending, that in fact he was giving away the Shakespearian case, to the secret joy of the Baconians.

So the final essay was written, a desperate attempt to neutralise the manifest tendency of the previous essays. This may account for some disorder of judgment and for the contrast between the vituperative style of this essay, and the temperate and well-reasoned essays which precede it.

Mr. Churton Collins' criticism goes at once astray, in imagining Judge Webb to have been largely indebted to Mr. Theobald. He asserts that "all that is of any importance in Mr. Theobald's contribution to the subject Judge Webb assimilates, and, indeed, summarises." This Mr. Theobald shows is a complete mistake; Judge Webb had not seen Mr. Theobald's *Shakespeare Studies* when *The Mystery of William Shakespeare* was published. The coincident views of both authors is not, however, unworthy of notice.

Mr. Theobald's "most remarkable contribution to the subject is," as Mr. Churton Collins says, "a chapter entitled 'The classic diction of Shakespeare' in which he cites some 230 words for the purpose of showing that the author of the Shakespearian drama was familiar with Latin," some few of these words were newly coined, the others employed in a strictly classical sense. This classic diction harmonises with and supports the classical scholarship, which Mr. Churton Collins, in an earlier essay, claims for the author of the plays. But because of the natural inference that Francis Bacon rather than William Shakespeare was the classical scholar, Mr. Churton Collins will have none of this

classic diction, and deems its citation evidence of reckless and almost incredible ignorance: and for this reason. Judge Willis, with characteristic vehemence and haste, had condemned Mr. Theobald's book, by assuming erroneously that all the 230 words cited, instead of a few only, were cited as newly coined. Mr. Churton Collins adopts Judge Willis' dicta, apparently without examination, and supposes that the occurrence of these words occasionally in other authors, whether in a popular or classical sense, is inconsistent with Mr. Theobald's argument that the author of the plays was a classical scholar. The recklessness does not lie with Mr. Theobald.

Mr. Churton Collins is doubtless angry at the inferences deduced from his essays; but his anger does not excuse the language he applies to the opinions of men, certainly of not less intellectual eminence than himself. “Baconian craze,” “incredible, ineffable absurdity,” “ridiculous epidemic” resembling “the dancing mania of the middle ages”! Such terms ought not to be used of Lord Penzance, Judge Webb, Mr. Theobald, or many others who hold the same views. They recoil upon the writer, they deface a book otherwise admirable, they defy “The Ethics of Criticism.”

G. C. BOMPAS.

## SHAKESPEAREAN VERSUS SHAKESPEAREAN.

THE other night I took up a book entitled, "A New Study of the Sonnets of Shakespeare," by a keen Shakespearean, Mr. Parke Godwin.

I found that this new student of the Sonnets disagreed with all his predecessors, and is honest enough to confess himself at a loss as to the individual to whom the Sonnets were addressed. This is what he says :—

"Then, again, who was Mr. W. H., said to have been this 'onlie begetter,' and for whom T. T. wishes all happiness and the immortality promised by the ever-living poet? The answers have been almost as many as the writers on the subject. It was, says one, the Earl of Southampton, an early friend and patron of the poet, the initials of whose family name, Henry Wriothesley, are simply reversed. No, says another, it was the young Earl of Pembroke, who was also an intimate friend of the bard [what a multitude of friends the actor had!]. Not at all, exclaims a third, it was William Hart, a nephew of the poet, mentioned in his will, and who probably purloined the copy. Or, more likely, adds a fourth, William Hathaway, his brother-in-law, who had access to his papers. Or, finally, it was one William Hughes, plainly referred to in line 7, Sonnet 20, although nobody has ever yet discovered who William Hughes might happen to have been."

What an insult to Mr. Sidney Lee, whose *Life* Mr. Godwin professes to have read, and where it is maintained Mr. W. H. was William Hall, the pirate publisher!

Mr. Godwin tells us :—

In the *Fortnightly Review* for December, 1897, Mr. William Archer demonstrated that the Sonnets were not addressed to the Earl of Southampton, but most likely to the Earl of Pembroke; but in the same *Review* for February, 1898, Mr. Sidney Lee demonstrates that they were not addressed to the Earl of Pembroke, but that many of them were addressed to the Earl of



Southampton. Had the combatants paid any attention to the requirements of chronology, they would have seen that they were both barking up the wrong tree."

This is pretty straight language for one Shakespearean to use to two others! Again, Mr. Godwin says:—

"We cannot fix the precise year in which the Sonnets were written, but we may assign the period within which they were written. It covered the time between 1582, *about the date of his marriage*, and 1592, when he had become more or less famous both as an actor and a play-wright."

So that here we have Shakspeare writing the Sonnets four years before he left Stratford, while he was assisting his father in the butchering profession. It is marvellous! When Mr. Sidney Lee praises William Shakspeare, Mr. Sidney Lee is "a Daniel come to judgment," according to Mr. Godwin. With delight he quotes Mr. Lee when he writes over *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* that these poems were received "with unqualified enthusiasm. The critics vied with each other in the exuberance of their eulogies, in which they proclaimed that the fortunate author had gained a permanent place on the summit of Parnassus."

But the Shakespearean Godwin is not always in this euphemistic spirit, for a few pages further on we read:—

"*A Life of William Shakespeare*, by Sidney Lee. This book has a good deal of pleasant narrative in it, the result of careful research, but is no less marked by wild speculation, arrogant dogmatism, and, in what relates to the punning Sonnets, repulsive coarseness. Its general effect is to degrade Shakespeare very much in the estimation of the reader, as he is made to appear not only an unscrupulous plagiarist, but a sordid hanger-on of the great, and a gross-minded sensualist. Mr. Lee also pronounces some of the Sonnets as positively 'inane,' an opinion that may be taken as a measure of his critical capacity."

Mr. Godwin forgot, when he penned these words, that he had previously written:—

"While some of the Sonnets are crude enough, as Hudson says, 'to have been the handiwork of a smart schoolboy,' they have all of them more or less marks of immaturity."

But Mr. Godwin has not yet finished with Mr. Sidney Lee, for he tells his readers:—

"Mr. Sidney Lee's interpretation of this Sonnet (the 'Will' Sonnet, 135), giving to the word 'will' the sense of lust, is so grossly offensive that it is a disgrace to literature. Shakespeare, 'the gentle Willy,' or 'the sweet Will,' of his contemporaries, was not a blackguard, and could never, under any circumstances, have written to or of any woman whose acquaintance he had sought, that her sensuality was insatiable as the sea."

Mr. Lee has the best of this, however, when he records the fact that Shakspeare seduced Anne Hathaway, and that the only anecdote related of him was the dirty story concerned with the quip that "William the Conqueror was before Richard the Third:" disproving, as he says, "that Shakespeare was known to his contemporaries as a man of scrupulous virtue."

All this only goes to show how these Shakespeareans love one another.

But the best thing in the book is Mr. Godwin's contribution to Shakespearean biography, when he says:—

"It (*Titus Andronicus*) excited more than usual attention, on the part of Shakespeare's fellow play-wrights, and we can easily imagine one of them, say Peele, straying into a tap-house [in search of Shakspeare, *probably*], for a morning dram, and encountering Mr. Greene, who had been there all night, with the salutation, 'Well, Bob, were you at the theatre yesterday?' 'No, but what's up?' 'A new piece written by that stripling busybody from Stratford.' 'Well, how did it go?' 'Bad enough; it abounds in sonnets, or new rhymes of some sort; and yet the people laughed, and now and then there was a burst of this new-fangled blank verse, which is likely to make Marlowe tremble for his laurels.' 'That lad,' muttered Greene, 'must be looked to,' and he was looked to, with a vengeance."

Mrs. Stopes cannot hope to beat this tit-bit of Shakespearean biography.

Mr. Sidney Lee is of a singularly accommodating disposition, so far as his opinion of the Sonnets is concerned.

In his "Life of William Herbert," third Earl of Pembroke, in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1891), he wrote: "Other parts of the dedication [of the First Folio] prove as clearly that Shakespeare was on friendly terms with Pembroke, and the fact confirms the suggestion that the publisher's dedication of Shakespeare's 'Sonnets' to *the onlie begetter* of these insuing sonnets, 'Mr. W. H.' is addressed to Pembroke, disguised under the initials of his family name, William Herbert. The acceptance of this theory gives Shakespeare's 'Sonnets' an important place in Pembroke's early biography. The 'Sonnets,' though not published till 1609, were written for circulation among private friends more than ten years earlier. . . . Shakespeare's young friend was, doubtless, Pembroke himself, and 'the dark lady,' in all probability, was Pembroke's mistress, Mary Fitton. Nothing in the Sonnets directly contradicts the identification of W. H., their hero and 'onlie begetter' with William Herbert, and many minute internal details confirm it."

This is decided enough; but by a process of evolution, known only to Mr. Lee, we find him in 1898, in his *Life of Shakespeare*, flatly contradicting his opinions of 1891. This is what we read:—

"The theories that all the Sonnets addressed to a woman were addressed to the 'dark lady,' and that the 'dark lady' is identifiable with Mary Fitton, a mistress of the Earl of Pembroke, are *baseless conjectures*. . . . The introduction of her name into the discussion is solely due to the mistaken notion that Shakespeare was the protégé of Pembroke, that most of the Sonnets were

addressed to him, and that the poet was probably acquainted with his patron's mistress."

"No peer of the day, moreover, bore a name which could be represented by the initials 'Mr. W. H.' Shakespeare was never on terms of intimacy (although the contrary has often been recklessly assumed) with William, third Earl of Pembroke, when a youth." [In 1891 Mr. Lee had maintained that "Shakespeare was on friendly terms with Pembroke."]

"The alleged erroneous form of address in the dedication of Shakespeare's 'Sonnets'—'Mr. W. H.' for Lord Herbert or the Earl of Pembroke—would have amounted to the offence of defamation, and for that misdemeanour, the Star Chamber, always active in protecting the dignity of peers, would have promptly called Thorpe to account. . . . *The Sonnets offer no internal indication that the Earl of Pembroke and Shakespeare ever saw each other.*" Only seven years previously Mr. Lee wrote:—"Nothing in the Sonnets directly contradicts the identification of W. H., their hero and 'onlie begetter,' with William Herbert, and many minute internal details confirm it."

It has taken Mr. Lee only seven years to discover that the "Mr. W. H." was not "William Herbert," but "William Hall," a pirate publisher—a change from "poet and patron" to a common "tradesman," and that the youth addressed in the Sonnets was not Herbert but Southampton.

In 1891, according to Mr. Lee, "begetter" meant "inspirer," but in 1898 it meant only "procurer." In 1891, "Mr. W. H." was the "hero" of the Sonnets; in 1898 he became a casual who stole copies of them for the printer! The *Dictionary* and the *Life* cannot both be correct. Which are we supposed to accept?

GEORGE STRONACH.

## QUERIES AND CORRESPONDENCE.

Mrs. Jaqueline Field.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—Mrs. C. C. Stopes has been recently engaged on the manufacture of more Shakspeare biography in her Introduction to a new edition of the Sonnets. Her latest is that Shakspeare read all Richard Field's publications, and that "this one firm (Field's) alone printed all the books that were necessary for the poet's culture." This "Dick Field," as Mrs. Stopes familiarly styles him, was also the publisher of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrecc*. And what gratitude does the moral Shakspeare show for Dick's generosity? In her new edition of the "Sonnets," Mrs. Stopes, in referring to the "Dark lady," says:—"There is no clue to the identity of the lady. Most probably she was not a lady at all, in the Court sense, but one of the rich citizen's [*sic*] wives, many of whom had been educated by wealthy fathers," &c., &c. And then she naively adds:—"Such a one Shakespeare might have met in the very house he *must* most have frequented. I do not *know* anything about the moral principles of Mrs. Jaqueline Field, and do not formulate a charge against her. But such a one fulfilled all the necessary external conditions." Then we are informed "Dick's" wife became the mistress of both Shakspeare and Southampton! It was bad enough to connect the "dark lady" with Mary Fitton, who was fair; but it is surely carrying things biographical to an extreme in decrying the hitherto fair fame of Mrs. Field, about whose "moral principles" Mrs. Stopes confesses she knows nothing. According to Mrs. Stopes, Field "would be able to give Will Shakespeare not only metropolitan advice, but congenial hospitality, and the use of a capital library sufficient for all his needs." And in return for these services what does Shakspeare, the god of Mrs. Stopes' idolatry, give? He seduces Field's wife. It is, indeed, a savoury story, not unlike other stories, however, related of the man of Stratford, and Mrs. Stopes should be singularly proud of her great discovery.

G. S.

Wanted, Facts: The Symbolism of the Dog.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—On page 100 of *Baconiana* for April, 1904, it is stated, "Dogs were, in the symbolism of India, types of the Messengers of Truth, and Hunting Dogs figured as *seekers after Truth*." I respectfully ask what authority can the writer give for this assertion, as I can find no support whatever for it in the writings of Cox, Gubernatis, or in Professor J. Dowson's *Dictionary of Indian*

*Mythology.* On the punch-marked coins of India (approximately 400 B.C., *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1890, Part I., p. 181), the dog is represented on the top of the "Stupa," in an energetic attitude, suggestive of the guardianship of Yama, the personification of Death, not of Truth, which has no personal individuality in Indian mythology.

The next statement follows the one above, "A dog with a book before him is the Egyptian hieroglyph for Learning, Science, Wisdom." On what authority does the writer make this assertion? The dog is nothing of the sort, and does not even occur as an Egyptian hieroglyph at all! This I assert on the authority of a responsible officer of the Egyptian department of the British Museum, where, I am assured, that with a single doubtful exception (which cannot, of course, be regarded as authoritative), the dog does not occur as an Egyptian hieroglyph.

Again, on page 101 it is stated, "Æsculapius, the great healer of souls, is figured by a dog." I am confident there is no adequate authority for the assertion that Æsculapius ever *healed souls*, or was ever *represented as a dog*. His familiar representative was a serpent, and we all know that it was his healing *bodies*, not souls, which brought down on him the anger of Zeus.

"At pater omnipotens, aliquem indignatus ab umbris  
Mortalem inferiis ad lumina surgere vitæ;  
Ipse repertorem medicinæ talis et artis,  
Fulmine Phœbigenam Stygiæ detrusit ad undas."

To allow such errors, as I have above pointed out, to pass unchallenged is simply to give ourselves away to the Philistine and the Scoffer.

W. THEOBALD.

Ilfracombe, April, 1904.

## Colonies in America and Tobacco.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—The ignorance shown in most Biographies of Francis Viscount St. Alban's personal interest in our American Colonies is extraordinary. May I quote from our "Colonial State Calendar" [p. 21, 1618], May 1610.

*Extract of Patent.*—"To Henry, Earl of Northampton, Sir Francis Bacon and others, for the Colony or plantation in Newfoundland, from 46 to 52° N. Lat., together with the seas and islands lying within ten leagues of the coast. Reserving to all manner of persons, to what nation soever as well as English the right of trade and fishing in latitude aforesaid, West."

A letter is mentioned from John Smith to Lord Bacon enclosing description of New England, the extraordinary profits arising from the *fisheries* there, and great facilities for *plantation*. To show difference betwixt Virginia and New England. In index,

reference stands, "Sir Francis, afterwards Lord Bacon.") Statute afterwards to be "certain parts of North of Virginia called New England." [Dec. 15th, 1621].

[1617 Jan. 18th.] "Pocahantes, Viginian woman with her father been with the King, graciously used, both well placed at the *Mask*." Proclamation forbidding any one to use import or buy or sell any *tobacco* not grown of Virginia or Somers Islands." [Ap: Whitehall.] A. A. L.

## The Northumberland House Manuscript.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—In the course of his examination of the Northumberland House Manuscript, Mr. M. le Douse writes that "further on he [Davies] speaks of Bacon 'keeping the Muse's company *for sport*, 'twixt grave affairs,' an apology for Bacon's amateur verses."

What Davies writes in his Sonnet, at the end of the *Scourge of Folly*, "to the royall, ingenious, and all-learned knight, Sir Francis Bacon," is to the following effect:—

"And to thy health in Helicon to drinke  
As to her Bellamour, the *Muse* is wont:  
*For thou dost her embosom*; and, dost keep  
Her company for sport 'twixt grave affairs,  
So utterest law the livelyer, through *thy Muse*:  
And for that all thy notes are sweetest aires."

Now what verses, "amateur or other," written by Bacon were known to John Davies in the year the above was published, 1610 or 1611? His "Translation of certain Psalms" did not appear till 1625—it was written in the previous year, according to Spedding. How then did Bacon obtain such credit as the above of being a poet at the hands of John Davies?

Curiously enough, the Sonnet following the above is one addressed to Sir John Davies by John Davies, of Hereford, and this Sir John Davies was the courtier to whom Bacon wrote, asking him "to be good to concealed poets," a passage which Spedding cannot understand. It would appear that both John and Sir John Davies were better acquainted with Bacon's poetical efforts than they cared to divulge. G. S.

## Thomas Green and Robert Greene.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—I am anxious to clear up the subject of the two Greens, Robert and Thomas. If your readers can help me I shall be grateful.

Knight's London gives Thomas Green as the fourth name on the certificate of the sharers in the Blackfriar's Playhouse. He describes him as a comic actor, of great and original powers. And as so celebrated in one comedy, that a play called *Tu Quoque* was called after him, and his portrait appeared on the title page. The author was John Cook. In the play, Green is mentioned as the Clown at the Red Bull, Bishopsgate.

Ordish, in his book on the "Early London Theatres," says Thomas Green was one of six servants of the Queen who played both at the Curtain and at the Bore's head.

"Licence to Thomas Greene, etc., servants to the Queen to exercise the art of playing in the Curtaigne or the Bore's Head." ["London Theatres," *Ordish*, p. 103.]

Here a foot note follows: "This was probably the Boar's Head in Great Eastcheap—Shakespeare's Boar Head."

Cooper in his "Athenæ Cantabrigiensiis" also mentions Thomas the "actor." In this same work particulars are given of Robert Greene, from Norwich. Born 1560. He matriculated as a Sizar of St. John's College, and, a poor man, travelled all over the Continent. He travelled in Italy, Germany, France, Poland, and Denmark. He had for friends, "notable braggarts" and "spend-thrifts." "Boon companions" who practised "certain superficial studies." "I became as a scion, grafted into the same stock, whereby I did absolutely participate of their nature and qualities." (*Sic.*) Wood further remarks that like Marlowe and Shakespeare, he occasionally appeared on the stage, or that there is reason to believe he did.

He adds, some biographers believe Robert Greene was in Holy Orders, and was a Royal Chaplain, but this he doubts. He died of a surfeit of pickled herrings and Rhenish, "a burning Quotidian Tertian—most lamentable to behold." He was carefully nursed by his hostess, who, like Dame Quickly, kept lodgers. Apparently like her drunken guest, Greene made a good end! "A' made a finer end and went away, an' it had been any christom child, desired forgiveness of God," just as False-Staff did. Had Bacon described his death, it would have been much as the frequenter of the "Boar's Head" is described at the last when he babbled of *Green* fields, with: "Unsteady motion of the fingers as if to take up something from the bedclothes."

There seems little doubt that Greene, like Falstaff, was an actor. That Falstaff was, is clear enough, for at the Boar's Head Tavern, he said: "Clap to the doors—shall we have a play extempore?" And he quotes plays, and takes parts as if born to them. Was Robert a player as well as Thomas, or were they one? Was False-Staff drawn partly from Greene?

Yours truly,

A STAUNCH BACONIAN.





