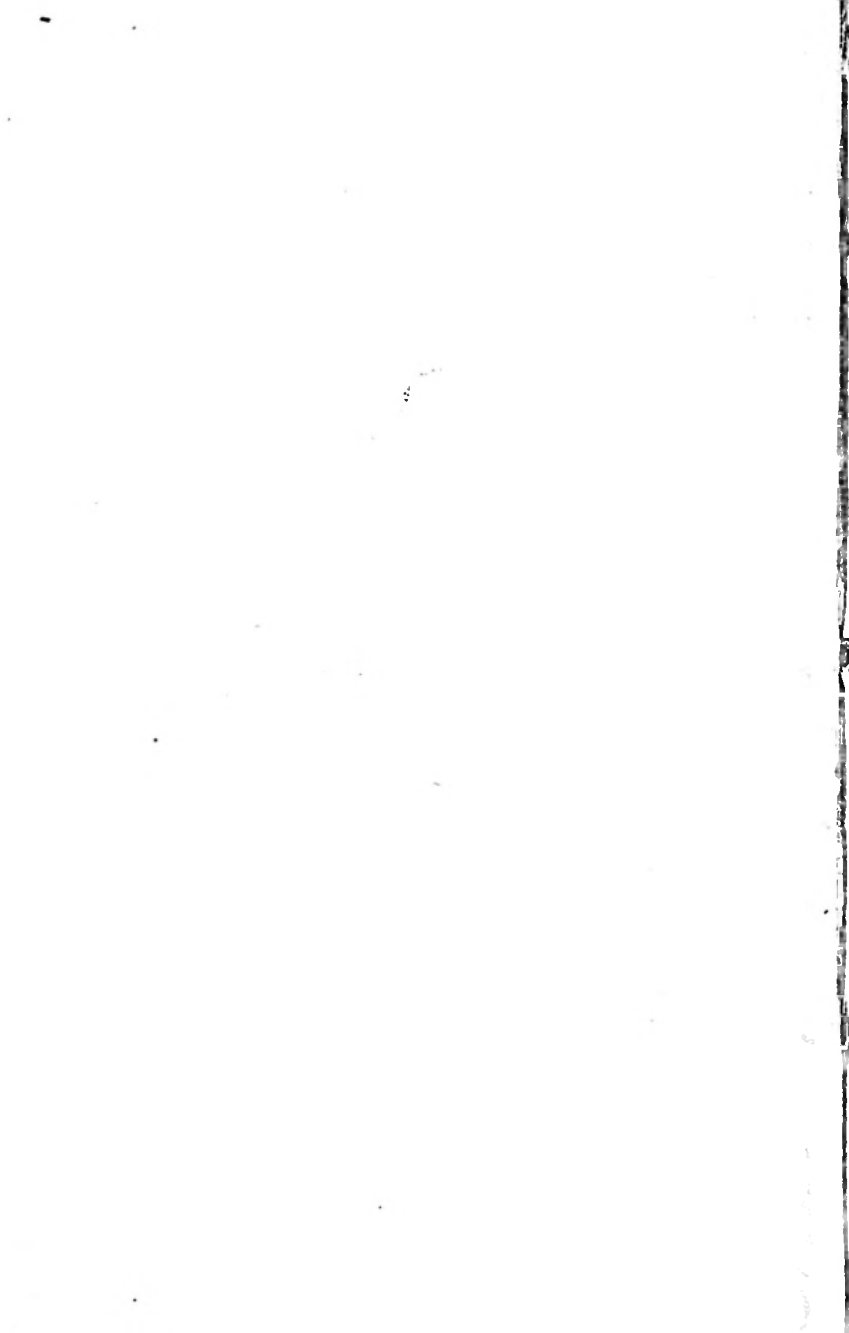


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"Therefore we shall make our judgment upon the things themselves as they give light one to another and, as we can, dig Truth out of the mine."

—FRANCIS BACON.

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The first letter in the text of the dedication of the 1st edition of the English translation of the "French Academie," **1586**. Printed at London by G. Bollifant. The block is also used in a similar manner in the 2nd edition, **1589**. Londini Impensis, John Bishop.



The first letter in the text of the dedication of the **1625** edition of Bacon's Essays, printed in London, by John Haviland.

Both letters are printed from the same block.

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THE MYSTERY OF FRANCIS BACON.

THE facts which have come down to us as to the early life of Francis Bacon are of a very meagre character. The first biography which appeared is styled "Discourse sur la Vie de M. Bacon," and is prefixed to "L'Histoire Naturelle," published in Paris in the year 1631, but this is rather in the nature of an appreciation of his work and character than an account of the incidents of his life. In 1657 his chaplain, William Rawley, published with the first edition of the "Resuscitatio" what he described as a life of the author. Having regard to Rawley's intimate knowledge of the man and the wealth of information which was at his disposal, as an account of Bacon's life it is insufficient and disappointing. In 1679 Archbishop Tension, in a publication entitled "Baconiana," added very slightly to previous knowledge. In 1740 D. Mallet, when publishing an edition of Bacon's works, included an account of his life, which was gathered together from historical documents and previous publications, and though this is of value, it still leaves the reader unable to form any adequate conception of the most distinguished Englishman of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period. In the nineteenth century Montague, Hepworth Dixon and Spedding added to the store of

knowledge, but in spite of their efforts a satisfactory life of Bacon has yet to be written, or, at any rate, yet to be published. Perhaps the reader, by the aid of Hepworth Dixon rather than by that of any other writer, is able to form a conception of the real man which approaches more nearly to accuracy. When it is remembered that James Spedding devoted his life to the investigation of Bacon's works and of every letter and scrap of manuscript which he could discover which bore upon Bacon's life and works, it may be considered presumptuous for anyone to attempt to add to those fourteen volumes, which will ever remain a monument of his devotion, literary ability and patience. It has been said * that Spedding's devotion is one of the greatest tributes existing to Bacon's worth.

Notwithstanding this lack of encouragement to any attempt at unravelling the mysteries surrounding a life which must ever have a fascination for all students of philosophy, of literature, or of humanism, the following notes are offered with diffidence, as the result of many years' study of, and enthusiasm for, the man and his work.

It may be that the evidence at present available will not justify some of the conclusions. It may be that imagination has played too prominent a part in weaving together what purports to be a historical sketch, but these notes are put forward simply as suggestions, with the hope that they may be supplemented or corrected, where necessary, by those who have fuller knowledge of the subject.

In the registry of St. Martins will be found the entry :—

“Mr.† Franciscus Bacon, 1560. Jan. 25 (filius D'm Nicho Bacon Magni Anglie sigilli custodis),”

* “Pioneer Humanists,” by J. M. Robertson, Watts & Co., 1907.

† “Mr.” is interlined in a different coloured ink.

as on 22nd January, 1560 (according to the present computation of years, 1561). In April, 1573, he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, his age being 12 years and 3 months,* where he remained until Christmas, 1575. If it were possible to know how far his education had advanced when he entered Cambridge a consideration of the next ten years of his life would be made much easier.

Little is known of his early education. That it was ample is evident from the stand which he took upon leaving Cambridge. His father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was a classical scholar. That is gathered from the "Art of English Poesie," where the unknown author states that he has found Sir Nicholas sitting in his gallery with the works of Quintilian before him, of which at that time there was no English translation. The unknown author adds, "Indeede he was a most eloquent man and of rare learning and wisdome, as ever I knew England to breed and one that joyed as much in learned men and men of good witts." During the tender years of his boyhood it is by Lady Anne Bacon that his instruction would be directed. She, with her sisters, inherited from her father, Sir Anthony Cooke, an aptitude for the study of classical languages, and was so expert in Greek that she translated Jewell's "Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ" into English. Rawley describes her as "being exquisitely skilled, for a woman, in the Greek and Latin tongues."

Having regard to the conditions under which he was brought up, to what we know of him in subsequent years, and in view of his phenomenal intelligence, it is a fair deduction to make, that at twelve years of age, when he entered Cambridge, he was an expert scholar in Latin and Greek.† No fact, no tradition, has

* Whitgift accounts "Brit. Nag.," Vol. XXX. 111, p. 444.

† At six years old Agrippa D'Aubigné (1560—1630) is said to

come down to us as to his work whilst at college. The author of the "Discourse sur la Vie de M. Bacon," however, says: "Le jugement et la mémoire ne furent jamais en aucun homme au degré qu'ils estoient en celui-cy; de sorte qu'en bien peu de temps il se rendit fort habile en toutes les sciences qui s'apprennent au collège." Here, therefore, is the testimony of a contemporary—a man who knew Bacon—that when he left Cambridge he had acquired a great store of knowledge. But there is further evidence of the condition of his mind at this stage. It was whilst at the university that "he first fell into the dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle; not for the worthlessness of the author, to whom he would ever subscribe all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulness of the way; being a philosophy (as his lordship used to say) only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the productions of works for the benefit of the life of man."*

One other point must be dwelt upon. Lady Anne Bacon was not only learned, but she was a deeply religious woman, full of affection and puritanic fervour, and deeply interested in the condition of the Church. It is therefore obvious that during the early years of Bacon's life he would receive religious training of an earnest character. John Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was master of Trinity during his residence there. This training (although now having an Ecclesiastical instead of a Puritanic tendency) would be continued under him. Bacon's earliest letters, all his subsequent writings, bear evidence of his strong religious fervour, which culminates in that magnificent psalm described by Addison as the prayer of an angel rather than of a man.

have been able to read Latin, Greek and Hebrew ("A Short History of French Literature": Saintsbury, p. 212. John Stuart Mill).

* Rawley's MSS., Spedding, Vol. I.

This, then, is the boy who, at sixteen years of age, went under the care of Sir Amias Paulet when on a mission to the Court of France. In 1578 he returned to England with messages to the Queen, and it was then that a picture of him was painted by Hilliard, the Court miniature painter, who inscribed round it, as Spedding says, the significant words—the natural ejaculation, we may presume, of the artist's own emotion—"Si tabula daretur digna, animum mallet": "If one could only find materials worthy to paint his mind."

It was about this time that he had projected his first essay on philosophy, which he modestly termed "Temporis Partus Maximus." It is said this work has not come down to posterity, but it may be possible to trace it under another title.

Spedding states that the earliest composition of Bacon which he had been able to discover is a letter written in his twentieth year from Grays Inn. From that time forward, he continues, compositions succeed each other without any considerable interval, and in following them we shall accompany him step by step through his life. What are the compositions which Spedding places as being written but not published up to the year 1597, when the first small volume of 10 essays containing less than 5,000 words was issued from the press? These are they:—

Notes on the State of Christendom* (date 1580 to 1584).

A Letter of Attorney for Anth. Bacon.

Letter of Advice to the Queen (1584—1586).

An Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England (1586—1589).

* Spedding prints this in small type, being doubtful as to the authorship.

Speeches written for some Court device, namely, Mr. Bacon in praise of Knowledge, and Mr. Bacon's discourse in praise of his Sovereign (1590—1592).

Certain observations made upon a libel published this present year, 1592.

A true report of the Detestable Treason intended by Dr. Roderigo Lopez, 1594.

Gesta Grayorum, 1594, parts of which are printed by Spedding in type denoting doubtful authorship.

Bacon's device, 1594—1598.

Three letters to the Earl of Rutland on his travels, 1595—1596.

That is all! These are the compositions which follow each other without considerable interval, and by which we are to accompany him step by step through those seventeen years which should be the most important years in a man's life! He could have turned them out in ten days or a fortnight with ease. We expect from Mr. Spedding bread, and he gives us a stone!

This brilliant young man, who, when 15 years of age, left Cambridge, having possessed himself of all the knowledge it could afford to a student, who had travelled in France, Spain and Italy to "polish his mind and mould his opinion by intercourse with all kinds of foreigners," how was he occupying himself during what should be the most fruitful years of his life? Following his profession at the Bar? His affections did not that way tend. Spedding expresses the opinion that he had a distaste for his profession, and, writing of the circumstances with which he was surrounded in 1592, says: "I do not find that he was getting into practice. His main object still was to find ways and means for prosecuting his great philosophical enterprise." What was this enterprise? "I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate means," he says, writing to Burghley, "for I have taken all knowledge

to be my province." This means more than mere academic philosophy.

In 1593, when Bacon was put forward and upheld for a year as a candidate for the post of Attorney-General, Spedding writes of him: "He had had little or no practice in the courts; what proof he had given of professional proficiency was confined to his readings and exercises in Grays Inn. . . . Law, far from being his only, was not even his favourite study; . . . his head was full of ideas so new and large that to most about him they must have seemed visionary."

Writing of him in 1594 Spedding says: "The strongest point against Bacon's pretensions for the Attorneyship was his want of practice. His opponents said that 'he had never entered the place of battle.'* Whether this was because he could not find clients or did not seek them I cannot say." In order to meet the objection, Bacon, on the 25th January, 1593—4, made his first pleading, and Burghley sent his secretary "to congratulate unto him the first fruits of his public practice."

There is one other misconception to be corrected. It is urged that Bacon was, during this period, engrossed in Parliamentary life. From 1584 to 1597 five Parliaments were summoned. Bacon sat in each. In his twenty-fifth year he was elected member for Melcombe, in Dorsetshire. In the Parliament of 1586 he sat for Taunton, in that of 1588 for Liverpool, in that of 1592—3 for Middlesex, and in 1597 for Ipswich.

But the sittings of these Parliaments were not of long duration, and the speeches which he delivered and the meetings of committees upon which he was appointed would absorb but a small portion of his time. It must be patent, therefore, that Spedding does not account for his occupations from his return to

* That is, never held a brief.

England in 1578 until 1597, when the first small volume of his Essays was published.

During the whole of this period Bacon was in monetary difficulties, and yet there is no evidence that he was living a life of dissipation or even of extravagance. On the contrary, all testimony would point to the conclusion that he was following the path of a strictly moral and studious young man. On his return to England he took lodgings in Coney Court, Grays Inn. There Anthony found him when he returned from abroad.

There are no data upon which to form any reliable opinion as to the amount of his income at this time. Rawley states that Sir Nicholas Bacon had collected a considerable sum of money which he had separated with intention to have made a competent purchase of land for the livelihood of his youngest son, but the purchase being unaccomplished at his death Francis received only a fifth portion of the money dividable, by which means he lived in some straits and necessities in his younger years. It is not clear whether the "money dividable" was only that separated by Sir Nicholas, or whether he left other sums which went to augment the fund divisible amongst the brothers. His other children were well provided for. Lady Bacon lived at Gorhambury. She was not extravagant, and yet in 1589 she was so impoverished that Captain Allen, in writing to Anthony, speaking of his mother, Lady Bacon, says she "also saith her jewels be spent for you, and that she borrowed the last money of seven several persons." Whatever her resources were, they had by then been exhausted for her sons. Anthony was apparently a man of considerable means. He was master of the manor and priory of Redburn, of the manor of Abbotsbury, Minchinbury and Hoves, in the parish of Barley, in the county of Hertford; of the

Brightfirth wood, Merydanmeads, and Plumer-Stoke farms, in the county of Middlesex.*

But within a few years after his return to England Anthony was borrowing money wherever he could. Mother and brother appear to have exhausted their resources and their borrowing capabilities. There is an account showing that in eighteen months, about 1593, Anthony lent Francis £373, equivalent to nearly £3,000 at to-day's value. In 1597 Francis was arrested by the sheriff for a debt of £300, for which a money-lender had obtained judgment against him, and he was cast into the Tower. Where had all the money gone? There is no adequate explanation.

The first letter of Francis Bacon's which Spedding met with, to which reference has already been made, is dated 11th July, 1580, to Mr. Doyley, and is of little importance. The six letters which follow—all there are between 1580 and 1590†—relate to one subject, and are of great significance. The first is dated from Grays Inn, 16th September, 1580, to Lady Burghley. In it young Francis, now 19 years of age, makes this request: "That it would please your Ladyship in your letters wherewith you visit my good Lord to vouchsafe the mention and recommendation of my suit; wherein your Ladyship shall bind me more unto you that I can look ever to be able to sufficiently acknowledge."

* "Story of Lord Bacon's Life." Hepworth Dixon, p. 28.

† The two letters of 16th September, 1580, and that of 15th October, 1580, are taken from copies in the Lansdowne collection. That of the 6th May, 1586, is in the same collection, and is an original in Bacon's handwriting. The letter of 25th August, 1585, is also in his handwriting, and is in the State's Paper Office, Domestic. The letter without date, presumably written to Burghley in 1591, is from the supplement to the "Resuscitatio," 1657.

The next letter—written on the same day—is addressed to Lord Burghley. Its object is thus set forth :—

“ My letter hath no further errand but to commend unto your Lordship the remembrance of my suit which then I moved unto you, whereof it also pleased your Lordship to give me good hearing so far forth as to promise to tender it unto her Majesty, and withal to add in the behalf of it that which I may better deliver by letter than by speech, which is, that although it must be confessed that the request is rare and unaccustomed, yet if it be observed how few there be which fall in with the study of the common laws either being well left or friended, or at their own free election, or forsaking likely success in other studies of more delight and no less preferment, or setting hand thereunto early without waste of years upon such survey made, it may be my case may not seem ordinary, no more than my suit, and so more beseeching unto it. As I force myself to say this in excuse of my motion, lest it should appear unto your Lordship altogether un-discreet and unadvised, so my hope to obtain it resteth only upon your Lordship’s good affection towards me and grace with her Majesty, who methinks needeth never to call for the experience of the thing, where she hath so great and so good of the person which recommendeth it.”

What was this suit? Spedding cannot suggest any explanation. He says: “ What the particular employment was for which he hoped I cannot say; something probably connected with the service of the Crown, to which the memory of his father, an old and valued servant prematurely lost, his near relationship to the Lord Treasurer, and the personal notice which he had himself received from the Queen, would naturally lead him to look. . . . The proposition, whatever it was, having been explained to Burghley in conversation, is only alluded to in these letters. It seems to have been so far out of the common way as to require an apology, and the terms of the apology imply that it was for some employment as a lawyer. And this is all the light I can throw upon it.” Subsequently Spedding

says the motion was one* "which would in some way have made it unnecessary for him to follow 'a course of practice,' meaning, I presume, ordinary practice at the Bar."

Another expression in the letter makes it clear that the object of the suit was an experiment. The Queen could not have "experience of the thing," and Bacon solicited Burghley's recommendation, because she would not need the experience if he, so great and so good, vouched for it.

Burghley appears to have tendered the suit to the Queen, for there is a letter dated 18th October, 1580, addressed to him by Bacon, commencing :

"Your Lordship's comfortable relation to her Majesty's gracious opinion and meaning towards me, though at that time your leisure gave me not leave to show how I was affected therewith, yet upon every representation thereof it entereth and striketh so much more deeply into me, as both my nature and duty presseth me to return some speech of thankfulness."

Spedding remarks thereon : "It seems that he had spoken to Burghley on the subject and made some overture, which Burghley undertook to recommend to the Queen ; and that the Queen, who though slow to bestow favours was careful always to encourage hopes, entertained the motion graciously and returned a favourable answer. The proposition, whatever it was, having been explained to Burghley in conversation, is only alluded to in these letters."

Spedding dismisses these three letters in 22 lines of comment, which contain the extracts before set out. He regards the matter as of slight consequence, and admits that he can throw no light upon it. But he points out that it was "so far out of the common way as to require an apology." Surely he has not well weighed the

* "Life and Letters," Vol. I. p. 57.

terms of the apology when he says they "imply that it was for some employment as a lawyer."

There had been a conversation between Bacon and Burghley during which Bacon had submitted a project to the accomplishment of which he was prepared to devote his life in the Queen's service. It necessitated his abandoning the profession of the law. Apparently Burghley had remonstrated with him, in the manner of experienced men of the world, against forsaking a certain road and avenue to preferment in favour of any course rare and unaccustomed. Referring in his letter to this, Bacon's parenthetical clause beginning "either being well left or friended," etc., is confession and avoidance. In effect he says: "Few study the common laws who have influence; few at their own free election; few desert studies of more delight and no less preferment; and few devote themselves to that study from their earliest years. Since there are few who, having my opportunities, devote themselves to the study of the common laws, my position in so doing would not be an ordinary one, no more than is my suit. Therefore, why should I, having your [Burleigh's] influence to help me, sacrifice my great intellectual capabilities fitting me to accomplish my great contemplative ends? Why should I sacrifice them to a study of the common laws?"

The sentence may be otherwise construed, but in any case it involves an apology for the abandonment of the profession which had been chosen for him.

The next letter is addressed to the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, principal secretary to her Majesty, and is dated from Grays Inn, 25th of August, 1585. Spedding's comment on it is as follows:—

"For all this time, it seems, the suit (whatever it was) which he had made to her through Burghley in 1580 remained in suspense, neither granted nor denied, and the uncertainty prevented him

from settling his course of life. From the following letter to Walsingham we may gather two things more concerning it: it was something which had been objected to as unfit for so young a man; and which would in some way have made it unnecessary for him to follow 'a course of practice'—meaning, I presume, ordinary practice at the Bar."

This is the letter:—

"It may please your Honour to give me leave amidst your great and diverse business to put you in remembrance of my poor suit, leaving the time unto your Honour's best opportunity and commodity. I think the objection of my years will wear away with the length of my suit. The very stay doth in this respect concern me, because I am thereby hindered to take a course of practice which, by the leave of God, if her Majesty like not my suit, I must and will follow: not for any necessity of estate, but for my credit sake, which I know by living out of action will wear. I spake when the Court was at Theball's to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain,* who promised me his furtherance; which I did lest he mought be made for some other. If it may please your Honour, who as I hear hath great interest in him, to speak with him in it, I think he will be fast mine."

Spedding remarks: "This is the last we hear of this suit, the nature and fate of which must both be left to conjecture. With regard to its fate, my own conjecture is that he presently gave up all hope of success in it, and tried instead to obtain through his interest at Court some furtherance in the direct line of his profession."

He adds: "The solid groundson which Bacon's pretensions rested had not yet been made manifest to the apprehension of Bench and Bar; his mind was full of matters with which they could have no sympathy, and the shy and studious habits which we have seen so offend Mr. Faunt would naturally be misconstrued in the same way by many others." †

This passage refers to a letter to Burghley dated the

* This was Sir Christopher Hatton.

† "Life and Letters," Vol. I. p. 59.

6th of the following May, *i.e.*, 1586, from which it will be seen that the last had not been heard of the motion. Burghley had been remonstrating with Bacon as to reports which had come to him of his nephew's proceedings. Bacon writes :—

“I take it as an undoubted sign of your Lordship's favour unto me that being hardly informed of me you took occasion rather of good advice than of evil opinion thereby. And if your Lordship had grounded only upon the said information of theirs, I mought and would truly have upholden that few of the matters were justly objected ; as the very circumstances do induce in that they were delivered by men that did misaffect me and besides were to give colour to their own doings. But because your Lordship did mingle therewith both a late motion of mine own and somewhat which you had otherwise heard, I know it to be my duty (and so do I stand affected) rather to prove your Lordship's admonition effectual in my doings hereafter than causeless by excusing what is past. And yet (with your Lordship's pardon humbly asked) it may please you to remember that I did endeavour to set forth that said motion in such sort as it mought breed no harder effect than a denial, and I protest simply before God that I sought therein an ease in coming within Bars, and not any extraordinary and singular note of favour.”

May not the interpretation of the phrase “I sought therein an ease in coming within Bars” be “I sought in that motion a freedom from the burden (or necessity) of coming within Bars.” The phrase “an ease in” is very unusual, and unless it was a term used in connection with the Inns it is difficult to see its precise meaning. In other words, he sought an alternative method to provide means for carrying out his great philosophical enterprise.

There is an interval of five years before the next and last letter of the six was written. It is undated, but an observation in it shows that it was written when he was about 31 years of age, thus fixing the date at 1591.

From an entry in Burghley's note book,* dated 29 October, 1589, it appears that in the meantime a grant had been made to Bacon of the reversion of the office of Clerk to the Counsel in the Star Chamber. This was worth about £1,600 per annum and executed by deputy, but the reversion did not fall in for twenty years, so it did not affect the immediate difficulty in ways and means.

There are occasional references to Francis in Anthony's correspondence which show that the brothers were residing at Grays Inn, but nothing is stated as to the occupation of the younger brother.

At this time, according to Spedding,† who, however, does not give his authority, Francis had a lodge at Twickenham. Many of his letters are subsequently addressed from it, and three years later he was keeping a staff of scribes there.

The last letter is addressed to Lord Burghley, and contains the following :—

" I cannot accuse myself that I am either prodigal or slothful, yet my health is not to spend nor my course to get. Lastly, I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate civil ends : for I have taken all knowledge to be my province. This whether it be curiosity or vain glory, or (if one takes it favourably) *philanthropia*, is so fixed in my mind as it cannot be removed. And I do easily see, that place of any reasonable countenance doth bring commandment of more wits than of a man's own, which is the thing I greatly affect. And for your Lordship, perhaps you shall not find more strength and less encounter in any other. And if your Lordship shall find now, or at any time, that I do seek or affect any place, whereunto any that is nearer to your Lordship shall be concurrent, say then that I am a most dishonest man. And if your Lordship will not carry me on, I will not do as Anaxagoras did, who reduced himself with contemplation unto voluntary poverty ; but

* Cott. MSS. Tit. CX. 93.

† " Life and Letters," Vol. I., p. 110.

this I will do, I will sell the inheritance that I have, and purchase some lease of quick revenue, or some office of gain that shall be executed by deputy, and so give over all care of service and become some sorry bookmaker, or a true pioneer in that mine of truth, which he said lay so deep. This which I have writ to your Lordship is rather thoughts than words, being set down without all art, disguising or reservation."

The suit has been of no avail. Once more Bacon appeals (and this is to be his final appeal) to his uncle. He is writing thoughts rather than words, set down without art, disguising or reservation. But if his Lordship will not carry him along he has definitely decided on his course of action. The law is not now even referred to. If the object of the suit was not stated in 1580, there cannot be much doubt now but that it had to do with the making of books and pioneer work in the mine of truth. For ten years Francis Bacon had waited, buoyed up by encouragements and false hopes. Now he decides to take his fortune into his own hands and rely no more on assistance either from the Queen or Burghley.

One sentence in the letter lifts the veil from the mental attitude of Burghley to his nephew: "If your Lordship shall find now, or at any time, that I do seek or affect any place whereunto any that is nearer unto your Lordship shall be concurrent, say then that I am a most dishonest man." Surely this was an assurance on Bacon's part that he did not seek or affect to stand in the way of the one—the only one, Robert Cecil—who stood nearer to Burghley in kinship.

It therefore appears evident from the foregoing facts:—

(1) That Francis Bacon at 17 years of age was an accomplished scholar; that his knowledge was abnormally great, and that his wit, memory, and mental qualities were of the highest order.

(2) That in the year 1580, when 19 years old, he sought the assistance of Burghley to induce the Queen to supply him with means and the opportunity to carry out some great work upon the achievement of which he had set his heart. The work was without precedent, and in carrying it out he was prepared to dedicate to her Majesty the use and spending of his life.

(3) That for ten years he waited and hoped for the granting of his suit, which was rare and unaccustomed, until eventually he was compelled to relinquish it and rely upon his own resources to effect his object.

(4) But he desired to command other wits than his own, and that could be more easily achieved by one holding place of any reasonable countenance. He therefore sought through Burleigh place accompanied by income, so that he might be enabled to achieve the vast contemplative ends he had in view.

(5) That during the years 1580 to 1597, in which he claims that he was not slothful, there is no evidence of his being occupied in his profession or in State affairs to any appreciable extent, and yet there do not exist any acknowledged works as the result of his labours. Rawley states that Bacon would "suffer no moment of time to slip from him without some present improvement."

(6) He strained the monetary resources of his mother and brother, which were not inconsiderable, to the utmost, exhausted his own, and heavily encumbered himself with debts, and yet he was not prodigal or extravagant.

(7) Money he must have to carry out his schemes, and he therefore decided that, failing obtaining some sinecure office, he would sell the inheritance he had, purchase some lease of quick revenue or office of gain that could be executed by a deputy, give over all care

of serving the State, and become some sorry book-maker or a true pioneer in the mine of truth.

(8) Spedding says, "He could at once imagine like a poet and execute like a clerk of the works"; but whatever his contemplative ends were there is nothing known to his biographers which reveals the result of his labours as clerk of the works.

(9) If he carried out the course of action which he contemplated it is clear that he decided to do so without himself appearing as its author and director. From 1580 to 1590 something more was on his mind than the works he published after he had arrived at sixty years of age. "I am no vain promiser," he said. Where can the fulfilment of his promise be found? Can his course be followed by tracing through the period the trail which was left by some great and powerful mind directing the progress of the English Renaissance?

Before endeavouring to throw light on Francis Bacon's life during the period stated, it is proposed to make some suggestions as to works upon which he was engaged whilst in France, or which are associated with his sojourn there.

Francis Bacon was at Blois with Sir Amias Paulet in 1577. In the same year was published the first edition of the first part of "Académie Françoise par Pierre de la Primaudaye Esceuyer, Seigneur dudict lieu et de la Barrée, Gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du Roy." The dedication dated February, 1577 (*i.e.*, 1578) is addressed, "Au Tres-chrestien Roy de France et de Polongne Henry III. de ce nom." The first English translation by T. B. was "published in 1586, imprinted at London by Edmund Bollifant for G. Bishop and Ralph Newbery." Other parts followed at intervals of years, but the first complete edition in English bears date 1618, and was printed for Thomas Adams. Over the dedication is the well-known Archer Emblem. It is a

thick folio volume, with 1,038 pages double columns. It may be termed the first Encyclopædia which appeared in any language, and is perhaps one of the most remarkable productions of the Elizabethan era. Little is known of Pierre de la Primaudaye. The particulars for his biography in the "Biographie Nationale" seem to have been taken from references made to the author in the "French Académie" itself. In the French Edition, 1580, there is a portrait of a man, and under it the words "Anag. de L'auth. Par la prière Dieu m'ayde." The following is an extract from the dedication :—

"The dinner of that prince of famous memorie, was a second table of Salomon, vnto which resorted from euerie nation such as were best learned, that they might reape profit and instruction. Yours, Sir, being compassed about with those, who in your presence daily discourse of, and heare discoursed many graue and goodly matters, seemeth to be a schoole erected to teach men that are borne to vertue. And for myselfe, hauing so good hap during the assemblie of your Estates at Blois, as to be made partaker of the fruit gathered thereof, it came in my mind to offer vnto your Maiestie a dish of diuers fruits, which I gathered in a Platonicall garden or orchard, otherwise called an ACADEMIE, where I was not long since with certaine yoong Gentlemen of Aniou my companions, discoursing together of the institution in good maners, and of the means how all estates and conditions may liue well and happily. And although a thousand thoughts came then into my mind to hinder my purpose, as the small authoritie, which youth may or ought to haue in counsell amongst ancient men : the greatnes of the matter subiect, propounded to be handled by yeeres of so small experience : the forgetfulness of the best foundations of their discourses, which for want of a rich and happie memorie might be in me : my iudgement not sound ynough, and my profession vnfit to set them downe in good order : briefly, the consideration of your naturall disposition and rare vertue, and of the learning which you receiue both by reading good authors, and by your familiar communication with learned and great personages that are neere about your Maiestie (whereby I seemed to oppose the light of an obscure day, full of clouds

and darkness, to the bright beames of a very cleere shining sonne, and to take in hand, as we say, to teach Minerua). I say all these reasons being but of too great waight to make me change my opinion, yet calling to mind manie goodlie and graue sentences taken out of sundry Greeke and Latine Philosophers, as also the woorthie examples of the liues of ancient Sages and famous men, wherewith these discourses were enriched, which might in delighting your noble mind renew your memorie with those notable sayings in the praise of vertue and dispraise of vice, which you alwaies loued to heare : and considering also that the bounty of Artaxerxes that great Monarke of the Persians was reuiued in you, who receiued with a cheerfull countenance a present of water of a poore laborer, when he had no need of it, thinking to be as great an act of magnanimitie to take in good part, and to receiue cheerfully small presents offered with a hartie and good affection, as to giue great things liberally, I ouercame whatsoeuer would haue staid me in mine enterprise."

It appears, therefore, that the author by good hap was a visitor at the Court of Henry III. when at Blois ; that he was there studying with certain young gentlemen of Anjou, his companions ; that he was a youth, and of years of small experience ; that his memory might not be sufficiently rich and happy, his judgment not enough, and his profession unfit in recording the discourses of himself and his companions.

"The Author to the Reader" is an essay on Philosophie, every sentence in which seems to have the same familiar sound as essays which subsequently appeared under another name. The contents of the several chapters are enumerated thus: "Of Man," "Of the Body and Soule," etc.

The first chapter contains a description of how the "Academie" came about. An ancient wise gentleman of great calling having spent the greater part of his years in the service of two kings, and of his country, France, for many and good causes had withdrawn himself to his house. He thought that to content his mind, which always delighted in honest and vertuous things,

he could not bring greater profit to the Monarchie of France, than to lay open and preserve and keep youth from the corruption which resulted from the over great license and excessive liberty granted to them in the Universities. He took unto his house four young gentlemen, with the consent of their parents who were distinguished noblemen. After he had shown these young men the first grounds of true wisdom, and of all necessary things for their salvation, he brought into his house a tutor of great learning and well reported of his good life and conversation, to whom he committed their instruction. After teaching them the Latin tongue and some smattering of Greek he propounded for their chief studies the moral philosophy of ancient sages and wise men, together with the understanding and searching out of histories which are the light of life. The four fathers, desiring to see what progress their sons had made, decided to visit them. And because they had small skill in the Latin tongue, they determined to have their children discourse in their own natural tongue of all matters that might serve for the instruction and reformation of every estate and calling, in such order and method as they and their master might think best. It was arranged that they should meet in a walking place covered over with a goodly green arbour, and daily, except Sundays, for three weeks, devote two hours in the morning and two hours after dinner to these discourses, the fathers being in attendance to listen to their sons. So interesting did these discussions become that the period was often extended to three or four hours, and the young men were so intent upon preparation for them that they would not only bestow the rest of the days, but oftentimes the whole night, upon the well studying of that which they proposed to handle. The author goes on to say :—"During which time it was my good hap to be one of the companie when they

began their discourses, at which I so greatly wondered that I thought them worthy to be published abroad." From this it would appear that the author was a visitor, privileged, with the four fathers and the master, to listen to the discourses of these four young men. But, a little further on the position is changed; one of the four young men is, without any explanation, ignored, and his father disappointed! For the author takes his place, as will be seen from the following extract:—

"And thus all fower of us followed the same order daily until everie one in his course had intricated according to appointment, both by the precepts of doctrine, as also by the examples of the lives of ancient Sages and famous men, of all things necessary for the institution of manners and happie life of all estates and callings in this French Monarchie. But because I knowe not whether, in naming my companions by their proper names, supposing thereby to honour them as indeede they deserve it, I should displease them (which thing I would not so much as thinke) I have determind to do as they that play on a Theater, who under borrowed maskes and disguised apparell, do represent the true personages of those whom they have undertaken to bring on the stage. I will therefore call them by names very agreeable to their skill and nature: the first ASER which signifieth *Felicity*: the second AMANA which is as much to say as *Truth*: the third ARAM which noteth to us *Higness*; and to agree with them as well in name as in education and behaviour. I will name myself ACHITOB which is all one with *Brother of goodness*. Further more I will call and honour the proceeding and finishing of our sundry treatises and discourses with this goodlie and excellent title of Academie, which was the ancient and renowned school amongst the Greek Philosophers, who were the first that were esteemed, and that the place where Plato, Xenophon, Poleman, Xenocrates, and many other excellent personages, afterward called Academicks, did propound & discourse of all things meet for the instruction and teaching of wisdom: whercin we purposed to followe them to our power, as the sequele of our discourses shall make good prooffe."

And then the discourses commence.

The first Quarto of *Love's Labour Lost* was published in 1598, and was the first Quarto upon which the name of Shakespeare was printed. The title-page states that it is "newly corrected and augmented," from which it may be inferred that there was a previous edition, but no copy of such is known. The commentators are in practical agreement that it was probably the first play written by the dramatist.

There are differences of opinion as to the probable date when it was written. Richard Grant White believes this to be not later than 1588, Knight gives 1589, but all this is conjecture.

The play opens with a speech by Ferdinand :—

" Let Fame that all hunt after in their lives,
 Live registred upon our brazen Tombes,
 And then grace us, in the disgrace of death :
 When spight of cormorant devouring time,
 Th' endeavour of this present breath may buy :
 That honour which shall bate his sythes keene edge,
 And make us heyres of all eternitie.
 Therefore brave Conquerours, for so you are,
 That warre against your own affections,
 And the huge Armie of the worlds desires.
 Our late Edict shall strongly stand in force,
 Navar shall be the wonder of the world.
 Our Court shall be a little Achademe,
 Still and contemplative in living Art.
 You three, Berowne, Doumaine, and Longavill,
 Have sworne for three yeeres terme, to live with me,
 My fellow Schollers, and to keepe those statutes
 That are recorded in this scedule heere.
 Your oathes are past, and now subscribe your names ;
 That his owne hand may strike his honour downe,
 That violates the smallest branch heerein :
 If you are arm'd to doe, as sworne to do,
 Subscribe to your deepe oathes, and keepe it to.

Four young men in the French "Academie" associated together, as in *Love's Labour Lost*, to war against

their own affections and the whole army of the world's desires. Dumaine, in giving his acquiescence to Ferdinand, ends:—

“To love, to wealth, to pompe, I pine and die
With all these living in Philosophie.”

Philosophie was the subject of study of the four young men to the “Academie.”

Berowne was a visitor, for he says:—

“I only swore to study with your grace
And stay heere in your Court for three yeeres' space.”

Upon his demurring to subscribe to the oath as drawn, Ferdinand retorts:—

“Well, sit you out : go home, Berowne : adue.”

To which Berowne replies:—

“No, my good lord ; I have sworn to stay with you.”

Achitob was a visitor at the Academie in France. There are other points of resemblance, but sufficient has been said to warrant consideration of the suggestion that the French “Academie” contains the serious studies of the four young men whose experiences form the subject of the play.

The parallels between passages in the Shakespeare plays and the French “Academie” are numerous, but they form no part of the present contention. Only one of the Shakespeare commentators makes any reference to the work. The Rev. Joseph Hunter, writing in 1844, points out that the dramatist in *As You Like It*, describing the seven ages of man, follows the division made in the chapter on “The Ages of Man” in the “Academie.”

The suggestion now made is that the French “Academie” was written by Bacon, who is repre-

sented in the dialogues as Achitob—the first part when he was about eighteen years of age, that he continued it until, in 1618, the complete work was published; and that it is the work which he designated "*Temporis partus maximus.*" In the dedication the author describes himself as a youth of immature experience, but the contents bear evidence of a wide knowledge of classical authors and their works, a close acquaintance with the ancient philosophies, and a store of general information which it would be impossible for any ordinary youth of such an age to possess. But was not the boy who at fifteen years of age left Cambridge disagreeing with the teaching there of Aristotle's philosophy, and whose mental qualities and acquirements provoked as "the natural ejaculation of the artist's emotion" the significant words, "*Si tabula daretur digna animum mallet,*" altogether abnormal?

The first edition of the French "Academie" in English appeared in 1586, the second in 1589, the third (two parts) in 1594, the fourth (three parts) in 1602, the fifth in 1614 (all quartos), then, in 1618, the large folio edition containing the fourth part "never before published in English." It appears to have been more popular in England than it was in France. Brunet in his 1838 edition mentions neither the book nor the author, Primaudaye. The question as to whether there was at this time a reading public in England sufficiently wide to absorb an edition in numbers large enough to make the publication of this and similar works possible at a profit will be dealt with hereafter. In anticipation it may be said that the balance of probabilities justifies the conjecture that the issue of each of these editions involved someone in loss, and the folio edition involved considerable loss.

A comparison between the French and English publications points to both having been written by

an author who was a master of each language rather than that the latter was a mere translation of the former. The English version is so natural in idiom and style that it appears to be an original rather than a translation. The marginal notes are in the exact style of Bacon. "A similitude"—"A notable comparison"—occur frequently just as the writer finds them again and again in Bacon's handwriting in volumes which he possesses. The book abounds in statements, phrases, and quotations which are to be found in Bacon's letters and works.

One significant fact must be mentioned. The first letter of the text in the dedication in the first English translation is the letter S. It is printed from a wood block (Fig. I.). Thirty-nine years after (in 1625) when the last edition of Bacon's Essays—and, with the exception of the small pamphlet containing his versification of certain Psalms, the last publication during his life—was printed, that identical wood block (Fig. II.) was again used to print the first letter in the dedication of that book. Every defect and peculiarity in the one will be found in the other. A search through many hundreds of books printed during these thirty-nine years—1586 to 1625—has failed to find it used elsewhere, either then, before, or since.

Did Bacon mark his first and last book by printing the first letter in each from the same block?

There is another work which it is impossible not to associate with this period, and that is John Barclay's "Argenis." It is little better known than is the "French Academy," and yet Cowper pronounced it the most amusing romance ever written. Cardinal Richelieu is said to have been extremely fond of reading it and to have derived thence many of his

political maxims. It is an allegorical novel. Barclay's life and the works attributed to him will form the subject of a subsequent article, and it is proposed now only to mention some evidence connected with the "Argenis" which supports the contention that the 1625 English edition contains the original composition and that its author was young Francis Bacon.

The first edition of the "Argenis" in Latin was published in 1621. The authority to the publisher, Nicholas Buon, to print and sell the "Argenis" is dated the 21st July, 1621, and was signed by Barclay at Rome. The Royal authority is dated on the 31st August following.

Barclay's death took place between these dates, on the 12th of August, at Rome. It is reported that the cause of death was stone, but in an appreciation of him, published by his friend Peirese, his death is attributed to poison.

The work is an example of the highest type of Latinity. So impressed was Cowper with its style that he stated that it would not have dishonoured Tacitus himself. A translation in Spanish was published in 1624, and in Italian in 1629.

In a letter dated 11th May, 1622, Chamberlain, writing to Carleton, says: "The King has ordered Ben Jonson to translate the 'Argenis,' but he will not be able to equal the original." On the 2nd October, 1623, Ben Jonson entered a translation in Stationers' Hall, but it was never published. About that time there was a fire in Jonson's house, in which it is said some manuscripts were destroyed; but it is a pure assumption that the "Argenis" was one of these.

In 1629 an English translation appeared by Sir Robert Le Grys, Knight, and the verses by Thomas May, Esquire. The title-page bears the statement: "The prose upon his Majesty's command." There is

a Clavis appended, also stated to be "published at his Majesties command." It was printed by Felix Kyngston for Richard Mughten and Henry Seile. In the address to "The understanding Reader" Le Grys says, "What then should I say? Except it were to entreate thee, that where my English phrase doth not please thee, thou wilt compare it with the originall Latin and mend it. Which I doe not speake as thinking it impossible, but as willing to have it done, for the saving me a labour, who, if his Majesty had not so much hastened the publishing it, would have reformed some things in it, that did not give myselfe very full satisfaction."

In 1622 King James ordered a translation of the "Argenis." In 1629* Charles I. was so impatient to have a translation that he hastened the publication, thus preventing the translator from revising his work. Three years previously, however, in 1625—if the date may be relied on—there was published as printed by G. P. for Henry Seile a translation by Kingesmill Long. James died on the 25th March, 1625. The "Argenis" may not have been published in his lifetime; but if the date be correct, three or four years before Charles hastened the publication of Le Grys's translation, this far superior one with Kingesmill Long's name attached to it could have been obtained from H. Seile. Surely the publisher would have satisfied the King's impatience by supplying him with a copy of the 1625 edition had it been on sale. The publication of a translation of the "Argenis" must have attracted attention. Is it possible that it could have been in existence and not brought to the notice of the King? There is something here that requires explanation. The Epistle Dedicatorie of the 1625 edition is written in the familiar style of another pen, although it bears the name of Kingesmill Long.

* One copy of this edition bears the date 1828.

The title-page states that it is "faithfully translated out of Latine into English," but it is not directly in the Epistle Dedicatorie spoken of as a translation. The following extract almost implies that the work had been lying for years waiting publication :—

"This rude piece, such as it is, hath long lyen by me, since it was finished; I not thinking it worthy to see the light I had always a desire and hope to have it undertaken by a more able workman, that our Nation might not be deprived of the use of so excellent a Story: But finding none in so long time to have done it; and knowing though it spake not *English*, though it were a rich jewell to the learned Linguist, yet it was close lockt from all those, to whom education had not given more languages, than Native Tongues: I have adventured to become the key to this piece of hidden Treasure, and have suffered myselfe to be overruled by some of my worthy friends, whose judgements I have always esteemed, sending it abroad (though coarsely done) for the delight and use of others."

Not a word about the author! The translations, said to be by Thomas May, of the Latin verses in the 1629 are identical with those in the 1625 edition, although Kingesmill Long, on the title-page, appears as the translator. Nothing can be learnt as to who or what Long was.

Over lines "Authori," signed Ovv: Fell: in the 1625 edition is one of the well-known light and dark A devices. This work is written in flowing and majestic English; the 1629 edition in the cramped style of translation.

The copy bearing date 1628, to which reference has been made, belonged to John Henry Shorthouse. He has made this note on the front page: "Jno. Barclay's description of himself under the person of Nicopompus Argenis, p. 60." This is the description to which he alludes :—

"Him thus boldly talking, Nicopompus could no longer endure: he was a man who from his infancy loved Learning;

but who disdain to be nothing but a booke-man had left the schooles very young, that in the courts of Kings and Princes, he might serve his apprenticeship in publicke affairs ; so he grew there with an equall abilitie, both in learning and imployment, his descent and disposition fitting him for that kind of life : wel esteemed of many Princes, and especially of Meleander, whose cause together with the rest of the Princes, he had taken upon him to defend."

This description is altogether inaccurate as applied to John Barclay, but in every detail it describes Francis Bacon.

A comparison has been made between the editions of 1625 and 1629 with the 1621 Latin edition. It leaves little room for doubting that the 1625 is the original work. Throughout the Latin appears to follow it rather than to be the leader ; whilst the 1629 edition follows the Latin closely. In some cases the word used in the 1625 edition has been incorrectly translated into the 1621 edition, and the Latin word re-translated literally and incorrectly in view of the sense in the 1629 edition. But space forbids this comparison being further followed ; suffice it to say that everything points to the 1625 edition being the original work.

As to the date of composition much may be said ; but the present contention is that "The French Academie," "The Argenis," and *Love's Labour Lost* are productions from the same pen, and that they all represent the work of Francis Bacon probably between the years 1578 to 1580. At any rate, the first-named was written whilst he was in France, and the others were founded on the incidents and experience obtained during his sojourn there.

WILLIAM T. SMEDLEY.

The writer's theory as to the subject of Francis Bacon's suit in 1580, and how he carried through his project without the aid of the Queen or Burghley, is reserved for a future article.

I CANNOT TELL: SHAKESPEARE, BACON, AND TENNYSON

THE fourth chapter of my book, "Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light," is entitled "*I Cannot Tell*," and discusses the various uses made of this and equivalent phrases by Bacon and Shakespeare. Let me here add a few additional reflections.

The phrase is applied either to facts for which no evidence, or insufficient evidence, exists, or for abstract ideas which must be believed not by outward evidence but by interior perception—ideas such as Justice, Existence, Equity, Divinity, Government, etc.; or it is playfully used with a sort of dramatic insincerity. In some cases, where it refers to facts not supported by evidence, the equivalent phrase *I cannot judge* is substituted. Thus the "True Tragedy" has *I cannot tell*, but its revised form in 3 *Henry VI.* (II. i. 120), has *I cannot judge*, and a similar change is in *Merry Wives* (I. i. 268).

It should be observed that a deep philosophical axiom is secreted in this phrase, viz., that true philosophy refers not to exterior facts, but to inward ideas; that it rests not on outward perception, but interior apprehensions. This is the axiom of all philosophy, and Bacon assumes it when he makes Wonder (*Admiratio*) the beginning of philosophy; broken knowledge—knowledge, as it were, in embryo—half-made, fragmentary knowledge. Goethe says, "*Das Wunder ist des Glaubens liebstes Kind*"—"Wonder is Faith's dearest Child"; and Plato most poetically expresses the same idea (see "Studies," p. 80). It is an essential assumption of all philosophy, ancient as well as modern. Kant, in his "Kritik der Reinen Vernunft," says that if all that, unknown to outward sight, which "cannot tell," is

apprehended by interior vision, by Reason alone (*Verunft*) we only reach negative conclusions; *ex. gr.*, as to the reality of an external world. But he finds the requisite assurance in practical reason, the essential moral nature of man, and here all the dim questions of human nature and destiny find a meaning and reality. Victor Cousin expresses the same idea in the somewhat Brobdignagian sentence, "All subjectivity and reflectivity expires in the spontaneity of apperception"—that is, by inward vision alone do we know what is eternal, and independent of individual life.

Bacon does not formulate any psychology or metaphysic, but one of the fundamental laws of all thought is assumed when he speaks of wonder as broken knowledge, or the beginning of philosophy. Philosophy starts with *I know not—I cannot tell*.

Tennyson has the same trick of speech. Thus, in "In Memoriam" (96) he writes,—

"You say, but with no touch of scorn
Sweethearted, . . .
You tell me doubt is devil-born :—
I know not."

But he *does* know. The formula of philosophical ignorance covers a moral perception which overrides it, for very soon we hear,—

"There lives more faith in honest doubt
Believe me, than in half the creeds."

And he pictures a wife wedded to a husband busy about strange, and, to her incomprehensible, things (97),—

"She knows not what his greatness is,
For that, for all, she loves him more.
Her faith is fixed and cannot move,
She darkly feels him great and wise,
She dwells on him with faithful eyes
'I cannot understand : I love.'"

So that love unlocks a deeper reality than knowledge. This may even apply to pre-natal fact, or almost forgotten past events, in reference to which,—

“The hoarding sense
Gives out at times (*he knows not whence*)
A little flash, a mystic hint” (44).

“Who loves knowledge?” he exclaims (114). But
“Wisdom is greater, coming from a ‘higher hand,’”—

“For she is earthly of the mind ;
But wisdom heavenly of the soul.”

Here, again, the axiom of philosophic ignorance is contrasted with the vision of spiritual apprehension. Loss of faith, doubt, despair, is silenced by this divine interior voice,—

“A warmth within the heart would melt
The freezing reason’s colder part,
And, like a man in wrath, the heart
Stood up and answered ‘*I have felt.*’

And what I am beheld again
What is and no man understands ;
And out of darkness came the hands
That reach thro’ nature moulding men.”

It was plain to Bacon, as to all deep thinkers, that love is a truth-organ, and sees what no other eye, either of the body or mind, can discover.

Anyone who wishes to read a most eloquent and exhaustive discussion of the Philosophy of Wonder and Knowledge may refer to Martineau’s “Types of Ethical Theory,” Vol. II. p. 154. He says: “It is a function both of poetry and religion to re-baptise us, when parched up, in floods of wonder, to revive at once and to assuage the thirst. They set things before us again in their first colours, and wipe away the film of custom that made them dead, and re-invest them with the

power they had lost of looking in and finding us. And only in so far as they effect this have they any title to their name. A poetry that becomes imitative, a religion that can only stereotype historic wonders and not touch the heart-weariness of to-day, have become the artificial tank and ceased to be the running waters of life. It is not then without ground that the Greek philosophy laid such stress on this sentiment, and set it at the first approaches of all culture. We wondered before we knew; and must ever wonder again before we can know more." Thus writes one of the greatest philosophers of all time, whose full greatness is not yet sufficiently acknowledged.

R. M. THEOBALD.

BACON'S ARGOSIES AND CONVOY.

BACON'S supreme object in life was that his philosophy should become known, adopted and worked "for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate." This he insists upon over and over again as the key to his career. For this he toiled and schemed, paid court to the great, aimed at high place, and "filled the world with books," as one of his admirers put it. A man of great position has the command of wits, he used to say; that is, he will secure, if he chooses to use great rank and influence that way, that men of parts and learning will adopt and propagate his ideas.

No one knew better than Bacon how liable schemes of philosophy are to become out of date. We have seen in our own day this ever-recurring phenomenon. Not so long ago Mills' logic and associational psychology seemed to hold the field; then came on Herbert Spencer's evolutionary metaphysics. Already they

have faded ; others take their place, to be in their turn shelved for fresher novelties. So it has been from the beginning of philosophical inquiry among the Greeks—so Bacon saw it under his own eyes. As a great thinker and historical writer of recent date has said in one of his thoughtful poems of Bacon's contemporaries :—

“ There were mighty scholars then,
With the slow, laborious pen,
Piling up their works of learning,
Men of solid, deep discerning,
Widely famous as they taught
Systems of connected thought,
Destined for all future ages ;
Now the cobweb binds their pages ;
All unread their volumes lie
Mouldering so peaceably,
Coffined thoughts of confined men,
Never more to stir again
In the passion and the strife,
In the fleeting forms of life,
All their force and meaning gone,
As the stream of thought flows on.” *

Not only is this the fate of systems of philosophy which gain credence and wide influence for a time, but Bacon believed, and his own experience had taught him, that the best and profoundest systems either never “ caught on ” at all, or were completely overwhelmed and drowned in the rushing waters of time. A favourite idea of his was that time was like a river, where the weightiest and most valuable things sink and are quite lost, while the lighter and less valuable are floated down through the ages.

He published, in his youth, a compendious statement of his philosophical ideas. He called it “ The Greatest Birth of Time.” Without even a faint flutter of life

* “ Poems,” by W. E. H. Lecky, p. 27.

it fell stillborn from the press. As a separate treatise it has disappeared. We can only conjecture which of his opuscula most nearly corresponds to, or contains, its main cogitations.

His *magnum opus*, the "Novum Organum," the laboured work of his maturity, which his chaplain, Dr. Rawley, says Bacon wrote out with additions twelve times over, contains, without doubt, all that "The Greatest Birth" had most valuable—that is, the latter is the core and marrow of the former.

Bacon felt sure that in launching and freighting this great argosy, as well as others of equal dimensions, like the "De Augmentis," or of lesser, on the river of time, he had so constructed them, and provided them with a convoy, that neither winds nor waves nor pirates, neither shoals nor rocks nor any other form of destruction, could prevent them coming into port and distributing their precious cargoes to the consignees—the future generations of men to whose welfare, moral and material, he devoted his best powers and energies.

With all his ingenuity and perfection of plan the scheme has not worked so far. The convoy has got separated from its charge. The argosies, though unwrecked, lie stranded. Some of the cargo, no doubt, has been safely delivered. The convoy is still triumphantly afloat—has done, and does, great things in the world of mind; but the combination has proved, hitherto, practically a fiasco, nor is it certain that it will ever prove anything else. It may, however. There are signs that the argosies may be floated, and the convoy return to its original destination and duty; which, if it does, so far from losing the power and fame gained by its roving, they will be increased a thousand-fold, for a curious effect will be that it is the convoy, and not the argosies, possesses the costliest philosophical bales, which cannot be unpacked till convoy and

argosy unite their forces. The keys of many treasure chests on board the convoy are to be found only on board the argosies. In other words, the Shakespeare plays are not only Bacon's device to keep his philosophy living and vigorous, they are themselves an integral portion and the noblest of his great philosophical scheme.

Bacon thought that it would not take many years to discover why these stately crafts put out from port about the same time. He never supposed that his deep-laid plan in this would be laughed to scorn three hundred years after its invention. He intended that the idea should gradually dawn and increase in brightness, till the full light should shine on all with genial and ever-growing productiveness. Thus was his philosophy to insinuate itself into the minds and hearts of men and possess them for ever without strife or contention.

He suspected, indeed, that such would be the delight taken in one part of his twin device that its philosophical lessons might be for a time overlooked. But he felt sure that there would be some who before long would discover for themselves his whole plan and reveal it to others. So he says plainly, when speaking of his secret method.

The accomplices of the myriad-minded concocter of the combination, some of whom are known, were evidently under a solemn pledge of secrecy, so that the plan should be left to work itself out, the great object being that all prejudice and opposition to the supremacy of his all-embracing philosophy should be avoided. Historical circumstances interfered with the due development of the plot and have hitherto almost completely thwarted the author's intentions in the interlacement of his philosophical and poetical works, the latter in this connection being, *par excellence*, the Shakespeare dramas.

It is impossible to say whether the true solution of the Shakespeare problem will ever now force itself on an incredulous world. But this much is sure—there will be henceforth an ever-increasing number of students who will find in it the most interesting subject of investigation presented by ancient or modern literature.

There is a beautiful passage in Dr. Theobald's "Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light" (p. 125) which suggests the idea put forward in this article, namely, the rationale of the linked battalions of the "Novum Organum," the "De Augmentis," the third part of the "Instauratio Magna" and the Shakespeare plays, is this very linking and interlacing, for the purpose of endowing the author's philosophy with immortal life and vigour. This is the *Filum Labyrinthi*, the golden "clue that threads the maze."

Dr. Theobald writes:—"In all these cases and in countless others we find a philosophic, scientific, prosaic statement of the principles which live and act in the Shakespearean drama. Comparing Shakespeare's art with Bacon's philosophy we find that

'The art and practick part of life
Must be the mistress to this theoric.'

(*Henry V.*, I. i. 51).

"In the language of mystic philosophy Shakespeare's art is the continent and ultimate of Bacon's philosophy ; there is a perfect correspondence and continuity between them. As the natural world is created by influx from the spiritual world and is its counterpart and representative, so is the poetry of Shakespeare poured forth as influx from the creative thought of Bacon's science, giving to it a concrete presentation, a living, organised counterpart."

To sum up, as soon as ever it was found out that the Shakespeare plays belonged to the Baconian philosophy, that the master of English prose was also the master of

English poetry, Bacon felt sure that his philosophy, all his wisdom provided for the healing of human ills, moral as well as physical, would become not only a classic heritage for all time, but would live among men everywhere with ever-increasing vigour and all-embracing influence. He believed that his writings of every kind—letters, essays, treatises, philosophical tomes, poetry—would be studied, sifted, ransacked for the purpose of an ever-growing proof (“Truth can never be confirmed enough, though doubt did ever sleep”) of the wonder that what he believed to be the greatest triumph of philosophy, and what the world recognizes as among the very greatest triumphs of poetry, were the product of one “brain cut with many facets,” both forming one stupendous whole, to which he had given the title of “Instauratio Magna Scientiarum,” the great renovation of learning.

WILLIAM A. SUTTON, S.J.

GHOST IN HIS OWN HAMLET.

ROWE'S “Life of Shakespeare,” 1709, was a clever piece of fooling written to prolong the Stratford myth and continue the elderly Betterton and actor folk upon a false scent. Its frontispiece is a woodcut of the Stratford effigy made to look even more stupid than that placed by Sir W. Dugdale in his “Antiquities of Warwickshire.” A wool-sack, borne upon the knees of the player, is a covert allusion to the accustomed seat of Bacon when Lord Chancellor. The cherubs on the canopy hold an hour-glass and a spade, indicating the revelations of time coupled with research. The innuendo about wool is continued in the letterpress. The father of Shakespeare is alleged to have been a considerable dealer in wool,

"and was able to give his son no better education than his own employment."

The son William "was bred for some time at a free school, where it is probable he acquired what Latin he was master of." "The need for his assistance at home prevented his further proficiency in that language." These passages are elaborations of the "small Latin" and "less Greek" jocosity of Ben Jonson.

Rowe's next jocularly is to argue that because the works are not interspersed with passages copied out from classical authors, *ergo*, Shakespeare evidently did not know them!

"We scarce find any traces of anything that looks like an imitation of the Ancients."

The next extract from Rowe will best be appreciated by those familiar with what is current as to the player's early career.

"For ought I know the performances of his youth, as they were the most vigorous, and the most fire and strength in them, were the best."

Rowe, "though he had inquired," could only ascertain that the "top of Shakespeare's performance was that of Ghost in his own *Hamlet*." Sir E. Durning Lawrence, in his recent book "Bacon is Shakespeare," has, I think, not quite appreciated the humorous use of the capital letters.

The point which Rowe was covertly concealing was that at a particular date in his career the player was employed to serve the true author of the plays by retiring to his village (hamlet) and becoming "ghost," or vizard for plays which were in his absence to be ascribed to his authorship.

Three other players, namely, Peele, Greene and Marlowe, had done similarly some years before, which consequently gave to this subsequent ascription some "colour of truth." Rowe never went to Stratford, and

it is manifest that in taking his few particulars from old Betterton, omitting mention of the sonnets, misstating the player's children, misquoting Mr. Hales, of Eton, asserting a Jonson incident which never occurred, and in other ways dissembling, his intention was merely further to perpetuate the myth.

The immediate purpose of this article is to review as far as possible the circumstances which led to and followed the player's retirement to his own hamlet and fulfilment of his office of "ghost" for the true author.

The manuscripts listed upon the Northumberland House cover seem to have been placed within the cover in the order in which they were prepared or fair copied. They begin with orations for Grays Inn Revels (1593—4), followed by speeches for the Tilt Yard Device (17th November, 1595); orations for Grays Inn Revels (1596—7); essays (printed 30th January, 1597—8); play of *Richard II.* (entered S.R., 29th August, 1597); play of *Richard III.* (entered S.R., October, 1597); *Isle of Dogs* (fragment of a play). An unknown play, perhaps never performed, *Asmund and Cornelia*, is also on the list, as is also a copy, doubtless made for Bacon's reference, of the libel circulated in MS. about his father, the Earl of Leicester, but not printed until 1641.

The fragment of the *Isle of Dogs* play would seem to have been written last, and in view of his brother Robert's expedition to the Acores, or Isle of Hawks, projected early in the year, Francis would appear under this title to have written in the invective style (usually put forth under the vizard of his assistant Nash) some caustic comments on matters of State put into dramatic form.

Doubtless for good reasons he did not finish the play, but gave it to some players at a Bankside play-house to finish and use if they thought fit.

The result was a debacle. The pseudo author and

other actors were put in the Fleet prison, the play was alleged to be "scditionous and schlanderous," and all play-acting was summarily stopped by order of the Privy Council.

Not until February, 1597—8 were players' licenses renewed, and then only to two companies—the Lord Admiral's and the Lord Chamberlain's—that they might be the better qualified to appear before the Queen. Essex and his bosom friend Southampton had returned to England at the end of October, 1597, to find that Howard, the Lord Steward, one of the Queen's oldest councillors and her close personal friend, had been created Earl of Nottingham, which gave him precedence at Court, and to find also that Robert Cecil had obtained the vacant office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Essex left the Court in high dudgeon, and did not return until after 18th of December, when the Queen had restored his precedence by creating him Earl Marshal of England.

The plays of *Richard II.* and *Richard III.* were due for printing this year, and between August, 1597, and 25th of March, 1597—8 were in fact printed in quarto. Sound reason existed for keeping back the *Richard II.* play until a favourable moment. There was sure to be trouble about it. If the old Queen was "touched" on any subject it was on that of *Richard II.* Since her late cousin, Lord Hunsdon, had given her that title because she shared with Richard II. his love of flattery, any allusion to that deceased monarch was believed by the old lady to be directed against her. (In 1601 she assured Lamparde that she *was* Richard II.). The 1597 quarto of *Richard III.* was probably first published. At Christmas, 1597—8, an old play, *Love's Labour Lost*, had been performed for the Queen's amusement (refurnished with jokes at the expense of her recent visitor, Don Antonio Perez). Stage playing elsewhere in London was prohibited.

Francis Bacon occupied himself with publishing a few essays. Howard having retired to his country seat, and Cecil being in France, the Essex party arranged to have a special entertainment amongst themselves at Essex House on 14th February, and evidently *Richard II.* was one of the two plays then staged. Francis Bacon was no party to this. The play was rushed on to the stage and into print against his judgment. The haste accounts for the fact that the 1597 quarto *Richard II.* is about the only important Shakespeare quarto which has no cipher in it. In his Charge against Oliver St. John, Bacon remarked, "And for your comparison of Richard II. I see you follow the example of them that brought him upon the stage and into print in Queen Elizabeth's times." *Richard III.* may have been the other play performed that day; the point is not very material, but seeing that it indirectly attacked the deformed and absent Cecil, it may well have been presented. The anonymous quartos of 1597 of these two plays (*Richard II.* being without the deposition scene) were printed very likely for distribution amongst the Essex faction.

Francis Bacon seems to have taken prompt action to provide in advance against the trouble he anticipated would arise from the Essex House manifestations.

He paid the player Shakspeare a substantial sum to leave London, retire to his own hamlet, and meantime allow plays to be ascribed to his authorship. This was evidently done in January, as in the following month the player is recorded as a householder at Stratford. Moreover, the tradition that Southampton helped in finding the money—may have found it all—is consistent with a payment in January, as he could not have done so later, being sent away with Cecil to France in February. Southampton, from his long association with Francis and Robert, was closely com-

mitted to the Essex faction, and owing to his relations with Elizabeth Vernon, one of the Queen's maids of honour, was in daily expectation of trouble with the Queen.

Bacon's next step was to put the current plays upon the new footing. New quartos of *Richard II.* and *Richard III.* were published having upon their title-pages the added words, "By William Shakespeare."

One can almost imagine one of Bacon's men, careful of paper, scribing the new name upon the cover of the Northumberland MS. before writing it on a 1597 quarto of each of the Richard plays intended for printers' "copies of the title-paged new editions."

The Christmas play of *Love's Labour Lost* was printed in quarto in 1598 as "newly corrected and augmented by Wm. Shakespeare," and the old play of *Henry IV.* was printed in 1598 as "newly corrected by Wm. Shakespeare."

The bulk ascription to Shakespeare of the other unfathered plays was neatly effected by a pamphlet issued in the name of Francis Meres in October, 1598. Florio was one of Bacon's assistants, Meres perhaps another. He married Florio's sister. Ben Jonson may have had some reasons in 1616 for associating Shakspeare as one of the actors of his (Jonson's) plays, but he was away in 1598, as the Stratford records and the Quayney and Sturley letters show, and could not have taken part in *Every Man in His Humour*, and he certainly never played in *Every Man Out of His Humour*, in which he was lampooned as Sogliardeo.

Sir E. Durning Lawrence has well shown how Jonson, in the last-named play, ridiculed the grant to Shakespeare of a coat of arms.

It was probably one of the inducements offered for his retirement to enact the part of "Ghost in His Own *Hamlet*" that he should be made an esquire.

"They purchase lands and now esquires are made."

Return from Parnassus.

Dethick and Camden, the Heralds, however, took care to so "trick" his coat of arms that not only the man himself should be fooled, but one of his biographers after him. The coat shows a field of *gold*. Upon it a speare, bending sinister. The crest, a ridiculous fowl, holds another speare rampant. The rampant speare is made to point to an obvious gap between the words of the motto above, which thus reads, "Non. Sans Droict," which, being interpreted, means "Nought. Without Right." (See Lee's "Life of Shakespeare.")

When will the little confederacy who know of Bacon's authorship and Shakspeare's ghostship make their long overdue "authoritative pronouncement"?

Amongst the poets Ben Jonson knew it in 1623, Milton in 1632, Rowe in 1709, and Pope in 1741. The face of the statue in the Abbey memorial to Shakespeare (which Pope was concerned in erecting) is manifestly copied from Van Somer's portrait of Bacon. The secret passed to Pope's successors is rapidly becoming one no longer.

"Story, good Sirs, there will be none to tell."

PARKER WOODWARD.

BACON IN FRANCE.

SOME confusion exists with regard to the dates of Francis Bacon entering and leaving Cambridge, and being sent to Paris. The following facts ought to set the matter at rest.

Cooper's *Atheæ Cantabrigienses* says: "On April 5th, 1573, he [Anthony] and his younger brother Francis began to reside at Trinity college as fellow-commoners. . . . The brothers, who had been absent from college on account of the plague from August, 1574, till March following, left Cambridge at Christmas, 1575."

Thus Francis entered Cambridge at twelve, and left it just before his fifteenth birthday. He kept six terms and lost two. Mr. Amyas Paulet, who had administered his duties with zeal in Jersey, and there shown hospitality to Huguenot refugees, had just been knighted, and appointed English Ambassador for a short time at the Court of Henri III. in the place of Dr. Dale. To Paulet and his good wife Margaret, Francis was entrusted, when, as Rawley, his biographer, says: "His father thought fit to frame and mould him for the Arts of State, and for that end sent him over to France with Sir Amyas Paulet, then employed Ambassador Lieger into France, by whom he was after a while held fit to be entrusted with some message or advertisement to the Queen."

Paulet landed at Calais on 25th September, 1576,* though he did not take up his appointment till February, 1577. By which facts we see that Francis was hurried off abroad, and had barely time—eight months—in which to blossom forth from a sober-clad Cambridge scholar into a full-blown Courtier, with all the exquisite

* Copy-book of Sir Amyas Paulet's Letters in British Museum.

fripperies of trunk hose, perfumed leather gloves and boots, and delicate starched ruffs, and all the finery suited to an attaché at the great Protestant Queen's Embassy.

Rawley relates that Francis accomplished some work political given him to do "with great approbation," and that the young envoy "returned back to France again, with intention to continue for some years there."

During the two years of Paulet's Ambassage he wrote three letters to the Lord Keeper, interesting because they each allude, though all too briefly, to Francis. I quote them at length.

LETTERS.

"From Register or Copy Book of Sir Amyas Poulet during his Embassy in France in 1577. Edited by Octavius Ogle, M.A., and Printed for the Roxburghe Club."

On the Fly leaf of Title page is printed as follows :

"(This was made some use of by Mr Blackbourne in his collection relating to Lord Bacon given by me to Dr Rawlinson ; but coming to his brother's hands he knew not how he desired me to restore it, which I did at the Dr's return from abroad, 1726. It was my Grandfather's book J. Locker)." (Rawl: A.331).

PREFACE.

"Of the MS. herein edited the account given in Macray's Catalogue of Rawl: MSS. A.331 is as follows :

"'Codex Chartacens in folio ff.130. A full account of the volume is given in the Collection of John Blackbourne (a bishop among the non-jurors) prefixed to his edition of Bacon's Works. . . . One letter to Queen Eliz., dated 6th August, 1577, is printed in Murdin's Collection of State Papers folio, London, 1759, p. 305. Part of this, occupying from p. 308 to 312 in the printed copy, is wanting in this MS. Three leaves have also been torn out after fol. 54, two after fol. 80, and part of a letter is wanting before fol. 32.' Dr. Blackbourne's account of the volume is this : 'The papers from which I have transcribed the foregoing letters seem to be protocols or registers of Sir Amyas Powlet during a considerable part of his embassy in France.

They commence May 22, 1577, and conclude on the 10th of Jan. following. . . ."

"TO MY LORD KEEPER.

"My very good Lord, Unlesse yt shall please your Lordship to deale better with me then I have deserved I shall hardly excuse myself towards you that I have not troubl'd you more often of late with my lettres ; and because your Lordship shall knowe the great hope which I have conceavyd of your good opinion of me, leaving all manner of excuse, I will presume to assuer my self that you will not impute this fault to want of good will, and upon this assuerance I am bold to present your Lordship with these fewe lynes, and by the same to advertise you that your sonne, thanks be to God, is in good health, and other good newes your Lordship may not looke to heare out of these parts, where there is no end of all kindes of myschiefs and miseries. Nothing is remitted that may serve for the recovery of Brouage, neyther is there any other great action in hand att this presente in this parte of France, and some men think that the successe of this siege will not be very happie for those of the King's partie. The Duc Montpensier and the other comysioners are yet with the King of Navarre, where they treat of peace, and here it is given out that this peace comyth this daye and tomorrowe and I cannot tell when, and in dede some thinke France will not be so happie this year. The Duc of Guise is gone towards Champaigne to provide for the Reistres, and some saye the King will not be longe from Paris. Dampnill dothe no great thing in Languedoc, and the Army which Mons^r. had in Auvergne ys nowe ydle. And thus leaving to trouble your Lordship, I comytt you to the mercyfull protection of the Almightye."

[From Poictiers. Undated. But a letter before it is dated
July, 1577.]

"My Verie good Lord, I trust your Lordship will thinke no lewdness in me that I have not troubled you more often with my letters. Wherein I would have used greater diligence, yf I had not presumed of youre Lordship's good opinion of me, which I trust to be so well grounded, that you will not condemne for this negligence and shall most humblie pray yr Lordship to thinke that when I write I am wholie at yr Lordship's commandement, and when I do not write I am the same. Your Lordship's

absence from the Court and London duringe this tyme of vacation, hathe been the principall cause of my slaknes.

"The actions of hostilitie in these partes are utterlie ceased, the peace beinge concluded between the kinge and his subjects. God graunt yt be don with soche synceritie, as become the word, promise, and oathe of an annoyted King! This Peace is received with great joy, and great hope is conceived of contynuance thereof. The King will have the honor of this Peace, and sayeth yt ys a Peace of his owne makinge and he will keepe yt. And now the eyes of this contrey are all tourned upon the troubles of the Low Contreyes, but what course the Frenche will take in this matter is not yet certainelie knowen. This quiet time doth give me no occasion to trouble your Lordship with longe lettres, onlie I must tell you that I rejoyce moche to se that your Sonne, my companion, hathe, by the Grace of God, passed the brunt and perill of this journey, whereof I ame the more gladd, because in the begynge of these last trobles yt pleased your Lordship to referr his contynuance with me to my consyderation. I thanke God these dangers are past, and your sonne is safe, sound, and in good healthe, and worthie of your fatherlie favoure. And thus," etc.

[Not dated. But one before it is dated September 24th,
1577. *Poictiers.*]

"TO MY LORD KEEPER.

"My very good Lord, Although I know no new matter worthie of advertisement, yet, this bearer Mr. Duncombe repairing into England, I would not fayle to trouble your Lordship with these fewe lines, to signifie by the same my dutyfull good will towards you. The Low Countries are the subject of the Councill's dyliberations and actions of the Frenche at this tyme, Mons^r. De Vaux being here from Don John and the Baron Dobignie from the Estates, companies of frenche soldiers are hired dayly, with outward pretence to serve Don John, who expecte the great forces out of Italy, and preparethe for a sharpe and deadly warre. I may not omitt to commend unto your Lordship the honest, diligent, discreet and faithful service of this bearer, which deserveth verie good acceptation, thinking him worthie of the government of your Lordship's sonne, or of anie gentleman in England, of what degree so ever. I cannot tell if your

Lordship be more indebted unto him for his carefulness in your service then I am for his good and quiet behaviour in my house. And thus," etc.

[Not dated. A previous letter was dated October 30th, 1577.]

Francis was what we should technically call now-a-days psychic. As his father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper, lay a-dying at the end of February, 1579, Francis, in a vision of the night, saw his father's house in Hertfordshire all plastered over with black mortar—a solemn warning of his father's approaching end. The young envoy went off to England soon after the death, and saw after his affairs. It is not distinctly stated whether after that especial sad occasion he returned to France or not. In a great many Biographies his "travels" are spoken of. In an early Biography,* earlier than an English one, the French author speaks of Bacon's travels in Spain and Italy. Lake Williams, in his "Historical and Topographical Description of Ancient Verulam (1822)," says: "He [Francis] went abroad to make, not a study of languages only, but to acquire a knowledge of the habits, customs, and manners of the people who spoke them, of the character of their princes, the nature of their lands, and of the constitution of their several governments. In proof of this there is extant in a work a paper of observations on the general state of Europe written by him at nineteen, discovered by his biographer, Dr. Mallet." Spedding says (Vol. I., p. 8): "Amyas Paulet sent a dispatch to the Queen by Francis Bacon, 20th March, 1578-9, saying he was 'of great hope, endued with many and singular parts.' One who, 'if God gave him life, would prove a very able and sufficient subject to do Her Highness good and acceptable service'; adding a most significant remark:

* A preface to "Histoire Naturelle."

'During the next year, during which we have no further news of him, he was not bound to any vocation in Gray's Inn.'" Poulet's dispatch, if sent 20th March, 1579, would have accompanied Francis home after his father's death, for eighteen days was about the time a journey to and from Paris took in those days. We know from Nichol's "Progress," Vol. I., p. 226, that Lord Derby passed from London to Gravesend, 26th January, 1584, where, taking post-horses, they rid to Sittingbourne, and from thence to Dover, and landed at Calais 1st February, arriving at Paris for the Investiture of Henry III. with the Order of the Garter 13th February; and, travelling home from Boulogne to Dover, he left Paris 28th February, reaching England 12th March.

Elizabeth had work for her envoy to do on the continent of Europe, and it was a matter of moment who should be his escort. Someone not too well affected to Rome; on the other hand, not too dangerous or suspicious a schismatic. Amyas Paulet had returned to England October, 1579; who was to be bear-leader?

Charles Knight, in his edition of Bacon's "Essays" and "Advancement," says: "Poulet entrusted him with an important commission to the Queen, which demanded secrecy and promptitude. He acquitted himself with success, and then returned to continue his tour on the continent." When he returned Amyas was off home, and until anything confutes my theory I shall believe that it was with his brother Anthony's friend, Michael D.Eyquem de Montaigne, Francis journeyed.

In his Essay "On Travel" he says: "Travel in the younger sort is a part of education. . . . That young men travel under some tutor, or grave servant, I allow well, so that he be such a one that hath the language and hath been in the country before, whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to

be seen in the country where they go . . . for else young men shall go hooded, and look abroad little." This certainly Francis did not do; it was to "look abroad" he went.

Francis says in the same Essay, "Let Diaries . . . be brought in use." A Diary, said to be Montaigne's during a journey he made through France and Italy at this time, was found one hundred and eighty years after in a chest at Montaigne. "Let him also keep a Diary" is the reiterated advice of Francis in the Essay. We may infer that when he travelled he kept one.

The Diary known as Montaigne's is written in the third person in French till the party travelling reached Rome. It is said that the secretary of the Mayor of Bordeaux, a *Monsr. Caselis* or *Cazelis*, took it down from Montaigne's dictation. So the tale goes. At or near Lucca the Diary commences to be written in Italian, when it is said Montaigne took up the pen himself. The Italian part of the tour I propose to discuss on another occasion; in this paper I shall confine myself to the French one. The Diary begins on 5th September, 1580, with the addition to Montaigne's party of a youth and his suite at Beaumont-sur-Oise, north of Paris. Montaigne's party consisted of himself and secretary, his brother, Monsr. de Mattecoulon, and Monsr. de Hautoy. There seem to have been many of this name, and who this particular one was is not known. It is more curious that the young man of rank of the name of *d'Esstissac*, who joined them at Beaumont, and divided the expenses of the whole party with his *cortège* of a gentleman, a valet, two lacqueys, two muleteers, and a mule, is not identified. Young men of rank, at that time, more often than not went abroad under other names for motives of safety, and one is inclined to ask, was *d'Esstissac* his real name? seeing that he preceded Mons. de Montaigne wherever

they went, whether at the audience accorded them by the Pope in Rome, or in the Villas of the great Dukes of Tuscany and Ferrara.

This same young d'Esstissac carried letters of introduction to the d'Estes and Medicis from the Court at Paris. That he was a young scholar may be inferred by the Pope's words to him about his studies.

To put the matter plainly, I am inclined to think that Francis Bacon obtained the advantage of the Mayor of Bordeaux' protection on rather a dangerous journey which he undertook for educational and political purposes, taking the name of d'Esstissac, whose identity has never been satisfactorily traced.

From Beaumont the party went to little, beautiful Meaux. The Diary notes a wonderful box-tree in a garden of other curiosities. Meaux interests this writer as having withstood the attacks of Henry V. of England. "They point out in the Marne an island, two or three hundred feet in length, which they say was a horseman thrown into the water by the English to make a platform from which the fortress of the Marche might be bombarded by their engines of war, and which since has become firm ground" (Diary). Harry V. of England lodged with numbers of his people in Meaux after the English had successfully besieged it.

Chalons, Vitri, Bar-le-duc, Vacouleur, and Dom-remy-sur-Meuse each their stopping-place. Dom-remy seems to have also interested the writer of the Diary. "Where was born," he says, "the famous *Pucelle d'Orleans*. Her family was afterwards ennobled by the King, who made a grant of arms which was shown to us, azure with a straight sword crowned, and with a golden hilt, and two fleurs-de-lis in gold beside the sword." And, again, "The front of the little house where she was born is all painted with her feats, but the colour is much decayed through age. There is also a tree beside

a vineyard which they call *L'Arbre de la Pucelle*, but there is nothing remarkable about it."

Mr. Bompas says *Henry V.* was written 1596; *Henry VI.* was produced 1591—the date of its authorship is not known.

Neufchateau, Mirecourt, Epinal, and the Baths of Plommieres came next. Hills close these round. "The Queen's Bath" and the hot and cold medicinal springs reminding us of our Bath. The journey through Lorraine and Alsace to *Basel*, and the portion of it through Savoie back to Perigord presents nothing of importance. But Francis' stay with the French Court, together with Paulet, at Blois, Tours, and Poitiers, and now this visit, as I believe, to Domremy, should be considered.

Blois was *La Pucelle's* camp, which she kept clean and orderly; from Blois she marched to Orleans. At Tours her armour was made, and her standard. Buried behind the altar of St. Catharine's Church at Fierbois, near Chinon, her sword was dug up—the sword which was said to be Charlemagne's.

It was at Poitier that *La Pucelle* was badgered by the learned doctors of its university. In alluding to Joan of Arc it will be seen I use the title by which she is called both in Shake-Speare and in Montaigne's Diary—" *La Pucelle.* "

Our English city of Bath was practically re-built and once more renowned for its medicinal waters, in Queen Elizabeth's reign. She granted it a charter in 1590, and visited it in 1591. Roomy mansions were built there about that time, with ample accommodation for residents and spare rooms for distinguished guests. The Abbey House was the palace of the resident physician, Dr. Sherwood, who took patients as "paying guests."

Now the interesting thing is that it was a physician of Tours, *Jean de Villula*, who again brought Bath into

notice after the old Roman days. He bought the old baths, and the town, etc., from King Rufus, and it were well worth the while of some Baconian to unearth *Jean de Villula's* MSS. at Tours, and to make research there. Was Francis, the lover of the Art of Cure, with his experience of foreign baths and waters after his stay in Tours, Plommières, and Lucca, instrumental in making Bath once more famous, stimulated by Jean de Villula's example? Queen Anne of Denmark patronised Bath, and gave the name of Queen's Bath, like its prototype in Plommières, to a new one built in James's reign.

I wish I were able to conclude this paper with any account of Francis in Strasburg. I have already stated* my belief that he was there for a time with John Sturmus, the schoolmaster and diplomatist friend of Queen Elizabeth.

We adjourn our study of Montaigne's Diary at the point where the party crossed Alsace to Bale, urging Baconians to bear in mind that Francis, according to Spedding, at this date (27th September, 1580) "was not bound to any vocations in Gray's Inn."

ALICIA AMY LEITH.

NOTES.

MR. WILLIAM ARCHER is imperilling his reputation for impartiality by his attitude with reference to the Bacon controversy. He will not argue about it. He follows in the footsteps of the men of letters and indiscriminately denounces all Baconians. His last effusion needs reproducing; it is so very convincing. Mr. Archer, discoursing on "Things in General" in the *Morning Leader* of the

◦ BACONIANA, Vol. VII. p. 82.

17th of December, gives his views upon the open mind. There is one subject to which he refuses the right of investigation with an open mind, and he does so in the following choice sentences :—

Finally, I would note another limitation to the ideal of the open mind. There are certain questions on which we cannot safely keep our minds open, because we know that that way madness lies. I once spent a whole day at Concord, Mass., arguing with a friend who had become a convert to astrology and was bent on drawing my horoscope. To that I had no objection ; but I cannot pretend that my mind was for a moment open to his arguments. Somewhat more difficult is the case of the Bacon-Shakespeare theory. Ought we to keep an open mind on that ? I am inclined to answer, " No ; for if we once lose grip of the fact that the whole thing is an insanity, we are in danger of being submerged in a swirling torrent of 'folie lucide.' " The origin and psychological conditions of the illusion are perfectly plain. It is, indeed, one of the oddest and most instructive incidents in the history of the human error, and in that sense worthy of study. Poor Bacon has been forced, by no fault of his own, into the position of the Tichborne Claimant of literature, and one cannot but wonder what he would think of the Onslows, Whalleys, and Kenealys who are pleading what they believe to be his cause. But a really "open mind" on the question is, I conceive, a symptom of an exorbitant love of the marvellous and an imperfect hold upon the reality of things. There are subjects on which no mind can remain open without in some degree losing its balance.

Time will prove whether independent thought is justifiable. Mr. Archer may be right. In the meantime, the controversy will proceed, in spite of this attempt to apply the closure.

It is stated that the Shakespeare-Bacon question is catching on with the French, who delight in discussions of the sort. A writer in a paper published at Frankfort-on-the-Main states that it has been held by some that Shakespeare was in reality a Frenchman, a native of the old province of Burgundy, and that his family was settled of old in the French province, but was exiled after the civil wars. The author of the statement says he has evidence of the fact which is conclusive and exact, and that anyone who has read his works can see that the divine bard was inspired by the good wine of Burgundy. This critic repeats a conjecture

made by Mr. Edwin Reed—that the name was originally “Jacques Pierre.” In another paragraph which appears those interested in the subject are invited to communicate with a gentleman whose name and address are given.

There is a large literature in France dealing with Bacon's philosophy. More books have been published in French on Bacon and his works than in English. It is curious, however, that the suggested Baconian authorship of the Shakespeare plays and poems has aroused little interest and discussion. There is abundant testimony from Shakespearean authorities that the author was an adept in the French language. Richard Grant White asserts that he had knowledge of even the most delicate peculiarities of the French tongue, whilst Professor Baynes in the “Encyclopædia Britannica” says that evidence of this knowledge is so abundant as hardly to need express illustration.

It is very certain that Francis Bacon possessed this knowledge. France was the first foreign country which he visited. Whilst he was there, Thomas Bodley wrote to him a letter of advice as to the subjects to which his attention should particularly be directed during his travels. He said: “In the story of France you have a large and pleasant field in three lines of their kings, to observe their alliances and successions, their conquests, their wars especially with us; their Councils, their treaties; and all rules and examples of experiences and wisdom, which will be lights and remembrances to you hereafter, to judge of all occurrences both at home and abroad.” To the thoroughness with which he followed this advice his works testify.

The Bacon-Shakespeare controversy continues to obtain prominence in the correspondence columns of the Press. Sir Edwin Durning Lawrence has been ubiquitous, but it has been the *Saturday Review* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* which have received his most

important contributions. Writing in the latter paper on the 11th of November, he issued the following challenge:—

“I hereby offer one hundred guineas to anyone who can construct either in Latin or in English another sensible anagram from the long word* which shall give the numbers 136 and 151.”

The challenge was accepted by a number of the readers, but only two of them observed the second of the two conditions, namely, that the numerical value of the first and last letters of each word in the anagram should total 136, and the remaining letters 151. In this computation i and j must be regarded as one letter, also u and v.

The Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* obtained the assistance of the Rev. James Gow, LL.D., the headmaster of Westminster School, who consented to act as umpire. This is his award:—

The word “sensible” varies considerably in meaning according to its application. An anagram, I take it, is “sensible” when it re-arranges given letters into a word which has a meaning, or into words which, *taken together*, have a meaning. It is not sufficient that the anagram should produce several words, each of which means something, if the words when put together have no continuous meaning.

On this principle I regard Sir E. Durning-Lawrence’s anagram as not sensible. His Latin words, though each has a meaning, do not make the meaning which he attributes to them or any other meaning. The only possible translation of “Hi ludi F. Baconis nati tuiti orbi” is “These games sons of F. Bacon having protected (are) orphans.”

On the same principle I rule out Mr. Beevor’s second anagram: “It is in nut. I diabolic author fib.” These words do not make a continuous sense. Here are two sentences between which a connection is hardly imaginable.

Mr. Gilson’s “I, Jonson hi libri tui aut ficti a d—” is “sensible,” *i.e.*, it may legitimately bear the meaning “Go to Jonson: these books are either yours or invented by the devil.” but the final dash (—) is probably essential to this meaning, and there is no dash in the given letters. Mr. Beevor’s “Abi inivit F. Bacon Histrio ludit” is also “sensible”; *i.e.*, it may legitimately bear the meaning, “Be off F. Bacon, the actor, has entered and is playing,” and various other arrangements of the same Latin words would also make sense. Both Mr. Gilson and Mr.

* Honorificabilitudinitatibus.

Beevor have given simple rules for deriving the numbers 136 and 151 from their Latin words, and here I should observe that, in assigning numbers to the letters of the alphabet, they omit J., as Sir E. Durning-Lawrence also does.

On the whole, I think Sir E. Durning-Lawrence ought to pay Mr. Beevor, but that he has some ground for not paying Mr Gilson.

(Signed) J. Gow.

19, Dean's Yard, S.W.

Upon the award being given Sir Edwin, who had deposited his cheque with the Editor, like a thorough sportsman as he is, authorized him to hand over the same to Mr. Beevor, although still standing by the correct Latinity of the anagram which he had put forward.

Mr. H. B. Irving has ventured on the expression of an opinion as to what seems to him the *reductio ad absurdum* of the value of a cryptogram in argument. In the *Saturday Review*, writing from the Theatre Royal, Dublin, on the 20th of October, 1910, he cites, as if it were a recent discovery of Professor Tyrrell, of Trinity College, Dublin—an instance of which has been published over and over again. It is as follows:—

The first Authorised Version of the Psalms was completed in the year 1610. In that year Shakespeare, born in 1564, was forty-six years of age. If you turn to the 46th Psalm in the Authorised Version you will find that, if you reckon forty-six words from the first word of the Psalm, you come to the word "shake." If you count forty-six backwards from the last word of the Psalm you come to the word "spear."

This is either a singular coincidence or, in the Baconian sense, conclusive evidence that Shakespeare was the translator of this version of Psalm xlvi.

Mr. Irving added as a postscript:—

P.S.—Psalm xlvi. has at the end of it the word "Selah." I have not counted that word as part of the Psalm, as I believe it to be a sort of direction of some kind which is not at present quite clearly understood. But Professor Tyrrell points out that the cryptogrammatists would, of course, eagerly jump at this word as affording an additional proof of Shakespeare's authorship of the English version of this Psalm, if not of all the Psalms. For the word "Selah" contains the initial letters of the following sentence, "Shakespeare Est Libri Auctor Hijus."

This brought from Mr. W. T. Smedley the following

letter, which appeared in the *Saturday Review* of the 12th of November.

The tercentenary of the Authorised Version of the Bible is to be celebrated next year. It is curious that Mr. H. B. Irving should start a controversy on the authorship of the translation at such a moment. Hitherto, the Authorised Version has been known as King James' Bible. The name of John Rainoldes has perhaps been more closely associated with it than any other, although he did not live to see the publication. It was he who made the demand for the revision at the Hampton Court Conference in 1603, but now Mr. Irving announces a discovery by Professor Tyrrell claiming the authorship of the translation for Shakespeare.

The names of two of the translators were withheld and have not come down to us. It is possible that Shakespeare and Ben Jonson were included as poets.

The curious coincidence in the forty-sixth Psalm of the position of the words "shake" and "speare" has often been used; but Professor Tyrrell is entitled to the full credit of the discovery of the cryptomatic use of the word "Selah."

There is a saying in Germany that the English have two books—the Bible and Shakespeare, and that Shakespeare wrote the Bible. But it is in your issue of 5th November that, so far as I know, for the first time the point has been raised in England. Mr. H. B. Irving says that the Authorised Version was completed in the year 1610. If my recollection serves me rightly either Gribble or Westcott, in his book on "The History of the Bible," states that the translators brought the results of their labours to the King in 1609, and that he handed them back *completed* in 1610. Are we to imagine that King James called in the assistance of Shakespeare in adding the finishing touches to the work of the translators? Professor Saintsbury has said: "The plays of Shakespeare and the English Bible are, and will ever be, the twin monuments, not merely of their own period but of the perfection of English, and complete expression of the literary capacities of the language." It would be difficult to find any Elizabethan writer, except the man who penned prose passages in Act II., scene 2 of *Hamlet*, and Act IV., scene 1 of *Henry V.*, who was capable of transforming the previous translations of the Psalms into the superb poetry to be found in the Authorised Version and of writing such a prose poem as the thirteenth chapter of the first of Corinthians.

One other point. When the publishers of the 1612 First Quarto of the Authorised Version had to select adornments for the title-page of the Genealogies they either supplied Robert Barker, the printer, with or instructed him to use the identical block from which the headpiece of *Venus and Adonis* in 1593 and *Lucrece* in 1594 was printed by Richard Field. I have searched hundreds of books printed between 1594 and 1612 and have not found this block used anywhere in the interval. At the bottom

of the title-page of the Genealogies is reproduced the design which is found on the title-page of "The Arte of English Poesie," published anonymously in 1589, with a statement by the printer that he does not know the author. In the 1611 First Folio edition of the Authorised Version at the top of the first page of the Genealogies is a headpiece of the well-known design, containing archers, rabbits, and dogs. The same design is also used over the address to "the only and incomparable paire of brethren" in the Folio edition of Shakespeare. Of course, these are only coincidences, but they appear to have some slight bearing on Professor Tyrrell's discovery.

In the literary column of the *Observer* of the 11th of December, the following paragraph, evidently referring to this letter, appeared:—

Out of the voluble Shakespeare-Bacon controversy has come the illuminating suggestion that perhaps the writer of the plays, whoever he may have been, may also have given to us some of the most beautiful portions of the Authorised Version. Certainly King James' Bible contains some of the most exquisite poetry in our language, and it is a pleasant thought that the great poet may have occupied his closing years with such a task. A comparison between the metrical portions of the Authorised Version and the language of the play makes such an hypothesis by no means strained. Whoever translated the poetry of the Scriptures must at least have been a great poet himself.

Mr. H. B. Irving may some day be able to look back with pride on having suggested that a singular fact which he advanced *might* be conclusive evidence that Shakespeare was the translator in the Authorised Version, 1611, of Psalm xlv.

REVIEWS.

The Bi-literal Cypher of Sir Francis Bacon. Discovered in his works and deciphered by Mrs. Elizabeth Wells Gallup. Part III. Deciphered Secret Story, 1622—1671. The lost manuscripts. Where they were hidden. Detroit, Michaghan, U.S.A.: Howard Publishing Company; London: Gay and Hancock, Ltd. 8vo crown, 8s. 6d. net.

THIS volume contains decipherings of (1) Statements by Bacon and Rawley as to the places in which were deposited the manuscripts of the works of G. Peels, C. Marlow, R. Green, W. Shakespeare, R. Burton and F. Bacon; (2) a continuation of

the story previously deciphered by Mrs. Gallup now found in works published between 1622 and 1671, and reprints from Mrs. Gallup's former works on the deciphering.

It is not an easy task to examine or criticise Mrs. Gallup's work. Those who know her best speak in the warmest terms of her high character and of her belief in and devotion to her work. In the personal note which bears date 1st March, 1899, and which is now reprinted, Mrs. Gallup states that her work has been arduous, exhausting and prolonged, and that it was then unended. Presumably the present volume contains all that may be expected from her. The former publications have been reviewed and discussed so fully in the pages of *BACONIANA* by supporters and opponents that it is unnecessary to travel over the ground again.

If Francis Bacon used the hi-literal cypher which he describes in the "De Augmentis" by which to conceal certain messages as to his parentage and works, and if Mrs. Gallup has deciphered those messages there is nothing more to be said. It may at once be admitted that Mrs. Gallup believes she has accomplished this, but without in any degree impugning her good faith it is possible that she is mistaken, and that the messages are not there.

The type in use during the period in which the works were printed is irregular in appearance, and it may readily be found that without in any degree imputing bad faith Mrs. Gallup's confidence and enthusiasm have led her into the illusory belief that the manipulation which she constructs of the type are not her work, but were by design arranged when the books were printed.

Reality is said to be founded on illusion, but illusion itself springs from the same sources, and the psychologist knows how often the senses are untrustworthy guides. The discovery of the N-rays, published by M. Blondlot, received recognition and even acclamation in France, but subsequently observers have been unable to confirm their existence, and it is now considered probable that their discovery rested on illusion. The irregularities of type undoubtedly present in the works deciphered by Mrs. Gallup are of every gradation, and the evidence of the senses of any one person requires confirmation by other workers before it can be accepted.

Several ladies whose integrity is unimpeachable have worked with Mrs. Gallup and confirm her deciphering, but it may be said that so far none of these have been able successfully to continue the work without her assistance.

Prefixed to the present volume is a publisher's note bearing the signature of the Howard Publishing Company. In this note, after recalling the various revelations which have been made through the medium of Mrs. Gallup's decipherings, the publishers say :—

"All this accurately written out in the old English spelling and language of that time, and in such manner that the italic letters in all the sixty odd original editions as translated, fitting

'in groups of five,' according to the bi-literal system of Bacon, as found in 'De Augmentis,' and arranged with such precision that every letter—some of them are easily differentiated—should uniformly and accurately be found in its place as 'a' font or 'b' font would be her own achievement. The impossibility and the obscurity of all this is apparent in the enumeration. With an imagination so fertile, a creative genius of such power and possibilities, broader and more agreeable fields of activity would have furnished much more profitable employment than following a cipher through such a labyrinth. If she had sought to construct a romance about Bacon and his times it would have been along lines more pleasing and better known, would not have antagonised popular belief or challenged authorship of literature that will remain immortal."

In the foregoing paragraph there is a great deal of begging the question. The point at issue is whether the italic letters fitting in groups of five are arranged with such precision that every letter is found uniformly and accurately in its place. Confirmation of this statement is not found outside Mrs. Gallup and her immediate *entourage*. The cipher story is not accurately written out in the old English spelling and language of that time. Accuracy in the spelling of that period is an utter impossibility, as there was no defined standard. The same may be said about the language. But Mrs. Gallup enjoys a very wide margin for irregularities. Elision of letters is frequent in the cipher story, and under circumstances that rarely if ever occur in reputable works of that period and certainly not in Bacon's. In the spelling there is a latitude as wide as the hills are asunder. The narrative is not in the main original. It follows very closely the story deciphered in 1893 in the works issued by the Howard Publishing Company for Dr. Ward Owen, with whom Mrs. Gallup was then associated. Of course this is no argument against the authenticity of the cipher story, for if Dr. Ward Owen's be true, so is Mrs. Gallup's, but it effectually disproves the publishers' claim for originality. Mrs. Gallup follows in beaten tracks.

The most serious difficulty, however, to anyone willing, if reasonable proof be forthcoming, to be convinced, who has some knowledge of, if not familiarity with, Bacon's varied styles of writing is that the style which Mrs. Gallup has discovered is not merely unlike his other styles, but absolutely inconsistent with them. There is one feature which pervades every sentence which Bacon wrote—the perfect musical effect produced by the words when spoken. It is that which distinguishes him from every other writer of the period, and by which he may always be recognised. This is absent in Mrs. Gallup's story. Nor is the method of telling the story Bacon's. There are pages and pages of rambling nothings—reiteration upon reiteration. With every desire to recognise some touch of the master's hand, one is compelled to turn away baffled and disappointed. Nor is reassurance

to be obtained from a perusal of the decipherings from "The Felicity of Queen Elizabeth," 1651, "The Resuscitatio," 1657 and 1671. The last-mentioned work was published at a time when the spelling of words was gradually assuming regularity, but Mrs. Gallup finds no change. The orthography remains the same as in the earlier works, as also does the style. Volume III. of "The Bi-literal Cipher of Sir Francis Bacon" discovered in his works does not strengthen the previous volumes. Before an intelligent belief can be held by the impartial student in the use, as indicated by Mrs. Gallup, of this cipher some further evidence must be forthcoming.

Bacon was a master of the art of cipher writing. He lived in an age when it was cultivated in every Court of Europe. There are extant evidences in his own handwriting of the care and industry with which he studied the various treatises which had been published on the art. He used ciphers to an extent which increases the wonder with which one regards the marvellous characteristics of his mind. But to those who know this branch of his work nothing would be more surprising than that he should make use of a cipher and publish the key to it. Nothing could be more improbable. Only by following his inductive method can be found the key or code of any of the ciphers which he used.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The First Edition of Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—In looking through Burton's "Anatomy" I recently came across a marginal note which is, I think, of considerable interest to those who study the bibliography of the period of this book's production. This marginal note first appears in the 1638—or 5th—edition as we count it. It is repeated in all the subsequent editions, but is not in any of the previous. In Part III., sec. 2, Memb. 2, subject 1 of the work being on page 444 of the 1638 edition, Burton refers to a book by "Ferandus, a Frenchman, in his Eretigue Mel. (which † book came first to my hands after the third edition)." The cross between "which" and "book" refers to the marginal note, and thus reads: "Printed at Paris, 1624, seven years after my first edition." Now this would make Burton's edition in 1617, whereas the first edition as we know it is 1621. What is the explanation of this? Or has anyone come across in any other place an allusion to this 1617 edition?

Yours faithfully,

(Signed), GRENVILLE C. CUNINGHAM.

January 3rd, 1911.

BACONIANA.

VOL. IX. *Third Series.* APRIL, 1911. No. 34.

THE MYSTERY OF FRANCIS BACON.

(Continuation).

WHAT was this rare and unaccustomed suit of which the Queen could have had no experience and which, according to Spedding, would make it unnecessary for Bacon to follow "ordinary practice at the bar"? The false historians and biographers have founded on this suit the allegation that from his earliest years Bacon was a place hunter, entirely ignoring the fact, which is made clear from the letter to Walsingham written four years after the application was first made, that he had resolved on a course of action which, if her Majesty liked not his suit, by the leave of God he must and would follow, not for any necessity of estate, but for his credit sake. Here was a young man of twenty years of age, earnestly urging the adoption of a scheme which he had conceived, and which he feared Burghley might consider indiscreet and inadvised. Failing in obtaining his object, as will be proved by definite evidence, undertaking at the cost of Thomas Bodley and his other friends a course of travel to better fit him for the task he had mapped out as his life's work—returning to England and, four years after his first request had been made, renewing his suit

—grimly in earnest and determined to carry the scheme through at all costs, with or without the Queen's aid—this is not the conduct of a mere place hunter. If these letters be read aright and the reasonable theory which will be advanced of the nature of the suit be accepted—all efforts to suggest any explanation having hitherto, as Spedding admits, proved futile—a fresh light will be thrown upon the character of Francis Bacon, and the heavy obligation under which he has placed his countrymen for all ages will for the first time be recognised.

In the seven volumes of Bacon's Life and Letters there is nothing to justify the eulogy on his character to which Spedding gave utterance in the following words:—“But in him the gift of seeing in prophetic vision what might be and ought to be was united with the practical talent of devising means and handling minute details. He could at once imagine like a poet and execute like a clerk of the works. Upon the conviction *This must be done* followed at once *How* may it be done? Upon that question answered followed the resolution to try and do it.” More than that, the actual achievement followed with unerring certainty, but Spedding restricts Bacon's life's work to the establishment of a system of inductive philosophy and records the failure of the system.

The first stage in the investigation is to get some definite idea of the proficiency in learning of young Francis when he embarked with Sir Amias Paulet on his first momentous journey to France in 1576.

There is evidence which may help the investigator to form an opinion as to what was probably the minimum of Bacon's acquirements at these stages. In the short Life of himself which Thomas Bodley left he makes the following statement as to how far his education had

advanced when his father decided to fix his abode in the City of Geneva in 1556.

I was at that time of twelve yeares age but through my fathers cost and care sufficiently instructed to become an Auditour of *Chevalerius* in Hebrew, of *Bercaldus* in Greeke, of *Calvin* and *Beza* in Divinity and of some other Professours in that University, (which was newly there erected) besides my domestically teachers, in the house of *Philibertus Saracenus*, a famous Physitian in that City, with whom I was boarded; when *Robertus Constantinus*, that made the Greeke *Lexicon* read *Homer* unto me.

At this time Bodley was of the same age as was Francis Bacon when he entered Cambridge, and it is a fair presumption that the latter would not be less advanced.

As to what his acquirements may have been when he arrived in France we can gather from what, on fairly reliable authority, we know to have been those of another of his contemporaries. So much romance has been thrown around James Crichton that it is difficult to obtain the real facts of his life. Sir Thomas Urquhart in "Discovery of a Most Exquisite Jewel," published in 1652, gives a biography which is, without doubt, mainly apocryphal. Certain facts, however, are well established. He was born in the same year as was Bacon—1560. At 10 years of age he entered St. Andrew's University, and in 1575 (the year Bacon left Cambridge) took his degree, coming out third in the first class. In 1576 he went to France, as did Bacon—to Paris and to Navarre. In the college of the latter he issued a universal challenge; that is, to all men, upon all things, in any of twelve languages named. The challenge is broad and formal. He pledged himself to review the schoolmen, allowed his opponents the privilege of selecting their topics—mathematics, no less than scholastic lore—either from branches publicly or privately taught, and promised to return answers in

logical figure or in numbers estimated according to their occult power, or in any of a hundred sorts of verse. He is said to have justified before many competent witnesses his magnificent pretensions.

Such was Bacon's contemporary. When it is remembered that within eighteen months an artist when painting Bacon's portrait inscribed around it—to quote Spedding—the significant words, the natural ejaculation of his own emotion, “*Si tabula daretur digna, animum malle,*” such, too, may have been Francis Bacon.

The point here made is this: What Bodley was at twelve Bacon probably was. A far less state of development than Crichton had arrived at when 16 or 17 years of age would be sufficient to justify the possibility of Bacon achieving at a corresponding age what will be attributed to him.

The chief feature of such culture as existed in England was the cultivation of the French language. As early as 1521 Alexander Barclay had compiled a French-English grammar. Giles Dewes, who was brought to England to teach French to Henry VIII., subsequently in 1528 wrote for the benefit of the Princess Mary an *Introductory for to learn to rede, to pronounce and to speak French trewly*. John Palsgrave, an Englishman educated in Paris, but whose life was afterwards spent in England, was tutor to many young Englishmen of birth. He wrote for his pupils “*L'Esclaircissement de la langue francoyse*,” a bulky volume in which the idiom and grammatic structure of the two languages are compared. So original was his work that he is said to have supplied the French people with rules for their own language. There were in England, therefore, facilities for acquiring proficiency in the French language; it was the language used in Court circles. At Geneva, when Bodley attended Calvin's lectures, he listened to a man whose French prose was for clearness and sim-

plicity unsurpassed. Beza, another of his lecturers, was a Frenchman who wrote dramas. His prose writings, except his "Historie des Eglises Réformées," were in Latin. Crichton's knowledge of French must have been all that could have been desired, having regard to his challenge to the college of Navarre. It is reasonable, therefore, to insist that in 1576 Francis Bacon was proficient in the French language.

A further suggestion is put forward with all diffidence, but after long and careful investigation. Francis Bacon was the author of two books which were published, one before he left England and the other shortly after. The first is a philosophical discourse entitled "The Anatomie of the Minde." Newlie made and set forth by T. R. Imprinted at London by I. C. for Andrew Mannsell, 1576, 12mo. The dedication is addressed to Master Christopher Hatton, and the name of Tho. Rogers is attached to it. There was a Thomas Rogers who was Chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, and the book has been attributed to him, apparently only because no other of the same name was known. There was published in 1577 a translation by Rogers of a Latin book "Of the Ende of the World, etc.," and there are other translations by him published between then and 1628. There are two or three sermons, also, but the style of these, the matter, and the manner of treatment are quite distinct from those of the book under consideration. There is nothing of his which would support the assignment to him of "The Anatomie of the Mind." It is foreign to his style. Bearing in mind the testimony of the author of "The Arte of English Poesie" and the letter of Henry Cuffe, the confidant of Essex, to "Good Mr. Reynoldes," written on the return of the former to England after the engagement at Cadiz,* and

* "Hidden Signatures of Francesco Colonna and Francis Bacon," by W. Stone Booth, Constable & Co., Limited (1910).

the acknowledged custom of the times of putting names other than the author's on title-pages, there is no need for any apology for expressing doubt as to whether the book has been correctly placed to the credit of the Bishop Bancroft's Chaplain. In the address *To the Reader* the author says, "I dyd once for my profite in the Universitie, draw into Latin tables, which since for thy profite (Christian Reader) at the request of a gentleman of good credite and worship, I have Englished and published in these two books." There is in existence a copy of the book with printer's and other errors corrected in Bacon's own handwriting.

Bearing date 1577, imprinted at London for Henri Cockyn, is an octavo book styled "*Beautiful Blossoms*" gathered by John Byshop from the best trees of all kyndes, Divine, Philosophicall, Astronomicall, Cosmographical, Historical and Humane that are growing in Greece, Latium, and Arabia, and some also in vulgar orchards as wel fro these that in auncient time were grafted, as also from them which with skilful head and hand beene of late yeare's, yea, and in our dayes planted : to the unspeakable, both pleasure and profite of all such as wil vouchsafe to use them. On the title-page are the words "The First Tome," but no further volume was published. As to who or what John Byshop was there is no information available. His name appears on no other book. It is impracticable here to give the grounds upon which it is believed that Francis Bacon was the author of these two books. Each of them is an out-pouring of classical lore and is evidently written by some young man who had recently assimilated the writings of nearly every classical author. In this respect both correspond with the manner of "*The French Academie*,"* whilst in "*The Anatomie of the Minde*" the

* "In the "Gesta Grayorum" one of the articles which the Knights of the Helmet were required to vow to keep, each kiss-

treatment of the subject is identical with that of the latter. Failing actual proof, the circumstantial evidence that the three books are from the same pen is almost as strong as needs be.

This, then, was the brilliant young scholar who landed with Sir Amias Paulet at Calais on the 25th of September, 1575, and with him went straight to the Court of Henry III. of France. It is a remarkable fact that neither Montague, Spedding, Hepworth Dixon, nor any other biographer seems to have thought it worth while to consider under what influences he was brought when he arrived there at the most impressionable period of his life. Hepworth Dixon, without stating his authority, says that he "quits the galleries of the Louvre and St. Cloud with his morals pure," but nothing more. And yet Francis Bacon arrived in France at the most momentous epoch in the history of French literature. This boy, with his marvellous intellect—the same intellect which nearly half a century later produced the "Novum Organum"—with a memory saturated with the writings of the classical authors, and skilled in the teachings of the philosophers, with independence of thought and a courage which enabled him to condemn the methods of instruction at the University where he had spent three years in study; this boy who had a "beam of knowledge derived from God" upon him, who "had not his knowledge from books but from some grounds and notions from himself," and above and beyond all who was conscious of his powers and had unbounded

ing his helmet as he took his vow, was: "Item—Every Knight of this Order shall endeavour to add conference and experiment to reading; and therefore shall not only read and peruse 'Guizo,' 'The French Academy,' 'Galiatto the Courtier,' 'Plutarch,' 'The Arcadia,' and the Neoterical writers from time to time," etc. ("The Progresses of Queen Elizabeth." Nichols. 1788).

confidence in his capacity for using them; this boy walked beside the English Ambassador elect into the highest circles of French Society at the time when the most important factors of influence were Ronsard and his confrères of the Pléiade. He had left behind him in his native country a language crude and almost barbaric, incapable of giving expression to the knowledge which he possessed and the thoughts which resulted therefrom.

At this time Francis Bacon thought in Latin, for his mother tongue was wholly insufficient. There is abundant proof of this in his own handwriting. Under such conditions there could be no English literature worthy of the name. If a Gentleman of the Court wrote he either suppressed his writings or suffered them to be published without his name to them, as it was a discredit for a gentleman to seem learned and to show himself amorous of any good art. Here is where Spedding missed his way and never recovered himself. Deep as is the debt of gratitude due to him for his devoted labours in the preparation of "Bacon's Life and Letters" and in the edition of his works, it must be asserted that he accomplished this work without seeing Francis Bacon. Had he done so he could not have written of him—"So situated it must have been as difficult for a young susceptible imagination not to aspire after civil dignities, as for a boy bred in camps not to long to be a soldier." There was a vista before young Bacon's eyes from which the practice of the law and civil dignities were absent, and he arrived at the French Court at the psychological moment when an object-lesson met his eyes which had a more far-reaching effect on the language and literature of the Anglo-Saxon race than any or all other influences that have conspired to raise them to the proud position which to-day they occupy. It is necessary briefly to explain the position of the French language and literature at this juncture.

The French Renaissance of literature had its beginning in the early years of the sixteenth century. It had been preceded by that of Italy, which opened in the fourteenth century, and reached its limit with Ariosto and Tasso, Macchiavelli and Guicciardini during the sixteenth century. Towards the end of the fifteenth century modern French poetry may be said to have had its origin in Villon and French prose in Comines. The style of the former was artificial and his poems abounded in recurrent rhymes and refrains. The latter had peculiarities of diction which were only compensated by the weight of thought and simplicity of expression. Clement Marot, who followed, stands out as one of the first landmarks in the French Renaissance. His graceful style, free from stiffness and monotony, earned for him a popularity which even the brilliancy of the *Pléiade* did not extinguish, for he continued to be read with genuine admiration for nearly two centuries. He was the founder of a school of which Mellia de St. Gelais, the introducer of the sonnet into France, was the most important member. In fiction Rabelais and his followers concurrently effected a complete revolution. Marguerite of Navarre, who is principally known as the author of "The Heptameron," maintained a literary Court in which the most celebrated men of the time held high place. It was not until the middle of the sixteenth century that the great movement took place in French literature which, if that which occurred in the same country three hundred years subsequently be excepted, is without parallel in literary history.

The *Pléiade* consisted of a group of seven men who, animated by a sincere and intelligent love of their native language, banded themselves together to remodel it and its literary forms on the methods of the two great classical tongues and to reinforce it with new words from them. They were not actuated by any desire

for gain. In 1549 Jean Daurat, then 49 years of age, was professor of Greek at le Collège de Coqueret in Paris. Amongst those who attended his classes were five enthusiastic, ambitious youths whose ages varied from seventeen to twenty-four. They were Pierre de Ronsard, Joachim du Bellay, Remy Belleau, Antoine de Baïf, and Etienne Jodelle. They and their Professor associated themselves together and received as a colleague Pontus de Tyard, who was twenty-eight. They formed a band of seven renovators, to whom their countrymen applied the cognomen of the Pléiade, by which they will ever be known. Realising the defects and possibilities of their language, they recognised that by appropriations from the Greek and Latin languages, and from the melodious forms of the Italian poetry, they might reform its defects and develop its possibilities so completely that they could place at the service of great writers a vehicle for expression which would be the peer if not the superior of any language, classical or modern. It was a bold project for young men, some of whom were not out of their teens, to venture on. That they met with great success is beyond question; the extent of that success it is not necessary to discuss here. The main point to be emphasised is that it was a deliberate scheme, originated, directed, and matured by a group of little more than boys. The French Renaissance was not the result of a spontaneous bursting out on all sides of genius. It was wrought out with sheer hard work, entailing the mastering of foreign languages, and accompanied by devotion and without hope of pecuniary gain. The manifesto of the young band was written by Joachim de Bellay in 1549 and was entitled "La Defense et Illustration de la langue Francaise." In the following year appeared Ronsard's Ode—the first example of the new method. Pierre de Ronsard entered Court life when ten years old. In attendance

on French Ambassadors he visited Scotland and England, where he remained for some time. A severe illness resulted in permanent deafness and compelled him to abandon his profession, when he turned to literature. Although Du Bellay was the originator of the scheme, Ronsard became the director and the acknowledged leader of the band. His accomplishments place him in the first rank of the poets of the world. Reference would be out of place here to the movement which was after his death directed by Malherbe against Ronsard's reputation and fame as a poet and his eventual restoration by the disciples of Sainte Beuve and the followers of Hugo. It is desirable, however, to allude to other great Frenchmen whose labours contributed in other directions to promote the growth of French literature. Jean Calvin, a native of Noyon, in Picardy, had published in Latin in 1536, when only twenty-seven years of age, his greatest work, both from a literary and theological point of view, "The Institution of the Christian Religion," which would be accepted as the product of full maturity of intellect rather than the first fruits of the career of a youth. What the Pléiade had done to create a French language adequate for the highest expression of poetry Calvin did to enable facility in argument and discussion. A Latin scholar of the highest order, avoiding in his compositions a tendency to declamation, he developed a stateliness of phrase which was marked by clearness and simplicity. Théodore Beza, historian, translator and dramatist, was another contributor to the literature of this period. Jacques Amyot had commenced his translations from the Theagenes and Chariclea three years before Du Bellay's manifesto appeared. Montaigne, referring to his translation of Plutarch, accorded to him the palm over all French writers, not only for the simplicity and purity of his vocabulary,

in which he surpassed all others, but for his industry and depth of learning. In another field Michel Eyquem Sieur de Montaigne had arisen. His moral essays found a counterpart in the biographical essays of the Abbé de Brantôme. Agrippa D'Aubigné, prose writer, historian, and poet; Guillaume de Saluste du Bartas, the Protestant Ronsard whose works were more largely translated into English than those of any other French writer; Philippes Desportes and others might be mentioned as forming part of that brilliant circle of writers who had during a comparatively short period helped to achieve such a high position for the language and literature of France.

* * * * *

In 1576, when Francis Bacon arrived in France, the fame of the Pléiade was at its zenith. Du Bellay and Jodelle were dead, but the fruit of their labours and of those of their colleagues was evoking the admiration of their countrymen. The popularity of Ronsard, the prince of poets and the poet of princes, was without precedent. It is said that the King had placed beside his throne a state chair for Ronsard to occupy. Poets and men of letters were held in high esteem by their countrymen. In England for a gentleman to be amorous of any learned art was held to be discreditable and any proclivities in this direction had to be hidden under assumed names or the names of others. In France it was held to be discreditable for a gentleman not to be amorous of the learned arts. The young men of the Pléiade were all of good family and all came from cultured homes. Marguerite of Navarre had set the example of attracting poets and writers to her Court and according honours to them on account of their achievements. The kings of France had adopted a similar attitude. During the same period in England Henry VIII., Mary and Elizabeth had been fol-

lowing other courses. They had given no encouragement to the pursuit of literature. Notwithstanding the repetition by historians of the assertion that the good Queen Bess was a munificent patron of men of letters, literature flourished in her reign in spite of her action and not by its aid.

What must have been the effect on the mind of this brilliant young Englishman, Francis Bacon, when he entered into this literary atmosphere so different from that of the Court which he had left behind him? There was hardly a classical writer the works of whom he had not read and re-read. He was familiar with the teachings of the schoolmen; imbued with a deep religious spirit he had mastered the principles of their faiths and the subtleties of their disputations. The intricacies of the known systems of philosophies had been laid bare before his penetrating intellect. With the mysteries of mathematics and numbers he was familiar. What had been discovered in astronomy, alchemy and astrology he had absorbed; however technical might be a subject he had mastered its details. In architecture the works of Vitruvius had been not merely read but criticised with the skill of an expert. Medicine, surgery—every subject—he had made himself master of. In fact, when he asserted that he had taken all knowledge to be his province he spoke advisedly and with a basis of truth which has never yet been recognised. The youth of seventeen who possessed the intellect, the brain and the memory which jointly produced the "Novum Organum," whose mind was so abnormal that the artist painting his portrait was impelled to place round it "the significant words," "*si tabula daretur digna, animum maliem,*" who had taken all knowledge to be his province, was capable of any achievement of the Admirable Crichton. And this youth it was who in 1576 passed from a country

of literary and intellectual torpor into the brilliancy of the companionship of Pierre de Ronsard and his associates. It is one of the most stupendous factors in his life. Something happened to him before his return to England which affected the whole of his future life. It may be considered a wild assertion to make, but the time will come when its truth will be proved, that "The Anatomie of the Minde," "Beautiful Blossoms," and "The French Academy," are the product of one mind, and that same mind produced the "Arte of English Poesie," "The Defense of Poetry," by Sir John Harrington, and "The Defense of Poetry," by Sir Philip Sydney. The former three were written before 1578 and place the philosopher before the poet; the latter three were written after 1580 and place the poet—the creator—before the philosopher. Francis Bacon had recognised that the highest achievement was the act of creation. Henceforth he lived to create.

Sir Nicholas Bacon died on or about the 17th of February, 1578—9. How or where this news reached Francis is not recorded, but on the 20th of the following March he left Paris for England, after a stay of two and a-half years on the Continent. He brought with him to the Queen a despatch from Sir Amias Paulet, in which he was spoken of as being "of great hope, endued with many and singular parts," and one who, "if God gave him life, would prove a very able and sufficient subject to do her Highness good and acceptable service."^o

Sir Amias Paulet's belief in Bacon's career of usefulness to the Queen proved ill-founded if the record of his acknowledged doings contain a full account of them. The matters of State in which he was concerned were trivial and few. He was persistently repressed, and up

^o State Paper Office ; French Correspondence.

to the death of the Queen he had never held office, nor do his great capabilities appear to have been recognized.

There is no mention of his arrival in England. Rawley states that on his return he found that his father had died without making any provision for him, and adds, "by which means he lived in some straits and necessities during his younger years." The next known reference to him is the letter of the 11th of July, 1580, to Mr. Doylie, and then follow the letters to Lord and Lady Burleigh, both written on the 16th of September, 1580, after he had been in England about eighteen months. It was during this period that the English Renaissance had its birth. It may be said to date from the publication of "The Lives of the noble Grecians and Romans . . . translated . . . out of French into Englishe," by T. North. This was a translation of Plutarch's Lives, not made from the original but from the French translation of Amyot. There are minor works which need not now be mentioned, but which bear evidence either of Francis Bacon's authorship or collaboration. Every book, whether in Latin or English, which was published during this period should be carefully compared, with special attention to the Dedication, Preface, or lines *To the Reader* in each.

William Cecil was a man of considerable classical attainments, although these were inferior to those of Mildred Cooke, the lady who became his second wife. He was initiated into the methods of statesmanship at an early age by his father, Richard Cecil, Master of the Robes to Henry VIII. Having found favour with Somerset, the Protector of Edward VI., he was, when 27 years of age, made Master of Requests. When Somerset fell from power in 1549 young Cecil, with other adherents of the Protector, was committed to the Tower. But he was soon released and was rapidly advanced by Northumberland. He became Secretary

of State, was knighted and made a member of the Privy Council. Mary would have continued his employment in office had he not refused her offers on account of his adhesion to the Protestant faith. He mingled during her reign with men of all parties and his moderation and cautious conduct carried him through that period without mishap. On Elizabeth's accession he was the first member sworn upon the Privy Council, and he continued during the remainder of his life her principal Minister of State. Sagacious, deliberate in thought and character, tolerant, a man of peace and compromise, he became the mainstay of the Queen's government and the most influential man in State affairs. Whilst he maintained a princely magnificence in his affairs, his private life was pure, gentle and generous. This was the man to whom the brilliant young nephew of his wife and the son of his old friend, Sir Nicholas Bacon, disclosed, some time during the summer of 1580, his scheme, of which there had been no experience, and entrusted his suit, which was rare and unaccustomed. The arguments in its favour at this interview may have followed the following outline:—

I need not remind you of my devotion to learning. You know that from my earliest boyhood I have followed a course of study which has embraced all subjects. I have made myself acquainted with all knowledge which the world possesses. To enable me to do this I have mastered all languages in which books are written. During my recent visit to foreign lands, I have recognized how far my country falls behind others in language, and consequently in literature. Especially I would draw your attention to the remarkable advance which has been made in these matters in France during your lordship's lifetime. When I arrived there in 1576 I made myself master of the principles of the movement which had been carried through by Du Bellay,

Ronsard, and their confreres. They found their native language crude and lacking in gravity and art. First by obtaining a complete mastery of the Greek and Latin languages, as also of those of Italy and Spain, they prepared themselves for a study of the literatures of which those languages, with their idioms and peculiarities, form the basis. Having obtained this mastery they reconstructed their native language and have given their country a medium by which her great writers may express their thoughts and emotions. They have made it possible for their countrymen to rival the poets of ancient Greece and Rome. They and others have translated the literary treasures of those ancient countries into their own tongue, and thereby enabled their countrymen, who are not skilled in classical languages, to enjoy and profit by the works of antiquity. Your lordship knows well the deficiencies of the language of our England, the absence of any literature worthy of the name. In these respects the condition of affairs is far behind that which prevailed in France even before the great movement which Ronsard and Du Bellay initiated. I do not speak of Italy, which possesses a language melodious, facile, and rich, and a literature which can never die.

I know my own powers. I possess every qualification which will enable me to do for my native tongue what the Pléiade have done for theirs. I ask to be permitted to give to my country this great heritage. Others may serve her in the law, others may serve her in affairs of state, but your Lordship knows full well that there are none who could serve her in this respect as I could. You are not unmindful of the poorness of my estate. This work will not only entail a large outlay of money but it necessitates command of the greatest wits of the nation. This is my suit: that her majesty will graciously confer on me some office which will enable

me to control such literary resources and the services of such men as may be necessary for the accomplishment of this work ; further, that she may be pleased from time to time to make grants from the civil list to cover the cost of the work. Your Lordship knows full well what fame will ever attach to her Majesty and how glorious will be the memory of her reign if this great project be effected in it. Your Lordship knows this because you and her Ladyship, my aunt, are qualified by your attainments to appreciate its full value. My youth may be urged as an objection to my fitness for such a task, but your Lordship knows full well—none better—that my powers are not to be measured by my years. I am no vain promiser, but I am assured that I can accomplish all that I contemplate. The Queen will listen to your advice. My prayer to you therefore is that you will urge my suit, which, although rare and unaccustomed, may be granted if it receives your powerful support.

The suit was submitted to the Queen but without result. Probably it was not urged with a determination to obtain its acceptance in spite of any objections which might be raised by the Queen. Five years after, Bacon, still a suppliant, wrote to Walsingham : " I think the objection to my years will wear away with the length of my suit." Cautious Lord Burghley would give full weight to the force of this objection if it were advanced by the Queen. This boy, with his extraordinary abilities, had such novel and far-reaching ideas. He appeared to have no adequate reverence for his inferior superiors. On leaving Cambridge he had arrogantly condemned its cherished methods of imparting knowledge. Before power was placed in his hands the use he might make of it must be well weighed and considered. What effect might the advancement of Francis Bacon have on Robert Cecil's career ? Granted that the contentions of

the former were sound and the object desirable, should not this work be carried out by the Universities? Never leap until you know where you are going to alight was a proverb the soundness of which had been proved in Lord Burghley's experience. What might be the outcome if this rare and unaccustomed suit were granted? Better for the Queen, who, though slow to bestow favours, was always ready to encourage hopes, to follow her usual course. She might entertain the motion graciously and return a favourable answer and let it rest there. And so it did.

Then there was a happening which has remained unknown until now.

In the "Reliquiæ Bodleianæ," published in 1703, is a letter written without date by Thomas Bodley to Francis Bacon. This letter does not appear to have been known to Mallett, Montague, Dixon, Spedding, or any of Bacon's biographers. It had been lost sight of until the writer noticed it and reproduced it in BACONIANA.* In a note then prefixed to it it was assumed, from internal evidence, that the letter was written shortly after the 18th of December, 1577. This year, however, is found to be incorrect, for reasons which will be stated. The letter commences thus:—

"MY DEAR COUSIN,—According to your request in your letter (dated the 19th October at Orleans, I received here on the 18th of December) I have sent you by your merchant £30 sterling for your present supply and had sent you a greater sum, but that my extraordinary charge hath utterly unfurnished me. And now, cousin, though I will be no severe exactor of the account, either of your money or time, yet for the love I bear you, I am very desirous, both to satisfy myself, and your friends how you prosper in your travels, and how you find yourself bettered thereby either of knowledge of God or of the world, the rather, because the days you have already spent abroad, are now both sufficient to give you light, how to fix yourself and end

* Vol. VI., third series, page 40.

with counsel and accordingly to shape your course constantly with it."

Bodley then proceeds to give young Francis advice as to the manner in which he should pursue his travels, going into minute details as to what he should observe, how he should conduct his inquiries, how record his observations, etc.*

There are two palpable deductions to be drawn from it: (1) That Bacon was on a journey through *several* countries to obtain knowledge of their customs, laws, religion, military strength, shipping, and whatsoever concerneth pleasure or profit. There is a striking correspondence between Bodley's advice and the description of Bacon's travels found in the "Life" prefixed to "L'Histoire Naturelle." (2) That Bacon was being supported by Bodley and other of his friends, who desired him to keep a record of all that he observed and learnt, and to report from time to time as he progressed, and in return, said Bodley, "I will make you as liberal a return from myself and your friends here as I shall be able." This letter was written from England. When the letter was previously referred to in BACONIANA,† it was assumed that it was written during

* Spedding prints this letter (Vol. II. p. 16) commencing with the words, "Yet for the love I bear," to the end, with the exception of the last sentence, as a letter written probably by Bacon for Essex to send to the Earl of Rutland. He identifies it as "the letter which the compiler of Stephens' Catalogue took for a letter addressed by Bacon to Buckingham," which he says it could not be. The original is at Lambeth (MSS. 936, fo. 218). The seal remains, but the part of the last sheet which contained the signature on one side, and the superscription on the other, has been torn off. The letter commences, "*My good Lord,*" and ends, "*Your Lordship's in all duty to serve you.*" It would appear, therefore, that someone had access to Bodley's letter to Bacon, and, approving its contents, used the letter a second time.

† Third series, Vol. VI., page 40.

Bacon's first visit to France, 1576—1579. But there is a paragraph in Bodley's "Life," written by himself, which makes it clear that this could not be the case. He writes:—

"My resolution fully taken I departed out of England anno 1576 and continued very neare foure yeares abroad, and that in sundry parts of Italy, France, and Germany. A good while after my return to wit, in the yeare 1585 I was employed by the Queen," etc.

It appeared strange that Bodley and others should be providing Bacon with money for his travels, and requiring reports from him, whilst his father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was alive and prosperous. No such difficulty now arises, for the letter, being sent from England, could not have been written between the date of Bacon's first departure for France in 1576 and his return on his father's death in 1579, for during the whole of that time Bodley was abroad. It is stated in it that Bacon wrote from Orleans a letter dated 19th October, the year not being given. This could not be in 1580, for Bacon wrote to Lord Burghley from Gray's Inn on the 18th October, 1580. Spedding commences the paragraph immediately following this letter by saying, "From this time we have no further news of Francis Bacon till the 5th of April, 1582," and although he does not reproduce the letter, he relies on a letter from Faunt to Anthony Bacon, to which that date is attributed in Birch's "Memorials," Vol. I. page 22. In it Faunt refers to having seen Anthony's mother and his brother Francis. Faunt left Paris for England on the 22nd March, 1582. This letter was written on the 15th of the following month, so no trace has been found of Francis being in England between 18th October, 1580, and 5th of April, 1582. Bodley's letter must, therefore, have been written in December, 1581, when Bacon was abroad making a journey

through several countries. From the foregoing facts it is impossible to form any other conclusion. Now for the first time this journey has been made known. There is a letter amongst the State papers in the Record Office dated February, 1581, written by Anthony Bacon to Lord Burghley, enclosing a note of advice and instructions for his brother Francis.* Anthony was an experienced traveller, and was then abroad. It sounds as though he was sending advice and instructions to his younger brother, who was about to start on travels through countries with which Anthony was familiar. If so, Francis would leave England early in March, 1581—that is, if he had not left before this letter was received by Burghley.

Having established beyond reasonable doubt the fact of this journey, a new and remarkable suggestion presents itself. Spedding, when dealing with the year 1582, prints "Notes on the State of Christendom," † with the following remarks :—

"If that paper of notes concerning 'The State of Europe' which was printed as Bacon's in the supplement to Stephens' second collection in 1734, reprinted by Mallet in 1760, and has been placed at the beginning of his political writings in all editions since 1563, be really of his composition, this is the period of his life to which it belongs. I must confess, however, that I am not satisfied with the evidence or authority upon which it appears to have been ascribed to him."

Stephens states that the Earl of Oxford placed in his hands some neglected manuscripts and loose papers to see whether any of the Lord Bacon's compositions lay concealed there and were fit for publication. He found some of them written, and others amended, with his lordship's own hand. He found certain of the

* I am indebted to my friend Mr. H. W. Hardie for this information.

† "Life and Letters," Vol. I., page 16

treatises had been published by him, and that others, certainly genuine, which had not, were fit to be transcribed if not divulged. Spedding states that he has little doubt that this paper on the state of Europe was among these manuscripts and loose papers, for the editor states that the supplementary pieces (of which this was one) were added from originals found among Stephens' papers. The original is now among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. Spedding thus describes it :—

“The Harleian MS. is a copy in an old hand, probably contemporary, but not Francis Bacon's. A few sentences have been inserted afterwards by the same hand, and two by another which is very like Anthony Bacon's ; none in Francis's. The blanks have all been filled up, but no words have been corrected, though it is obvious that in some places they stand in need of correction.

“Certain allusions to events then passing (which will be pointed out in their place) prove that the original paper was written, or at least completed, in the summer of 1582, at which time Francis Bacon was studying law in Gray's Inn, while Anthony was travelling in France in search of political intelligence and was in close correspondence with Nicholas Faunt, a secretary of Sir Francis Walsingham's, who had spent the previous year in France, Germany, Switzerland, and the north of Italy, on the same errand ; and was now living about the English Court, studying affairs at home, and collecting and arranging the observations which he had made abroad, 'having already recovered all his writings and books which he had left behind him in Italy and in Frankfort' (see Birch's 'Memoirs,' I. 24), and it is remembered that if this paper belonged to Anthony Bacon, it would naturally descend at his death to Francis and so remain among his manuscripts, where it is supposed to have been found.

“Thus it appears that the external evidence justifies no inference as to the authorship, and the only question is whether the *style* can be considered conclusive. To me it certainly is not. But as this is a point upon which the reader should be allowed to judge for himself, and as the paper is interesting in

itself and historically valuable and has always passed for Bacon's, it is here printed from the original though (to distinguish it from his undoubted compositions) in a smaller type."

Spedding's difficulty in accepting this paper as from Bacon's pen really lay in the fact that from the internal evidence it is obvious that it was written by one who had himself travelled through at any rate some of the countries described. The results of personal observation are again and again apparent. According to Spedding, Bacon was in 1581—1582 studying law at Gray's Inn; according to Bodley he was on the Continent making observations for his future guidance. The reader can judge of the value of the external evidence. It is not conclusive, but the draft being found amongst papers which were unquestionably his writings and being adopted as Bacon's and published as such by those who found it, the balance of probabilities is distinctly in favour of its being his. As to the internal evidence much may be said. It corresponds as closely as it is possible with Bodley's requirements as set forth in his letter of December. It is exactly "the manner of return" Bodley told Francis "your friends expect from you." "And," he added, "if in this time of your liberal Traffick, you will give me any advertisement of your commodities in these kinds, I will make you as liberal a return from myself and your friends here as I shall be able."

The date agrees with that of Bacon's second visit to the Continent. In Spedding's *Life and Letters* it occupies twelve and a-half pages, of which five are occupied by descriptions of Italy, one of Austria, two of Germany (chiefly a recital of names and places), two of France, three-quarters of Spain, one and three-quarters of Portugal, Poland, Denmark, and Sweden. This may have been Bacon's itinerary in 1581—2.

Italy is treated with considerable detail and was

undoubtedly described from personal observation, as was France and Spain. In a less degree the description of Austria, Poland and Denmark produces this impression; in a still smaller degree Portugal and Sweden, and it is quite absent from the description of Germany. Florence, Venice, Mantua, Genoa, Savoy, are dealt with in most detail. Rawley states that it was Bacon's intention to have stayed abroad some years longer when he was called home by the death of his father, to find himself left in straightened circumstances. Then followed his ineffectual suit, which he still persisted in. Bodley evidently was, if not the instigator, at any rate the paymaster for this second journey. Anthony's letter of February, 1581, points to Burghley as a participator in the project. He would assist not only out of kindly feeling, but the journey would at any rate get this ambitious, determined young man out of the way for a time, and possibly the journey might get this unaccustomed suit out of his mind. Thus it came about.

From Faunt's letters, Spedding says we derive what little information we have with regard to Francis's proceedings from 1583 to 1584. "From them we gather little more than that he remained studying at Gray's Inn, occasionally visiting his mother at Gorhambury, or going with her to hear Travers at the Temple and occasionally appearing at the Court."

But the suit was not abandoned, for there is the letter of 25th August, 1585, to Walsingham, when Bacon writes: "I think the objection of my years will wear away with the length of my suit. The very stay doth in this respect concern me, because I am thereby hindered to take a course of practice which by the leave of God, if her Majesty like not of my suit, I must and will follow: not for any necessity of estate, but for my credit sake, which I know by living out of action will wear."

Again, the old, "rare and unaccustomed suit" of which the Queen could have had no experience! Either the persuasive powers of Burghley had failed or he had not exerted them. Probably the latter, because the troublesome, determined young man is now worrying Walsingham and Hatton to urge its acceptance with the Queen. The purport of the foregoing extract effectually precludes the possibility of this suit referring to his advancement at the bar. For five years it has been proceeding—he has been indulging in hopes which have been unfulfilled. Now he will wait no longer, but he will adopt a course which, if her Majesty like not his suit, by the leave of God he must and will follow, not for any necessity of making money but because he feels impelled to it by a sense of responsibility which he must fulfil. Walsingham and Hatton do not appear to have helped the matter forward. There was little probability of them succeeding in influencing the Queen where Burghley had failed. There was still less probability of their attempting to influence her if Burghley objected. Had this suit referred to advancement in the law it would have been granted with the aid of Burghley's influence years before. Had it referred to some ordinary office of State, friends so powerful as Burghley, Walsingham and Hatton could and would have obtained anything within reason for this brilliant young son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, for there was no complication with Essex until after 1591. But this rare and unaccustomed suit of which there had been no experience was another matter.

Six more years pass, and although there is now no suit to the Queen there is the same idea prevailing in the letter to Burghley—a seeking for help to achieve some great scheme upon which Bacon's mind was so fixed "as it cannot be removed," "whether it be curiosity, vain-glory or nature, or (if one take it favourably) philan-

thropia." Still he required the command of more wits than of a man's own, which is the thing he did greatly affect. Still his course was not to get. Still the determination to achieve the object without, if help could not be obtained—to achieve it by becoming some sorry book-maker or a pioneer in that mine of truth which Anaxagoras said lay so deep. This is emphasised. These are "thoughts rather than words, being set down without all art, disguising or reservation."

There are two significant sentences in this letter written to Burghley when Bacon was 31 years of age. He describes Burghley as "the second founder of my poor estate," and, further, he uses the expression "And if your Lordship will not carry me on." What can these allusions mean but that Burghley had been rendering financial assistance to his nephew? If the theory here put forward as to the nature of the suit be correct, the object was one which would have Burghley's cordial support. That he had expressed approval of it must be deduced from the letter of the 16th of September, 1580. The object was one which, without doubt, would find still warmer support from Lady Mildred. But the suit was so unprecedented that it is not to be wondered at that Burghley did not try to force it through. The work was going forward all the time—slowly for lack of means and official recognition. Burghley, generous in his nature, lavish in private life, might, however, be expected to help a work which he would be glad to see carried to a successful conclusion.

Had he been less cautious and let young Francis have his head, what might not have happened! But there was always the fear of letting this huge intellectual power forge ahead without restraint. It was, however, working out unseen its scheme and that, too, with Burghley's help and that of others. The period from 1576 to 1620—only 44 years—sees the English language developed

from a state of almost barbaric crudeness to the highest pitch which any language, classical or modern, has reached. There was but one workman living at that period who could have constructed that wonderful instrument and used it to produce such magnificent examples of its possibilities. It is as reasonable to take up a watch keeping perfect time and aver that the parts came together by accident, as to contend that the English language of the Authorised Version of the Bible and the works of Shakespeare were the result of a general upspringing of literary taste which was diffused amongst a few writers of very mediocre ability. The English Renaissance was conceived in France and born in England in 1579. It ran its course and attained its maturity in 1623; but when Francis Bacon was no more—he who had performed that in our tongue which may be preferred either to insolent Greece or haughty Rome—"things daily fall, wits grow downward, and eloquence grows backward: so that he may be named and stand as the mark and ἀχμή of our language."

WILLIAM T. SMEDLEY.

There will follow a further article in which an endeavour will be made to trace the manner in which Francis Bacon, without the aid of the Queen, successfully carried out his project.

FRANCIS BACON'S APPOINTMENT AS K.C.

THE rhetorical phrase of Pope appears to have so obsessed the minds of historians that they are unable to dissociate the character of Francis Bacon from all that is contemptible and mean. The bitterness of Lord Macaulay and Lord Campbell in their judgment of Bacon's character seems to have infected Sergeant Pulling, who makes strange allegations and insinuations in his work on the "Order of the Coif" against Bacon's conduct at the time of his appointment as King's Counsel.

According to this author, Francis Bacon was a man who "had an obscure university career," who "begged for promotion and office rather than work," who by improper solicitation and "unfair" favouritism was made a Bencher of his Inn, and by importunity—as if he was wholly undeserving—and even by fraudulent misrepresentation obtained promotion to the rank of King's Counsel and officer of the Crown.

Pulling was a sergeant, and his attacks against Bacon seem to be inspired by a grievance—that the latter was called within the Bar without being made a sergeant-at-law. Francis Bacon was the first King's Counsel in the modern sense of the term. In his time the practice in Court "within the Bar" was restricted to the officers of the Crown, *e.g.*, the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General and the Sergeants-at-Law ("Order of the Coif," p. 185). There were no other King's Counsel, with two exceptions, recognised in the Courts down to the 17th century. The judges were chosen from the sergeants, and sergeants alone were allowed to plead in the Court of Common Pleas, where actions relating to real property were tried. Bacon's appointment was

certainly an innovation, but let us see whether it deserves the strictures passed upon it.

Francis Bacon was called to the Bar in 1582, and by an order of the judges (1 Elizabeth) a barrister was precluded from practising in Court until he was of twelve years' standing ("History of Gray's Inn," p. 36). It seems clear from the congratulations of Lord Burleigh on the firstfruits of his public practice that Bacon's first case in Court was in 1594—twelve years after the date of his call (Spedding's "Life," Vol. I., p. 267).

During those twelve years Bacon was not only a briefless barrister, as we term it nowadays, but under the rigorous rules of the judges he was prevented from earning a living in his profession at the Bar. He was absolutely without means of his own, having inherited nothing from his father; and during his travels abroad, after his father's death, he was dependent on the maintenance he received from Bodley and his friends ("Reliquiæ Bodleianæ," CCXXXII.); while in later years he was obliged to borrow money for the necessities of life on security provided by his devoted brother, Anthony. It is a curious incident in the life of this remarkable man that, in spite of all his borrowings, Francis never lost the affection of his brother or his friends.

To such an active spirit the period of inaction was well-nigh intolerable. As the years went by, Francis voices his complaint to Walsingham in a letter which shows he was afraid that being out of action was injurious to his reputation. Almost in despair he writes to Burleigh suggesting he would retire from the legal profession and devote himself to literature (Spedding). Before resigning, however, he made a final effort. Being the son of a Lord Chancellor, as well as a distinguished Member of Parliament, and a man of

exceptional ability and learning, with considerable influence at Court, he made a request to Lord Burleigh to use his influence with the Queen to facilitate his being called "within the Bar" (Letter to Burleigh, 6th May, 1586; Spedding's "Life," Vol. I., p. 59).

The favour he asked—to be enabled to earn a living at his profession—was not extraordinary under the circumstances. The Queen, who was shrewd enough to realise the advantage of a prudent counsellor, was known to have a thrifty disposition; and instead of appointing Bacon a sergeant-at-law, with the annuity which was customary in those days, she promised that he should be engaged as one of her Majesty's extraordinary counsel—a vague appointment without patent or fee (Payment of Sergeants' "Accustomed Wages and Fees": Manning's "Servilus ad Legem," p. 192).

There is no doubt that, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Bacon did a great deal of work in the service of the Crown as legal counsel, unofficial Court secretary, and general adviser in affairs of State. He received no salary—there was no fixed scale of fees—and, so far as we know, the amount of his remuneration was not excessive. The Queen presented him with an estate at Richmond and the rectory of Cheltenham, and for his conduct of the prosecution in the Catesby case he received the sum of £1,200.

Upon the accession of King James, Bacon pointed out the anomaly of his position, and obtained his formal appointment as King's counsel by royal letters patent. Under the patent he was assured of an annuity of £40 a year, which, according to the value of money at that time, might be equivalent, perhaps, to the salary of a revising barrister at the present day.

Now let us compare these facts with the perversion of history in the "Order of the Coif."

Sergeant Pulling says : " Francis Bacon *after an obscure university career* began to keep terms in Grays Inn in 1578, and from all accounts the favours shown him were many and certainly not unsolicited. As soon as he was called to the Bar he was *pushed on to place and profit and unfair precedence in his Inn*, being made a Bencher at 26."

As regards the promotion at Grays Inn there was nothing unfair about it, and it is incorrect to say that at the age of 26 Bacon was what we now call a Bencher. A barrister in those days was promoted to the position of "Ancient," or member of the "Grand Company"; then he was elected "Reader" and became a member of the Bench; and after he had finished his Reading (or course of lectures) he was duly qualified as a Bencher and to take part in the proceedings of the governing body ("History of Grays Inn," p. 37).

Sons of judges or distinguished persons were made members of the "Grand Company of Ancients" as a matter of course; and Francis Bacon, being the son of the Lord Keeper, who was also a Bencher of Grays Inn, had undoubted claims to this privilege. Without distinction of merit all the five sons of Sir Nicholas Bacon shared the same advantage by an order dated 21st November, 1577 (*Ibid*, p. 207). In 1586 Francis was placed at the Readers' table, but was not to gain precedence over Ancients nor be entitled to vote at the Pensions (*Ibid*). In 1588 he was Lent Reader, and having finished his reading he became fully qualified as a Bencher of his Inn.

So far from being a place of profit the position of Reader involved considerable expense, as he was expected to give great entertainments (*Ibid*, pp. 36, 37); but the office had certain advantages, such as a first claim to a vacant judgeship or the appointment of an officer of the Crown or sergeant-at-law.

Sergeant Pulling further alleges: "Francis Bacon, who after great importunity obtained from Queen Elizabeth the promise that he should be engaged as one of Her Majesty's extraordinary counsel, never set up that this was in any way a binding engagement or more than a post *honoris causa*. But after Elizabeth's death and James had become her successor, Bacon after much more importunity and solicitation (*and some adroit misrepresentation of what had taken place*) at last obtained his formal appointment from King James by letters patent. An annuity of forty pounds a year, by no means inconsiderable in those days, was reserved to the *impecunious philosopher* for his life."

At the time of this appointment King James gave Francis Bacon a pension of £60 per annum, which is stated in the document to be "*in consideration of good and faithful and acceptable service* by Francis and his half-brother Anthony Bacon." Yet Sergeant Pulling, who contemptuously refers to the "mercenary character of the arrangement with the Crown," states that this Royal grant was "*apparently made without consideration.*"

It is amusing to read Sergeant Pulling's sneers at the intellectual wonder of all ages—a man of almost super-human energy and industry, who toiled day and night for the benefit of mankind without hope of adequate reward or remuneration. The Sergeant says: "Bacon had already obtained the reversion to a sinecure office of £1,600 a year and hesitated not to beg for promotion and office *rather than work*, as others were obliged to do."

The reversion was granted in 1589, but it did not fall into possession till twenty years afterwards. "It is the fairest flower of my estate," wrote Bacon in 1597, "though it yet bear no fruit." And again, "It may mend my prospect but it does not fill my barn."

HAROLD HARDY.

BACON AS PLAYWRIGHT.

IN order to examine the claim of the biliteral cipher that Bacon wrote a large number of plays, some of which were title-paged to Peele, Marlowe, Greene and Shakespere pursuant to money bargains, it will be convenient to schedule these plays and a few others which have been, or may be, attributed to the same common authorship.

They are here set out in the order of printing :—

<i>Play.</i>	<i>Year Printed.</i>	<i>Ascribed Author.</i>
Arraignment of Paris ...	1584	Anon.
Tamburlaine, 1st and 2nd parts	1590	Anon.
King John (Troublesome Raigne)	1591	Anon.
Arden of Feversham ...	1592	Anon.
Edward I.	1593	Peele.
Dido	1594	Marlowe & Nash.
Looking Glass for England	1594	Greene & Lodge.
Massacre at Paris	1594	Marlowe.
Orlando Furioso	1594	Greene.
Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay	1594	Greene.
Spanish Tragedy	1594	Anon.
Battle of Alcazar	1594	Anon.
Selimus	1594	Anon.
Taming of a Shrew	1594	Anon.
Henry VI., part 2 (Contention)	1594	Anon.
Henry VI., part 3 (True Tragedie)	1594-5	Anon.
Cornelia (translation) ...	1594-5	Kyd.
Old Wives' Tale	1595	Peele.
Lochrine	1595	W. S.
Mucedorus	1595	Anon.
Edward III.	1596	Anon.
Romeo and Juliet	1597	Anon.
Richard II.	1597	Anon.
Richard III.	1597	Anon.

<i>Play.</i>	<i>Year Printed.</i>	<i>Ascribed Author.</i>
Edward II.	1598	Marlowe.
Henry IV., part 1	1598	Anon.
Henry V. (Famous Victories)	1598	Anon.
Love's Labour Lost	1598	Shakespeare.
James IV. of Scotland	1598	Greene.
David & Bathshebe (paraphrase)	1599	Peele.
Alphonsus King of Arragon	1599	Greene.
Pinner of Wakefield	1599	Anon.
Sir Clyomon	1599	Anon.
Henry IV., part 2	1600	Shakespeare.
Titus Andronicus	1600	Anon.
Much Ado about Nothing	1600	Shakespeare.
Merchant of Venice	1600	Shakespeare.
Midsummer Night's Dream	1600	Shakespeare.
Sir John Oldcastle... ..	1600	Shakespeare.
Thomas Lord Cromwell	1602	Shakespeare.
Merry Wives of Windsor	1602	Shakespeare.
Hamlet	1603	Shakespeare.
King Leir	1605	Anon.
London Prodigal	1605	Shakespeare.
Puritan Widow	1607	W. S.
Yorkshire Tragedy	1608	Shakespeare.
Troilus and Cressida	1609	Shakespeare.
Pericles	1609	Shakespeare.
Sejanus	1616	Jonson.
Othello	1622	Shakespeare.
Two Gentlemen of Verona	1623	Shakespeare.
Comedy of Errors	1623	Shakespeare.
Twelfth Night	1623	Shakespeare.
As You Like It	1623	Shakespeare.
Julius Cæsar	1623	Shakespeare.
Measure for Measure	1623	Shakespeare.
Macbeth	1623	Shakespeare.
Anthony and Cleopatra	1623	Shakespeare.
Coriolanus	1623	Shakespeare.

<i>Play.</i>	<i>Year Printed.</i>	<i>Ascribed Author.</i>
Cymbeline	1623	Shakespeare.
Tempest	1623	Shakespeare.
Winter's Tale	1623	Shakespeare.
Timon of Athens	1623	Shakespeare.
Henry VIII.	1623	Shakespeare.
Henry VI., 1st part	1623	Shakespeare.
All's Well that Ends Well	1623	Shakespeare.
Jew of Malta	1633	Marlowe.

I make no pretension to literary or dramatic criticism. The object of this paper is merely to draw attention to circumstances which, I think, point to the truth of the cipher claim.

1.—None of the plays were printed in 1586, the year that Philip Sidney died of his wounds.

None were printed in 1588, when Robert Earl of Leicester died.

None were printed in 1601, when Robert Earl of Essex was put to death.

One play only was printed in 1603, the year of the death of Queen Elizabeth. It was *Hamlet*, the play said to be autobiographical, and it contained the celebrated soliloquy on suicide.

If the cipher story be true, as I am satisfied it is, Francis by the year 1603 had lost his cousin and great friend Sidney, his father the Earl of Leicester, his only brother Robert, and his mother the Queen, who died without openly acknowledging his relationship. Left alone in the world, no wonder that he asked himself the question, "To be or not to be?"

2.—Francis Bacon was a man of such method and overmastering prevision and precaution that it may reasonably be predicted that the ascription of his plays was not haphazard, but carefully schemed.

It was not until 1589 that, under the vizard of his

assistant Nash, in a preface to "Menaphon," he named Peele as author of the "Arraignment of Paris," printed anonymously in 1584.

Peele was the wayward son of the resident clerk to Christ's Hospital, who was forbidden from giving the son lodging at the hospital. He was a man-player or intermediary, and died in 1598 or earlier.

Greene was first one of the eight boys of the Chapel Royal Choir, who sang the masses and played in the interludes at Court. Sent as a poor boy to College he obtained on his return a post as assistant master over the Chapel boys, was afterwards given a benefice, then taken from it to act abroad as one of Earl of Leicester's men players in 1586, and died in the summer of 1592.

Francis seems to have employed and used him as mask for certain prose tales, and after Greene's death to have ascribed certain of his printed plays to Greene's authorship.

To return to Peele, the next use made of him was to affix his name as author to the end of the chronicle play of *Edward I.*, 1593. That was the year that Francis had through his speeches in Parliament incurred the Queen's displeasure and had been denied access to the Court. In 1594 a remarkable number of plays were printed. In that year Francis—still out of favour—was borrowing heavily, and at the same time pressing the Queen, through his brother Robert Earl of Essex and other influential courtiers, for the vacant office of Solicitor-General, and intimating that if refused he should retire with a couple of men to Cambridge or go abroad.

Note how carefully he dealt with the plays printed that year. Two were ascribed to the dead Greene, one to the dead Marlowe, another (*Dido*) as commenced by Marlowe and finished by Nash, and another (*Looking-glass for England*) as commenced by Marlowe and finished by Lodge. Five others were printed anonymously.

Marlowe was a man-player of sufficient scholarship to be employed copying in what would appear to have been Bacon's service for three years prior to his death (see Kyd's letter to Lord Puckering, 1593, printed in Boas' "Life of Kyd"). Kyd worked in the same chambers, but died before December, 1594.

The Christmas of 1594-5 found Francis truculent but unhappy. He prepared the device of a Mock Court for the Gray's Inn students' revels, but, according to the dedication of a week's work in translating Garnier's play of *Cornelie* for the Earl of Sussex's players, was very sorrowful. He title-paged the play to the deceased Kyd. During 1595 down to the end of 1597 the plays were mostly anonymous—Peele, who was alive, having one only of the plays ascribed to him.

4. The year, in Tudor times, ended upon the 25th March, and it was about January of 1597-8 that the trouble expected over the play of *Richard II.* caused Bacon to make terms with another player in the Queen's company, namely, Shakspeare, to act as mask, and go back to his village out of the way of inconvenient questioning. The newly-revised play of *Love's Labour Lost* was accordingly, in 1598, ascribed to Shakespeare, but the old play of *Henry V.*, performed before the Stratford actor's time, was printed anonymously. An early chronicle play, *Edward II.*, was debited to Marlowe, deceased; *Alphonsus King of Arragon* to Greene, deceased; and *David and Bathshebe* (1599), a play paraphrased from the Old Testament, was ascribed to Peele, then also deceased. The unascribed new play of *Henry IV.*, 1598, was ascribed to Shakespeare in the Mere's pamphlet, 1598, and title-paged to him in 1599; the others were anonymous.

5. I think it will be found that, to further confuse the issue of authorship, Francis under his masks of Nash and Greene, and in his assistant Meres' pamphlet, from

time to time covered up his proceedings in an inky cloud of allusions so as to make people believe that his puppets were really doing something.

6. From 1600 was fairly plain sailing, Francis using the Stratford player as vizard for his modern plays; but the very old plays, acted before the Stratfordian's time, namely, *Titus Andronicus* and *King Lear*, were printed anonymously in 1600 and 1605 respectively, and *Sejanus* was issued in the name of Bacon's friend and assistant, Jonson, who collaborated in it.

7. The epigram "Poet Ape," which Jonson printed in 1616, after Shakspeare's death, and which could only allude to the Stratford player, was simply printed as part of Bacon's scheme for confusing the authorship issue. The reason seems to be that the folio plays of 1623 must have been in long course of preparation and it had become expedient to account for old plays (performed and, in some cases, printed long before the name of the Stratford player was used as an authorship mask) being printed in the folio under his name. The suggestion in the epigram that he bought "the reversion of old plays" would thus be necessary to account for the new *Hamlet* (1603), new *King Lear* (1608), the *Pericles* (1609), and the intended inclusion of the old plays of *Comedy of Errors*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Taming of the Shrew*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, *King John*, *Henry V.*, two parts of *Henry VI.*, and *Titus Andronicus* in the 1623 folio Shakespeare.

8. Attention is drawn to the similarity of sources from which many of these plays, to whomsoever title-paged, were derived. A playwright of Bacon's wide learning and skill, of course, referred to a variety of exemplars in composing his plays, and made use of the works of both classical and modern authors. He drew material from a wide range of sources. Of plays from classical sources, there were the early play of *Spanish*

Tragedy from Seneca and Virgil, *Dido* from Virgil, *Comedy of Errors* (also an early play) from Plautus, *The Tempest* (a much later play) is also said to be founded upon Plautus, *Sejānus* upon Tacitus. From Spanish sources were *Tamburlaine* from Mexia, and *Two Gentlemen of Verona* from Montemayor. From German was *Dr. Faustus*, derived from the German book of the adventures of Dr. Johann Faustus. From Italian origins come a considerable number of plays, namely, *Taming of the Shrew*, *Orlando Furioso*, and *Much Ado about Nothing*, derived from Ariosto; *Romeo and Juliet* and *Twelfth Night* from Bandello; *James IV. of Scotland*, *Measure for Measure*, and *Othello* from Cinthio; *Merchant of Venice* and *Merry Wives of Windsor* from Ser Giovanni; *All's Well that Ends Well* and, to a certain extent, *Cymbeline* and *Troilus and Cressida* from Boccacio. From French sources were, of course, *Cornelia* from Garnier; *Hamlet* from Belleforest; *Anthony and Cleopatra* and *Julius Cæsar* from Amyot's Plutarch. From contemporary French sources came *The Massacre of Paris* and *Love's Labour Lost*, and from contemporary Spanish sources *The Battle of Alcazar*. Most of the English History plays were derived from authorities like Holinshed, Stowe, Fabian, and Froissart; *Macbeth* from Holinshed and Buchanan.

A few plays derived from English folk lore tales. Instances are *Pinner of Wakefield*, *Old Wives' Tale*, *As You Like It*, and *Friar Bacon*.

From Biblical sources were *David and Bathshebe* and *Looking-glass for England*.

Pericles, derived in part from Gower, *Troilus and Cressida* in part from Chaucer, and *Edward III.* in part from Bandello.

If Bacon did not go to the variety of sources shown, and which were well within his range, we have the remarkable difficulty that Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Kyd,

and Shakespeare, persons of humble origin, together with certain anonymous writers, all resorted to similar sources, and evinced a similar wide range of scholarship and travelled experience.

The cipher story of single authorship explains the mystery, otherwise inscrutable.

Francis Bacon, heir to the throne of the Tudor sovereigns, taught from early years to take wide views of men, of States, of Governments, and of literatures, drank abundantly of the spirit of the French Renaissance. Moving from success in minor dramatic writings he proceeded to lay

"Great bases for eternity."

His plays, confused as many are, though not materially injured, by the exigencies of his ciphers, particularly the word-cipher, must be considered as one great drama wherein he depicted for educational purposes the Pageant of Life in its greatneses, its meannesses, its joys, follies, and other aspects.

It is the Drama of the Soul—its passions, sorrows, and aspirations. Delia Bacon, to her eternal honour, caught much of its meaning.

In constructing this drama, Francis did not omit the chorus. Sometimes as Nashe, again as Spenser, often as Greene, anon as Marlowe, as Meres, as Heywood, as Jonson, he illudes, confuses, comments, enjoins, or points a moral. Did he anticipate, I wonder, that in the universities of future ages learned clerks, misled by these devices, would fail to study his drama as a whole and, instead, dissect it in little bits, as they have done?

Yet most certainly they were warned—

"Fool! as if half eyes will not know a fleece

From locks of wool, or shreds from the whole piece."

—"Poet Ape."

PARKER WOODWARD.

MASSIVE FACTS.

A FEW days ago I received a letter from a very distinguished man, eminent both as a man of letters and as a naturalist, in which he stated some of the reasons why he could not accept the Baconian theory. The reasons which he gave were, all of them, matters of conjecture, for which no evidence existed; but he said that until these "massive facts" were disposed of there is no use in "peddling about details." I confess this astonished me; because no one, unless it be Darwin, has more industriously "peddled at details," *i.e.*, gathered together facts, large and small, to form an induction, than my distinguished correspondent. One of the most weighty of these "massive facts" was "the love and admiration which Shakspeare inspired in his fellow-actors and publishers." Of course this is mere guess work; not a scintilla of evidence exists for it. And so far as "publishers" is concerned it is a question-begging assumption; what is stated as fact is exactly that which is the matter in dispute. Shakspeare biography is for the most part constructed out of these conjectures, which are ticketed as "doubtless," or some equivalent phrase, and made the very foundation or corner-stones of a fictitious story. Baconian facts, on the contrary, are *not* guesses, but solid and substantial—not to be disputed; only interpreted.

This particular "massive fact" is remarkably contradicted by evidence which Mr. Spedding himself supplies. In Spedding's edition of Bacon's works, Vol. I., p. 519 (note), there is reference to a letter written by Lord Southampton to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere; and in quoting an extract from this letter, Mr. Spedding speaks of it as "that very letter without which we should hardly know that Shakspeare was personally known to anyone in the great world as a distinguished

dramatic writer . . . It proves at the same time how little was known about him by persons of that quality." Now it turns out that this same letter, instead of being written by Lord Southampton, was really written by Mr. Collier, and is one of the many forgeries which disgraced his otherwise valuable Shakespearean researches. Here, then, is the "massive fact" which my correspondent thought ought to supersede all the "peddling details" of the Baconian induction. Mr. Howard Staunton quotes this letter and several other documents as specimens of Mr. Collier's forgeries. See Staunton's "Shakespeare," Vol. I., p. lxi.

No one has more conclusively shown the poverty of fact out of which Shakspeare biography is constructed than our Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith. His words are so striking and his argument so vigorous that they deserve a permanent place in our annals. Mr. Asquith, speaking at Edinburgh, November 15th, 1901, said:— "Few things are more interesting to watch than the attempts of great scholars and critics, like Dowden and Brandon and Sidney Lee, to reconstruct the life of a man at once so illustrious and so obscure as the greatest of our poets. The case of Shakspeare presents, perhaps, the strongest array of difficulties and paradoxes in the whole range of biography. The most splendid genius of his own or any other time has left behind him, outside his writings, hardly a single undisputed trace of his personality. There has not been preserved so much as a single line in his own handwriting of any of his poems or plays. Such of the plays as were published in his life time seem to have been printed from stage copies, to a large extent by literary pirates. The apparently unbroken indifference of the greatest of all artists not only to posthumous fame, but to the safeguarding against defacement or loss of his own handiwork is without precedent or parallel. The date and order of his plays,

the identity of the 'only begotten' of the Sonnets, the manner in which his wealth was acquired, the literary unproductiveness of his last five years—he died at 52, the same age as Napoleon—his easy acquiescence in the sleepy humdrum, and the homely dissipations of social and civic life in a small provincial town—that all these questions and a hundred more should all be matters of conjecture and controversy is a unique fact in literary history. What else but this tantalizing twilight has made it possible for even the most distraught ingenuity to construct the great Baconian hypothesis—which by the way an accomplished critic has only this month so admirably capped by the counter theory, for which there is really as much to be said—that it was really Shakespeare who wrote the works of Bacon? The task which confronts the writer of a life like Shakespeare's is not to transcribe and verify a record; it is rather to solve a problem by the method of hypothesis and inference. His work is bound to be not so much an essay in biography in the strictest sense, as in the more or less scientific use of the biographic imagination. The difficulty is, of course, immensely enhanced, in this particular case, by the impersonal quality of most of Shakespeare's writings—a quality which I myself am heretic enough to believe extends to by far the greater part of the Sonnets. We do not know that the greatest teacher of antiquity wrote a single line. Shakespeare, who died less than 300 years ago, must have written well over a hundred thousand; and yet, thanks to Plato and Xenophon, we have a far more definite and vivid acquaintance with the man Socrates than we shall ever have with the man Shakespeare."

The "distraught ingenuity" which Mr. Asquith attributes to the Baconians, which we can easily forgive, is much more graphically described by himself in his account of the construction of Shakespeare biography.

Surely, in the view of such a crowd of "difficulties and paradoxes," the suggestion that the critics are on a wrong tack and must start afresh is not unreasonable. And the Baconian theory holds the field. The rival theory which Mr. Asquith treats so tenderly—that Shakespeare wrote Bacon's works—is too absurd to deserve the least argument. Perhaps the literary contortionist who started such a notion may be caught in his own trap and compelled to swallow whole the very notion, differently stated, which he considers so crushing. Such critical acrobats who seem to think it dignified to ride a race, face backward, on the margin of a donkey's tail, may be invited to take counsel of Sir Philip Sydney, who writes: "Marry! these pleasant fault-finders confute others' knowledge before they confirm their own. I would have them remember that scoffing cometh not of wisdom, so that the best title in true English which they get with their merriment is to be called GOOD FOOLS" ("Apology for Poetry").

It is interesting to see how easily the imputations of lunacy, monomania, ignorance, vanity, inability to test evidence, which lead on to delusion and deserving of free quarters at Colney Hatch, may be retorted and reversed when the case is dispassionately considered by a judicial and philosophical mind.

R. M. THEOBALD.

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R. M. THEOBALD.

HOLO-FERNES ; HOLO-COMES.

THERE is a great possibility that sufficient attention has not been paid to the derivation of proper names in Shakespeare's Plays, with a view to ascertaining clues to the authorship. Of some there can be no possible misconception. Pistol, for example, appropriately fits that explosive filibuster, while Sir Toby Belch's peculiarities are referred to in the play, "A plague o' these pickle-herrings." There can be no doubt that the author selected appropriate cognomens for the creatures of his fancy, like so many writers have done, Dickens being a strong case in point ; therefore the striking similarity between "Holo-fernes" and "Holo-comes," together with collateral coincidences, justifies attention. Holofernes is a schoolmaster in *Love's Labour Lost* who indulges in rhetoric in every-day life which manifests to all around his superior erudition. In neither word nor action does he justify his name if we suppose it to be derived from Holofernes the warrior.

Francis Bacon may or may not have attended St. Albans Grammar School ; according to a tradition long current in the town he certainly did so ; but I have no documentary evidence upon that point and only fragmentary lists of scholars at that early period. Certain it is that many of the Grimston family subsequently entered. The school is probably the most ancient in the kingdom, presumably founded by Abbot Ulsinus in the reign of Edred, but stated to have a still earlier origin in the recently-issued Inventory of Historical Monuments in Hertfordshire by the Royal Commission. A brief break in the continuity occurred at the Reformation, but King Edward VI. reinstated it in the Lady Chapel of the Abbey Church in 1553 by special charter, and in 1570 Sir Nicholas Bacon drew up the rules for

its governance, subsequently performing the same office for Harrow School. These rules are extant and possess considerable interest. The first Post-Reformation Headmaster was John Thomas Hylocomius, or Hylocomus, or Holocomus, or Holocomes, for by all these names he is referred to in contemporary and later documents. He was a native of Bois-le-Duc in Brabant, Netherlands, which name is rendered S'Hartogenbosch in Dutch. In St. Albans Abbey Register of burials we have Holocomus of "Sartacombust," evidently a corruption of S'Hartogenbosch. The date of his assuming the mastership is generally placed in 1588 upon the authority of a board in the school containing a so-called list of Post-Reformation masters; it was painted late in the 18th century and bristles with errors. Strange to say it has been recently repainted with all its inaccuracies uncorrected. John Thomas assumed the name of Hylocomius as referring to his birthplace, though "comius" can hardly be translated "duke." A James Wittewronge (progenitor of the present Sir Charles Lawes-Wittewronge, of Rothamsted, Harpenden, Herts) fled from Ghent to England in 1564. He sent his son Jacob to St. Albans Grammar School to be educated by his fellow-countryman; the youth left in 1576 and proceeded to Magdalen College, Oxford. These dates conclusively prove that Hylocomius was at the school many years before the reputed 1588. He died in 1596, though the board referred to states 1601.

If Francis Bacon attended the school he would have come under the tuition of Hylocomius; if he did not attend the name would still be well known to him by reason of the deep interest Sir Nicholas took in the foundation. The name of the latter, and that of the Lady Anne, occur among the principal benefactors to be prayed for daily in the school; while the library still preserves among its other treasures a Demosthenes

and a Plato presented by "Mr. Francis Bacon" in 1587, thereby showing his own personal interest in the school. Apart, however, from this evidence, which goes to prove that Hylocomius was personally known to Bacon, we glean from the records that the schoolmaster was a well-known and extremely clever man, and successful in business, too, which is the more remarkable, considering his profession. One reference says, "Helicomius was preceptor, a man of great esteem for his abilities in that employment." The Mayor and Town Council, speaking of him, say, "Who his successor will be doth well concern the town as the country in general, and we have had and still enjoy a rare and singular jewel whereby the school hath flourished and become famous, and we hope yet long to enjoy him." Surely praise such as this places him far above the ordinary dominie. In the Abbey Church, above the south door of the Presbytery, is a spacious inscription to his memory written in 1625. It is in Latin and parts of it may be rendered thus: "This master, French, Irish, and Netherlander did court, to whom as eloquent proofs he gave the learned arts. Him doth cherish and everlastingly recollect an assembly of the British race as well-born as numerous." "In memory of the venerable John Thomas Hylocomius, of Bois le Duc in the Netherlands, formerly a munificent citizen of this town, and a most renowned schoolmaster."

That the foregoing should not be classed with grandiloquent epitaphs of the period is proved from school registers. Although St. Albans had a population at that time of about 2,000, there entered the establishment between 1587 and 1596 no less than 220 scholars. In 1587 he gave two books to the library—a Pliny, value 30s., which has disappeared, and a Greek dictionary called Cornucopia, value 13s. 4d., still preserved.

If Francis Bacon, writing *Love's Labour Lost* at an early age, introduced a schoolmaster and cast about for a suitable name, that of Hylocomius or Holocomes would be fresh in his mind, and the probability that Holocomes suggested Holofernes may perhaps be admissible.

CHARLES H. ASHDOWN.

St. Albans.

BACON'S LOST MANUSCRIPTS.

THE review of Mrs. Gallup's last book of decipherings mentions nothing of the subject dealt with. If a review is to be of value at all, it should tell us somewhat of the new facts which the authoress believes herself to have discovered.

Instead, the reviewer has reverted to the question of whether Mrs. Gallup has ever discovered anything at all. He admits Mrs. Gallup's good faith and the honesty of those who confirm her deciphering. He writes as one who has studied and thinks he has become familiarized with every style of writing used by Bacon and the musical rhythm common to each. He believes that he knows the extent to which Bacon mastered, and used, the art of cipher-writing. What, then, are the preliminary difficulties which caused him to confine his review to the point of whether there is a biliteral cipher and to leave the new narrative alone?

1. He objects that the story is not written out in the old English spelling and language of the time, yet assures us that accuracy in the spelling of that period is an utter impossibility, as there was no definite standard.

Professor Skeat and other spelling reformers have recently shown that in that respect the Elizabethans were to be envied, as they wrote the spoken word in the

way it seemed to sound at the moment of writing. The reviewer thinks the practice gave Mrs. Gallup a very wide margin for irregularities. Yet it also increased the difficulties of decipherment. The reviewer should, if he could, have given instances of where the want of accuracy in the old English spelling helped to "illude" Mrs. Gallup. In its absence his first objection is academic and unreal.

2. Another of his points is that elision of letters is frequent in the cipher story, rare in most works of the period, and not to be found in Bacon's acknowledged writings. In cipher-writing, like the biliteral, one should expect frequency of elision, principally to economise space, often to correct mistakes, and often to discourage the casual decipherer.

The reviewer cannot have read Mrs. Gallup's patient, thorough and painstaking replies to her earlier critics published in book-form by Messrs. Gay and Bird. He might refer to page 158 and the specimen of elision on page 198 of that book.

3. The reviewer objects that the narrative is not in the main original, but follows in the beaten tracks of Dr. Ward Owen. Such an objection from a simple mind obsessed with the notion of plagiarism might pass. But the reviewer writes as one expert in Bacon's inductive method. A mind so trained should be prepared to find Bacon faithful to his aphorism that "truth can never be confirmed enough," and with that object conveyed his messages in duplicate by the medium of two different ciphers corroborative of each other.

4. But the unfamiliarity of the "style" causes the most perplexity to the reviewer. Bacon's musical style, he says, is not in the decipher. While I am not prepared to accept the general application of this comment, I would ask the reviewer whether Bacon has not more than once explained: "style is as the subject-matter."

"Faith thou wilt be caught by the style," said the Marprelate pamphleteer. Why should not this master of style have had at least one style more—one practically confined to biliteral cipher messages? Supposing Bacon had been found out and hauled up in his lifetime before your reviewer, or his Jacobean prototype, the absence of the musical rhythm would have saved his head.

The biliteral cipher style or non-style may have been a measure of additional precaution, or due to ciphering from memory.

"Men began to hunt more after words than matter; and more after the choiceness of the phrase and the round and clean composition of the sentence and the sweet falling of the clauses . . . than after the weight of matter, worth of subject, etc." ("Advancement of Learning").

Evidently, Bacon could dispense with rhythm if he so desired.

5. Assuming it to be a fact that from 1620 to 1680 the spelling of words was becoming more regular, the retention by old Bacon, old Rawley after him, and then old Sir William Dugdale, of the orthography of their youth cannot be a point against the authenticity of the decipher.

6. The reviewer seems to have concentrated his own efforts upon the ciphers devised by Bacon at the maturity of his intellectual powers. Yet in the brilliance of his youth, so eloquently testified by Hilliard, but as far as cipher-writing is concerned in his comparative immaturity, Bacon invented the biliteral cipher. It is adaptable to printer's type or to letters cut most carefully by a graver and to nothing else. It is more than plausible that in the enterprise and enthusiasm of youth Francis adventured to insert his biliteral cipher in printed books, whether passing under his own

ascription or that of others. Until the key was given this could have been done in absolute security.

Its presence would be the more easily concealed by the gradations of type irregularities to which the reviewer has referred.

Having placed his biliteral and a carefully distributed and fragmented "word" cipher in a series of early and late publications, a period arrived in Bacon's life when these narratives or messages would be lost unless he furnished the keys. In 1623 he was an old man, and from my considerable knowledge of the working of the "word" cipher I firmly believe that in the 1623 Folio Bacon did give sufficient direction to enable a keen investigator to arrive by inductive methods at the existence of the word cipher and the way it was to be deciphered. Further, that every credit is due to Dr. Ward Owen, who discovered it.

Fear lest his messages—which also included statements of his having used other ciphers—should be lost, constrained Francis Bacon to give, not to the world but to a few possible students of a future age, the key by which the biliteral story might be unlocked, and incidentally the important announcement made that other ciphers were awaiting discovery. This he did in a seemingly casual and yet very complete way in the "De Augmentis" of 1623. Such a proceeding was only a natural evolution of his scheme, and, if there were a risk, he had reached a time of life and a period of his career when he could take it. This man was no coward. His main work was finished, his health declining, his incursion into the region of "Great Place" disastrously terminated.

On the "illusion" assumption it is remarkable that Mrs. Gallup should be found "illuding" herself with decipherings recording these fears and resolves on Bacon's part.

8. I agree that Bacon intended his more matured cipher messages to be reached by inductive methods, and believe that he planned to reward those who had the perception, ability and persistence to pierce the veil of these cipher secrets. In doing so they proved his great educational argument of the value of inductive methods.

9. The reviewer calls for more confirmation of the biliteral cipher system. Who, I should like to know, can be expected, at his own expense, to waste half a lifetime in the work of confirming a discovery no longer new, no longer fascinating, no longer offering a chance of reward—nothing but insult? Other researchers in the cipher field are only kept going by the hope of important or rewarding discovery. Moreover, investigation of the biliteral cipher system is no simple matter.

A correspondent of the *Times* in December, 1901, and January, 1902, after an *exhaustive* examination, only found eleven capitals in two distinct italic forms in the First Folio and other books about that date. The late Mr. Bompas, after what appeared to him an equally *exhaustive* examination, found fifteen italic capitals in the double form, but the *Times* correspondent identified the letters B.D.P. and R., which Mr. Bompas could not, while he identified Q.U.Y. and T., which the correspondent failed at. Of the six unidentified letters in biform two were X and Z. Not every brain is sensitive to slight differences of form. It will not register them even when magnified. To obtain the full confirmation asked by your reviewer, a large number of investigators must begin and continuously persist. Even then a small percentage only will perceive.

10. For progression in this investigation a little more tolerance and patience is needed and less of the attitude of a certain Oxford Professor, satirised in these lines :—

"What there is to know I know it.
And what I don't know isn't knowledge."

The reviewer presses for such confirmation as only a paid Government Commission could give.

Such as he would wait for further expeditions to the North Pole to confirm Commander Peary as to the nature of the land or water there, yet when their confirmatory reports were received might still mutter:—
"These statements are not original. They follow in beaten tracks."

Of confirmation of the deciphered story there is an amplitude. Quite recently a member of our Society drew attention to an old book, published in Latin in 1621, in English in 1628, and—*mirabile dictu!*—with a *clavis* at the end of it. Its title is "John Barclay his *Argenis*." Working with the *clavis*, Mr. Cuninghame found the book to be an avowed admixture of history and fable, which stated that Queen Elizabeth married one of her chief subjects, and that a son born to them courted the daughter of a king of France.

This is corroboration of the cipher story of the love of Francis for Marguerite.

If not, we have to make the utterly unlikely assumption that Mrs. Gallup, before she deciphered, read the "*Argenis*," 1628—a rare book,—mastered the indications of its *clavis*, ascertained from French sources the possible lady, and then "illuded" herself that certain passionate, poetical, and beautiful passages concerning Marguerite were really being revealed in bifurcated italic type in some of the books she deciphered!

Mrs. Gallup, too, must have read Nichol's "*Progresses of Elizabeth*," and "illuded" herself that when the dying Queen Elizabeth, in reply to her Ministers of State (who wished to know her pleasure as to who should succeed to the throne), said, "I will have no

rascal to succeed me," the Queen was referring to her son, Francis Bacon.

If Robert Earl of Essex, beheaded in February, 1600-1, was another son of the Queen, he would have been justified in thinking himself of Tudor pedigree.

Prior to his death he was confined in the Beauchamp Tower. Did he or did some friend cut in deep, large letters—still to be seen—over the doorway of the small cell there the name "Robart Tidir"? Or was it carved by one of the Pilgrim Fathers, and did a long-preserved record of the act eventually reach Mrs. Gallup in Detroit, so as to cause her to "illude" herself with the notion that Robert was also a son of the Queen?

Gentle reviewer, accept the well-meant advice of one who, for many years, has studied evidence corroborative of the truth of the biliteral cipher story. Be not as the less gentle reviewers and scribes.

Though they broaden their phylacteries, the demon of truth cannot be kept away for all time; as time will demonstrate.

HERMES.

[By the courtesy of the Editor I have been afforded an opportunity of perusing the foregoing article. Hermes' points Nos. 1, 2 and 3 require no reply. The observations referred to were directed against the statement of Mrs. Gallup's publisher, which was quoted at length. Hermes' remarks confirm the contention that the publisher's statement was inaccurate. Nos. 4 and 5 do not help the case for Mrs. Gallup. Edwin A. Abbot writes,* "Few men have shewn 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." Bacon

* "Francis Bacon," by Edwin A. Abbot, 1885, page 447.

had other styles of which Abbot knew nothing. But in all that he wrote there was a "style." In the decipherings there is none. The suggestion that "the Biliteral cipher style may have been simply a measure of additional precaution" cannot be entertained. "Precaution" which could only produce effect after the decipherer had done her work implies that Bacon desired to throw doubt on his cypher message. No. 6, Bacon did not invent the biliteral cypher. He simply took it from Porta and Vigenère. With the writings of both Bacon was familiar. It is a clumsy and impracticable cypher. No one who knows anything of Bacon's methods of working would admit that he would make use of a cypher and publish the key. Such a course would violate the fundamental principle of his inductive method. No. 8 does traverse any portion of the *Review*. No. 9 emphasises the weakness of the case for the biliteral cypher. The same letter is printed in different forms in half, if not more, of the books published in England from the introduction of printing until the eighteenth century. That is accepted; but Hermes apparently admits that no one but Mrs. Gallup can be found to confirm her publisher's statement that "the italic letters in all the sixty odd original editions as translated, fitting 'in groups of five,' according to the biliteral system of Bacon, as found in *De Augmentis* and arranged with such precision that every letter—some of them are easily differentiated—should uniformly and accurately be found in its place as 'a' font or 'b' font." If such uniformity and accuracy exists it should be possible for any ordinary person to confirm them. No. 10, If Hermes correctly reports the discovery of Mr. Cuningham, it would appear that he has made a serious error. Hermes, no doubt, refers to Hyanishe as representing Queen Elizabeth. Hyanishe had no son. Her sister Anna had been married to King Meleander, who went abroad after their marriage. Anna died in giving birth to a son whilst he was away. Hyanishe, on the dying request of her sister, adopted the son and determined to keep his birth a secret from Meleander until she "had first made trial whether he would grow worthy of so great a father." Meleander married again and had a daughter, Argenis, who is said to represent Margaret of Navarre. Eventually Hyanishe restored her nephew Arcombrotus to his father. If this is the sort of confirmation upon which upholders of the biliteral cypher story rely, well! this is the sort of confirmation upon which they rely. This is the "demon of truth" with a vengeance.—THE REVIEWER.]

REVIEWS.

The Vindication of Shakespeare. A Reply to Critics, together with some remarks on Dr. Wallace's "New Shakespeare Discoveries." By G. G. Greenwood, M.P., author of "The Shakespeare Problem Restated." London: Sweeting & Co., 4, Dyers Buildings, Holborn Bars, E.C.

PERHAPS this book is the strongest attack which has been made on the Shakspeare title. In it Mr. Greenwood replies to criticisms which were levelled against the position he took up in his former work, "The Shakespeare Problem Restated." These criticisms were contained in articles which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* by Sir Edward Sullivan and the Rev. Canon Beeching, and in the *Library* by the former. There is also a chapter dealing with an article from the pen of Rose G. Kingsley on "Shakespeare in Warwickshire," another on Dr. Wallace's "New Shakespeare Discoveries," and a note on "The Name Shakespeare."

Mr. Greenwood is a skilled controversialist. He handles Sir Edward Sullivan and Canon Beeching with a thoroughness which leaves nothing to be desired. He asks no quarter and he gives none. Inaccuracies and misrepresentations are exposed, fallacious arguments are riddled, and he leaves his opponents so completely discomfited that one can hardly help feeling pity for them. Mr. Greenwood shows a complete mastery of the arguments both for and against the Shakspeare authorship, and the book is a valuable arsenal for all who are called upon at times to defend the claim of the controversy for a rational hearing. Of especial value in this respect is the chapter dealing with "Shakespeare and Warwickshire," in which the true facts are stated as to many untenable hypotheses which are reiterated by Stratfordian advocates. Mr. Greenwood not only makes clear the little value there is in Dr. Wallace's discoveries, but the effect of his examination proves that such additional evidence as they afford rather strengthens than weakens the case against Shakspeare being the author of the plays.

The note on "The Name Shakespeare" summarizes what has been said in the controversy on the spelling of the name and on the handwriting of the signatures. Mr. Greenwood disagrees with Magdalene Thum-Kintzel and Sir Edwin Durning Lawrence as to the Will being in the same handwriting as the signatures. The question of whether Shakspeare signed his name or not to the Blackfriars Deeds and the Will may never be cleared up, but before long the fact will be definitely established that the words, *William Shakespeare*, represent the most extraordinary combination of letters in the language and that they have no connection with the name of the Stratford player. Mr. Greenwood's forcible style of writing makes the book most pleasant reading and will be warmly appreciated by all who are interested in the subject with which it deals.

The Connection of Francis Bacon in the First Folio of Shakespeare's Plays and with the Books on Cypher of his time. By Charles P. Bowditch. The University Press, Cambridge, U.S.A.

THIS book deals chiefly with the title-page and illustrations of the "Cryptomenytices," by Gustavus Selenus. It contains fourteen plates of excellent reproductions; nine of these are from this work. There are also portraits of the Abbe Johannes Trithemus and of Bacon. It is stated that when Mr. Walden translated the "Cryptomenytices," those for whom he undertook the work were so impressed with the importance of knowing all they could about the work and its author that they requested Mr. Walden to go to Europe and to make full enquiry at Wolfenbuttel, which was for a long time the residence of the Duke of Brunswick and where his library still exists. He found there amongst the manuscripts certain correspondence between the Duke and an agent of his named Hainhofer on the subject of the production of the plates for illustrating the work. Extracts from the letters which passed are given.

Mr. Bowditch endeavours to show the existence of cypher signatures and sentences in *Love's Labour's Lost*, but in this he is by no means convincing.

The Droeshout Portrait of William Shakespeare. An experiment in identification, with thirty-one illustrations by William Stone Booth. Boston: W. A. Butterfield.

THIS is a valuable contribution to the controversial literature. Mr. Booth has already published two remarkable books,^o revealing cypher signatures in books published during the period of Bacon's literary activity.

Anyone who will devote the time and application requisite to master these two books (and they require much of both, as all decyphering does) will come to the conclusion that the evidence produced establishes the case put forward by the author. Now, Mr. Booth submits another theory still more startling. The letterpress occupies only slightly more than four pages, the main points of which are these: with the exception of the drawing of the bust on the Stratford monument made by or for Sir William Dugdale, probably about 1636, the only portrait of the poet known as William Shakespeare which can be unreservedly accepted is the engraving by Martin Droeshout, placed as a frontispiece to the 1623 Folio edition of his plays. Is this portrait intended to represent the face of Francis Bacon? The characteristic lines of a face constitute a definite linear pattern precisely as do the lines of finger and thumb prints, and the method adopted for identification is like that which is pursued by the

^o "Some Acrostic Signatures of Francis Bacon," Constable & Co., 1909. "The Hidden Signatures of Francesco Colonna and Francis Bacon," Constable & Co., 1910.

police authorities in their use of finger prints, or Bertillon measurements in the identification of criminals. Colouring, beard, hair or wig may change; teeth may fall out; cheeks may sag with age; temples may become hollow; but the underlying bone structure of the face remains unchanged throughout the life of an adult, while its fleshy covering tends to expose its foundation as time passes. Essentially the same method as that adopted by Mr. Booth is applied by Professor R. J. Holbrook in "*Portraits of Dante from Giotto to Raffael*" in determining the origin of various portraits of Dante. Four portraits are taken into consideration: (1) the Droeshout engraving; (2) the engraving of Sir Francis Bacon when Lord Keeper, signed by Simon Passe; (3) Marshall's portrait of Lord Verulam, prefixed to the 1640 "Advancement of Learning"; (4) the portrait of Lord Verulam, assigned to Van Somers. These portraits are then reduced so that the distance between each pair of eyes is the same as between each other pair. The Droeshout portrait of Shakespeare is then shown in combinations with the three portraits of Bacon, as to leave no reasonable doubt that both were derived from one and the same personality. The objection may be raised that there are many men the anatomy of whose faces is closely alike. Such likenesses happen every day, and moreover in these four portraits the pose is conventional. This is met by admitting that any two men may look alike, but the point is that the portraits of the two greatest men of Elizabethan times are found to be anatomically identical. What the motives may be for so careful a mystification is secondary if there be proof that the deed was done. Then follow twenty-seven composite portraits, in which the Droeshout engraving is taken as the base. With great skill and care portions of the Bacon portraits are overlaid, giving results which are astonishing as proofs of identity. The volume is beautifully printed and produced. It can be seen at the Bacon Society's rooms.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—Will you allow me a word on Mr. R. M. Theobald's article headed "*Omnes Numeros Habet*" in BACONIANA for October last? When Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence says, "He who hath filled up all numbers means, unquestionably, He that hath written every kind of poetry," he is, *me judice*, unquestionably wrong. To fill up all numbers is simply a rendering of *Omnes numeros explere*, which means "to be perfect." In Bacon's case it is, I have no doubt, perfection in literary production to which Jonson alludes. Mr. Theobald does well to quote the late Dean Plumptre in illustration of the meaning of the Latin expression which Jonson characteristically employs, but I can

cite two passages from a work to which the Dean, if he had read it, possibly did not care to refer. In the *Satyricon* of Petronius Arbiter we read of a young slave that, "*duo vilia habet, quæ si non haberet, esset omnium numerum.*" Again, in the same work, a beautiful youth is described as "*Margaritum, egregium, et omnium numerum.*" In both these instances the words *omnium numerum* simply indicate perfection. I may add that Jonson had certainly read Petronius, for he has (though I do not think this has been noticed) left a verse rendering of his lines *De vera voluptate*.

I would like to add a word as to the reference to Bacon on the second (misnumbered) page 53 of the 1640 edition of the "Advancement of Learning." Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence says, "We read in the margin S. FRAN. BACON," which is true; but we read more than that, for the word "Apol" is also there. What is the meaning of this? In the passage to which these words are the marginal note Bacon tells us that it was said of Henry Duke of Guise "that he was the greatest usurer in all France, because that all his wealth was in names, and that he had turned his whole estate into obligations." Now if the reader will turn to Bacon's Apology for the Earl of Essex, he will read how, when the Queen had refused Essex's request of the post of Solicitor-General for Bacon, the Earl said to him (Bacon), "I die if I do not somewhat towards your fortune; you shall not deny to accept a piece of land which I will bestow upon you." Whereupon Bacon answers "that his lordship's offer made me call to mind what was wont to be said, when I was in France, of the duke of Guise, that he was the greatest usurer in France, because he had turned all his estate into obligations: meaning that he had left himself nothing, but only had bound numbers of persons to him." This marginal note, therefore, is nothing more than a reference to Bacon's apology for Essex. It is true that in the Apology it is not actually said of the Duke of Guise, *totidem verbis*, that "all his wealth was in names," and I believe there are some who attach a mystic significance to those words, as though they were intended to conceal—or to reveal—an allusion to a polyonymous Bacon; but the expression is perfectly natural and intelligible as applied to the Duke of Guise, and to seek a cryptic meaning in it seems to me (I trust I may be forgiven for saying so) not a little fantastic. But then it is pointed out that "S. Fran. Bacon" is printed in capital letters, and much importance is attributed to that fact. Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence says that these are "almost the only marginal capital letters in the whole of the book," but inspection will show that this is not so. We have, for instance, "Jacobus R." in capitals at page 73, and "K. James" at page 82, and it seems to me as natural for Bacon, in making reference to one of his own works, to print his name in capital letters as it was for him so to print the name of King James. At page 95 we have "Hen. VII.," "Hen. VIII.," "Ed. VI.," and "Maria Elisa," all in capitals, and we have, in fact, a large number of other instances of "marginal capital

letters" in the book, though not, certainly, of personal names. The fact remains, of course, that we have Bacon's name mentioned on a misnumbered page 53, for what that is worth, but when we remember that the book is one of Bacon's own authorship, published in his own name, and that the reference is to another such work, I cannot think that fact is worth very much.

Yours faithfully,

DIGAMMA.

November 2nd, 1910.

Portia.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

THE writer recently bought from an old bookshop in London a play in Italian, entitled *La Cognata*, described on the title-page as a very facetious and new comedy by M. Nicolo Tani. It was printed by Paulo Mieto at Padua in 1583, and must be rare, as it is not in the British Museum. Amongst the *dramatis personæ* is "Portia." Her part is a minor one but noteworthy. She is the fair young daughter of a noble Roman doctor, M. Pirro Salaci, whose wife has been carried away in the sack of Rome, in 1527. That he may be free to go in search of her, he entrusts Portia to the care of a friend who takes her to Florence, but on disturbances arising there sends her, dressed in male attire, to Sienna, where she lives as a student. She is, however, betrothed to one Claudio, of Florence. There are many other characters in the comedy and the ingenious plot consists of their complicated cross love affairs. Although Portia plays no advocate's part it is possible that the name and her rôle as a male student suggested to the author of the *Merchant of Venice* the "learned young doctor of Rome" whom old Bellario sent from Padua, to the discomfiture of Shylock. As "Shakespeare" was, according to the simple orthodox, rendered omniscient by his genius, he "no doubt" knew not only Italian but *La Cognata*. Some free-thinkers may, however, fancy that Anthony Bacon, who was abroad when the comedy appeared, sent it to his brother in England.

It is worth mentioning that there is another "Portia" in the "Shakespeare" plays, viz., the wife of Brutus in *Julius Cæsar*, and she was "excellently well scene in philosophie," as North says in his rendering of Plutarch's "Life of Brutus."

J. R., of Gray's Inn.

"To Fill Up All Numbers."

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

WILL you allow me to return (somewhat late in the day) to the subject treated of by Dr. R. M. Theobald in your issue of October last, under the heading "Omnes Numeros Habet"? In

that article uncomplimentary allusion is made to some remarks of mine which had been quoted by Sir E. D. Lawrence in his book "Bacon is Shakespeare." In reality Sir E. D. Lawrence's printer has misused inverted commas, and Dr. Theobald has been misled into quite misunderstanding me. I will ask you, therefore, to be so kind as to give me space for a complete and accurate statement of my text, which represents the opinion I still hold as to the question at issue. I wrote:—

"After Shakespeare's death Jonson had written of him :

' When thy socks were on
Leave thee alone for the comparison
Of all that insolent Greece or haughty Rome
Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come.' "

Now after Bacon's death Jonson writes of him : " He hath filled up all numbers and performed that in our tongue which may be compared or preferred either to insolent Greece or haughty Rome." Jonson was not a man usually short of words, and it is odd, unquestionably, that he should give to the world two panegyrics so similarly worded on two persons apparently so different, and whom he knew so well as the Chancellor and the Player.

Still more, however, has been made by Baconian advocates of the fact that the panegyric bestowed on the Chancellor should seem of the two the one better fitted for the Player. For, "to fill up all numbers," said of Bacon, seems a natural expression of praise only for a poet. "Numeri" in Latin, "numbers" in English applied to literature mean nothing else than verse, and even seem to exclude prose. Thus Tibullus writes : "Numeris ille, hic pede libero scribit" (One writes in verse, another in prose). And Shakespeare has the same antithesis in *Love's Labour Lost* (iv. 3) : "These numbers I will tear and write in prose." Yet all this does not settle the matter. For "numeri" is also used in the sense merely of "parts." Pliny speaks of a prose work as perfect in all its parts : "Omnibus numeris absolutus." And Cicero says of a plan of life : "Omnes numeros virtutis continet" (it contains every element of virtue). So that Jonson may have merely meant to say in slightly pedantic phrase that Bacon had passed away, "all parts fulfilled," the expression actually used by Pope in ironic praise of Queen Caroline.

Yours faithfully,
GEORGE O'NEILL, M.A.
University College, Dublin, March 13th, 1911.

The Duplex Shakespeare.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—The following paragraph respecting "The Duplex Shakespeare," which appeared in the *Westminster Gazette* on the 21st inst., might, I think, interest some of your readers. We have all

heard of the "duplex" lamp with two wicks, but quite apart from any "duplicity" that may be apparent in this matter, we may rest assured that William Shakspeare was merely the "unpolished vessel" out of which Bacon poured his nectar.

"THE DUPLEX SHAKESPEARE.

"The following extract from the *Yorkshire Post* (a correspondent writes), although it may not convert the Baconians, throws such a flood of light on the discrepancy existing between the life of Shakespeare and his works that it seems worth preserving, especially by readers not destitute of a sense of humour:—

"An interesting lecture on Shakespeare was given at Leeds last night by Miss Morden Grey. Dividing her lecture into two parts—Shakespeare, the man, and Shakespeare, the genius—Miss Grey contrasted the absolute distinction between the two. As a man, Shakespeare was a cute man of business, successful, and, upon retiring, he bought property. She was of opinion that he was totally unaware of his own great genius, which ran from him as nectar might run from an unpolished vessel. The works of almost every other poet were in themselves a revelation of the writer, but this was not so in the case of Shakespeare. A hasty summary of his life showed it to be most unpoetical and delightfully commonplace."

"The picture of the poet as an 'unpolished vessel' from which his 'genius' ran like nectar, is surely decidedly novel."

It is quite certain that no "unpolished" writer could have written *Love's Labour's Lost* or the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

Yours faithfully, AMBROSE T. PEYTON.

Sir Herbert Tree's Revelation.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

The account of this extraordinary revelation requires a short introduction:—

Some 30 to 40 years ago there existed an English school at the small village of Neuenheim, which has now become a suburb of Heidelberg. The headmaster of this school (since deceased) was an English clergyman, Armitage by name, an accomplished scholar, universally beloved and respected, being in touch with the prominent leading celebrities of his day. In the summer of 1883, *f.i.*, Edward Arber, the Birmingham professor, was his guest for some weeks. I remember with pleasure this vivacious gentleman, to whom I gave German lessons. Through my recommendation his reprints and "The Transcript of Registers" were then acquired by the Heidelberg University Library. Later on, the Armitage school came into the possession of a Dr. Klose, after whose retirement it reverted to the sons of Mr. Armitage. They

left the management of the school in the hands of Mr. H., who, report says, was not exactly a total abstainer. Then the Armitage School, or Neuenheim College as it came to be called, began to decline, whilst another English school, under the able management of Dr. Holzberg, took its place and is now the leading school for English boys at Heidelberg. The Neuenheim College ended with an unfortunate law suit, in consequence of which some towns' people lost considerable sums of money.

Now, the former pupils of Neuenheim College, the "Old Neuenheimers," many of whom are reported to occupy important positions in various walks of life, gratefully remember the pleasant time of their Heidelberg days and are in the habit of reviving the memory of their youthful jollifications by annual dinners. This year's dinner was solemnized at the Trocadero, London, and an "amusing" address by Sir Herbert Tree was there read. I really do not know in what relationship he stands to the N. C., or whether perhaps he is an "Old Neuenheimer" himself. The *Daily Mail*, January 9th, 1911, reports about it:—

"An amusing address by Sir Herbert Tree (who was prevented from being present personally) was read at the 'Old Neuenheimers' dinner at the Trocadero, London, on Saturday night, in proposing the toast of the evening. After alluding to the success of many 'Old Neuenheimers' in various walks of life, he went on:

"Let me be personal for a minute. Twenty-one years ago I presented my first Shakespearean revival, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and from then until now Shakespeare has been a good friend to me. I suppose in Neuenheim to-day they talk of Shakespeare, as I heard him talked of when I was in Berlin some time ago, as 'unser Shakespeare.' I conclude it was a Neuenheimer who, in the fifteenth century, emigrated to England from the little village of Neuenheim. His name was Schweinflieish; but in spite of his name I believe he was of Jewish extraction. He changed his name to Bacon and wrote those works which, though they are of German origin, have been none the less successful in the land of his adoption. And let it be remembered we have an excellent translation by Shakespeare.

"One day I hope to give a performance of *Hamlet*, by 'unser Shakespeare,' in German, for I can still repeat 'Sein oder nicht sein'; but I shall only give it in the Elysian Fields, where I believe the German language is exclusively spoken.

"Certainly there is some excuse for the Germans, because our English Shakespeare has become the glories of German dramatic literature. I wonder whether in any German household an incident might have occurred which happened recently in London. I recall being in a drawing-room where my proposed revival of *Macbeth* was being discussed. My host inquired who would play Autolycus. I replied that this character would not appear in my representation; and with a smile the enthusiast remarked: 'You would sacrifice anything to gorgeous scenery.'"

All this, no doubt, was meant to be "amusing," a merry "Bier-rede" (an after-dinner or beer speech), as we say in Germany. But what an ugly after-taste of stale beer is there in this address! It was apparently meant to hold up to ridicule a certain Neuenheimer who has been endeavouring for these last six or seven years to elucidate the Bacon problem in all sincerity. The most serious obstacle in the propounding of this most fascinating problem is the fact that in England, as elsewhere, people, far from being aware of the vital importance of this controversy, instead of taking the pains to study it seriously, are in the habit of turning it into ridicule, of laughing at it. They do not appear to realize how much is at stake in this investigation for a true understanding of Shakespeare, in the first place, for England at large and for the whole world in general. For Shakespeare really is "the one to whom all scenes of Europe homage owe, who was not of an age, but for all time." These scoffers appear to be quite unable to realize the importance of *determining* the *personality* of the "immortal bard" or "world's poet"; whether he was the money-grubbing Will Shakspeare whose biographers have, in spite of all their endeavours up to those of Professor Wallace, entirely failed to find a scrap of proof that he was even moderately educated, and able to write his name, or whether he was the greatest man that lived in the sixteenth century—Francis Bacon. The story of his life has been mangled and crippled by his biographers, who gave only the smaller half, or one-third, of his life. It is a pity that English people should have been all the while blind to this fact, and that "their blind affection (to Shakspr), in seeliest ignorance, does ne'er advance, but really gropes and urgeth all by chance," as Ben Jonson says.

And now for one of the foremost exponents of Shakespeare, Sir Herbert Tree, who informs us that "*one Bacon*" lived in the *fifteenth* (!) century. Was this also meant for a joke, or was it said in earnest? This is the point—you never know where the joking finishes and where seriousness begins. It is this would-be irony, or rather "humourous fraud," which has become the curse and canker of our age.

Well, let us assume that Sir Herbert said it in all seriousness. Then, as I take it, we must blame his reporters and the Editor of the *Daily Mail*. Was it not their duty to correct such a flagrant chronological error in their report? Or we must ask, What do English people, even educated people, know about Bacon? Did not one of these merry Neuenheimers or their reporter take notice of such a blunder and take the trouble to look up the name in a book of reference?

Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree may be excused, in a way, as he is no genuine Englishman. People say that he is of German extraction, and there are those that draw other inferences.

Poor Bacon! poor Shakespeare! didst thou feel the possibility of such a disgrace when, on the 9th of April, 1626, thou didst write in thy testament and last will the following lines: "For my

name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches, to foreign nations and the next ages."

I sincerely hope that I shall not be misinterpreted, and that what I have said will not be attributed to sordid motives, or feelings of personal dislike. Such was not my intention. I am actuated solely by a feeling of duty towards the great author whom I worship and whose fair name I feel it my privilege to protect and to defend whenever assailed, so far as lies in my power. I am a humble but enthusiastic follower of Bacon's exalted principles and sublime precepts. And "to mitigate the justice of the plea," I will rather think that the *fifteenth* century was a slip of the pen that wrote it, or of the tongue that read it. It is my intention to send these lines, when printed, to Sir Herbert Tree and ask him whether he seriously meant to write the *fifteenth* century. And perhaps he will have the kindness to explain, preferably in *BACONIANA*, what he really meant to imply when he said, Shakespeare "nostras."

G. HOLZER.

Heidelberg, January, 1911.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

DEAR SIR,—The latest theory, or revelation about our "good Queen Bess" must have come upon all good Baconians as a great shock; for though many secrets have dimly played round that imperious Sovereign the most bewildering secret of all has been kept to the last, namely, that our Virgin Queen, who loved admiration and indulged in many flirtations, *was a man!* Mr. Bram Stoker has certainly added to the gaiety of nations by solemnly bringing many facts to light to show that Elizabeth was a "famous impostor,"* for it now appears the young Princess died when ten years old, and that her nurse dressed up a boy who much resembled her to take her place. Henry VIII. was either deceived or let the fraud pass, and he allowed *her* or *him* to grow up without indulging in his favourite pastime of cutting off a head. And thus the masculine intellect, which historians have praised, is accounted for.

But turning to Baconian theories, one trembles to think what Mrs. Gallup must have suffered, with others of her following, on hearing that the mother of Francis Bacon was a man! Mr. Bram Stoker is really too cruel, and he cannot have properly considered the ruin he was creating, for if Elizabeth was of the masculine persuasion down go Mrs. Gallup, Dr. Orville Owen, and other lusty Baconians; and their various books and essays and cypher stories can be consigned to the flames. It is enough to break up any literary Society, and if Bacon discussions and arguments are more heated than ever in the future, it is not to be wondered at, and it is entirely Mr. Bram Stoker's fault. But

* "Famous Impostors," by Bram Stoker (Sedgwick and Jackson).

our admiration for Queen, or rather King, Elizabeth grows while contemplating his shrewdness, for not only did he manage by the aid of flirtations with Leicester, Essex and others to impress people with his feminine sex, but he also gains our unqualified admiration for the way he managed his *shaving arrangements*.

They evidently did those things better in the good old times, and of course if King Elizabeth's barber had shown any astonishment over the Queen's growth of hair on her chin he would have been headless with his own razor immediately. Or did the Queen shave herself? No wonder Essex was furious at the box on the ears he received. Perhaps it came "straight from the shoulder" with masculine strength. But think how the poor King must have been irritated by the tightness of those awful corsets which drew his waist down into a point. It is not astonishing he let out, though it was dangerous considering the strain on the laces and buttons. How he must have laughed at his gullible subjects, and how grateful he must have been to Raleigh for introducing tobacco. We can imagine the Queen taking a few whiffs in private. "Odds Bodkins! let Parliament wait till I finish this pipe." Of course it was hard that marriage was out of the question, and that he had to flirt with a man and not with a woman always; but you can't have everything. It is to be hoped that the authorities of Westminster Abbey will have the inscription on the grand tomb of Elizabeth altered. Her manly qualities should be brought to the front, and a gentle hint given as to her sex. It can still run in old Latin, which nobody understands. I really think Baconians of Mrs. Gallup's way of thinking should have bribed Mr. Bram Stoker to suppress his book that has given heartaches to so many, but which has been a source of unfeigned amusement to your

PUZLED BACONIAN.

NOTE.

A MEMBER of the Bacon Society, desirous of encouraging research work among his fellow-members, has offered to give a gold medal, or as an alternative, books to the value of £6, to be awarded by the Council to the member who in their opinion has during the year made the most important discovery of documents bearing upon the controversy as to the authorship of the Shakespeare plays or a kindred subject, and a silver medal or badge to the member considered second in merit. Members of the Council are not eligible for these awards. Further particulars may be obtained on application to the Secretary.

TO FRANCIS BACON

(On the 350th Anniversary of his Birth).

BORN in an age when Learning's lamp—untrimmed
 By any hands since mighty Rome's decay—
 Shone with enfeebled light, its lenses dimmed
 By clouds of ignorance, unbroken, gray ;
 Great Verulam, thy hand filled it once more
 With radiance, which flashes now from shore to shore.

For without thee and thy directing mind—
 Which, seeking wisdom from all sources known,
 With insight ne'er at fault, first taught mankind
 The only path to Truth's eternal throne—
 Where now would be the science which we boast,
 And the broad Pharos light which gleams from coast to coast ?

Yet are there some, to their eternal shame,
 Who would this truth ungratefully forget,
 Or worse, in sheer malignity revile thy name
 (As he who, conscious of thy greatness, yet
 Must call thee "mean" to whom all gold was "dirt")
 And label thee "corrupt," whose judgments no man hurt !

Yet, spite of these and of the thoughtless crew
 Who shout in chorus, ign'rantly misled,
 Thy name in time shall have its honour due—
The first of Englishmen, alive or dead—
 Thy name, surpassing great as England's Seer,
 But greater, nobler still, as England's true "Shake-speare."

For from the hand of Pallas did'st thou take,
 When she resigned her seat, her glorious lance,
 Which, in her rage divine, she wont to shake
 Against the face of trembling Ignorance,
 And with it wrought such deeds as not e'en she
 Performed when armed in Jove's majestic panoply.

Yet, not content on earth her part to play,
 With daring hand thou took'st Apollo's lute,
 And from it drew such strains—grave, tender, gay—
 As ne'er proceeded yet from earthly flute,
 Wedding the while to glorious Poesy,
 The form, rejuvenate, of old Philosophy.

Immortal Genius, on this day to thee
 My homage here I bring—these lines of mine—
 To greet thy birth—unworthy though they be—
 To greet thy birth and lay them on thy shrine,
 O'er which, some time, shall gleam thy natal star,
 As that o'er Bethlehem once, to lead men from afar.

JOHN HUTCHINSON.

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JOHN BARCLAY'S "ARGENIS" AND BACON'S SECRET LIFE.

BY GRANVILLE C. CUNINGHAM.

TO those interested in solving the great puzzle of Bacon's life I have long felt that the study of the literature of the period from 1570 to 1670 ought to be one of deep fascination in view of the possibility of finding covert allusions to the great man and veiled information that would throw light upon the obscure places of his life.

It was with this in mind that I made a careful examination of the "Shepherd's Calendar," attributed to Spenser, and in the article on the subject which I gave to *BACONIANA* of July, 1907, I think I brought forward very strong corroborations of important parts of the cipher story.

The book to which I now wish to direct attention is John Barclay's "Argenis."* I do not suppose many people have read this. It is an elaborate allegorical history, with fanciful Greek characters, written much after the style of Sidney's "Arcadia," and extending to 483 pages of large quarto. It first appeared in *Latin* in Paris in 1621, and like so many other literary works

* An account of the various editions of the "Argenis" will be found on pages 30—34 of *BACONIANA*, January, 1911.—ED. B.

of the very highest class of the century from 1570 to 1670, it came out after the author's death. It was said to have been edited by his friend Peireskius, and how much it may have gained or lost in the editing the world will never know. At the time of writing this I came across a Life of this Peireskius, written in Latin by the learned Petrus Gassendus, translated into English by W. Rand, Doctor of Physick, and published in London, 8vo, 1657. It was the English translation that I got.

There is not much said in this "Life" about Barclay and his "Argenis," but the little that is said is interesting. Under the date of 1619 it is said that, during that year, Peireskius had received a great part of the work, the "Argenis," which he was to see printed, and that he had "mitigated" a dialogue therein which he had conceived to be of somewhat too free a strain. It is thus that the hand of the editor is made apparent.

Under the date of 1621 in the "Life," allusion is made to the unlooked-for death of Barclay, and the remark here is full of interest. The "Life" says: "Just about the same time" (*i.e.*, the time of Barclay's death) "it happened that Peireskius urged him to finish his 'Argenis': wherefore among other things it grieved him that Barclay had not finished that Work according to his owne mind." From this we learn that the "Argenis" was not finished by Barclay, and thus the account of his sudden death alluded to below, after the completion of his great work, is robbed of its dramatic interest by the fact that the work was not completed, and probably the somewhat crude and drastic termination to the tale is due to Peireskius, and not to Barclay.

John Barclay was born in 1582 at Pont à Mousson, where his father, William Barclay, was Professor of Civil Laws. The first part of his "Satyricon" was published in the name of Euphormio Lusinius, and

was said to have appeared in London in 1603. A second edition appeared in Paris in 1605. Barclay's stay in England at this period was short. He first went to Angers and then to Paris in 1605, where he married Louise Debonnaire, the daughter of an army paymaster, and herself a Latin scholar and poetess. The pair moved to London in 1606, where, in that year, he published Latin poems entitled "Sylvæ." They continued to reside in London for nearly ten years, and in 1616 left for Rome. Here he established himself and composed his "Argenis." According to a MS. note in a copy of this work belonging to M. Dukas, it was finished on the 28th July, 1621. On the 1st August immediately following Barclay was stricken with a violent fever, and expired on the 15th of the same month. Ralph Thore, in his anonymous elegy on Barclay's death (London, 1621) more than insinuates that he was poisoned. In the same year the "Argenis" came out in Latin in Paris. I am indebted to the "Dictionary of National Biography" for the foregoing facts, except those that I have taken from Peireskius' "Life."

The "Argenis" was, as I have said, first published in Latin in Paris in 1621, and again there also in Latin in 1622. The first English translation by Kingsmill Long appeared in London in folio in 1625. A second English translation by Sir Robert le Grys and Thomas May came out in London, quarto, 1629, and to this for the first time was added a key to explain who were the persons under the "fained names." And a third English translation, again by Kingsmill Long, London, quarto, 1636, with pictures, and also a key to unlock the whole story. A translation by Ben Jonson was entered at Stationers' Hall on the 2nd October, 1623, but was never published. It is much to be regretted that we have not got this translation, but it is interesting to see that one standing so close to Bacon should thus early have taken

up the work—if, indeed, perchance his hand in it was not even earlier than this. It is the 1629 edition that I have used and from which I quote.

The 1629 edition is said on the title-page to have been done into English: "the Prose upon His Majesties Command: by Sir Robert le Grys, Knight: and the Verses by Thomas May, Esquire." And certainly it would seem to require the protection of a royal command to keep a translator scatheless, as well as a publisher; for when one has read the "Argenis" there are without doubt statements in it that in the reign of good Queen Bess would have made an unhappy writer's head "stand tickle" upon his shoulders and even in the days of Charles I. might easily have been made a Star Chamber matter.

When we call to mind how angry Queen Elizabeth was with Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Hayward for his book of the deposing of Richard II. and the coming in of Henry IV., with its ambiguous and suspicious dedication to Essex, for which the worthy Doctor was committed to the Tower (see Bacon's "Apothegm" No. 22), we can imagine how furious she would have been at the plain and unvarnished statements, though under "fained names," made in the "Argenis." Someone undoubtedly would have paid for this, and there would have been a well-considered "lopping off of limbs" over it. All the more difficult to understand, therefore, is the action of Charles I. in "commanding" this translation, with the key attached, which would lay bare to those who suspected, the very things that would have irritated Elizabeth beyond measure. It should, however, be borne in mind that at the date of publication of this book (1629) Bacon had been off the stage of this world's theatre for about three years, as the accepted date of his death is 1626, and therefore revelations about Queen Elizabeth and her marriage, and son, even if

scented out by the half-initiated, would not be of such importance as they would have been a few years before.

But with every consideration one can give the matter, the behaviour of Charles I. with regard to this book remains very strange and puzzling; and the puzzling nature of his conduct is not lessened when we find from Sir Robert le Grys' "Epistle Dedicatorie" to him, prefixed to the volume, that the book "hath already been honoured by your Majesties approbation"; and further in Le Grys' address "To the Understanding Reader," when we find him apologising for possible mistakes in the translation, and giving as his excuse that "he would have reformed some things in it, if his Majesty had not so much hastened the publishing it." Why should Charles have hastened the publishing of it, especially with the key attached, making clear the extraordinary statements about Queen Elizabeth, when there was the English translation of 1625 open to him and others to read, which gave the story in its entirety, though without the key? And yet why should Charles desire to have the key made public? There is much here to exercise one's ingenuity of speculation.

But, of course, the answer was that the whole thing was a mere *jeu d'esprit*—a sort of gambolling of a literary elephant, with no ulterior meaning, and, though perhaps a little bold, might be allowed to pass. And this answer, though it would not have soothed Queen Elizabeth, would possibly serve for those who knew nothing of Bacon's secret life, and had not the light of the cipher story to illuminate the dark places of the text, or to distinguish between pure fiction and veiled fact.

Barclay's "Argenis" is a pseudo-historical account of intrigues, battles, love-making and marriages, of kings and princes and lesser folk, revelling in old Greek

names, who lived about Sicily, Sardinia, Gallia, Mauretania, and other places. Amid stirring fights and tender love-passages there are interlarded long and elaborate disquisitions upon astrology, the duty of the civil power to put down heresy, the reform of the Law Courts, the duties and privileges of ambassadors, and so forth, making altogether somewhat heavy reading, as one considers it nowadays.

But at the end of the 1629 edition there is inserted a key, by which we are informed that, under Greek and fanciful names, certain well-known personages are intended, thus—Argenis is the daughter of the King of France and, in the end, wife to Poliarchus (Henry IV.), so it is not difficult to identify her as Margaret of Valois; Meleander is Henry II., or III. of France; Poliarchus is Henry IV. of France; Radirobanes is Philip. II. of Spain; Selenissa is Catherine de Medici; Hyanisbe is Queen Elizabeth; Nicopompus is the Author; and so on through a long list of minor characters.

And under fanciful names various countries are intended. Thus Sicily is France; Sardinia is Spain; Mauretania is England, and the Moors are the English; Gallia is Navarre; and so on.

So that in reading the book one is reading a double story, and sometimes under a fanciful dress a great historic truth may be recorded. Often, indeed, it is difficult or impossible to know whether some statement at variance with received history is put forward as mere airy fancy or as a concealed fact. No doubt when the book was written there were many people who could have vouched for the truth of statements that to others less informed in Court secrets would have seemed mere imaginings; but the day for such knowledge has long gone past, and it would be impossible now to write a commentary on the book, clearly separating the truth from the fiction. What, however, is interesting to me

is to pick out passages and recorded actions of individuals that are confirmatory of Bacon's cipher story and that run in parallel lines with it. We all know the cipher story—that Bacon was the legitimate son of Queen Elizabeth by her secret marriage with the Earl of Leicester, and that the hope and dream of his life was that he would ultimately be acknowledged by the Queen as her son and proclaimed as her successor. Further, that the great and overmastering passion of his life was his love for the beautiful Marguerite de Valois, and that her he has immortalized under various names in his writings, but specially as "Rosalinde."

Early in the book Nicopompus, whom by the key we are told is the author, sets forth in a discussion with his friends, Antenorius and Hieroleander (who was secretary to Argenis), the principles which governed him in composing his "Fable like a History"; and it is very important for the proper digesting of this fable to keep these principles in mind, for they show us that he fully intended to stray from the truth as he pleased, and they warn us that it would be impossible, without some other guiding light, to distinguish between veiled truth and pure fiction. And I do not doubt that these principles applied, and were intended to apply, to other poetic histories besides the fable in hand. It is said of Nicopompus a few pages previously (p. 126), that "he was of Antenorius, his most inward friends, and being wearied of the cares and troubles of the Court, did seeke, with the sweet conversation of that old man, a while to forget the disquieted Commonwealth." From which we learn that Nicopompus was a denizen of the Court; and further on in the book we find that he employed himself, and was employed by others, in writing sonnets for various festive occasions, and even in writing little poems on behalf of other people, that

should redound to the poetical fame of those others, all of which is strongly reminiscent of Francis Bacon and his works.

What Nicopompus says in regard to the scheme of his work is contained in the following speech which he delivered (p. 131) to his two friends, Antenorius and Heiroleander :—

“I will (saith he) write a Fable like a Historie. In it I wrap up strange events: armes, marriages, bloud, and contentments, I will blend together with success that could not be hoped for. The vanitie that is grafted in men, will make them delight to reade me: and therefore they will study it the harder, because they shall not take mee in their hands, as a severe Instructor. I will feede their minds with divers contemplations, as it were with a Landskip. Then, with the imaginations of danger, I will stirre up in them pittie, feare and horror. At last, when they are perplexed, I will relieve them, and make faire weather of a storm. Whom I please I will redeeme out of the hand of destinie; at my pleasure suffer to perish. I am well acquainted with the humors of our people: because they will believe that I trifle; I shall have them all. They will love me, as they doe the shoves of the Theater or the Tilt-yard. So having won their liking to the Potion, I will also add to it wholesome herbes. Vertues and vices I will frame, and the rewards of them shall sute to both. While they reade, while as not concerned in it, they shall be angry, or favor, they shall meete with themselves, and as in a Looking-glasse, shall see the face and merit of their owne fame. Perhaps, they will bee ashamed to play any longer that part upon the Stage of this World, which they shall perceiv in my Fable to have been duely set out for them. And lest they should complain that they are traduced, there shall be no man's picture to be plainly found there. To disguise them, I

will have many inventions, which cannot possibly agree to those that I entend to point at. For this liberty shall be mine, who am not religiously tyed to the truth of a History. So shall vices not men be galled, nor shall any have reason to bee offended, but he that first will basely confess himselfe defiled with those abominations, which I have so scourged. Besides I will everywhere give them imagined names, onely to personate both the vertues and vices. That in this my Booke, he shall erre, as well, that will have it all to be a true relation of things really done, as he that takes it to be wholly fained.

"Antenorius was tickled with this new kind of writing, and cheerfully rubbing his hands together, 'Bestow' (saith hee) 'if thou be a good fellow, Nicopompus, this labour upon the Common-wealth. If thou regardest thyselfe, or the age in which thou livest, thou art merely a debtor of it. Such a Booke will be long lyved, and convey the Author of it, with much glory, to posterity. But the profit of it will be infinite to rip up wicked men, and arme vertue against them.'"

We may gather from this that Nicopompus and his friends had great hopes of the book, and of the effect it would have, and we need not be surprised to find that at the end we have the boastful Latin verse that appears in other books of this period—"Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira," &c.

We are first introduced to Hyanisbe (Elizabeth) at p. 124 of the book. Poliarchus (Henry IV.) is represented as being on board a pirates' galley, by which he had been rescued from drowning together with his friend, Gelanorus (Duke of Bouillon). These two turned upon the pirates and, by their prowess with their swords, overcame them and got command of the ship. Then they find that on board there is much

treasure that has been taken from Hyanisbe, and so determine to steer their course to Mauretania (England) and restore her property to the Queen. This accordingly they accomplish, and to the Queen's great joy, who visits them on the galley, give back to her the great treasure she has lost. The story then proceeds (p. 124):—

"Towards evening the Noblemen sent by the Queen, came to Poliarchus, appointed by her to suffer him want no kind of courteous or hospitable entertainment. From them, in various discourses, he understood concerning the Queen thus much; that she was called Hyanisbe, and about three and twenty years since succeeded her brother Juba in the Kingdom. Before she came to the Crowne, she had been married to Siphax, a man of the most eminent qualitie, next the Kings, of all the Moors, who at the time of King Juba's decease, did also dye, leaving her with childe. That the Queene some months after was delivered of a sonne, whom she named Hiempsall, and he by the favour of the Gods had with his excellency of spirit outgone the wishes of his people, but that now to win himselfe honour among strangers, he was gone to travel in habit of a private person; into what Country, except only to the Queen, was unknown."

These statements concerning Queen Elizabeth are sufficiently startling. There are some that we know at once are untrue, and which, as Nicopompus says, "cannot possibly agree to those that I intend to point at." But there remains the statement that she *was* married to "a man of the most eminent qualitie, next the Kings, of all the Moors" (English), which would fairly agree with Leicester, though the death of her husband is erroneously stated. But then Nicopompus is "not religiously tyed to the truth of a History," as

he has told us. The description of the son Hiempsall (can anyone suggest the derivation of this name, or any hint wrapped up in its numerical value?) is most interesting in the fact that "to win himself honour among strangers he was gone to travel in the habit of a private person; into what country, except only to the Queen, was unknown."

Taking this son to be Bacon, it is curious to note how much mystery and concealment there has been about his travels in his youth. At that period it was quite the usual thing for a young man of birth and breeding to finish his education by an extended tour on the Continent and residence abroad for perhaps two or three years. That Bacon should do this would not be surprising, except that as the youngest son of Sir Nicholas—who was not a rich man—it might be thought more than his father could reasonably afford. But we have never had any very clear notion of how much time Bacon did spend abroad, or to what extent he travelled as a young man, beyond the two years that he spent in Paris from 1577—1579 with the English Ambassador, Sir Amyas Paulet. At this time he would be only 16 to 18 years of age. Rawley tells of this in his *Life of Bacon*, first published in the "Resuscitatio" in 1657, though he does not say plainly how long he was there, but leaves the matter vague, and certainly gives no hint of his having been anywhere else than in France. He dismisses the subject by saying, "Being returned from travel, he applied himself to the study of the Common Law," etc.

But in that other *Life of Bacon* prefixed to the "Histoire Naturelle," published in Paris in 1631, there are some few more particulars of Bacon's travels. I have dealt with this *Life* in *BACONIANA* for April, 1906.

Though this was the first *Life of Bacon* ever published, and coming out as it did in 1631, antedated

Rawley's Life by so many years, it is strange how completely it has been ignored by all English writers upon Bacon. Spedding, who spent so much time over and about Bacon, makes no allusion to it, and evidently knew nothing about it. Now this French Life gives some more details about Bacon's movements abroad. The author of it—whoever he was—says that Bacon spent several years of his youth in his travels; that he visited France, Italy and Spain, as being the most civilised nations of the world; and that as "he saw himself destined some day to hold in his hands the helm of the Kingdom" (a very remarkable phrase), he studied the laws and customs of the countries in which he resided rather than the people and their diversities of dress. But apparently any details or particulars of Bacon's travels were not known to his contemporaries, and have certainly remained unrecorded. It is only from this book of John Barclay's that we get a hint why this was the case—that "he was gone to travel in habit of a private person: into what country, except only to the Queene, was unknown." And we should remember that Barclay's "Argenis," with its interesting statement about the travels of Queen Elizabeth's son, came out ten years before the French Life from which I have quoted above, and was absolutely the first statement made upon the subject, and then only in this veiled and secret manner. Up to that time no one knew anything about Bacon's travels; "except only to the Queen" they were unknown.

But Barclay's fanciful story proceeds, and indeed he does take liberties with history. Radirobanes (Philip II.) is represented as landing in Mauretania (England) with a great army. Poliarchus (Henry IV.) is shown as undertaking the defence of the country for Hyanisbe (Elizabeth), and at last we have a terrific single combat between Poliarchus and Radirobanes, in which

the latter is killed and the former very severely wounded. He is conveyed to the Palace of Hyanisbe, and is there for a long time recovering from his wounds. It is difficult to see what Barclay's object was in concocting such a very fabulous history as this. But the tale works up to this with many episodes of "armes, marriages, blood and contentments." Through it all there is one character, Archombrotus, who takes a prominent part in affairs. His personality is not very clearly explained in the key, but we are told (p. 92) that he was a stranger to the State of Sicily (France), in which the action was chiefly laid. He, however, falls deeply in love with Argenis and becomes the rival of Poliarchus (Henry IV.) for her affections. It is not, however, until towards the end of the book that we are given clearly to understand who Archombrotus stands for. This is the part of the story that deals with Radiobanes' (Philip's) attack upon Mauretania (England), and the difficulties and troubles of Hyanisbe (Elizabeth) are forcibly set out (p. 347):

"Scarce were two days past, when shee (Hyanisbe) conferring with the Lords about the present occasions, word was brought her: that one of her sonne's servants (for he had onely carried two with him) was come into the Court. They were all of them astonished, and that felicity appeared to them not unlike the vanity of old fables: that in the just poynt of time any one should return, who could satisfie them of the Prince's health, and inform them whether they might send for him. But the cause of this sending his servant was this: Archombrotus, after he found that there was nothing that deferred his marriage with Argenis" (Margaret), "but onely the want of his mother's approbation, lest that should cause any delay in his most happy affaires, sent his servant to her with letters, such as a young man, and a Lover, and one who in those passions

had not yet forgotten his mother's authority, could indite. In summe Hyanisbe was his mother: and at home he was among his own people called Hyempsall: but being by his mother's command to travell into Grecia, and dissembling his qualitie, hee assumed a name suteable to that Nation. In his letters he did highly extoll his respect to his mother, that according to her command he had faithfully concealed the fortunes of his descent.* For the rest, that a felicitie was presented to him, which did outgoe all his wishes. The alliance with a most powerful King: the possession of Sicily" (France) "and a Lady, in whom the graces of her mind were more to be pryzed than so great an inheritance. Hee besought her that shee would give him leave to discover to the King, with whom, though unknowne he had been in such grace, the honour of his birth and quality. That shee would also send to him some of her principall Noble men, with money and such other necessary ornaments, as might magnifie Mauritania" (England) "to the Sicilians" (French) "who were to pass into his command" (p. 347).

This certainly gives us interesting and remarkable information about Queen Elizabeth's son. The story then goes on to say that the Queen was not only displeased with the letter, but "amazedly terrified" at it, so that the courtiers, seeing the change in her countenance, thought there was no good news of the Prince's health, and inquired of the servant who had brought

* In the deciphering of the biliteral from Bacon's "Natural History" (*Sylva Sylvarum*), 1635, Bacon says: "I have neede of the very caution which kept these secrets from the many, when my mother made me swear secrecy, and my life was the forfeit: nor may I now speake openly, yet many men for a Kingdom would break their oathe." "The Biliteral Cypher of Sir Francis Bacon," second edition, p. 346. Gay and Bird, London.

the letter what there was that had so affected the Queen. But he assured them that Hyempsall was not only in health, but also in highest grace and esteem among the strangers where he lived. Then the Queen saw the servant in private, and spoke to him in the following words: "I believe" (said she) "that my son hath sufficiently encharged to thee, the concealing from all here in what Countrey he now remains. Be thou, I pray thee, faithful therein: for I will have none of mine acquainted therewith" (p. 348).

Here, again, we have emphatic attention drawn to the secrecy attached to the travels of the Queen's son, to which I have before alluded. It seems as though this must have been an outstanding fact in Elizabeth's relations to Bacon, since attention is drawn to it in this marked manner, though why there should have been so much mystery made of it one cannot very well see. But evidently the author of the "Argenis" felt, or knew, that this secrecy, and the fact of the Queen only being cognisant of where her son was travelling, had some important bearing upon the secret story of Bacon's life that he was allowing the initiated to have some glimpses of, and that it was essential to the understanding of the tale that this fact should be borne in mind.

Queen Hyanisbe (Elizabeth) is at this juncture represented as being distraught with care by the attack of Radirobanes (Philip II.) on her kingdom, and this proposal of her son to marry the daughter of the King of Sicily (France). She therefore writes to her son a letter dealing with the whole case, and this letter is so important that I must here transcribe it (p. 348).

"Thus all dismaied shee tooke Paper in which shee wrote to this effect: 'What oddes there is between thy intentions and the fortunes of our affaires, thou mayest, my sonne, know by this: that scarce was Radirobanes his Herald, that from him denounced warre unto us,

out of our sight, when I received thy letters, wherein thou dost let me know, that thou predest upon a most unseasonable marriage. I give thanks to fortune and thy vertues, by which it is wrought, that being yet unknowne either for thy descent or meanes, Meleander (King of France) hath thought thee worthy his alliance. But thou shalt blemish thy honour, if being indulgent to thy affection, thou shalt suffer thy mother and thy Countrey to become a prey to the most injurious Radiobanes (Philip II.). Doe not prefer Sicily (France), however but a dowry, before thy mother's inheritance of Africa (England): which thou wilt hardly find in safety, except thou presently make haste hither. Thou knowest how much more easily things may be kept, then being once lost, be regained; after thou hast secured thy mother, after thy triumphs, and the glories of thy valour and piety, thou mayest return greater to thy agreements, and better worthy the deserving. But doe not charge upon Radiobanes only or the warre these delays, which by the authority of a mother I interpose between thee and this marriage. Thou art utterly ruined (my sonne) if thou dost not speake with me, before thou wedde Argenis (Marguerite). Returne instantly to thy dearest mother. Thou wilt in truth be glad, and believe that thou art abundantly rewarded for thy duetiful respect, even in this that thou hast obeyed me. For that thou mayest fully know my minde, it is so necessary, before the ceremony of thy marriage, that I acquaint thee with certain secrets, which may not be entrusted to Letters, nor to Messengers: that if thou dost neglect thy duety, I will deny myself to be thy mother. I will linke my selfe with Radiobanes, lest thou shouldest triumph upon my inheritance, and as it were the spoyles of me, whom with anguish of minde thou hast brought to my end. I now doe thinke that I have strictly enough delivered

this my charge to thee. I know thy disposition, which in no fortune or travelling thou canst put off or change. But that thou mayest not conceive that I will frowardly be crosse to all thy desires; I am not at all against thy discovering to the King of Sicily (France) that thou art my sonne. Who if he desires thee for his sonne-in-law, if with his daughter he will assure Sicily to thee: let him send with thee some competent forces with which thou mayest oppose the invading Sardinians (Spaniards). I will promise that thou shalt presently return into Sicily, after I have heere found thee a sonne, and Radirobanes an enemy. Farewell.' "

This is, I think, a sufficiently remarkable and interesting letter. I have taken the liberty of putting in brackets the equivalents as given by the key of various fantastic names. The period in the action of the story when this letter is written is just before the attack upon England of the Spaniards, which may be taken to be the Armada of 1588. But the attack in this tale is represented as being by land, and the hero in the defence on the side of Queen Elizabeth is Poliarchus (Henry IV. of France), who, after some stirring engagements between the two armies, meets Radirobanes in single combat—as I have before said—and kills him; a very fanciful and absurd tale. At the time of writing the above letter the Queen is represented as being greatly distressed at the prospect of the coming of the Spanish forces—as undoubtedly she was. It is interesting to note in the letter how the Queen practically forbids the marriage with Argenis, and yet in the end she temporises, in a thoroughly Elizabethan manner, and tells her son he may make himself known to the King of France, and if he desires him for a son-in-law, and will assure France to him, "let him send with thee some competent forces with which thou mayest oppose the invading Spaniards." It was so thoroughly in keeping

with Elizabeth's character to play a double game like this; and while rejecting the marriage, to make the prospect of it a pretext for obtaining assistance.

But, of course, all this part of the tale with reference to the attack and defeat of the Spaniards, and Henry of Navarre's part in that business, is thoroughly fantastic and fanciful. The rivalry, too, between Archombrotus (Bacon) and Poliarchus (Henry) for the love of Argenis (Marguerite), which at this point of the story is made an important feature, is also fanciful; for, taking the date at 1588, Marguerite and her husband, Henry of Navarre, had been married for some sixteen years, had already become very indifferent to each other, and had already been considering a divorce—at least Marguerite had—a consideration which became an accomplished fact ten years later in 1598. When Bacon first saw Marguerite in Paris in 1577 she had already been married for five years. As the cipher story tells us, he fell madly in love with her, and he had some scheme in his head—which would seem to us now-a-days sufficiently impracticable—of bringing about a divorce and marrying her himself. How long he kept working at this project we have no means of knowing, but apparently he carried it on for some time. Marguerite was almost exactly nine years his senior, and when he was sixteen, when he first met her, would be five-and-twenty. In Sir Amyias Paulet, with whom Bacon first stayed in Paris in 1577, he had a staunch friend, who tried to help him in his scheme for marriage. Bacon says of this in his cipher in the "New Atlantis," 1635 (the cipher completed by Rawley),* "When Sir Amyias Paulet becomed avised of my love, he propos'd that he should negotiate a treaty of marriage, and appropriately urge on her, pending case o' the divorce from the young Huguenot

* "Bi-literal Cipher," Second Edition, Gay & Bird, 1900, p. 337.

but for reasons of very grave importance these buds of an early marriage never open'd into flower."

It is curious that Bacon does not state what the "reasons of very grave importance" were; but it is equally curious to note that the Queen Hyanisbe, in the letter above quoted, interposed between her son and the marriage, and gave as a chief reason that before the ceremony he must be made acquainted with "certain secrets" which may not be entrusted to letters nor to messengers. Such agreement as this between two such different sources of information is, I think, very noteworthy.

The tale as unfolded by Barclay proceeds apace. As I have said before, there are scenes of attack and counter-attack between the two armies, and a highly fanciful episode introduced when one Sitalces on the Spanish side dedicates himself to the Infernal Powers on condition that victory shall be accorded to the Spaniards; the terms being that Sitalces should put himself in such a position of danger that he would be killed by the English, and his soul having then descended to the limbo of the infernal regions, all the powers of Satan would be used in favour of the Spaniards, and victory thus assured to them. A very pretty scheme as it stood. But Poliarchus is told all about it by a spy, and gives orders that Sitalces is to be taken alive and not to be hurt, so that his nefarious plot may prove abortive. And this is actually done, and when Sitalces is secured, safe and sound, the usual taunting messages are sent to the Spanish King Radirobanes (Philip II.). After this we have the stirring single combat between Poliarchus (Henry) and Radirobanes (Philip), in which Philip is killed and the Spanish army driven off. But Poliarchus is severely wounded, and though able to ride back to the palace of Hyanisbe with the arms and armour of Radirobanes carried as trophies,

he is laid up with his wounds for many days and confided to the tender care of the grateful and ever-thankful Queen.

While he is thus being nursed, the Queen's son—known among his own people as Hiempsall, and abroad as Archombrotus—arrives. When he arrives, Poliarchus, who has been looking forward to his coming with mild expectancy, finds out that this Hiempsall is none other than the hated Archombrotus, who has been trying to rob him of his Argenis; while Archombrotus discovers that the hero who has, by his prowess, saved his mother's kingdom is none other than the double-dyed villain Poliarchus, whose blood he has sworn to have; so—to use a modern phrase—the fat is in the fire, and poor Hyanisbe is at her wits' end to know how to prevent these two hot heads from cutting each other's throats, and there is a terrible "to do" all round. However, she manages it.

She orders her son, and implores Poliarchus, to preserve peace between them while they are with her. She assures them that if they will but wait until they can both return to Sicily (France) she will send letters with them to Meleander (the King of France) that will so entirely explain and clear up the situation to the satisfaction of both of them, and to all concerned, that her son Archombrotus will not be deprived of Argenis and yet that Poliarchus shall have her to wife, as he expected. Such a solution of the difficulty, and such a smoothing out of all troubles, seems impossible. But here we may call to mind the principles that Nicopompus, the author, enunciated when he set out to write his "Fable like a History." He said:

"Then with the imaginations of danger I will stirre up in them pittie, feare, and horror. At last, when they are perplexed, I will relieve them, and make faire weather of a storm. Whom I please I will redeeme out of the hand of destinie: at my pleasure suffer to perish.

. . . To disguise them, I will have many inventions, which cannot possibly agree to those that I intend to point at. For this liberty shall bee mine, who am not religiously tyed to the truth of a History."

So Hyannisbe writes a letter to Meleander, which she gives to her son Archombrotus to be delivered. Archombrotus and Poliarchus set out with their respective trains and fleets to return to Sicily (France), and the letter is duly presented to Meleander. And at the reading of this letter everything is indeed turned topsy-turvy, for therein (pp. 475-6) the Queen Hyannisbe (Elizabeth) upbraids Meleander (Henry II., King of France), for that in the first place he had concealed from her his secret marriage with her sister Anna! And, then, that after "Anna's" death, subsequent to his departure, he had never enquired if she had left any children; but that she had actually borne a fair son, whom she (Elizabeth) had brought up, and that he was none other than Archombrotus, to whom King Meleander had been so much drawn with affection; that he was indeed his son, and half-brother to Argenis, whom he had loved with more than a brother's love. But when all these explanations are made there is a general family re-union, and Argenis, delighted with her new-found brother, takes him "with both her hands about the necke" (p. 470). All quarrels are at an end between Archombrotus and Poliarchus, and nothing now stands in the way of the marriage between Argenis (Margaret) and Poliarchus (Henry of Navarre), and the wedding ceremony is duly celebrated with much rejoicing on all sides. Here, indeed, is "faire weather made of a storm," and the curtain is rung down with an epithalamium composed by the son of Nicopompus, scarce ten years old.

Thus ends this extraordinary "fable like a History," this bewildering jumble of fact and fancy. In this short account of it all I have but lightly skimmed over

the 483 pages of large quarto to which it extends. What of it is fact and what pure fiction? That is the puzzling question. We must carry in mind the warning that Nicopompus gave us when he stated the plan upon which he was working: "That in this my book, he shall erre as well that will have it all to be a true relation of things really done; as he that takes it to be wholly fained."

In this book we have it clearly stated that Queen Elizabeth before she came to the crown was married to a man of the most eminent quality, next the kings, of all the English; that she had by him a son; that this son travelled abroad and lived in France; that he fell in love with and desired to marry Marguerite, daughter of the King of France—she who was married to Henry, King of Navarre. Now, are these statements on the same plane of truth or fiction as the statements that Henry of Navarre came to help Queen Elizabeth in her defence of the kingdom against the attack of Philip II. of Spain; that he beat off the Spanish forces, and killed Philip with his own hand in single combat; that he himself was severely wounded in the fight and was nursed back to health by Queen Elizabeth in her palace? or that the King of France married Elizabeth's sister "Anna," who left behind her a son? These last statements we know are ridiculously contrary to historic truth; the other statements are confirmatory of those revealed by the cipher story and possibly belong to that part of the book where a man would err if he took it to be "wholly fained."

Or to look at it from another point of view. Did Barclay in writing this book desire to preserve in it certain important though, to the writer, highly dangerous historic facts; that to do this he adopted the plan of weaving these facts in with ridiculous fictions, so that it might be open to him or his friends in his defence

to say: "The statement that Queen Elizabeth was married and had a son is just as much pure fancy as that Henry of Navarre killed Philip II. in single combat, and need not be noticed"? While by the initiated and those who had some knowledge of the secret history of the times, these statements about Elizabeth would be recognised as true, and would stand for all time as a witness to the truth.

I think this book of Barclay's deserves very much more careful study and sifting than it has hitherto obtained. The key attached to the 1629 and subsequent editions, when taken in conjunction with the cipher story of Bacon's life, gives us the power to unlock and set forth the secret facts embedded in it; but we must remember that it is to the cipher story as recently deciphered from Bacon's biliteral that we owe the power of doing this. Before the cipher story had disclosed the marvellous secrets of Bacon's life, one might have read the "Argenis"—as it has been read any time during the past long period—without any intelligent appreciation of the statements about Queen Elizabeth, and would have set them down as no more truthful than all the other phantasies. Now, with the cipher story in mind, we read the tale of Argenis with a totally different understanding. In the same way the glosses upon the Shepherd's Calendar, when read in the light of the cipher story, gave unsuspected confirmation of the details of that narrative. If we could find a key to Sidney's "Arcadia" or to the "Fairy Queen," similar to that which has been supplied to the "Argenis," I feel confident that both these books would disclose much hidden and secret history of the Elizabethan period, and would without doubt confirm the revelations of the cipher story; showing Bacon to have been not only born to great and high position in the world, but also the greatest literary genius the world has ever known,

and the author of marvels in Poetry and Prose that have hitherto been attributed—and are still attributed by the literary men of England—to quite common individuals whom he used as his masks. The recognition of the true Bacon, and his enthronement on his own proper seat, will coincide with the acceptance of the story of his life and works which he left to us with such tremendous labour embedded in numerous books of the period in his great biliteral cipher.

Before concluding, I would say a few words about "The Key" at the end of the book, which explains, or is meant to explain, who are the persons under the "fained names." But some of the omissions are quite as important as the explanations. Hiempsall—whom we would like to know something about—is not referred to; and Archombrotus, the other name by which Queen Elizabeth's son is known, is explained in the Key as being the Duke D'Alencon, the son of the King of France, adopting in that way the phantastic tale that he was the son of Queen Elizabeth's sister "Anna." Meleander is said to be Henry III., but it is evident from the text that he stands for the King of France at various periods of the story. Argenis, again, is said to represent the French Crown or right of succession, but in the text (*e.g.*, Hyanisbe's letter to her son) she is clearly the daughter of the King of France, and afterwards marries Poliarchus (Henry IV.).

TIMOTHE BRIGHT.

THIS memoir, by Mr. W. J. Carlton (London: Elliott Stock, 1911), is exhaustive and full.

But upon the only material question, viz., as to who wrote the "Treatise of Melancholy" (1586) and "Characterie" (1588), Mr. Carlton cannot tell us much more than that the books are title-paged to Dr. T. Bright as author.

Dr. Bright, we are told, was born at Cambridge in 1550, became a subsizar at Trinity College in 1561, and graduated B.A. in 1568. His name does not appear upon the College books after Michaelmas, 1570, at which time he probably accepted service with and accompanied Sir Francis Walsingham to Paris. He was there at the time of the massacre in 1572, back in Cambridge in 1573, obtained a licence to practise medicine in 1575, and would appear to have practised at Cambridge until late in 1583. He may have written an English tract of forty-eight small pages, printed anonymously in London in 1580, called "A Treatyse wherein is declared the sufficiencie of English Medycines for cure of all diseases cured with medicine," but there is no certainty.

He probably did write and publish three small tractates in Latin (founded upon notes from which he taught), and entitled "Hygieina" (1582), "Medicinæ" (1583), and "Animadversiones" (1584), the latter being described by Dr. Norman Moore as not worth reading.

At Paris, he seems, in addition to Walsingham, to have met Sir Philip Sidney. At Cambridge he would, of course, be known to Whitgift the Master, and to young Francis Bacon.

In 1584 he was appointed physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, the emoluments comprising a house and garden, free fuel, and a fee of £2 annually.

In 1586 there was published in London a book, entitled a "Treatise of Melancholy, by T. Bright, Doctor of Phisicke." Mrs. Gallup affirms that in bilateral cipher Francis Bacon claims that he wrote this "Treatise," as well as the subsequent augmentations of it, published after Bright's death, entitled the "Anatomy of Melancholy." The circumstance that Mrs. Gallup in the course of her deciphering found out that the "Treatise" was in part printed by Vautrollier, and in remaining part by Windet, and that a complete cipher story runs through the italic letters in the Vautrollier part and concludes in the Windet, might have been accepted as confirmation of the good faith of her decipher. But it was not.

Mr. Carlton calls Mrs. Gallup's statement a "staggering theory" and an "amazing proposition."

That he should so describe an assertion of fact, only shows how the judgment of a level-headed man may be upset when met with something entirely opposed to his line of assumption, and for which he was unprepared. Mr. Carlton alleges that the "fallacies and inconsistencies" of this (the Bright) part of Mrs. Gallup's story are "so self-evident as to carry their own refutation." He would have been wise to have stopped at that exhibition of mental fireworks. But he has proceeded to assert that the *volumes* which bear the name of Bright and those issued as the work of Burton are "palpably dissimilar in style and matter."

Bright's Latin "volumes" may surely be ruled out of this controversy. Until one has opportunity of reading the "Treatise of English Medicine" and "Characterie" one can only remark that the extracts from them which Mr. Carlton gives, furnish very little support to his contention.

Comparison of style can only be between the 1586 "Treatise" and the 1621 "Anatomy," which means that

the style of a youth at 26 has to be contrasted with his style at 61, after a life of widely varying literary activities. Such a test manifestly cannot settle the point.

Then as to "matter," Mr. Carlton admits that both "authors" adopted the same plan, which, to say the least, is suspicious. The later author (as Dr. Rimbault's tabulation shows) is more exact and compact in his definitions. This is consistent with revision by the original author later in life. There is a likelihood that Bacon when he revised the "Treatise" would adhere to his own original plan. If Mr. Carlton will be at some trouble he will, on comparing the two books, find the "Anatomy" repeating the very words of the "Treatise." As an instance, compare the following:—

"You feel the wrath of God kindled against your soule and anguish of conscience most intollerable and can finde (notwithstanding continuall prayers and incessant supplications made unto the Lord) no release and in your own judgment stand reprobate from God's covenant and voide of all hope of his inheritance." (Bright, p. 252.)

"God's heavy wrath is kindled in their souls and notwithstanding their continual prayers and supplications to Christ Jesus they have no release or ease at all but a most intolerable torment and unsufferable anguish of conscience." (Burton, 575. Edition 1821.)

Certain German literary critics are satisfied, says Mr. Carlton, that "Shakespeare" studied the "Treatise."

Yes, as Bacon wrote the "Treatise" as well as the Shakespeare works, it is not surprising that the novel phrase, "discourse of reason," which he uses in the "Treatise," and which Mr. Carlton states was at one time thought to be exclusively Shakespearean (*Hamlet*, 1603), he also used in his "Gesta Grayorum"

(1595), in his letter to Earl Rutland (1596), and his "Advancement of Learning" (1604).

Nor is it other than consistent that a man of Bacon's wide activities, frequently suffering ill-health, should have studied its causes, written upon it in the name of his assistant Bright, and used in delineating character in his dramas the knowledge of "physiological psychology" so acquired. In "Planetomachia," published in 1584—5, under the vizard of Greene, young Francis Bacon styled himself "student in physicke."

I say assistant because that, I think, explains Bright's true position. A trained Bachelor of Arts of Francis Bacon's own college (perhaps one of his tutors), skilled in medicines, and capable of conversing in French, would be the sort of man young Francis would be glad to have assisting him.

Bacon's great trouble was the difficulty of getting enough money to pay his helpers in the large task—the renaissance of English literature—to which he had devoted himself.

If Bright came to him in 1584, the extraordinary stir which caused two of the Queen's Ministers and her Household Treasurer to insist upon Bright having the hospital residence and perquisites instead of their going to the nominee of the College of Physicians was probably due to young Bacon's private pressure.

The next event in order of date was a movement by Vincent Skinner, a fellow M.P. and friend of Francis Bacon (both being nominees of Lord Burleigh), to induce a mutual friend, Michael Hicks, one of Burleigh's two confidential secretaries, to obtain letters patent for a system of shorthand alleged to have been invented by Bright, and for other works to be produced by him. Skinner married a first cousin of Lady Anne Bacon. His letter to Hicks is dated from Enfield House (Middlesex), 30th March, 1586, and Hicks is made to

understand that his success in procuring the patent to be granted could probably be rewarded! The patent was a long time before being granted, and meantime the "Treatise of Melancholy," dedicated in the following May (1586), was printed without its protection and without entry at Stationers' Hall.

By July, 1588, Hicks' intervention with the Cecils had succeeded, and on 26th July royal letters patent were granted to Bright and his assigns for fifteen years next ensuing to teach, print and publish in or by "Character." Then follows a grant of a still more remarkable privilege to Bright and his assigns *to print and sell all such books as he theretofore had or thereafter should make devise compile translate or abridge to the furtherance of good knowledge and learning.*

"Characterie" is a book of about 250 small pages—a poor reason, one would think, for letters patent; but they really would serve as an excellent protection for a series of all manner of new books.

In 1589 was printed by Vautrollier the "Arte of English Poesie," written through command of the Queen by a person who preferred to remain anonymous, and who must have been Francis Bacon. To this book the Queen herself seems to have contributed. On its title-page is the wood block impression "Anchora Spei," which Vautrollier had used in Edinburgh in 1584 when he printed the King of Scotland's pamphlet on the art of Scottish poetry.

In the year 1589 an abridgment of "Foxe's Book of Martyrs" was printed by Windet, under protection of the letters patent, and ascribed to the authorship of Bright.

The haphazard materials collected by Foxe were in the abridgment reproduced in a *connected, flowing, harmonious manner.*

The address to the "Christian Reader" assures him

“there is not a book under the Scriptures more necessary for a Christian to be conversant in.” If the further passage, as to the comparative use of abridgments (quoted at page 112 of Mr. Carlton’s book), was not written by Bacon, then I know nothing about Bacon’s prose style. The patent saved the writer from the interference of the Stationers’ Company, who owned the copyright of the book abridged.

In October, 1589, the Queen gave to young Francis the reversion to the office of Clerk to the Star Chamber and the £1,600 per annum salary, which would accrue to him when the then occupant died or vacated the post. This gift is significant of her satisfaction with the above publications of the year.

In 1590 Francis was concerned in the production of the “*Faerie Queene*” and a variety of lighter publications under the vizards of Peele, Greene and Watson.

Nothing suitable for the gravity of Dr. Bright’s nominal occupation was printed during that year; but Bright, through the influence of Whitgift, was given a parish curacy of £8 per annum, and a few months later was given a better living at Stanford Rivers, in Essex, *in the gift of the Crown Duchy of Lancaster*.

In the meantime Bright was totally neglecting his duties at the hospital, and was in such disgrace that he was about being supplanted and dismissed. Manifestly it was undesirable that his name should appear as author at that critical period.

In 1591 Bright was again neglecting his duties—why, it does not appear; but my expectation is he was working hard, copying from dictation and transcribing for Bacon.

Between September, 1591, and March, 1591-2, he was dismissed and cleared out of his house at the hospital. In the following June, however, Bright was provided for by being preferred to the Rectory of Methley, in Yorkshire, *in the gift of the Queen*.

Friends in high places must have been helping him. These could not have been either Walsingham nor Sidney, who were both dead. He was tied by private bond to Whitgift, and others, to join in appointing their nominee as his successor at Methley in case he resigned.

It was probably owing to the chagrin which Francis must have felt in having to part with so valuable an assistant as Bright must have been to him that he addressed his celebrated letter of 1592 to Lord Burleigh, in which he announced that he had taken all *knowledge for his province* and must have some salaried office which would give him "commandment of other wits than his own." His letters patent scheme had entirely broken down, because he had not the means to pay his assistant's salary, and Bright was far away in Yorkshire. Alternative expedients had been found unworkable.

Bright quarrelled with his parishioners at Methley and was moved to another parish twelve miles away—also *in the gift of the Crown Duchy*. Here he died in the year 1615. His Will affords no light upon his literary activities, if he really had any. It is very strange that, upon the assumption of his capacity for authorship, he took no further advantage of the fifteen years free literary privileges granted by the letters patent of 1588. It is significant, too, upon the view I am presenting, that Bright's eldest son was in 1599 admitted a student of Gray's Inn, where Bacon resided.

In reference to "Characterie," Mr. Carlton, alluding to Mrs. C. M. Pott's opinion that Bacon first introduced the art of shorthand, remarks that she has "out-Galluped Mrs. Gallup." It is unfortunate that some men who seek to pass as authorities in literary matters are so self-conscious of a sort of sex superiority

as to permit themselves to be impertinent to women writers.

I am not aware of any ciphered claim by Bacon that he wrote the "Characterie," nor was he interested in doing so, as it was so much improved upon during his lifetime as to have become of no public utility. Besides, he was out for bigger things than the fame of being the "father of modern shorthand."

Yet, surely Mrs. Pott's opinion is entitled to the like generosity of treatment which Mr. Carlton accords to the unsupported speculation of a Mr. Blades, that the Stratford player was once in the employment of Vautrollier.

I see no reason why Bacon and Bright may not have jointly tried to devise a method whereby Bacon's words could be written down at dictation more rapidly than by the then existing mode of abbreviating.

Nor can I understand how Bright (hard up as Skinner said he was) could have ventured alone to get letters patent for a not very valuable device, nor afterwards have gone to the expense of printing it partly on vellum.

"Characterie" was, it seems to me, only a stalking horse to secure a wide protection for certain future literary productions contemplated by Bacon, a scheme which through Bright's dismissal and removal into Yorkshire entirely broke down. I can hardly suppose that Mrs. Pott expressed her opinion until she had read the "Epistle Dedicatorie," which to my, and doubtless to her, thinking is written in fine Baconian prose. This dedication contains a large number of references to Cicero, who, to slightly alter Mr. Carlton's phrase, was presumably the "father of ancient shorthand."

Bacon consulting his Cicero upon the shorthand question doubtless led to his reading once more the life of this accomplished Roman and suggested the

writing of a story about him. Anyway, a few months later, a novelette, entitled "Ciceronis Amor," was printed by Francis in the name of Greene.

Again, I observe a strong family likeness in form between the synoptical table attached to "Characterie" and the synoptical table in Bacon's "Advancement of Learning."

On the whole, I consider Mrs. Pott's view quite a plausible one. May I respectfully hint to Mr. Carlton and the unknown *Daily Chronicle* reviewer, whose sneers at Baconians directed me to the book, that until they are prepared to accept Mrs. Gallup as the witness of truth, and her deciphered work as honest and genuine, their sojourn in the kingdom of the blind in Elizabethan literary happenings is likely to be prolonged.

PARKER WOODWARD.

BACON ON VERACITY.

BACON has an Essay on this subject, entitled "Of Simulation and Dissimulation," and, as usual, we come across sentiments that surprise us. He appears to approve of the use of falsehood when great uses are to be secured by it. In the *Promus* he twice quotes the Spanish maxim, which he also refers to in the Essay, "*Di mentira y sagueras verdad*" (Tell a lie and find the truth) ("Promus," 267, 610). This maxim is also referred to in the "Advancement," II., xxiii. 18; and "De Augmentis," VIII., "Works," V., 61.

In all these passages Simulation or Dissimulation seems to be regarded as something indispensable under certain contingencies. Thus in the Essay he writes, "To discover the mind of another . . . it is a good

shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, *Tell a lie and find the truth*; as if there were no way of discovery but by simulation." It may be asked, Did Bacon himself make this use of falsehood? I think he did. He suggested a "lie for discovery" in dealing with Peacham:—"I think also it were not amiss to make a false fire, as if all things were ready for his going down to his trial, and that he was on the very point of being carried down—to see what that would work with him" ("Life," V. 123).

This recalls the line in *Hamlet* (III., ii., 237)—"What, frightened with false fire?" Doubtless, false fire scarcely amounts to wilful falsehood; but there is some affinity between them, and if it is lawful then veracity has its limitations. False fire may take rank with Bacon's habit of writing letters which others were to send as if from themselves. This is alluded to in the "Essex Apology," and we have specimens of such letters written for Anthony Bacon, Essex, and Walsingham. These are specimens of simulation, in which, however, there is nothing morally wrong.

The maxim is both referred to and illustrated dramatically in many passages of Shakespeare. A very typical case of the "lie for discovery" is given in *Hamlet*. Polonius is sending his servant Reynaldo to Paris, where his son Laertes is staying; and he directs him to find out what sort of life Laertes is living in Paris—good or bad, moral or immoral (*Hamlet* II., i., 1—73).

Reynaldo is to get into conversation with some acquaintance of Laertes and he is to enquire about Danskers (Danish caterers for amusement), whether Laertes and they are acquainted. Then he is to profess some distant knowledge of Laertes—*not much*—"but if 'tis he I mean, he's very wild; addicted so and so; and then put on him what forgeries you please"—only nothing too dishonourable:—

Gaming, drinking, swearing, quarrelling, drabbing.

Here's my drift,

And I believe it is a fetch of warrant,

[A device that is conventionally approved]

You laying these slight sullies on my son.

As 'twere a thing a little soiled in the working,

Mark you—your party in converse,

. . . Closes with you in this consequence, thus :—

[Falls into the track of your discourse and pursues it thus :—]

“ I know the gentleman,

I saw him yesterday, or t'other day,”—

and then he talks a little scandal; and Reynaldo obtains the information for which he has been fishing :—

See you now

Your bait of falsehood takes this carp of truth : [You land your fish :]

And thus do we of wisdom and of reach,

With windlasses and with assays of bias, [By circuitous courses

Baines quotes Golding's *Ovid* to illustrate this,

And like a wily fox he runs not forth directly out,

But makes a windlass o'er all the champion fields about.]

By indirections, find directions out.

[By crooked, scarcely honest, practices, like one who “ wrings from the hard hands of peasants their vile trash, by any *indirection*.”]

Here is a very forcible instance of the “ lie for discovery.”

This stratagem is often referred to by Shakespeare—the use of falsehood to defeat crime or secure some great advantage. Diana cheats Bertram in this way, wins him for herself, and saves the honour of another, whom he endeavours to seduce (*All's Well*, Act V.); and she moralises on her device thus :—

I think 't no sin

To cozen him that would unjustly win.—IV. ii., end.

Isabella cheats Angelo in the same way for the sake

of Juliet. Being a nun, and therefore intensely religious, she shrinks from the falsehood, but ultimately consents.

To speak so indirectly I am loath,
I would say truth : . . . 'tis a physic
That's bitter to sweet ends.

—*Measure for Measure*, IV., vi., 1.

We also read of

The seeming truth which cunning times put on
To entrap the wisest.—*Merchant of Venice*, III., ii., 100.

This is the comment which Bassanio makes when he refuses the gold and silver caskets and prefers the leaden one, which proves to be the right one. And the philosophy of it all is given in the most philosophical of all the Shakespearean plays:—

While others fish with craft for great opinion,
I with great truth catch mere simplicity.
Whilst some with cunning gild their copper crowns,
With truth and plainness I do wear mine bare.
Fear not my truth : the moral of my wit
Is "plain and true" ; there's all the reach of it.

—*Troilus and Cressida*, IV., iv., 102.

Bacon in all these cases touches the dividing line between good and evil. This is the very growing-ground of casuistry, but there is no hesitation in confronting it and meeting all its subtleties. Amidst all its entanglements his conclusion is, "plain and true," although he recognises the possible necessity of art and craft in great emergencies, such as those dramatically presented in *Measure for Measure* and *All's Well*. And he shows that the apparent falsity may be perfectly innocent, as in the choice given to Bassanio among the caskets, and, we may add, in the trap laid to catch Peacham. The "small forgeries" are suggested by exactly the kind of character who might be suspected of such a stratagem—Polonius, the courtier of somewhat

limited intellectual ability, and living in an atmosphere of intrigue and statecraft.

Bacon does not in his philosophy discuss abstract questions of morality; his conclusions are dramatically secreted in the plays. The obligations of veracity which are so much disputed in casuistry are recognised, while the limitations are also indicated. These limits are recognised by moral philosophers, and if one is dealing with a man who is seeking knowledge to facilitate crime, then there is no obligation to tell him the truth—it may be better to mislead him. This is admirably put by Martineau:—"If beneath a mask which I detect, I see the features of a 'false brother,' and know he seeks truth in order to desecrate it, and that the more I give him command of the right relations of things the more will he plunge into the wrong ones, then I am not disloyal to the real order of affairs in the world if I keep it from him, even by telling him something else. On the contrary I uphold the inmost spirit of that order by preventing its being turned into an accomplice of crime; and I should be a traitor to it if I delivered its loaded arms into a villain's hands. . . . Without a certain moral *consensus* the commonwealth of truth cannot be constructed and cannot be entered. This use of falsehood applies to robbers, assassins and insane persons" ("Types of Ethical Theory," II., 262).

Much more might be cited in elucidation of these knotty points, and students of Bacon's concrete philosophy might advantageously supplement their study by careful reading of Martineau's abstract philosophy.

R. M. THEOBALD.

DISGUISED PORTRAITS.

FRANCIS ST. ALBAN.

A COLLECTION of portraits of Francis Bacon Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, has been gradually made and examined by Mrs. Henry Pott with the view of comparing them with other portraits which she regards for the most part as "counterfeit presentments" of supposed authors and suspects in whose authorship she has no belief. The following brief notes may, perhaps, lead others to look into this much scorned and neglected department of Baconian research.

Those who take the trouble to investigate, and who do not "judge before they please to understand," will find this field of inquiry both profitable and beguiling.* It is absolutely necessary, in order to pursue the chase to any useful purpose, that the hunter should make quite sure of what he is hunting after. She therefore begins by giving a brief summary of the chief points which appear conspicuously in every true portrait of Francis St. Alban.

Characteristics.

1. An unusually high and capacious brow, often concealed by a hat.

(In the dining-room at Gorhambury are (or were) two portraits—identical; the one with and the other without the hat.)

2. A delicately chiselled but strongly aquiline nose.

3. Fine frontal arches. The eyes deep-set, although

* Mrs. H. Pott will be glad to give assistance, or to prevent needless re-doing of the deed done, if any member of the Bacon Society or the Guild of Francis St. Alban please to apply to her.

some of the inferior or "disguised" portraits do not show this.

4. A delicate mouth, with the line described by artists as "the Cupid's bow." This is a marked feature in the best portraits of Queen Elizabeth.

Such a mouth, with a small, pouting under-lip, has been noted by Hepworth-Dixon as "*a jester's mouth.*"

5. There is a fine outline to the face, narrowing from the broad brows to the firm and rather pointed chin.

6. The facial lines are strongly marked. With care and age the forehead becomes deeply furrowed.

7. Comparison of many portraits, natural and disguised, seems to show that he possessed the power, observable in some actors, of altering his own appearance by contracting or raising the muscles of his eyes—one or both. In some of his portraits the eyebrows are *straight*, not arched. In one woodcut they are seen raised at the outer corners; in another example raised crookedly or irregularly towards the nose. One woodcut makes him squint inwardly; another outwardly.

8. The best portrait of Francis in childhood is probably the beautiful terra-cotta bust preserved at Gorhambury. Here the hair close-clipped enables us to see the extraordinary development of the cranium at the back. The print shows this, but it gives no idea of the charm of that childish face and the prettiness of the mouth. Intentionally or not, a long upper lip has been made to give a wrong impression.

(Comparison between this print and the supposed portraits of "*Milton*" may be suggestive.)

9. In boyhood, from twelve years old to young manhood, we see him represented with hair growing high on his forehead, with one large curl upstanding and the rest of his hair in light curly waves.

10. In most of the portraits the face is taken in three-

quarter profile, and in nearly all the eyes have a side-long glance towards the spectator.

It is also noticeable that in most "*Baconian*" portraits (that is, in the ostensibly "Bacon" portraits, and in the disguised or "counterfeit presentments" of him under many different names) the eyes do not look truly in the same direction. This will be understood by any observer who will hold a card first over one eye and then over the other. It will usually be found that one eye looks at the spectator—the other is looking and thinking of something else. This is evidently one of the many devices for conveying intelligence to initiates in the "*speculative*" society, but as yet the meaning cannot be interpreted.

Baconians should take some pains to observe and familiarise themselves with these particulars; they will then discover that the many changes in the proportions and features of the various portraits of Francis St. Alban, through all stages from childhood upwards, are changes devised for the purpose of harmonising the disguised portrait of Bacon with an equally disguised portrait of one of his masks or vizors—some member of his secret society whose bounden duty it was (and still is) to hand down the lamp of tradition, and to preserve for the future ages the record of his stupendous work for the benefit of the human race.

BACON IN ITALY.

IN our January number I discussed the probability of Francis Bacon having travelled through France with Montaigne. I am now going to follow their journey through Italy.

In Vol. 6 of BACONIANA Mr. L. Biddulph reviewed a book by J. M. Robertson, "Montaigne and Shakespeare," showing how the plays are impregnated with Montaigne's views and philosophy. "We seem to see," says Robertson, "passing from Montaigne to Shakespeare a vibration of style as well as thought." And again: "The influence of Montaigne on Shakespeare was not a mere transference or imposition of opinions, but a living stimulus, a germination of fresh intellectual life which developed under new forms."

Strange coincidences of expression, too, are noted, such as "discourse of reason," "discourse of thought," "to roughly hew." Mr. Biddulph says acutely, "It is hard to explain the bare-faced manner in which Shakespeare is here shewn to steal from Montaigne." Then he asks us to consider the racy English of Florio's so-called translation of Montaigne's Essays, and compare it with Bacon's also racy English. He says the "style, which I believe consists of words, expressions and modes of thought, will be found to be almost identical in both authors." Once again we are confronted with the unprincipled plagiarism of the Stratfordian idol of the market-place. It is quite a common thing to find it said that Shakespeare had Montaigne's Essays in MS. lying on his study-table! Perhaps "Our Shakspeare" had! We Baconians very generally hold that the French Essays known as Montaigne's were written first in English by Bacon—the better and greater part of them; that he kindled the candles of France with his torch by their publication in French.

under the mask of his brother Anthony's friend, Michel Eyquiem, Sieur de Montaigne, a member of Council of Perigord. In support of this belief I don't find De Thou in his "*Mémoires*" alluding to him as a great author. He says he got light from him, but when he goes into detail we find it is with regard to French affairs. De Thou describes Montaigne as follows:—

"An honest man, the enemy of all constraint, one who had entered into no cabal, and was instructed in French affairs, principally those of Guyenne, his native Province."

Sainte Beuve certainly calls Montaigne the "wisest Frenchman that ever lived"; but, on the other hand, "the celebrated French Essayist," whose Essays rank among the few great books of the world, is not even mentioned in any of the eleven editions of the '*Dictionnaire Critique et Historique de Pierre Bayle*,' published in folio, 1695"; while "the grave and monument to Montaigne bear no witness to his having been an author. The gravestone has no epitaph or record; the monument in the Cours de Science, Victor Hugo, bears a Greek inscription describing Montaigne as a patron of young scholars."† In the "French Men of Letters Series," edited by Alex. Jessop, Montaigne is undertaken by Edward Dowden, LL.D., who says this of him: "He is still a challenge to criticism." "He still eludes us" (!) "Is it humanity we are coming to know through this curious exemplar of our race?" And "How shall we capture *Proteus* and induce him to sit for his portrait?" adding, with rare intuition, "whose unity consists in his being manifold" (!). Dowden calls Montaigne "The occupant of the philosophic tower" and "Pharos of illumination"; in other words, our Beacon, pronounced in Elizabeth's day, Bacon.

° Vol. 4, BACONIANA, p. 56. † *Ibid.*, p. 207.

It will therefore be seen that Montaigne becomes a factor in one's study of Bacon, and that the notion of his using the Sieur de Montaigne as a good-hearted, sensible guide in his European travels is not a far-fetched one.

And now we will resume the journey when young D'Esstissac with his suite, bound for Italy, equipped with recommendations to Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara, from Henri III. and Catherine de Medicis, having met Montaigne, reached Basle.

We find Bacon in his *Essay of Travel* advising a traveller: "Let him upon his removes from one place to another procure recommendations to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth, that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know." At Basle we get into Baconian touch again with this *Essay*. We are told that there Montaigne, to experience habits and manners different to those he was accustomed to, preferred at all costs to have his meals served according to the fashion of the country he was in—acting on Bacon's principle when he advises the traveller to "sequester himself from the company of his Country-men and diet in such places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth." "To suck experience" was Bacon's great idea in travelling. Via Baden, Scaffhausen, Constance, and Kempten, the party reached romantic little Füssen, whose old castle, built 1322 by a Bishop of Augsburg, is so connected with the history of Bavaria. From there they rode to Hohenschwangau, the favourite castle of Ludwig II., commanding Alpensee and its mountains, and to Schwanstein, the castled crag now known as Neuen-schwanstein. From there they went north to Augsburg and Munich, only to drop down again, a week later, into the beautiful Tyrol. The *Fama* or *Confession* of the Rosicrucians reached the Tyrol in MS. before

ever it was published by the Fraternity, in Cassel, 1614. Augsburg is a centre of Freemasonry to-day (I was told so at Ober Ammergau this last year), and it is interesting to know that our party stayed there five days—longer than in many another city. The Lutheran community engaged their special attention, as it did also at Kempton; and the Jesuits, too, as in other places.

On their way to Mittenwald, Seefeld and Innsbruck one wonders if the party stopped at Ettal, so near their line of route. It is the old Dominican Monastery, founded 1333, from which emanated in 1633 the great Ober Ammergau Passion play, the original text of which is said to be a combination of an Augsburg one of the 15th century, and one written by an Augsburg Meister-singer of the 16th century.

Ettal would have been a very small *détour*, if any, and Montaigne was in the habit of making *détours* to visit little-known places. Innsbruck is described as a very beautiful little town, from which the party made an excursion to kiss the hand of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, who, cold and haughty, refused them an audience. And now by the highway connecting the two great merchantile centres, Augsburg and Venice, which they found "much frequented by merchants, coaches and carts," they made for Verona, *via* Sterzing, Kolman, Borzano, Bronzolo, Trent and Rovereto. Following the Adige, they reached the rock-built fort of Chiusa; then, sleeping at Volargne, they drew rein before mass, on All Saints' day, before the old palace of the Scaligers in the Piazza St. Anastasia in Verona.

Shakespeare never staged Florence and Ferrara, which Montaigne tells us were so well known that lacqueys even could talk glibly about them. But Verona—yes, twice; though the "*Two Gentlemen*" does not convince us that its author himself was personally

ever in Verona. But *Romeo and Juliet*, on the contrary, is steeped in its fascinating atmosphere. A citizen of the world, a resident in Rome, said to me once "The plays always strike me as approaching Italy from within." This is eminently true of *Romeo and Juliet*. The "*Two Gentlemen*" is said to have been the work of Shakespeare's early life; it may well have been, but *Romeo and Juliet*, first printed in 1597, was certainly written after All Saints' day, 1581. J. G. Ordish, in his "London Theatres," p. 97, says that Mr. Halliwell-Phillips believed that *Romeo and Juliet* was brought out at the Curtain Theatre in its first period. Marston's "Scourge of Villainie," 1598, mentions it. Lord Hunsdon's company produced it between July, 1596, and April, 1597.

The Journal calls the hospitable house where D'Esstissac put up, the Cavaletto or Chevalet, and adds for our information that their host owned one of the adjacent tombs, as he was one of the family. What family? The Scaligers? Their tombs certainly are close by the Piazza in which the old palace stood. The *Londres* or *Deux Tours* Hotel of to-day stands on the same ground and is said to be a part of the old Scala Palace. Close to it runs the *Viccolo Cavaletto*, forming another link with the past.

It speaks of the vast quay on the Adige and of its three bridges, one of which, the Scaligers, abuts, as we know, upon the Castel Vecchio. This may have been the one visited by Montaigne, and in the Monastery of Saint Bernardino, whose church and library are reached from that castle, courteous Franciscan monks are still living. Bacon, in his Essay "Of Travel," recommends travellers to visit Monasteries, and D'Estissac and his party made it their duty to inspect every one they came across. Both in Verona and Vicenza they visited the churches and cells of the

Friars of the Gesuati Order, and showed themselves greatly interested in their distillations of perfumes and drugs. These "poor little ones of Jesus" were a mendicant Order, framed on Saint Francis, named the Friars of Saint Jerome, and were under the rule of Saint Augustine. These Gesuati monks were founded by a wealthy, holy Sienese, the blessed San Giovanni Colombini. Though I trace the original of Friar Lawrence in *Romeo and Juliet* to a Friar in Verona, I do not think this was he.

Francis Bacon in this same Essay "Of Travel" says: "When a traveller returneth home let him not leave the country where he hath travelleth altogether behind him, but maintain and cultivate a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth." In his "Observations on a Libel" Francis tells us who he considers "the worthiest men of all sorts," amongst whom he specifies "gentlemen that are lights and guides in their own countries . . . wise and discreet statesmen." And true enough, we find him in correspondence with Friar Fulgenzio Manfredi of Brescia, the private secretary of Friar Paul, just *such a one*, to whom he alludes as "excellent Father Paul." This was Fra Paolo Sarpi, founder of the Servite Order, the servants of the poor. Friar Paul, seven years older than Francis Bacon, was of all men of that time the one most after his own heart. As an anatomist he shares with Harvey the honour of discovering the circulation of the blood, due, as has been pointed out, to our Shakespeare.* As an astronomer he was the father of Galileo. Dr. W. Bedell, chaplain to Sir H. Wotton, says Sarpi was "holden a miracle in all manner of knowledge, divine and human." He died in 1623. Notwithstanding his friendship with princes and correspondence with all the wise and great men, he lived to the end of his life

* "I am the Storehouse" (*Coriolanus* I. i.).

in his cell performing contracts of marriage and all good Friar's work.

Now, about the time of D'Estissac's visit to Verona, Friar Paul was there inspecting monasteries officially, though he is not mentioned in the Journal; and if D'Estissac was Francis Bacon, as I suspect, he must have met and known Sarpi, if not in Verona then in Venice, where Sarpi went directly afterwards, to become its great Statesman.

One of Bacon's distinct recommendations to those travelling is to "see and visit eminent persons, in all kinds, which are of great name abroad." It is Friar Paul, one of the most eminent men of his time, whom we see reflected in Father Lawrence in *Romeo and Juliet*, as I think. True, Friar Lawrence is pictured as an old man and Friar Paul was only forty when the play was first printed, but in 1623, when the Folio appeared, he was nearly seventy, with a wonderful record of work done for the cause of liberty of thought in Venice. Anagrams were composed in those days of words and letters running backward as well as forward. Laurance and Paul both contain the letters *lau*, running in one forward, in the other backward; but this, of course, may not signify anything. What does matter is that the Friar who called Romeo "Son," was most Baconian in his wisdom, trying to discipline the fierce passion of the unlucky lovers by teaching which they refused to accept. It is this philosophy of Friar Lawrence which makes the folly and rashness of the unfortunate pair greater by contrast; who, had they not been so headstrong and passionate, might have lived and been happy ever after; though, on the other hand, had their love been more reasonable the sublime tragedy had never been written.

Prince Escalus is said to be taken from Prince Bartolomeo della Scala, more renowned in literature than

history, which fact should give Stratfordians pause. He welcomed Dante to his Court, and his chief desire was to govern Verona in peace. The factions which Escalus hated were, of course, as real a part of true history as they are a part of the play of *Romeo and Juliet*. The rival houses of Montague and Capulet were the Monticoli or Montecchi, Ghibellines, and the Cappaletti, or Guelphs. For the tragic story of the lovers there seems no foundation in Verona, though Mr. Douce found one in Greek literature. Perhaps, had we been allowed to explore his MSS. left to the British Museum, we might have found information on this and other matters; but, alas! that bequest, like others, has been kept dark and secret. With reference to mine host of D'Estissac's Inn, I would suggest that it might have been Joseph Scaliger—the poet and the very learned man who, a strong Protestant, held a professorship in Geneva, and was more than likely a friend of Anthony Bacon and his brother. Like the Orso in Rome, the Inn in Verona may have been run by the noble family to whom the property belonged. The fact that the host owned one of the Scala tombs argues that he was a descendant of the old Scala family. Joseph Scaliger's great friend and patron was De la Rochezay, the French Ambassador, with whom Montaigne and D'Estissac had much to do in Rome.

Verona's antiquity is lost in mystery. It is traced back to the sixth century B.C., so it is not surprising to find Shake-Speare alluding to it as "Old Verona" in the *Taming of the Shrew*. Nor is it surprising that the Balcony should be introduced conspicuously in the play of *Romeo and Juliet*. Ruskin says: "The chief city of Italy as regards the strict effect of the Balcony is Verona, and if we were once to lose ourselves among the sweet shadows of its lonely streets, where the falling branches of the flowers stream like fountains

through the pierced traceries of the marble, there is no saying whether we might be able to return to our immediate work." The castle that D'Estissac visited with its band of sixty soldiers kept as a guard against the townfolk, a note tells us, was St. Pietro on the hill, and just below it lived the Gesuati Friars. The Church of St. Peter the Martyr was then called St. George, and was interesting to our travellers as having been founded by Knights of Brandenburg, housed in the Scala Palace by Can Grande della Scala, to whose succour they came—the "*braves sepultures*" of the Scala family close by. The Journal speaks of the Scala tombs thus briefly, and Ruskin dwells on them at length and tells us the monumental sculpture there is "immeasurably finer than at Venice." Certainly Verona is the city of sarcophagi and tombs, as well as balconies. Its ruined Amphitheatre and Arena, where jousts and entertainments were still given to the public, gave exquisite pleasure to our party. The writer of the Journal describes their shape and measurements in detail, noting the Arena as the most beautiful building he had ever seen in his life. When we remember the theatre of the Ancients in outward shape as in inner principle inspired Shake-Speare to build our modern Theatre without and within, we are not surprised to find much stress laid on these precious antiquities of Verona. The Jews, their synagogue and ceremonies, all and each attracted the interest and attention of Montaigne. Verona's fine Piazzas and markets are mentioned. In the Piazza delle Erbe, once an amphitheatre for gladiatorial fights and a Roman forum, stands a Greek statue with an inscription recording the fact that Verona was declared free in 1183. Close at hand sentences of death and State decrees were proclaimed in 1207. In *Romeo and Juliet* Escalus says:—

“You, Capulet, shall go along with me,
 And Montague come you this afternoon . . .
 To old Free-Town, our common Judgement place.”

Was Free-Town the Piazza delle Erbe? Out of it, at any rate, runs the narrow Capello street in which stands an old mediæval house—called the House of the Capulets.

Before dismissing the subject of *Romeo and Juliet*, I want to point out a curious little fact (Act II., Sc. iv.):

Nurse.—Doth not Rosemarie and Romeo begin both with a letter?

Romeo.—Aye, Nurse, what of that? Both with an R.

It is odd R being brought forward, for, as a fact, R is the letter that makes Romeo into Rosemarie. *Romero* is the Spanish for Rosemarie. Shake-Speare knew this, of course. Is he alluding to the fact here?

On leaving Verona, Montaigne declared his intention of returning to visit it and its neighbourhood at his leisure. Vicenza, thirty miles further on, was reached the same day, and on the following the party rode eighteen miles to Padua, called “Fair Padua” in the *Taming of the Shrew*. The Journal describes it as “vast and goodly,” and lying in a very “fertile country,” and situated in a very “pleasant open plain” among vineyards and cornfields, adorned with country seats and gardens.

Lucentio.—For the great desire I have to see fair Padua,
 Nursery of Arts.

I am arrived for fruitful Lombardy,
 The pleasant garden of great Italy.

Thus commences the *Taming of the Shrew*, with the descriptive touches one would expect from one who had seen Padua himself and the country round it. Lucentio, whose name means “light-bearer”—is one of the Bentivoglii, a family whom I have found was a highly intellectual and literary one living at that time

in Ferrara—speaks as Francis Bacon spoke in his Attorney-General's Speech ("Resus.," p. 49) when alluding to James:—

"By whose influence those Nurseries, and Gardens of Learning (The Universities) were never more in Flower nor Fruit."

The one who called English universities "nurseries and gardens" wrote Padua down a nursery of arts. Its university was the great centre of learning on the Continent—indeed, was the garden of learning for the world. Padua, the birthplace of Lively, the painting school of Andrea Mantegna, the home of Giotto's marvellous frescoes, was, if anything, a nursery of arts. Besides, at this time it had training schools for lesser arts. In the Journal we find art schools mentioned for "Writing, Dancing, and Horsemanship," where it complains that a hundred young French students, "content with the manners, habits, and language of their own nation, omit to acquire the knowledge of others." How Bacon peeps out again here! In his Essay "Of Travel" he specially recommends horsemanship being inspected abroad. In Padua our party obeyed him. Petruccio is really quite a typical person to find in Padua.

Tranio.—Faith! He has gone into the taming School.

Bianca.—The taming School? Is there such a place?

Tranio.—Ay, Mistress, and Petruccio is the Master that teacheth tricks eleven and twenty long.

When I saw Petruccio impersonated a few years ago, it was as a typical horse-tamer. One could have fancied him in the ring. A monument and inscription to Cardinal Bembo, reviver of literature and Italian poet, is specially mentioned as being in the church of St. Anthony, and the busts of Titus Livius and Paulus the Jurisconsul are noted in the great Hall of Justice—

the largest without pillars ever seen by the writer. A mansion and garden belonging, as the Italian editor tells us, to the Venetian family of Foscari are said to be worth seeing. And also a country seat outside Padua, belonging to the Contarini, is mentioned as having on the gate an inscription that Henry III. lodged there on his way back from Poland. Arriving at Padua on Thursday, our party left it again at dawn on Saturday, enjoying a lovely sunrise along the river Brenta. At mid-day they dined at Cà Fusina. Only a hostelry, its interest lies in the fact that here Portia appointed to meet Balthazar, whom she sent off post haste to old Bellario, in Padua (*Mer. of Venice* III. iv.).

Portia.—And look what notes and garments he doth give thee.

Bring them, I pray thee, with imagin'd speed
 Unto the tranect, to the common ferry
 Which trades to Venice ;
 I shall be there before thee.

To Nerissa she adds :—

“I'll tell thee all my whole device
 When I am in my coach, which stays for us,
 For we must measure twenty miles to-day.”

The old story from which the play is taken is found in a collection called “*Il Pecarone*,” first published in Milan, 1558. In it a rich lady, *living at Belmont*, acts as Portia acted, and saves the friend of her husband, a young merchant, by disguising herself as a lawyer. Montebello I have seen marked on an Italian map, close against Este. Este is about seventeen miles from Padua, and about twenty from Ca'Fusina. So that if Belmont was pictured, as I think it was, from a country seat called *Belriguardo*, or *Belvedere*, belonging to the D'Este family, and lying, as their villa of that name did lie, close to *Este* and *Montselice*, Portia would have had just twenty miles to drive. Even supposing the story

is an old one, reaching back, as it has been said, to Eastern origin, still the author of the *Merchant of Venice* would, I think, have carefully pictured Portia from some living model, and instinctively one turns to the beautiful, accomplished, and intellectual ladies of Este as most likely to furnish it. When I discuss Venice at length I shall of necessity touch again upon Portia; in the meantime, I want to describe *Ca'Fusina*. The Journal tells us that the boats on the Brenta are raised by horse-power and pulleys there (most likely by a kind of lock), and that wheels placed under them run them down upon the canal by which Venice is reached. This ferry is the "tranect," or, as critics prefer to call it, the "traject," that Portia speaks of. *Traghetto*, of course, is the Venetian term for ferry. Lando, who writes in the sixteenth century on Italy, gives so amusing an account of this ferry that I quote it:—"Tired of Padua," he says, "the Brenta conveyed him to the ferry and to Venice. Who can describe the pleasure we experienced in it? Some of us were law students, our heads above our *birettas*; some Friars of Orders Grey (black and white); some women of condition; others knaves and Jews. The students chattered about marriage without a blush, the Friars modestly smiled, the women used their eyes. Among us was a Jew from Damascus, skilled in the Black Art, who could turn men into horses, dogs and cats. We had, too, a *Romagnolo*, with a harp or lyre, who touched it so sweetly he seemed quite a *Jopa*." On consulting a classical Dictionary I find *Jopas* was a suitor of Dido, as well as a musician and a poet.

Close to Padua the writer visited M. le Cardinal Luigi D'Este, in a very beautiful mansion belonging to a Paduan gentleman called Pic. It was for baths he lodged there, so it is not likely that this was his gay villa *Belriguardo*, under whose roof Tasso sang, and

Lucrezia D'Este lived in a whirl of pageants, pastoral plays, and brilliant gaiety of all kinds.

Mr. Smedley, in *BACONIANA*, Vol. VI., page 96, reviews a book by Mr. Horatio Brown, called "Studies in the History of Venice." The author is said to be the greatest living English authority on things Venetian. He devotes twenty-two of his pages to Shake-speare and Venice. Mr. Smedley remarks: "What would be the verdict of an intelligent jury after the testimony of Mr. Brown?" This. We find that the plays, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Othello*, and *Taming of the Shrew*, contain knowledge of minute fact in detail which no imagination can fairly be expected to compass, which can only have been obtained and reproduced by a man who had travelled through Italy. Mr. Brown's own words are: "We are startled every now and then by a touch of topographical accuracy, so just as almost to persuade us that Shake-speare must have seen with outward eye the country which his fancy pictures, must have travelled there, and carried thence a collection of its bearings." Mr. Smedley puts his finger on the weak point of Brown's book, who says the "scattered allusions to be collected in the plays prove an intimacy with Venice surprising in a man who probably was never out of England." "Here is a man," Mr. Smedley says, "conducting an impartial enquiry, but accepting as a definite conclusion that which he proposes to enquire into"—a temptation, I am afraid, which many of us fall into. And now I close for a season, to resume my subject, I hope, later; ending with the suggestive words of Nathaniel in *Love's Labour's Lost* :—

"Ah, good old Mantuan! I may speak of thee as the traveller
doth of Venice—

*Vingia, Vingia,
Chi non le vede, non le prelia.*

Old Mantuan ! Old Mantuan ! Who understandeth thee not,
loves thee not."

How truly may we echo these words : " Ah ! good old
cloaked one ! Francis ! Francis ! who understandeth
thee not, loves thee not ! "

ALICIA AMY LEITH.

ROMEO'S FIRST LOVE.

DR. THEODORE COHN, in his most interesting work, "Shakespeare in Germany," mentions a book to which it would seem that our great dramatist was indebted for various points in his dramas. Of this book Cohn writes: "The plays which the learned nun Hrotsvita composed in the tenth century in the nunnery of Gandersheim, in the Hartz mountains, those firstlings of German dramatic art, which, on their first appearance in print in the year 1501 were hailed by the learned of that day as the work of a tenth muse, a Christian Sappho, although written in Latin, contain, among numerous traces of their genuine Germanic Saxon origin, many passages which remind one strongly of Shakespeare."

Examples given by Cohn do, indeed, suggest that these Latin plays of the German nun were well known to "Shakespeare" (as our poet elected to be called), and that episodes from them frequently lingered in his mind while writing his dramas. This can be traced in *Henry V.* and in *Measure for Measure*, but the most striking instance is to be found in *Romeo and Juliet*, Act I., Scene i.

In Hrotsvita's tragedy of "Callimachus" the following scene occurs:—

Callimachus.—I wish, my friends, to say a few words with you.
Friends.—We are at your service so long as you please.

Romeo's First Love.

Call.—If you don't object we would avoid the multitude. [*They step aside.*]

Call.—I love—

Friend.—What?

Call.—An object fair and tender.

Friend.—But by your answer it does not appear what particular being it is you love.

Call.—Well then, a woman.

Friend.—The wife of Prince Andronicus?

Call.—Yes, herself.

Friend.—She hath devoted herself entirely to the service of the Lord, and she even refuses her bed to her husband, Andronicus.

Compare with this the passages from *Romeo and Juliet* I. i. :—

Benvolio.—See where he comes: so please you, step aside.
I'll know his grievance or be much denied.

Montague.—I would thou wert so happy in thy stay,
To have true shrift. Come, Madam, let's away.
[*Exeunt Montague and Lady.*]

Bcn.—What sadness lengthens Romeo's hours?

Romeo.—Not having that which having makes them short.

Bcn.—In love?

Rom.—Out—

Bcn.—Of love?

Rom.—Out of her favour where I am in love.

Bcn.—Tell me in sadness who is that you love?

Rom.—In sadness, cousin, I do love a woman.

Bcn.—I aimed so near when I supposed you loved.

Rom.—A right good marksman! And she's fair I love.

Bcn.—A right fair mark, fair coz, is soonest hit.

Rom.—Well, in that hit you miss. She'll not be hit
With Cupid's arrow. She hath Diana's wit;
And in strong proof of chastity well armed,
From love's weak, childish bow she lives unharmed.

Bcn.—Then she hath sworn that she will still live chaste?

Rom.—She hath, and in that sparing makes huge waste.

It is impossible not to be struck with the similarity between these two scenes in the general tone, in the

deliberate obtainment of privacy before the confidence, in the nature of that confidence, and in the jesting allusion to loving "a woman."

The analogy is still more forcible when we realise what has not hitherto, apparently, been commented on—that Shakespeare alone, of all the *raconteurs* of the story of *Romeo and Juliet*, makes "the woman" first loved by Romeo, like the wife of Prince Andronicus, a religious devotee, sworn to chastity.

The story of the unfortunate lovers has been traced back to the Greek romance of Anthia and Abrocomas by Xenophon Ephesius, a writer of the second century, and a similar tale may be found among the "Novellen" of Masuccio Salernitano, printed in Naples in 1476. But the first to tell the actual story of Romeo and Juliet of Verona was Luigi da Porto, a young cavalry officer in the service of the Venetian Republic, and, according to his own account, it was related to him by the handsome, courageous archer, Peregrino, of Verona. It was printed in 1535, and agrees, we are told, "in every essential and in various details" (Dowden) with Shakespeare's play; but the only reference to any love in Romeo's heart before his meeting with Juliet is in the curt statement that Romeo went to Capulet's feast "in pursuit of his mistress."

Some twenty years later Bandello rehandled the story and issued it among his "Novellen" in 1554. He it was who invented the episode of Romeo's first love, and he deals with it as follows:—

"Romeo was at that time violently enamoured of a gentlewoman, but although he followed her every day, whether to church or any other place whither she might go, she never so much as vouchsafed him one courteous glance. He had written her very numerous letters and sent her messages, but the lady would not allow herself to give even a kind look to the enamoured youth."

Bandello's novel was soon afterwards translated into French by Pierre Boisteau, and published among the "Histoires Tragiques" of Belleforest. Here the story of the first love is still more elaborated, but the character of the lady is the same. "After several letters and messages and presents," we are told, "Romeo decided at last to make an overture of his passion, which he did without any result, for she who had been trained only in virtue knew so well how to reply and to repulse his amorous affection that he had no opportunity in the future to return, and she even showed herself so austere that she would not grant him a single look, but the more the young man saw her reticent the more he was inflamed."

In 1562 the story of Romeo and Juliet found its way into England, when Arthur Brooke published a poem entitled "Tragicall Historie of Romeus and Juliet, containing a rare example of love-constancie; with the subtile counsells and practises of an old Fryer and their ill event." In this poem the lady of Romeo's first affection is thus described:—

" But she that from her youth was foisted evermore
 With virtue's food, and taught in school of wisdom's skilful
 lore,
 By answer did cut off the affection of his love
 That he no more occasion had so vain a suit to move;
 So stern she was of cheer (for all the pain he took)
 That in reward of toil she would not give a friendly look."

One more description of this severe young lady Shakespeare found in Painter's "Palace of Pleasure," published in 1567, which is nearly a literal translation of Boisteau. According to Painter, "Rhomio, of the age of 20 or 21 years, the fairest and best-conditioned gentleman that was amongst the Veronian youth, fell in love with a young gentlewoman of Verona, and in a few days was attached with her comely and good be-

haviour, as he abandoned all other affairs and business to serve and honour her, and after many letters, ambassades and presents, he determined in the end to speak to her and to disclose his passion, which he did without any other practise. But she showed herself so austere and sharp of speech as she vouchsafed not with one look to behold him. But the more the young gentleman saw her whist and silent, the more he was enflamed."

In all of thees descriptions we recognise a well-brought-up Italian maiden, who knows that it is the function of her parents to chose for her a suitable *parti*, and who has no wish to compromise her future position by any foolish romance ; but this is not the Rosaline of Shakespeare. It is seldom indeed that he touches any subject, however lightly, without leaving upon it the print of his genius. When he made the materials of this tragedy his own he transformed the pathetic Italian tale into the world's ideal love story, and built for the faithful lovers a monument on the very summit of Parnassus. Shakespeare's drama tells of a love as pure and fresh and tender as the spring that issues from the mossy hillside, yet passionate, resistless, bearing all before it by the simple force of its own energy, faithful to death through difficulties infinitely worse than death, falling at last beneath the deadly power of hate, yet only, by its fall, to transform that baleful passion into its own beautiful likeness.

Nevertheless Shakespeare did not think it necessary, as did his contemporary Spanish dramatist, Lope de Vega, to eliminate from his play the episode of Romeo's first love, yet neither did he adopt it as he found it.

The maiden who, in the great love-tragedy, first arouses Romeo's "young, passionate yearning to love and to be loved" (Morley) is a semi-saint, and will in time probably become a nun. She is not necessarily

cold and austere. She may be as animated in her religion as Romeo in his love; nor, although she "will not stay the siege of loving terms," nor return his glances, nor accept his gifts, is she necessarily silent. "She has Dian's wit, and, in strong proof of chastity well armed," she is able to turn aside the weak arrows of Cupid and reason on the superior attraction of winning eternal bliss by renouncing the joys of earth. No wonder Romeo wanders alone under the stars by night and meditates by day and indulges in paradoxes (where nature itself seemed a paradox) to his sympathetic cousin. He is stirred to the very height of his imagination, but his heart has remained in reality untouched. All his idealistic worship of Rosaline is transferred to Juliet and multiplied a thousandfold as he recognises in her a soul responsive to his own. There is nothing in his past experience to forget or to overcome; it was but the preparation for the thrilling harmony, the heavenly discord and resolution, of perfect human love.

"Did my heart love till now? Forswear it, sight!
For I ne'er saw *truc beauty* till this night."

Such seems to have been Shakespeare's idea in his treatment of Romeo's first love, unless we are to suppose that he used words without meaning and differed unconsciously from the sources at his command; and it is reasonable to suppose that the thought of the maiden who had "vowed that she would still live chaste" was suggested to him by reading the tragedy of the nun of Gandersheim, even although her works have not been translated from the original Latin to this day.

It is but another proof that, in order to retrace Shakespeare's paths, it is necessary to wander much further afield than is usually done by those who claim to be the only legitimate exponents of his works, and to recognise that to him, as to other of his contemporaries,

the world's storehouses of knowledge were open; that his genius was no mere idle inspiration, but the infinite faculty for taking pains which could extract the finest stones from every quarry, the purest metal from every ore, the most exquisite gems from every mine for the erection of that immortal fabric which, in the words of his own sonnet,

“ Was builded far from accident ; ”

and which, far from being the unconsidered flights of literary and political inexperience,

“ All alone stands hugely politic, ”

defying the ravages both of time and of criticism.

HELEN HINTON STEWART.

NOTE.

FOR some months past the newspapers have found a subject for copious comment in Dr. Ward Owen's searches in the bed of the river Wye for MSS. which he believed had been deposited there by Bacon. Dr. Owen arrived in England as far back as October, 1909, and from then until February, 1910, conducted the search on the cliff side of the river Wye near to Chepstow Castle. The story by which he was guided was said to be abstracted from a supplement to the third book of the “ Arcadia, ” the dedication of which was addressed to King James and was signed Ja. Johnstoun. This supplement did not appear in any edition prior to the 9th, which was published in 1638. A re-arrangement of the whole of the letters contained in it had been made and words were formed here and there by grouping letters adjacent to one another, but there never was anything of the nature of a consecutive story evolved from the words themselves, although Dr. Owen by

supplying what was deficient constructed a story. The alleged cypher was non-existent. The search was an abortive one. Some months after the first operations on the Wye were abandoned, Dr. Owen was engaged in London on an attempt to extract from the works of Bacon, Shakespeare, Greene, Marlowe, Peele, Burton, and Spenser, a translation of the "Iliad." A wheel was made after the plan of the one with which Dr. Owen worked at Detroit, but again his results were not considered by those who were responsible for the experiment to be successful. Then Dr. Owen came into touch through Mr. Hammond, a surveyor of Chepstow, with Mr. Pirie-Gordon, the agent of the Duke of Beaufort, and subsequently with the Duke and Duchess. A fresh arrangement of the letters was made and a new story was evolved; this has now proved equally unreliable, and the last information is that Dr. Owen is again hunting near the Castle. It might be reasonably assumed that if Bacon had determined to deposit MSS. with a view to their preservation until they could be discovered, the last place in the world that he would have selected for such a purpose would be the bed of a river. If there was one thing more than another to be guarded against it was the effect of water and dampness. Anyone who has had experience in collecting or looking through old books will appreciate the fact that of all enemies to books these are the most fatal. Still, improbability does not count for much in an investigation of this description, and had Dr. Owen succeeded in his search it would appear that Bacon was prepared to aggravate the difficulties which stood in his path rather than to minimise them. The fact remains, however, that in the operations, 1909-1910, as well as of those during the present year, there was never really one encouraging symptom. Dr. Owen has never followed any definite rule and has never been able to advance a

particle of evidence that he had discovered a cypher. Johnston's supplement to the 3rd book of the "Arcadia" may contain cypher matter, but if it does it will not be worked out on any method which Dr. Owen has so far explained. This failure, however, to discover a cypher does not in any degree throw doubt on the great use of cyphers which was made in the 16th and 17th centuries. Nearly the whole of the official communications which were of a confidential character were committed to cypher. There is an extensive literature of the period on cyphers and their use. Apart from the references which Bacon makes in his two books on the "Advancement of Learning," 1605, and in his "De Augmentis," 1623, there is definite evidence in his own handwriting of his proficiency in the art. It is highly probable—it may almost be said it is certain—that he has handed down in cypher secrets which he did not wish divulged in his lifetime. Some of these have been decyphered and others are in the process of decyphering. The wonderful results which Mr. Tanner has obtained from the lines "To the Reader," prefixed to the 1623 Folio edition, are evolved from a numerical cypher. These, when they are made public, must be accepted without cavil or question. They are self-evident to the most limited understanding and the severest critic cannot upset them. The time has not yet arrived for publicity to be given to them. The real Francis Bacon will some day be made known, and whatever fresh laurels may be awarded to him one thing is certain—that he will be recognised as the greatest master of cypher writing which either his period or any other period has produced.

Several articles, including a further article on "The Mystery of Francis Bacon," and letters from correspondents, are unavoidably held over for want of space.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Bacon is Shakespeare.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—Most of our friends have visited Westminster Abbey, and quite a number of them have seen Ben Jonson's tomb, but very few are aware that his medallion bust thereon is clothed in a left-handed coat, and they will therefore be somewhat surprised to learn that this fact is well known, and is referred to in Seymour's "Stoure," II. 512, 513, where will be found the following epigram referring to the bust :—

"O, rare Ben Jonson—what a turncoat grown !
Thou ne'er wast such, till clad in stone :
Then let not this disturb thy sprite,
Another age shall set thy buttons right."

Dean Stanley, in his "Memorials of Westminster Abbey," page 289, says : "By a mistake of the sculptor, the buttons were set on the left side of the coat." It is difficult to comprehend how even the extremely unpractical mind of the Dean could have allowed him to have written anything quite so absurd.

A sculptor could not possibly, by accident, model a figure in a left-handed coat ; indeed, it is extremely doubtful whether any sculptor, by using his utmost skill, could succeed in preparing such a bust, unless he had been supplied with a "trick coat" to enable him to do so. Then we ask ourselves, What was the object of this trick coat ? What does the fact that Ben Jonson's bust is clothed left-handedly teach us ? A clue to the answer, which is quite simple, is afforded to us in the following verses, printed in 1632 :—

"If you are furnished with an English key
That wec suppose you want not : If you do,
Wee are not they, whom this was meant unto ;
Pray passe along, and stare no more at that
Which is the picture of you know not what."

The correct answer is, in fact, that the object of the left-handed bust is to teach "those capable of understanding" that Ben Jonson, who was the foreman of Bacon's good pens, was also used as a left hand, a mask, a pseudonym, under which Bacon himself wrote. In "The Great Assizes, holden in Parnassus, by Apollo," which was published anonymously in 1645, Lord Verulam (*i.e.*, Bacon) is put as "Chancellor of Parnassus" (*i.e.*, greatest of poets) ; Shakespeare as "the writer of weekly accounts," to tell us that he was nothing more than a small trader at Stratford ; and Ben Jonson as "the Keeper of the Trophonian Denne" (*i.e.*, head of Bacon's literary workshop). Ben Jonson tells us quite plainly in so many words that his puppets "under their clokes . . . have of Bacon a gammon"

(Bartholomew Fayre, V. 4). In a recent work on Elizabethan dramatists, published in America by Dr. David Klein, numerous criticisms of Ben Jonson are embodied, and the author sums up his conclusions on page 85 as follows: "If one reads his (Ben Jonson's) reflective utterances, bearing in mind the work of Francis Bacon, one is strongly tempted to infer that the attitude of uncompromising self-reliance which prevails in the writing of the dramatist (Ben Jonson), was largely the result of contact with Bacon, the great founder of empiricism (experimental, *i.e.*, real science). The evidence extant points to an intimate association between the two men. One cannot help picturing them as constant companions. . . . The playwright's (Ben Jonson's) admiration for the thinker (Bacon) fell little short of worship." Dr. Klein was unfortunate in not possessing the "information" which I am now giving to your readers, that Ben Jonson was the most trusted and the most devoted of Bacon's servants, and that nothing which bears Ben Jonson's name is necessarily his own work. Dr. Klein also proceeds to point out what he calls a neglected "Baconian" argument, *viz.*, how closely what Bacon says in the "De Augmentis," Book II. chapter xiv., upon poetry resembles the words of Shakespeare. But I would ask what can be found in the plays of Shakespeare which does not embody Bacon's arguments, seeing that the plays are not the work of the drunken, illiterate clown of Stratford, but of the great master, Francis Bacon.

Our knowledge of the plays is practically derived from the Folio edition which was brought out in 1623, seven years after Shakespeare's death, containing thirty-six plays, most of which are not found in print elsewhere, while the others are almost all enlarged to nearly double the size in which they had appeared in the earlier quarto editions.

On the title-page of this 1623 Folio appears what is known as the "authentic" portrait of William Shakespeare, but a careful examination of this so-called portrait proves it to be a stuffed dummy clothed in an impossible coat composed of the back of the left arm cunningly joined to the front of the same left arm.

In the *Gentlemen's Tailor*, etc., magazine of April last, which circulates all over the world, in reference to this portrait, we read under the heading of "A Problem for the Trade": "The tunic, coat, or whatever the garment may have been called at the time, is so strangely illustrated that the right-hand side of the forefront is obviously the left-hand side of the back part. . . . Anyhow, it is pretty safe to say that if a referendum of the trade was taken on the question whether the two illustrations shown above represent the foreparts of the same coat, the polling would give an unanimous vote in the negative."

Your readers may therefore be perfectly satisfied that every tailor will tell us that the coat of the supposed portrait is not and cannot be a real coat. Every tailor will tell us that it is extremely cleverly drawn, and that it cannot be by accident that the coat could have been so cunningly composed of the front of

the left arm buttoned on to the back of the left arm. Every tailor will tell us that if it were possible to make a coat like the sham coat shown, the unfortunate wearer would present a most absurd and ridiculous appearance, and would not be able properly to move his right arm. Therefore every one of your readers may be perfectly satisfied that the figure was of set purpose clothed in an impossible coat in order to tell "those able to understand" that the figure put for Shakespeare was a sham portrait, and that it was never intended to be anything excepting a mere dummy.

In the first Folio of the plays, 1623, opposite to the so-called "portrait," generally known as the "authentic portrait" of Shakespeare, appears the following description, which, as it is signed B. J., is usually ascribed to Ben Jonson:—

"TO THE READER.

"This Figure, that thou seest put
It was for gentle Shakespeare cut ;
Wherein the Graver had a strife
With Nature, to out-doo the life :
O, could he but have drawne his wit
As well in brasse, as he hath hit
His face ; the Print would then surpasse
All that was ever writ in brasse.
But since he cannot, Reader, looke
Not on his Picture, but his Booke."

Most assuredly Ben Jonson, who never calls the ridiculous dummy a "portrait," but describes it as "the Figure," "put for" (*i.e.*, instead of), and as "the Print," and as "his Picture," and who also most distinctly tells us to look not at his (ridiculous) Picture, but (only) at his Booke, knew perfectly well who was the mighty author, and intended clearly to inform those capable of understanding that the graver had done out the life. He says out-doo the life. But every word in the English language, without a single exception, which commences with "out," must be read reversed in order to be properly understood. "Out-doo" must therefore mean "do-out," as outfit means fit-out, outfall means fall-out, outburst means burst-out, out-last means last-out, and so on and on throughout the whole list of words which begin with "out." In the "Oxford Dictionary" do-out is given as the first meaning of out-do with a quotation from Drayton's "Baron's Wars," which was printed in 1603, viz.: "Was ta'en in battle and his eyes outdone." This certainly means that his eyes were done out, and cannot possibly mean that his eyes were surpassed.

The graver has "done out" the life so cleverly that for hundreds of years people have been deceived, and have thought that the figure represented a real man, and failed altogether to perceive that it was a mere stuffed dummy clothed in an impossible coat, cunningly composed of the front of the left arm

joined on to the back of the same left arm so as to form a doubly left-armed "apology for a" man, and this dummy is surmounted by a hideous, staring mask, furnished with an imaginary ear utterly unlike anything human, because instead of being hollowed in it is rounded out, something like the rounded outside of a shoe-horn, in order to form a cup that would cover and conceal any real human ear that might possibly be behind it. Next we are told "as he hath hit his face." Here hit is the past participle of hide, and means hid, or hidden, just exactly as we find in Chaucer, in the Squire's Tale, where we read (II. 512, etc.):—

" Right as a serpent hit him under floures
Til he may seen his tyme for to byte."

This, in modern English, means:—

" Just as a serpent hid himself under the flowers
Till he might see his time to bite."

In the ordinary uncouth pronunciation of the period the sound of hit and of hid would be identical.

Perhaps your readers may more clearly realise the full purport and meaning of Ben Jonson's lines if I paraphrase them as follows:—

"TO THE READER.

" The dummy that thou seest set here,
Was put instead of Shake-a-speare ;
Whercin the Graver had a strife
To extinguish all of Nature's life ;
O, could he but have drawn his mind
As well as he's concealed behind
His face ; the Print would then surpasse
All that was ever writ in brasse.
But since he cannot, do not looke
On his mask'd Picture, but his Booke."

Do out appears in the name of the little instrument something like a pair of snuffers which was formerly used to extinguish the candles, and called a "Douter." Therefore I have correctly substituted "extinguish" for "out-doo." At the beginning I have substituted "dummy" for "figure" because we are told that the figure is "put for" (that is, put instead of) Shakespeare. In modern English we frequently describe a chairman who is a mere dummy as a figure-head. Then "wit" in these lines means absolutely the same as "mind," which I have used in its place because I think it refers to the fact that upon the miniature of Bacon in his eighteenth year, which was painted by Hilliard, 1578, we read: "Si tabula daretur digna animum mallem." This line is believed to have been written at the time upon the miniature by the artist himself, and is usually translated: "If only a picture of his mind could be painted."

This one simple fact which can neither be disputed nor explained away, viz., that the "Figure" put upon the title-page of

the First Folio of the Plays in 1623 to represent Shakespeare is a doubly left-armed and stuffed dummy, surmounted by a ridiculous putty-faced mask, disposes once and for all of any idea that the mighty plays were written by the drunken, illiterate clown of Stratford-on-Avon, and shows us quite clearly that the name "Shakespeare" was used as a dummy, a left hand, a pseudonym, behind which the great author, Francis Bacon, wrote securely concealed. In his last prayer he says, "I have, though in a despised weed, procured the good of all men"; while he says in the 76th "Shakespeare" Sonnet:—

"Why write I still all one, ever the same,
And keepe invention in a noted weed."

Weed signifies disguise, and is used in that sense by Bacon in his *Henry VII.*, where he says: "This fellow . . . clad himself like an Hermite and in that weede wandered about the countrie."

It is doubtful if at that period it was possible to discover a meaner disguise, a more "despised weed," than the pseudonym of William Shakespeare, of Stratford-on-Avon. Bacon also specially refers to his own great "descent to the Good of Mankind" in the wonderful prayer which is evidently his dedication of his great work, the immortal plays. "Tragedies and Comedies," he tells us in the "Promus" (folio 93), "are made of one Alphabet," and the beautiful prayer commences as follows:—

"This is the Form and Rule of our Alphabet: May God, the Creator, Preserver and Renewer of the Universe, protect and govern this Work, both in its *ascent* to his Glory and in its *descent* to the Good of Mankind, for the sake of his Mercy and Good Will to men, through his only Son (Immanuel) God-with-us."

This beautiful prayer was first published in "Remains of Sir Francis Bacon," 1679, as part of "A Fragment of a Book written by the Lord Verulam" (Bacon), entitled, "The Alphabet of Nature," a work which, in the preface, we are told "is commonly said to be lost." "The Alphabet of Nature" is, of course, "The Immortal Plays," known to us as Shakespeare's, which hold "the mirror up to nature."

Yours, etc., EDWIN DURNING-LAWRENCE.

13, Carlton House Terrace, May 29th, 1911.



EMBLEMATA.

EMBL. I.



En Fortuna : manu quos rupem ducit in altam,
 Precipites abigit : carnificina Dea est.
 Firma globo imponi voluerunt sat a caducam,
 Ipsa quoque ut posset risus, & esse iocus.
 Olim unctos Saliij qui presiliere per utres,
 Ridebant caderet si qua puella male.
 O quàm sepe sales, plausumque merente ruinâ,
 Erubuit vitium fors inhonesta suum !
 Obscœnumque nimis crepuit, Fortuna Batavis
 Appellanda ; sono, quo sua curta vocant.
 Quoque sono veteres olim sua furtiva Latini :
 Ut nec, Homere, mali nomen odoris ames.

BACONIANA.

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THE MYSTERY OF FRANCIS BACON.

(Conclusion.)

THE theory put forward in this article is based upon the assumption that Francis Bacon at a very early age adopted the conception that he would devote his life to the construction of an adequate language and literature for his country and that he would do this remaining invisible. If he was the author of "The Anatomie of the Mind," 1576, and of "Beautiful Blossoms," 1577, he must have adopted this plan of obscurity as early as his sixteenth year. It is possible, however, that it may be shown that at a date still earlier he had decided upon this course. There is a translation bearing date 1572 of one of the works of a classical writer which is after the style of Bacon, the preface to which is so marked by his peculiarities of diction that it is difficult to abstain from attributing it to him. This, however, is beyond doubt—that if Francis Bacon was associated in any way with the literature of England from 1570 to 1605, with the exception of the small volume of essays published in 1597, he most carefully concealed his connection with it.

"Therefore, set it down," he says in the essay of Simulation and Dissimulation, "that a habit of secrecy is both politic and moral," and in *Examples of the Anti-theta*,* "Dissimulation is a compendious wisdom."

* "Of the Advancement of Learning," 1640, page 315.

Here again is the same idea: "Beside in all wise humane Government, they that sit at the helme, doe more happily bring their purposes about, and insinuate more easily things fit for the people by pretexts, and oblique courses; than by . . . downright dealing. Nay (which perchance may seem very strange) in things meerely naturall, you may sooner deceive nature than force her; so improper and selfeimpeaching are open direct proceedings; whereas on the other side, an oblique and an insinuating way, gently glides along, and compasseth the intended effect."*

It is noteworthy that Bacon had a quaint conceit of the Divine Being which he was never tired of repeating. In the preface to the "Advancement of Learning" (1640), the following passage occurs:—

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

Again on page 45 of the work itself he says:—

"For so he (King Solomon) saith expressly, The Glory of God is to conceale a thing, but the Glory of a King is to find it out. As if according to that innocent and affectionate play of children, the Divine Majesty took delight to hide his works, to the end to have them found out, and as if Kings could not obtain a greater Honour, then to be God's play-fellowes in that game, especially considering the great command they have of wits and means, whereby the investigation of all things may be perfected."

Another phase of the same idea is to be found on page 136.

In the author's preface to the "Novum Organum" the following passage occurs:—

* "Of the Advancement of Learning," 1640, pages 115, 116.

"Whereas of the sciences which regard nature the Holy Philosopher declares that 'it is the glory of God to conceal a thing, but it is the glory of the King to find it out. Even as though the Divine Nature took pleasure in the innocent and kindly sport of children playing at hide and seek, and vouched-safe of his kindness and goodness to admit the human spirit for his play fellow in that game."

In the Epistle Dedicatorie of "The French Academie" and elsewhere the author is insisting on the same idea that "He (God) cannot be seene of any mortal creature but is notwithstanding known by his works."

The close connection of Francis Bacon with the works (now seldom studied) of the Emblem writers is vouched for by J. Baudoin.*

Oliver Lector in "Letters from the Dead to the Dead" has given examples of this with reference to the Dutch and French Emblem writers. There are only three Englishmen who appear to have indulged in this fascinating pursuit—George Whitney (1589), Henry Peacham (1612), and George Withers (1634). From the Baconian point of view Peacham's "Minerva Britannia" is by far the most interesting. The Emblem on page 34 is addressed "To the most judicious and learned, SIR FRANCIS BACON Knight." On the opposite leaf, paged thus, 33, † the design represents a hand holding a spear as in the act of shaking it. But it is the frontispiece which bears specially on the present contention. The design is now reproduced (Fig. 1). A curtain is drawn to hide a figure, the hand only protruding. It has just written the words "MENTE VIDEBOR"—"By the mind I shall be seen." Around the scroll are the words "Vivitur ingenio cetera mortis erunt"—one lives in one's genius, other things shall be (or pass away) in death.

* See BACONIANA, Vol. VIII., page 114.

† 33 is the numerical value of the name "Bacon." The stop preceding it denotes cypher.

That emblem represents the secret of Francis Bacon's life. At a very early age, probably before he was twelve, he had conceived the idea that he would imitate God, that he would hide his works in order that they might be found out—that he would be seen only by his mind and that his image should be concealed. There was no haphazard work about it. It was not simply that having written and published poems or plays, and desiring not to be known as the author, he put someone else's name on the title-page. There was first the conception of the idea, and then the carefully-elaborated scheme for carrying it out.

There are numerous allusions in Elizabethan and early Jacobean literature to someone who was active in literary matters but preferred to remain unrecognised. Amongst these there are some which directly refer to Francis Bacon, others which occur in books or under circumstances which suggest association with him. It is not contended that they amount to direct testimony, but the cumulative force of this evidence must not be ignored. In some of the emblem books of the period these allusions are frequent.

Then there is John Owen's epigram appearing in his "Epigrammatum," published in 1612.

AD. D.B.

"Si bene qui latuit, bene vixit, tu bene vivis :
Ingeniumque tuum grande latendo patet."

"Thou livest well if one well hid well lives,
And thy great genius in being concealed is revealed."

D. is elsewhere used by Owen as the initial of Dominus. The suggestion that Ad. D.B. represents Ad Dominum Baconum is therefore not extravagant.

Thomas Powell published in 1630 the "Attourney's Academy." The book is dedicated "To True Nobility and Tryde learning beholden To no Mountaine for Eminence, nor supportment for Height, Francis, Lord

Verulam and Viscount St. Albanes." Then follow these lines :—

"O Give me leave to pull the Curtaine by
That clouds thy Worth in such obscurity.
Good Seneca, stay but a while thy bleeding,
T' accept what I received at thy Reading :
Here I present it in a solemne strayne,
And thus I pluckt the Curtayne backe again.'

In the "Mirrour of State and Eloquence," published in 1656, the frontispiece is a very bad copy of Marshall's portrait of Bacon prefixed to the 1640 Gilbert Wat's "Advancement of Learning." Under it are these lines :—

"Grace, Honour, virtue, Learning, witt,
Are all within this Porture knitt
And left to time that it may tell,
What worth within this Peere did dwell."

The frontispiece of "Truth brought to Light and discovered by Time, or a discourse and Historically narration of the first XIII. yeares of King James Reign," published in 1651, is full of cryptic meaning and in one section of it there is a representation of a coffin out of which is growing

"A spreading Tree
Full fraught with various Fruits most fresh and fair
To make succeeding Times most rich and rare."

The fruits are books and manuscripts. The volume contains speeches of Bacon and copies of official documents signed by him.

The books of the emblem writers are still more remarkable. "Jacobi Bornitii Emblemata Ethico Politica," 1659, contains at least half a dozen plates in which Bacon is represented, but the most suggestive emblem is No. 1 of Cornelii Giselberti Plempii Amsterodarnum Monogrammon, bearing date 1616, the year of Shakespere's death. It is now reproduced (Fig. III.).

It will be observed that the initial letters of each word in the sentence—*Obscænumque nimis crepuit Fortuna Batavis appellanda*—yield F. Bacon. There are in other designs several figures which are evidently intended to represent Bacon. Emblem XXXVI. shows the inside of a printer's shop and two men at work in the foreground blacking and fixing the type. Behind is a workman setting type, and standing beside him, apparently directing, or at any rate observing him, is a man with the well-known Bacon hat on.

The story of the Shakespeare Sonnets must be reserved for future consideration. It would occupy too much space. Suffice it to say that by the aid of this theory and with the obvious meaning of the printed words, the Sonnets become quite intelligible and even simple in explanation. The much-debated "Mr. W. H." is Shakespeare, who *was* the only begetter of the Sonnets. The character of the poet is cleared from any aspersion, for the Sonnets are not only biographical but allegorical. The definite statement may be made now that the name "William Shakespeare" was created without any reference to him of Stratford bearing a somewhat similar name in sound. Only when Mr. Tanner's work can be made public, proved, and accepted, can the magical power of the letters constituting the name be understood. But this is wandering away from the object of this article.

The half century from 1576 to 1625 stands by itself in the history of the literature of this country. During that period not only was the English language made, not only were there produced the finest examples of its capacities, which to-day exist, but the knowledge and wisdom possessed by the classical writers, the histories of the principal nations of the world, practically everything that was worth knowing in the literature which existed in other countries were, for the first time, made avail-

able in the English tongue. And what is still more remarkable, these translations were printed and published. These works embraced every art and subject which can be imagined. Further, during this period there were issued a large number of books crowded with information upon general subjects. The names on the title-pages of many of these works are unknown. It is astonishing how many men as to whom nothing can be learnt, appear about this time to have written one book and one book only.

These translations were published at a considerable cost. For such works, being printed in the English language, purchasers were practically confined to this country, and their number was very limited. The quantity of copies constituting an edition must have been small. It is impossible to believe that the sale of these books could realise the amount of their cost.

Definite information on this point is difficult to obtain, for little is known as to the prices at which these books were sold.

It appears from the "Transcripts of the Stationers' Registers" that the maximum number of copies that went to make up an edition was in the interest of the workman fixed at 1,250 copies, so that if a larger number were required the type had to be re-set for each additional 1,250 copies. Double impressions of 2,500 were allowed of primers, catechisms, proclamations, statutes and almanacs. But the solid literature which came into the language at this period would not be required in such quantities. The printer was not usually the vendor of the books. The publisher and bookseller or stationer carried on in most cases a distinct business.

Pamphlets, sermons, plays, books of poems, formed the staple ware of the stationer. The style of the book out of which the stationer made his money may be gathered from the following extract from *The Return from Parnassus*, Act I, scene 3:—

Ingenioso.—Danter thou art deceived, wit is dearer than thou takest it to bee. I tell thee this libel of Cambridge has much salt and pepper in the nose : it will sell sheerly underhand when all those bookes of exhortations and catechisms lie moulding on thy shop-board.

Danter.—It's true, but good fayth, M. Ingenioso, I lost by your last booke ; and you know there is many a one that pays me largely for the printing of their inventions, but for all this you shall have 40 shillings and an odde pottle of wine.

Ingenioso.—40 shillings ? a fit reward for one of your reumatick poets, that beslavers all the paper he comes by, and furnishes the Chaunders with wast papers to wrap candles in : . . . it's the gallantest Child my invention was ever delivered off. The title is, a Chronicle of Cambrige Cuckolds ; here a man may see, what day of the moneth such a man's commons were inclosed, and when throwne open, and when any entayled some odde crownes upon the heires of their bodies unlawfully begotten ; speake quickly, ells I am gone.

Danter.—Oh this will sell gallantly. He have it whatsoever it cost, will you walk on, M. Ingenioso, weele sit over a cup of wine and agree on it.

The publication of such works as Hollingshed's "Chronicles," North's "Plutarch's Lives," Grimston's "History of France," and "The French Academy," could not have been produced with profit as the object. A large body of evidence may be brought forward to support this view, but space will only permit two examples to be here set forth.

In the dedication to Sir William Cecil, of Hollingshed's "Chronicles," 1587, the writer says :

Yet when the volume grew so great as they that were to defraie the charges for the impression were not willing to go through with the whole, they resolved first to publish the histories of England, Scotland, and Ireland with their descriptions.

John Dee spent most of the year 1576 in writing a series of volumes to be entitled "General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the perfect Art of Navigation." In 1577 the first volume was ready for the press. In June he had to borrow £40 from one friend, £20 from another, and £27 upon "the chayn of gold." In the following August, John Day commenced printing it at his press in Aldersgate. The title was "The British Monarchy or Hexameron Brytannicum," and the edition consisted of 100 copies.

The second volume, "The British Complement," was ready in the following December. It was never published. Dee states in his diary that the printing would cost many hundreds of pounds, as it contained tables and figures, and he must first have "a comfortable and sufficient opportunity or supply thereto." This he was unable to procure, so the book remained in manuscript.*

Books of this class were never produced with the object of making profit. The proceeds of sale would not cover the cost of printing and publishing, without any provision for the remuneration of the translator or author. Why were they published and how was the cost provided?

There was, however, another source of revenue open to the author of a book. Henry Peacham in "The Truth of our Time," says:—

"But then you may say, the Dedication will bee worth a great matter, either in present reward of money, or preferment by your Patrones Letter, or other means. And for this purpose you pre-fixe a learned and as Panegyricall Epistle as can etc."

It is beyond question that an author usually obtained a considerable contribution towards the cost of the production of a book from the person to whom the dedication was addressed. A number of books pub-

* "John Dec," by Charlotte Fell Smith, 1909. Constable and Co., Ltd.

lished during the period from 1576 to 1598 are dedicated to the Queen, to the Earl of Leicester, and to Lord Burghley. One can only offer a suggestion on this point which may or may not be correct. If Francis Bacon was concerned in the issue of these translations and other works and Burghley was assisting him financially, it is probable that Burghley would procure grants from the Queen in respect of books which were dedicated to her, and would provide funds towards the cost of such books as were dedicated to himself. "The Arte of English Poesie" was written with the intention that it should be dedicated to the Queen, but there was a change in the plans and Burghley's name was substituted. When Bacon, in 1591, is threatening to become "a sorry bookmaker," he describes Burghley as the second founder of his poor estate and uses the expression, "If your Lordship will not carry me on," which can only mean that as to the matter which is the subject of the letter, Burghley had not merely been assisting but carrying him. The evidence which exists is strong enough to warrant putting forward this theory as to the frequency of the names of the Queen and Burghley on the dedications. The Earl of Leicester desired to have the reputation of being a patron of the arts and was willing to pay for advertisement. He was the Chancellor of Oxford University and evidently recognised the value of printing, for in 1585 he erected at his own expense a new printing press for the use of the University. If he paid at all for dedications he would pay liberally. But, of course, the Queen, Burghley, and Leicester were accessible to others besides Bacon, and the argument goes no further than that towards the production of certain books upon which their names appear the patrons provided part of the cost. This, however, does not detract from the

importance of the expressions used by Bacon in his letter to Burghley.

There is abundant testimony to the fact that it was the custom during the Elizabethan age for an author to suppress his own name, and on the title-page* substitute either the initials or name of some other person. The title-pages of this period are as unreliable as are the names or initials affixed to the dedications and epistles "To the Reader."

In 1624 was published "The Historie of the Life and Death of Mary Stuart Queene of Scotland." The dedication is signed Wil Stranguage. In 1636 it was re-printed, the same dedication being signed W. Vdall. There are numerous similar instances.

The contention of this article may be stated thus:— Francis Bacon possessed, to quote Macaulay, "the most exquisitely constructed intellect that has ever been bestowed on any of the children of men." Hallam described him as "the wisest, greatest of mankind," and affirmed that he might be compared to Aristotle, Thucydides, Tacitus, Phillippe de Comines, Machiavelli, Davila, Hume, "all of these together," and confirming this view Addison said that "he possessed at once all those extraordinary talents which were divided amongst the greatest authors of antiquity." At a very early age (probably by the time he was twelve years old) he had acquired a thorough command of the classical and modern languages. Having whilst still a youth taken all knowledge to be his province, he had read, marked, and absorbed the contents of nearly every book that had been printed. How that boy read! Points of importance he underlined and noted in the margin. Every subject he mastered—mathematics, geometry, music, poetry, painting, astronomy, astrology, classical drama and poetry, philosophy, history, theology, archi-

* See BACONIANA, Vol. IX., pages 73 and 76.

ture. They constituted the equipment for his life's work.

Then—or perhaps before—came this marvellous conception, "Like God I will be seen by my works, although my image shall never be visible—*Mente videbor*. By the mind I shall be seen." So equipped and with such a scheme he commenced and successfully carried through that colossal enterprise in which he sought the good of all men, though in a despised weed. "This," he said, "whether it be curiosity or vainglory, or (if one takes it favourably) philanthropia, is so fixed in my mind as it cannot be removed."

Translations of the classics, of histories and other works were made. In those he no doubt had assistance by the commandment of more wits than his own, which is a thing he greatly affected. Books came from his pen—poetry and prose—at a rate which, when the truth is revealed, will literally "stagger humanity." Books were written by others under his direction. He saw them through the press, and he did more. He had his own wood blocks of devices, some at any rate of which were his own design, and every book produced under his direction, whether written by him or not, was marked by the use of one or more of these wood blocks. The favourite device was the light A and the dark A. Probably the first book which was marked with this device was *De Rep. Anglorum Instauranda libri decem, Authore Thoma Chalouero Equite, Anglo*. This was printed by Thomas Vautrollerius^o and bears date 1579.

^o Vautrollier was a scholar and printer who came to England from Paris or Roan about the beginning of Elizabeth's reign and first commenced business in Blackfriars. In 1584 he printed *Jordanus Brunus*, for which he was compelled to fly. In the next year he was in Edinburgh, where by his help Scottish printing was greatly improved. Eventually his pardon was procured by powerful friends, amongst whom was Thomas Randolph. In

Other printers were employed by Bacon, but Vautrollier, and afterwards Richard Field, printed most of the books in the issue of which Bacon was concerned from 1579; onwards. Adam Islip also came in for a liberal share of his patronage.

The cost of printing and publishing must have been very great. If the facts ever come to light it will probably be found that Burghley was Bacon's mainstay for financial support. It will also be found that Lady Anne Bacon and Anthony Bacon were liberal contributors to the funds, and that the cause of Francis Bacon's monetary difficulties and consequent debts was the heavy obligation which he personally undertook in connection with the production of the Elizabethan literature.

It is in the Dedications, Prefaces, and Epistles "To the Reader" that Francis Bacon's mind may be recognised. Addison said, "One does not know which to admire most in his writings, the strength of reason, force of style, or brightness of imagination." When once the student has made himself thoroughly acquainted with Bacon's style of writing prefaces he can never fail to recognise it, especially if he reads the passages aloud. The Epistle Dedicatorie to the 1625 edition of Barclay's "Argenis," signed Kingesmill Long, is one of the finest examples of Baconian English extant. Who but the writer of the Shakespeare plays could have written that specimen of musical language? To hear it read aloud gives all the enjoyment of listening to a fine composition of music. It is the same with the Shakespeare plays; only when they are read aloud can the richness of the language they contain be appreciated.

Bacon's work can never be understood by anyone

1588 Richard Field, who was apprenticed to Vautrollier, married Jakin, his daughter, and on his death in 1589 succeeded to the business.

who has not realised the marvellous character of the mind of the boy, and the fact that "he could imagine like a poet and execute like a clerk of the works." It has been suggested that he had a secret Society, by the agency of which he carried through his works, but there is not any evidence that such a Society existed. It may be that he had helpers without there having been anything of the nature of a Society.

From 1575 to 1605 (thirty years) with the exception of the trifles published as Essays in 1597, there are no acknowledged fruits of his work to which his name is attached. Even the two books of the "Advancement of Learning," published in 1605, would have made little demands on his time. He could turn stuff of that sort out just as readily as a *Times* leader writer can produce column after column. Edmund Burke said: "Who is there that hearing the name of Bacon does not instantly recognise everything of genius the most profound, of literature the most extensive, of discovery the most penetrating, of observation of human life the most distinguished and refined." For such a man to write "The two books" would be no hard or lengthy task.

The wonder is that Francis Bacon should have attached his name to the 1597 edition of the Essays. He had written and published under other names tomes of Essays of at least equal merit. What was his motive in selecting this insignificant little volume whereby to proclaim himself a writer? One can understand his object in addressing James in *The Two Books*. He obtained in 1606, as Peacham has it, "preferment by his Patrone's letter" by being appointed Solicitor-General.

During all this period—1575 to 1605—"the most exquisitely constructed mind that has ever been bestowed on any of the children of men" appears to have been dormant. Take the first three volumes of

Spedding's "Life and Letters," and carefully note all that is recorded as the product of that mind during the years when it must have been at the zenith of its power and activity. All the letters and tracts accredited to Bacon in them which have come down to us would not account for six months—not for three months—of its occupation.

The explanation that he was building up his great system of inductive philosophy is quite inadequate. Rawley speaks of the "Novum Organum" as having been in hand for twelve years. This would give 1608 as the year when it was commenced. The "Cogitata et Visa," of which it was an amplification, was probably written in 1606 or 1607, for on the 17th February, 1607-8, Bodley writes acknowledging the receipt of it and commenting on it.

Rawley says that it was during the last five years of Bacon's life that he composed the greatest part of his books and writings both in English and Latin, and supplies a list which comprises all his acknowledged published works except the "Novum Organum" and the Essays.

In "The Statesmen and Favourites of England since the Reformation,"* a book of biographical sketches published in 1665, attributed to David Lloyd, it is stated that the universal knowledge and comprehension of

* In some copies of this book David Lloyd's name appears at the end ; in others it is omitted. The writer evidently had access to materials for the Lives of Elizabethan statesmen supplied by someone who was recording from personal knowledge. Following the Table of Contents is a chapter headed "The Lord Bacon's Judgement of a Work of this Nature." The last paragraph of the Preface is singular. It reads : "It is easily imaginable how unconcerned I am in the fate of this Book, either in the History or the Observation ; since I have been so faithful in the first, that it is not my own, but the Historians ; and so careful in the second, that they are not mine but the Histories."

things rendered Francis Bacon the observation of great and wise men, and afterward the wonder of all. Yet it is remarkable how few are the references to him amongst his contemporaries. Practically the only one that would enable a reader to gain any knowledge of his personality is Francis Osborn, who, in letters to his son, published in 1658, describes him as he was in the last few years of his life. No one has left data which enables a clear impression to be formed of the Francis Bacon as he was up to his fortieth year. The omission may be described as a conspiracy of silence. How exactly the circumstances appear to fit in with the first line of John Owen's epigram to Dominus B., published in 1612!—"Thou livest well if one well hid well lives"; and if the suggestion now put forward be correct that Bacon deliberately resolved that his image and personality should never be seen, but only the fruits of his mind—the issues of his brain, to use Rawley's expression—how apt is the second line of the epigram: "And thy great genius in being concealed, is revealed."

There are available to-day many of Bacon's writings which have not so far been given to the public. These are chiefly in Latin, but some are in Greek, some in Hebrew, French, and Spanish. When these have been examined and translated, what he meant when he said he had taken all knowledge to be his province will be understood. Bacon will be revealed; his thoughts, as he read the works of the great minds of antiquity, will be laid bare, with his criticisms on their methods and views. Rawley says, "He read much, and that with great judgment and rejection of impertinences incident to many authors."

Bacon's commentaries on Seneca, Aristotle, Plato, Horace, Alciati, Lucanus, Dionysius, Catullus, Lactinius, Plutarch, Pliny, Socrates, Aristophanes, Plautus, Cornelius, Agrippa, Cicero, Vitruvius, Euclid, Virgil,



*From the Title Page of
Peacham's "Minerva Britannia," 1612.*



From the Title Page of "New Atlantis," 1627.



Ovid, Lucretius, Apuleius, Salust, and hundreds of other classical writers; on St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Erasmus, Martin Luther, Joseph Cammerarius and other more modern writers. What an intellectual feast is in store for classical scholars! And this record has been left behind as forming part of his "Mente Videbor" scheme.

It is difficult to leave this subject without some reference to the articles which have appeared during the last twelve months in the press and magazines referring to the probability of there being literary remains of Bacon hitherto undiscovered.

In an article which recently appeared in a Shakespearean journal, a writer who evidently knows little about the Elizabethan period said: "But why should Bacon want to bury manuscripts, anyhow? Who does bury manuscripts? Besides, they had been printed and were, therefore, rubbish and waste paper merely." The manuscript of John Harrington's translation of Ariosto's "Orlando Furioso" may be seen in the British Museum. It is beautifully written on quarto paper. It was, apparently, the fair copy sent to the printer from which the type was to be set up. Be this as it may, it was undoubtedly a copy upon which Bacon marked off the verses which are to go on each page and set out the folio of each page and the printer's signature which was to appear at the bottom. It also contains instructions to the printer as to the type to be used. This manuscript was not considered "rubbish and waste paper merely."

Francis Bacon has again and again insisted upon the value of history. In the "Advancement of Learning" he points out to the King "the indignity and unworthiness of the history of England as it now is, in the main continuation thereof." No man appreciated as did Bacon the importance in the history of England of the

epoch in which he lived. That a truthful relation of the events of those times would be invaluable to posterity he knew full well. He was of all men living at that time best qualified to write such a history. He recognised that there were objections to a history being written, or, at any rate, published, wherein the actions of persons living were described, for he said "it must be confessed that such kind of relations, specially if they be published about the times of things done, seeing very often that they are written with passion or partiality, of all other narrations, are most suspected." It is hardly conceivable that Bacon should have failed to provide a faithful history of his own times for the benefit of posterity, or, at any rate, that he should have failed to preserve the materials for such a history. Neither the history nor such materials are known to be in existence. Supposing Bacon had prepared either the one or the other, what could he do with it? Hand it to Rawley with instructions for it to be printed? With a strong probability, if it were a faithful history, that it would never be published, but that it would be destroyed, he would never take such a risk. There would only be one course open to him. To conceal it in some place where it would not be likely to be disturbed, in which it might remain in safety, possibly for hundreds of years. And then leave a clue either in cypher or otherwise by which it might be recovered.

The emblems on two title-pages of two books of the period are very significant. One of these has already been referred to, namely, that on "Truth brought to Light." A spreading tree is growing up out of a coffin, full fraught with various fruits (manuscripts and books) most fresh and fair to make succeeding times most rich and rare. In the Emblem (fig. 3) now reproduced, which is found on the title-page of the first edition of "New Atlantis," 1627,* Truth personified by a naked woman is

* There is a copy bearing date 1626.

being revealed by Father Time, and the inscription round the device is "*Tempore patet occulta veritas*—In time the hidden truth shall be revealed."

Then there is the statement of Rawley in his introduction to the "*Manes Verulamiani*." Speaking of the fame of his illustrious master he says, "Be this moreover enough, to have laid, as it were, the foundations, in the name of the present age. Every age will, methinks, adorn and amplify this structure, but to what age it may be vouchsafed to set the finishing hand—this is known only to God and the Fates."

NON PROCUL DIES.

WILLIAM T. SMEDLEY.

NOTES ON

THE TAMING OF THE SHREW.

CHARLES KNIGHT, in his edition of the Shake-Speare Plays, which he calls the Stratford Shakespeare, says of *The Taming of the Shrew*: "This play was first printed in the folio collection in 1623"; and that "In 1594 a pleasant conceited historie called the Taming of a Shrew was printed," and "this play, it is thought, preceded Shake-speare's *Taming of the Shrew*."

We Baconians cry shame upon this view of the question! Our *Shake-Speare* was no "poet-ape" who picked other men's brains to served them up disguised with a piquant sauce. Our Shake-Speare was a heaven-born genius, equipped for his reformer's work with a rare brain filled deep with knowledge. He was further equipped with both *experience* and *memory*. He began his reforming work (as I believe) when he was a boy. He left college at fifteen, as Cambridge had

nothing more to teach him, and even at that time began to hold the dramatic mirror up to nature, and to produce new and original plays under pseudonyms in the new theatres springing up at his instigation in green fields round London.

Those first boyish productions were naturally crude, though touched with Prometheus his fire. Francis St. Alban's experiences of life, deepened by travel and heartache, brought him wider knowledge of human nature; and his Histories, Comedies and Tragedies became so many mirrors in which men saw themselves truly reflected—burning glasses which set his fellows' wits, hearts, and consciences alight and afire. Francis St. Alban, like Archimedes the Sicilian, held his mirror up to the sun, and concentrating upon it Apollo's rays burnt the ships of Ignorance and the Passions.

Ben Jonson (Bacon's private secretary) tells us Shakespeare shook his spear, like Minerva, in the face of Ignorance. He, too, wore a helmet, and for disguise and protection wore the visor down.

Before Francis' time England's Theatre was no longer the means of education it had once been, but was a broken, splintered mirror reflecting crooked and untrue pictures of human nature. Bacon tells us so, though Stratfordians declare confidently that Francis Bacon knew nothing whatever about the stage and cared less (see page 27 of "Acute and Short Sentences of Francis Bacon").

Bearing in mind that Bacon had the reform of the Elizabethan stage very much at heart, let us turn to the *Taming of the Shrew*. Knight says an early play appeared (1594) called *The Taming of A Shrew*; and Karl Elze, says Green, made reference to the Shrew in his "Menaphon" in 1589. And now first let us look at the *Induction*. That word does not occur in the 1623 folio, where the Prologue (called Induction in later

editions) is preceded by the words *Actus Primus, Scæna Prima*.

With regard to Christopher Sly, Mr. Wigston, in his "Bacon, Shakespeare, and the Rosicrucians" (p. 249), sees in the drunken tinker somebody *outside the plays only*, bearing dignities and honours that in no wise belong to him, the *false* lord and master of the Players. Mr. Wigston says "The Waking Man's Dream" is the original story from which the Sly incident is borrowed, and that in it we are presented with the restoration of Sly to his former and real condition of common life, and that that forms a special part of the joke played upon him. Mr. Wigston quotes largely from the amusing *dénouement* when Sly returns to his house, entertains his wife, neighbours and friends with his dream, as he thought; and asks "Why in our Shakespeare this amusing termination is omitted, and why Sly is left still in his false position of Lord of the Players?" He thinks the Induction proves the identity of Shakespeare and Sly, and that the allusion made by Sly to Wincot, a village near Stratford, helps to prove conclusively that Sly is a portrait of Shakespeare. "It suggests powerfully," he says, "that he did not write the plays, but was set up in Bacon's place by Bacon, in just such a way as Sly is set up by a Lord." In the drunkenness of Sly he asks us if there is here an ironical portrait of the man of Stratford, who died from the results of a drinking bout? Mr. Wigston, on page 20, Vol. VII., BACONIANA, in his Notes says, William Sly, a comedian, was joined with Shakespeare in the license of 1603 from King James. His portrait hangs in the Dulwich Portrait Gallery, in the catalogue of which we find that he was a fellow-actor with Burbage in 1588, 1598, and in 1599, and that he was introduced under his own name with Burbage in the Induction to Marston's "Malcontent" in 1604, and that he died in 1608.

When Sly says: "The Slys are no rogues, look in the Chronicles, we came in with Richard Conqueror," he alludes, as I think, to Richard Burbage. If this is so, we have a very pointed allusion as well to Shaxpur. The allusion to the "fat Ale-wife of Wincot" in the Induction may have more point than is generally understood; it certainly fits with a certain story of that day, extant, in which Shaxpur is called "William the Conqueror," and Richard Burbage, his successful rival, is *Richard Conqueror*.

Mr. Woodward also in his "Notes on the Induction" (Vol. VI., p. 12, of *BACONIANA*) states his belief that we may read in it Shaxpur being gradually brought to the assumption that he was the author of the plays, and that the drunken beggar of Wincot is a figurative allusion to this. Mr. Woodward points out that in this Induction is the only reference to the neighbourhood of Shaxpur's home which occurs in any of the plays. Sly tells us he is "old Sly's son of Barton Heath." Barton-on-Heath is a few miles from Stratford-on-Avon, and John Shaxpur, William's father, came to Stratford to settle from some neighbouring village. The Induction is to be partly found in a very early form in the *Arabian Nights*, "The Sleeper Awakened." It is also said to be derived from Calderon's "*La Vida es Dueno*," but the likeness is fanciful. Some say it is really founded on "*Notti Piacevoli*" of Straparole. Ordish, in his "Shakespeare's London," says it is wholly Elizabethan in its representation, and is a realistic cameo of the life of the time. True, but the key of its mystery is found in Bacon's "Wisdom of the Ancients." In other words, this philosophic play is an allegory or parable, and under cover of its Prologue the author hid deep meanings. In the Preface to the "Wisdom of the Ancients," he says: "I suppose some are of the opinion that my purpose is to write Toys and

Trifles." To those who think *The Taming of the Shrew* is a Toy or Trifle, or "a huge farce," as I have heard it called, I would say with Bacon, "Men have applied the sense of these Parables to certain vulgar and general things, not so much as glancing at their true virtue, genuine propriety and full depth." This passage is found in his Preface. He goes on to say something most suggestive: "I (if I be not deceived) shall be new in common things, leaving such things as are plain and open, I will aim at further and richer matters." In his "Cogitata et Visa" he gives us a broader hint still to find fine meanings in his plays: "*Spectators* of a more alert genius will suspect the existence of some hidden meaning in these writings" (a curious expression, "spectators" of writings. Does he wish us to understand the writings are *plays*?) and he adds, "These spectators will thus be led to enquire what these meanings are, and for what high and noble purpose designed. This is called the Key to their Interpretation." The Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew* and the play that follows only become intelligible by the light of Bacon's "Wisdom of the Ancients." He declares himself in the Preface: "Ravished with reverence of the Ancients," and following their lead makes use, too, of allegory and parable "to improve mankind in virtue." He says (Preface to the "Wisdom of the Ancients"): Old fables have a "singular proportion between the similitude and the thing signified, and apt and clear coherence in the very structure of certain Mysteries and Allegories, and in the propriety of *names*, wherewith the persons or Actors in them (observe the word) are inscribed and intituled." Also that "this sense was in the author's intent and meaning when they first invented them, and that they purposely shadowed it in this sort."

The ancients presented on the sacred stages of their religious temples dedicated to Bacchus, the fables of

their invention. Some of these, says the Preface, "are observed to be so absurd and foolish in the very relation that they, as it were, proclaim a parable afar off."

Let us take the Induction in detail, with the practical aid of Bacon's "Wisdom of the Ancients." The old hostess represents either Chaos, the malevolent, or Ceres, whom Pan discovered when out hunting, and whom Bacon describes as "providing things necessary for life and manners." Quite a good description of the ale-wife of a village inn. Sly, the drunken tinker, is Typhon the rebel. He is in revolt against the law of nature and the law of the land, exhibiting what Bacon calls the "rebellious insurrection of traitors in a State, and the natural pravity and clownish malignity of the vulgar sort." Typhon's name, he says, means "a vast, unwonted tumour." Sly's queer, traditional figure, produced by much padding on our stage, is a "trope." The Hunting Lord, who enters to "wind instruments" [horns], arranged for by stage direction in the Folio, represents Pan, whom Bacon calls "the Lord of Hunting." He and his hunters on the stage are supplied with tall boar spears, "being like a pyramus sharp at the top." Bacon says horns are attributed to Pan "so high they touch heaven," because they are broad at the root and sharp at the ends, "the nature of all things being like a Pyramus, sharp at the top." Bacon says Pan carried his "staff of empire," an excellent metaphor for a spear; that he was leader and commander of the nymphs, "always wont to dance and frisk about him, souls of living things that take great delight in Pan, and follow their natural dispositions as their guides, and with infinite variety, everyone after his own fashion."

"It is an excellent invention," Bacon says, "that Pan made choice of the nymph Echo above all other voices," and truly it is an excellent invention which

makes the Lord of the Hunters in the Induction praise Echo above his other noisy hounds, who, with infinite variety, "everyone after his own fashion doth leap and frisk and dance." The Huntsman's and the Lord's remarks about the hounds in the first scene carry out this allegory. The "voices" of the hounds are made a great deal of in Scene I., and also in Scene II. There, again, Echo is mentioned, the "true philosophy" of Bacon. Scene I. is laid in the country, because Pan is the god of country clowns, and because "men of this condition lead lives," Bacon says, "more agreeable to Nature than those that live in the cities and courts of princes where Nature by too much Art is corrupted." When drunken Sly falls from the fence and lies prostrate on the ground, he represented Bacchus, or Dionysius, or Passions. His awakening in the house of the Lord of Hunting expresses the same thing. Bacon says, "It is an excellent fiction that of Bacchus reviving, for passions do sometimes seem to be in a dead sleep, and as it were utterly extinct, though we should not think them to be so, indeed, no, though they lay as it were in their grave, for let there be matter and opportunity offered and you shall see them quickly to revive again." This idea of the grave and death is represented by the Lord saying, as he stands and looks down on Sly, "What's here, one dead or drunk? See, doth he breathe?" and, again, "Grim death, how foul and loathsome is thy image!" The Lord's servants carry off Sly, tied round about with cords. This is explained by Bacon as "Nature entangling the rebel in an intricate toil and curb, restraining as it were with a chain of adamant the excesses and insolences of those kind of bodies." Shake-spear makes Sly hide his head in terror under the bedclothes when he sees the Lord of Hunting standing beside his bed in the second act. Bacon gives us the key to this in the "fears and terrors

of which Pan is said to be the author." "Superstition," he says, "is indeed nothing else but a Panic terror." The rest of the play shadows in the same sort the great truths contained more briefly in the Induction.

"There is a pure Paduan atmosphere hanging about this play," says Charles Knight. Mr. Stronach touches on the same thing in his article in *BACONIANA*, p. 16, Vol. V., called "Was Shakspeare ever abroad?" He points out there Shake-speare's acquaintance with the Italian language, and also his knowledge of the connection that existed between Venezia and Padua in his day.

The very first words of Act I. of the *Taming of the Shrew* are redolent with love of the land of the olive and vine.

"For the great desire I had to see fair Padua."

—*Lucentio*.

How Padua's old arches, fine renaissance buildings, piazzas, little river, and beautiful cathedral rise before us! The seven domes of Il Santo seem to shadow Lucentio and Tranio as they speak. Padua, the birthplace of Livy, the great painting school of Andrea Mantegna, the city richest of all in Giotto's fresh and marvellous frescoes, Lucentio describes lovingly and truly as a "nursery of arts," and rejoices that he has "arrived for fruitful Lombardy, the pleasant garden of great Italy." Experience personal is here. That first Act breathes culture, learning, philosophy, and progress in virtue, to which Bacon's words run parallel, "The mind as it were a divine fire"; again, "The man of learning always joins the improvement of his mind with the use of it"; again, "Learning and education restrain and bridle man's mind," and "clips," he says, "the wings of pleasure;" and, once more, "Learning doth make the minds of men gentle, generous, maniable, and pliant of government." In this

sentence we find one of the keynotes, if not *the* keynote of the true meaning of the *Taming of the Shrew*.

In the first act of this play we are transported to the lovely land of Italy. The scene is laid in Padua, the chief centre of learning, not of Italy alone, but of Europe. In the first scene we are taught the great truth that virtue brings happiness, and that the deep study of philosophy inculcates virtue and moral discipline; also that it is a good thing to be happy, just as Francis St. Alban tells us "It is good to be merry and wise." It is a theory of St. Alban that if a word like philosophy is to be remembered, a visible image of it should be given so as to engrave its purpose upon the mind. In the *Taming of the Shrew* this is done. A visible image of Higher Love taming nature is presented, by which he hopes to teach men to restrain and bridle their passions. The author's acquaintance, too, with Verona as a treasure-house of antiquities is found in Signor Hortensia's words, "Tell me now sweet friend what happy gale blows you to Padua from old Verona?" (Act. I., sc. ii.). Somehow one feels the writer's pen is steeped in loving sympathy for ancient Verona, which had its Celtic as well as its Roman past; for liberty-loving Verona, which had emancipated itself from the tyranny of Visconti and Carrara, and had thrown in its lot with free Venice.

Venice is spoken of in this play only incidentally, perhaps, because our Shake-Speare treats of it more at large in others. Mantua and Rome, too, are only just mentioned, but Pisa has a flattering mention. Twice *this* sentence occurs in the *Taming of the Shrew* for fear lest it might not make enough impression: "Pisa, renowned for grave citizens" (Act I., Act LV.). What great, grave man does Padua boast of? Galileo. He was born there in 1564, and in 1581 entered its university, La Sapienza, and in 1610 was appointed

professor of mathematics there. Whom else is it famed for? Girolamo Borro, doctor of medicine of La Sapienza, author of a book on the tides, Bacon's favourite subject, and author of a Latin book on the diseases of the body. Like Galileo, he was a victim of the Inquisition, and was persecuted by his colleagues. Michael Equiem, Sieur de Montaigne, in his diary of his journey in Italy, tells us how he and his young companion in 1580-1 visited Borro, in Pisa. In the same diary we find another grave, good Pisan mentioned—Marchese del Monte, under the name of Bourbon, who, at his death in 1575, had left an honourable memory in Pisa. If, as I believe, young Francis Bacon was Montaigne's companion *de voyage*, he recorded in the *Taming of the Shrew* his admiration for the grave and learned men I have just mentioned.

Petruccio is Pan, the Lord of Hunting, whose height is Nature and *Ideas* do, as Bacon tells us, in some sort pertain to things divine, for Pan, or Nature, took beginning from the Word of God. He tells us himself that *Nature*, or Pan, by constancy and dominion over the earth and earthly things *is worthily set out by the shape of man*. The reason he is famed as a Hunter, Bacon says, is "that all motion and progression is nothing else but a Hunting." He is also a messenger of the gods, which Petruccio became to Catarina in respect of her "perturbations and unconstant motions," which needed, as Bacon points out in his Essay on Pan, "to be moderated by the celestial." Bacon says there is in this allegory of Pan a divine mystery contained, for next to the Word of God the image of the world, or Pan, or Nature, proclaims the power and wisdom divine. There is nothing attributed unto Pan by Bacon "concerning loves," but only his marriage with Echo. He says there can be no wanting love in Pan, seeing he is contented with himself, but only speeches, intimated by the nymph Echo.

The nymph Echo is portrayed in the play by Caterina the Shrew, as well as rebellion.

Caterina lives in the cultured city of Padua, possessed with love of fashion and novelty, and Petruccio carries her off to his country seat on the hillside, where, as Bacon says, "Nature by too much Art is not corrupted." In Bacon's Essay "Of Seditious" we find the parallel to the frantic impatience of the Shrew. He says, "When discords and quarrels and factions are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of government is lost"; and again, "The rebel rout, the short fury which, if it grows vehement and becomes habitual, concludes madness." Certainly in Caterina's way "madness lies." In other words, as Bacon says, "the Tyger led the Triumph and had grown cruel, untamed, and fierce against whatsoever withstands or opposes." Such people, Bacon says, "are to be attempered and calmed by meditating and ruminating well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles men's lives." Here his lesson to the world through the medium of the stage comes in. He also gives us a clue to his choice of a title for the play. In his Essay "Of Goodness," he says, "Goodness of Nature of all virtues and dignities of the mind is the greatest . . . without it man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin." "Vermin," says Webster, "is a mischievous, little animal, mice and such like." Dr. Johnson tells us a Shrew-mouse's tooth and foot are said to be envenomed, though this he says "is calumnious, for they are as harmless as those of any other little mouse." He also tells us Shrews are masculine as well as feminine, which is quite comforting. The connection between a tooth and factions or rebellion will be found in Perseus in Bacon's "Wisdom of the Ancients."

Petruccio's humour, when he likens the trimming of

Caterina's new-fangled cap and sleeve to an "apple-tart," is identical with Bacon's, when he speaks of Italian gardens—"I have seen as good in tarts."* It is an interesting little point that both remarks are elicited by Italian fashions. Bianca represents the right view of things according to Bacon when she says :

"Old fashions please me best, I am not so nice
To change true rules for odd inventions."

In other words, "Those vain and idle paradoxes concerning the nature of things frequent in all ages" that have filled, as Bacon says, "the world with novelties."

The mouse plays a strong part in anthropology. Andrew Lang in his "Origins of Religion" has a chapter headed "Apollo and the Mouse," which throws considerable light on the comedy under discussion. In Act V. ii. Catharina, restored to her better self, says :

"Place your hands below your husband's foot."

And again :

"My hand is ready, may it do him ease."

Lang quotes De Gubernatis: "The Pagan Sun-god crushes under his foot the mouse of night." Petruccio, or Pan, partakes of the character of the sun-god, for Bacon tells us Pan's horns represent the rays of the sun, and his countenance is ruddy to express the brightness of the heavens. He is the principle of "all things." In like manner Bacchus partakes, too, of the sun-god. He is represented as sitting on the celestial globe covered with stars, and is then the sun of Egypt, or Osiris. Lemprière gives us this valuable information. Lang connects Apollo, the sun-god *par excellence* with the *Shrew-mouse*. The "Iliad" is his reference for this, and he says his name there may be rendered "Mouse

* Essay "Of Gardens."

Apollo," or "Apollo, Lord of the *Shrew-mouse*." Mice, he says, lived beneath the altar, and were fed in the holy of holies of the god, while an image of a mouse was placed beside or upon his sacred tripod. In Chrysa, according to Strabo, the statue of Apollo had a Shrew-mouse beneath his foot. Some moneys, too, in ancient time were stamped with a mouse gnawing an ear of corn. According to Herodotus, Lang says one Sethos, a priest, was king of Egypt. He had disgraced the military class and found himself without an army. He *fell asleep in the temple*, and the god appearing to him told him divine succour would come to the Egyptians.* The rat was sacred to Ra, the sun-god, and Lang says this association cannot but remind us of Apollo and his mouse.

Ra brings us to Rud-ra, the Indian god, who is also in his character said to represent the sun. In the *Taming of the Shrew* rude Petruccio has a duty to perform with regard to the god Rudra. He represents him as well as the others I have mentioned. "The mouse, Rudra, is thy beast," says the "Yajur Veda." For this valuable information we are again indebted to Andrew Lang. Rudra is also the Tempest-god, which we are not surprised to learn, for when the Shrew calls Petruccio "rudesby," Dyce in his "Shakespeare Glossary" says she means a "rude fellow"—"a blusterer." In other words, he is "rude Boreas, blustering railer," and he acts up to his character excellently well (Act I. ii.) when he says :

"Think you a little din can daunt mine ears?
 Have I not heard the sea, puff'd up with winds,
 Rage like an angry boar, chafed with sweat?

 And heaven's artillery thunder in the skies?"

* The same myth exists in China, where the king of rats appears in the Dream.

And again (Act II. i.):

“Though little fire grows great with little wind,
Yet extreme gusts will blow our fire and all :
So I to her.”

And again :

“(Be thou armed). Ay, to the proof ; as mountains are for winds,
That shake not, though they blow perpetually.”

Under the word “rude” in Johnson’s Dictionary we find this definition : “Violent, tumultuous, boisterous, turbulent,” quite indicative of tempest, the quotations given pointing to the same meaning.

“Clouds push’d with winds rude in their shock.”—Milton.

“The rude agitation (of the water) breaks it into foam.”—Boyle.

The action of Petruccio the Tamer with regard to the Shrew-mouse has its parallel in the legends of Orpheus, Rudra and Apollo, charmers who charm ever so wisely. The mouse that ate the good wheat in the night was absorbed by the sun-god’s rays, who charmed the soul and called it back. So in the play the “devilish spirit” was exorcised and the true Catharina once more took possession.

Bacon significantly tells us, “He who is out of patience is out of possession of his soul” ; in other words, “When the cat’s away the mice will play,” as De Gubernatis himself says, adding as though in explanation :

“The shadows of night dance when the moon is absent.”

The word “night” is a cryptic one in some quarters. Bacon uses it with force when he says, alluding to his disgrace brought about by his enemies, “This is a piece of night work.” Certainly in Shake-Speare’s Plays there is a good deal in a name, and Catharine, when “of herself she was least part,” lost her good name and became known as the Shrew-mouse ; but when the immediate jewel of her soul became hers once more, then her good name was restored to her.

Besides allusions to the more dangerous sorts of anger, Bacon speaks of the "lighter kind of malignity, crossness, frowardness, difficileness," which are pictured in Catarina the Shrew-Mouse, and which he says, with extraordinary suggestiveness, "suit the compass of a Comedy better than the more acute symptoms, while they carry the same lesson. Oh, what a blind world this is that does not see that Bacon and Shake-speare are one! Catarina was something of a sportsman when she first appeared at a late revival on the Adelphi stage; she came on with hounds in leash, to whom she made herself much more agreeable than she did to her human friends. Bacon in his Essay "Of Goodness" says, "The inclination to Goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man, insomuch that if it issues not towards men it will take to other living creatures, as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people who nevertheless are kind to beasts and give alms to dogs." Catarina's conversion to "new-built Virtue and Obedience" is explained by Bacon, who tells us it is an excellent invention that Pan made choice of Echo for his wife, "for that alone is True Philosophy, which doth faithfully render the very words of Nature, no otherwise than Nature doth dictate. It is the Image, or Reflection of Nature, not adding anything of its own, it only iterates and resounds." This is carried out to the letter in Catarina's (or Echo's) last speech, in which she voices Petruccio, and Petruccio only. "Love," Bacon says, "is the Law and the Prophets." True Philosophy which "is the restitution and renovation of things corruptible," for it "insinuates the love of virtue, equity, and concord in the minds of men, makes them subject to laws, obedient to government and forgetful of their unbridled affections, whilst they give ear to precepts and submit themselves to discipline." Sweet Kate, "whose chattering tongue" is charmed by

Petruccio the Tamer, mingles the characteristics of both Echo and the "pretty, tattling Wench, Syrinx," who, Bacon very suggestively indeed says, "maybe added in very deed to the Pan fable," she being another favourite nymph of Pan. In conclusion, Bacon in Elizabeth's reign was much perturbed at rumours of troubles and seditions in the Commons; rebellion was already in the air. He smelt anarchy and democracy afar and foresaw danger to England in the future. Edwin Reed, in "Bacon Our Shakespeare," p. 24, says, "This fear has its chief origin in the last Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, when he saw the House of Commons converted into a pandemonium over public grievances." In the *Taming of the Shrew* the absolute authority and monarchy of a Tudor and a Stuart is also shadowed. Sweet Kate pointedly alludes to "the duty the subject owed the Prince," while Bacon takes care to tell us that "Princes may be justly esteemed married to their States as Jupiter to Juno," or shall we add as Petruccio to Caterina?

ALICIA A. LEITH.

BACON ON SELF-PRAISE.

NEVER was a book written with more condensed and concentrated wisdom than Bacon's Essays. The Essay "Of Friendship" contains an aphorism, most felicitously expressed, in nearly every sentence. At present I select one, for comment and Shakespearean comparison.

"How many things there are which a man cannot with any face or modesty say or do himself. A man cannot allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them. But all these things are graceful to a friend's mouth which are blushing in a man's own."

This sentiment appears in a number of Shakespeare passages. It is reproduced, in almost equivalent terms, in the 39th Sonnet,—

“Oh how thy worth with manners may I sing
 [“with any face or modesty”],
 When thou art all the better part of me?
 What can my own praise to my own self bring?
 And what is't but my own when I praise thee?
 Even for this let us divided live,
 And our dear loves lose name of single one,
 That by this separation I may give
 That due to thee which thou deserv'st alone.”

With what consummate poetical dexterity is the sentiment of the philosopher adopted by the poet.

Modesty is frequently referred to as violated by self-praise,—

“Then we wound our modesty, and make foul the clearness of our own deservings, when of ourselves we publish them.” (*All's Well*, I. iii. 4).

And the contrast between what is permissible in a friend, but ill-mannered in a man's self, is still further heightened by the consideration that such praise as a friend may give is also possible for an enemy,—

“Those parts of thee that the world's eye doth view
 Want nothing that the thought of hearts can mend:
 All tongues, the voice of souls, give thee that due,
 Uttering bare truth, *even so as foes commend.*”

—*Sonnet 69.*

and,—

“The enemies of Cæsar shall say this,
 Then, in a friend, it is cold modesty.”

—*Julius Cæsar*, III. i. 214.

The word *modesty* is here ambiguous, and was doubtless intended to be so. The current sense, as in other passages, is quite natural. But the classic sense, which is one very much adapted to a classic play, is also likely, *i.e.*, *moderation*. Cicero makes it synonymous with the Greek *σωφροσύνη*, moderation, good sense, the character or conduct of the *δύσφρων*, *i.e.*, entirely sound mind, discreet, prudent. The same ambiguity may be found in a passage in *Henry VIII.*,—

"Win straying souls with modesty again,
Cast none away."—*Henry VIII.*, V. ii. 64.

This is what Cicero calls *scientia opportunitatis*, an equivalent of *modestia*, skill making use of a favourable opportunity. Soon after the word is again used ambiguously. Cromwell, accused of heresy, is defending himself before Bishop Gardiner,—

"I could say more,
But reverence for your calling makes me *modest*."
—*Ib.*, 68.

Here modest may mean either, *subjectively*, Your calling is so great that I am diffident in speaking to you; or, *objectively*, I only say what is barely sufficient, knowing that one so highly placed as you are, does not require copious utterance.

Friends and enemies, each speaking appropriately and identically, appear in the following:—

"The worthiness of friends distains his worth,
When that the praised himself bring the praise forth:
But what the repining enemy commends,
Then breath fame blows; that praise, sole pure, transcends."
—*Troilus and Cressida*, I. iii. 241.

"Whatever praises itself but in the deed, devours the deed in the praise,"
—*Troilus and Cressida*, II. iii. 152.

And lastly, the sentiment appears in one of the earliest of the Shakespearean dramas,—

"But soft! methinks I do digress too much
Citing my worthless praise: O pardon me,
For when no friends are by, men praise themselves."
—*Titus Andronicus*, V. iii. 116.

R. M. THEOBALD.

THE RELATION OF FRANCIS BACON TO THE "SHAKE-SPEARE" PLAYS.

IF all arguments and reasonings in favour of the Baconian or non-Shaksperian authorship of the Shake-speare Plays and Poems had been conducted in as scholarly methods as those of the late Edwin Reed, the late Rev. Mr. Begley, Dr. Theobald, and Mr. George Greenwood, there can be little doubt that the problem would have been treated by scholars with serious attention and as one worthy of dignified and respectful discussion. But what has reached and still reaches the public ear through the press—reported by those entirely ignorant of the subject and destitute of the kind of knowlege necessary to the understanding of the matter, nearly all in fact that reaches it—consists of accounts more or less confused of the wild cipher stories of Donnelly, Owen, Mrs. Gallup, and the like. Not that there is any inherent improbability in the use of cipher by Bacon, or of his introducing it into his writings. In fact we know that both he and his brother Anthony did use cipher extensively; but it is exceedingly improbable that Bacon would deliberately write himself down an ass, a rogue, a traitor, and an assassin! To my mind the demonstration of the truth of the cipher-stories could prove but one thing, that is, that Bacon was insane. As there is no other evidence of any such fact, it can safely be dismissed. It is in this way that the matter is frequently first presented to scholars, and they most naturally decline to examine further into such manifest absurdity. Thus much had been a digression of my subject, but it furnishes me with an opportunity to relieve my mind in regard to a matter upon which I have a strong impression, and it serves as an introduction to a quotation from Mr.

Begley's scholarly and altogether charming book, 'Is IT SHAKESPERE?'

One reason for the determined and obstinate opposition to the Bacon hypothesis is the way in which the heresy is stated. Often enough, indeed far too often, it is put in a bald form, "Bacon wrote Shakspere"; which is almost like a blow in the face to devoted Shakspeareans of all degrees. It is an irritating way of stating the case, especially to many who, like myself, think it an incorrect and loose statement. If people would only set forth the heresy in the way I am now going to suggest, it would be much less annoying, much more likely to be listened to and accepted, and, in my opinion, much nearer the truth. Don't say "Bacon wrote Shakespeare," for at first blush it sounds absurd both to the learned and unlearned, but invert the proposition thus—"There seems strong evidence that Shakspere, the shrewd actor-manager, is always ready to use up for his stage purposes any suitable plays, new or old, that came into his hands; he would 'take up' and think no particular harm of it. He was in the habit of 'take up all,' 'gagging' at will. Ben Jonson hints at that practice being used in one of his plays, and Ben took the trouble to exclude the actor-manager's stage additions from the printed copy. But with so many book-pirates about, it was impossible for Bacon to exclude the stage gag, and so no doubt it forms part of the immortal plays; but only a small part fortunately. There is also strong evidence that very many of the plays that Shakspere took up, and which passed under his name, really came in the main from Francis Bacon. Putting aside many suspicious circumstances connected with their production both first and last, which rather tell against the Stratford man, the plays possess a language, a philosophy, and a learning which preponderantly point to the great Francis Bacon as against any other writer of that period."

Thus says Mr. Begley, and thus say I. Moreover I believe it to be the absolute fact. No Shakspearean scholar believes that every sentence and every word that appears as "Shakespeare's" proceeded directly from the pen of the unparalleled genius who, whatever his identity may have been, wrote under that name. It is a well-known fact that all great philosophers and

thinkers from the time of Plato, and doubtless even earlier, had groups of followers, pupils, disciples, *fili*. That Bacon had is well known. He speaks of his “good pens.” Archbishop Tenison records among them Dr. Hacket, late Bishop of Lichfield, and Ben Jonson. That his followers should have assisted him in writing plays—if he did write them—as well as in his other literary work is not remarkable. It would be remarkable if they did not. The critics find in the early plays traces of Greene, Lodge, Nash and Marlowe; in the latter, *Henry VIII.* especially, the hands of Fletcher and others. Such work as paraphrasing Holinshed for instance; a good example of which it appears in the first scene of the first act of *Henry V.* might have been done by almost any “prentice hand.” Is it not reasonable to suppose that Bacon, having laid out the general plan, handed over the scheme to one of his assistants to supply the journey-work, as it might be called, reserving to himself the delineation of character and the sublime poetic touches? Such a theory would account for many features of the plays that give endless puzzling problems to the critics, such as apparent *lacunæ* in *Macbeth* and elsewhere, and abrupt changes of style and evident inconsistencies in many of the plays. Collaboration in dramatic authorship was of constant occurrence at that period. Why should it not occur in the case of Bacon—or, if you please, in the case of “Shake-Speare”—as well as another?

John Ford's *Perkin Warbeck* is a play that I have recently read with considerable interest in view of the fact that, besides being a very good play, it may perhaps throw some light on this subject.

Ford was born in 1586, and was therefore twenty-five years younger than Bacon, and at the time of the publication of the Shakespeare First Folio was thirty-seven. *Perkin Warbeck* was, so far as we know, first

printed in 1634. The date of Ford's death is unknown, but he was living at the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642.

In the Introduction to the "Mermaid" edition of Ford's Plays, Havelock Ellis says:—

In *Perkin Warbeck* he laid aside his characteristic defects, and also his characteristic merits, to achieve a distinctive dramatic success. It is the least interesting of the plays for those who care for the peculiar qualities which mark Ford's genius, but it certainly ranks among our best historical dramas. Ford's interest in psychological problems may be detected in his impartial, even sympathetic, treatment of Warbeck; but for the most part this play is an exception to every generalisation that may be arrived at concerning his work. It is of a masculine temperature with few flaws, and a fine characterisation throughout.

In 1827 Ford's works were edited with an Introduction by William Gifford. It must be remembered that that was long before there was any Bacon-Shakespeare controversy, and consequently before it could have had an influence on the writer's mind; also at a time when one might speak of matters connected with Bacon and Shakespeare without danger of having "his head bit off" by some cuckoo-critic. In his Introduction he says:—

It is observed, in a critical notice of this drama which appeared in 1812, that "though the subject of it is of such as to preclude the author from the high praise of original invention and fancy, a circumstance which he himself notices in the very opening of his dedication," the play is so admirably conducted, so adorned with poetic sentiment and expression, so full of fine discrimination of character and affecting incidents, that we [continues the critic] cannot help regarding that audience as greatly disgraced which, having once witnessed its representation, did not insure its perpetuity on the English stage. If any [historic] play in the language can induce us to admit the lawfulness of a comparison with Shakspeare, it is this." There is little to add to this commendation, and I am not aware that much can be taken away from it. It may, however, be observed that the language of this

piece is temperately but uniformly raised ; it neither bursts into the enthusiasm of passion, nor degenerates into uninteresting whining, but supports the calm dignity of historic action, and accords with the characters of the “graced persons” who occupied the scene.

It is well to bear in mind that Shakespeare's historic plays cover the period from Richard II. to Henry VIII., including both, with the exception of the reign of Henry VII. That gap is in a way filled by Bacon, not, of course, by a play, but by his prose history of that monarch. Of that history the play of *Perkin Warbeck* is frankly a dramatization of the part relating to that claimant to the crown. The author tells us so in his preface. If this play had come down to us as part of the Shakespeare canon the gap would have been bridged, or rather, there would have been no gap to bridge. All would have appeared as a harmonious whole. In the dedication of the play to the Earl of Newcastle, Ford says, “Out of the darkness of a former age—enlightened by a late and an honourable pen—I have endeavoured to personate a great attempt, and in it a greater danger.” The context shows clearly—as the play itself does—that he refers to Bacon. In fact, this matter is undisputed and indisputable. The question remains, What warrant is there for Gifford's high enthusiasm and for his comparison to Shakespeare? This is a matter that every reader must decide for himself. The opinion of the present writer is that while much of the play will not for a moment stand such comparison there are many passages—extensive ones in some cases—that may very well pass as “Shake-speare's” work ; passages that if they had originally appeared as his would never have been mentioned. Not Shakspeare in his full panoply perhaps, but in his work-a-day costume, and thus considered bearing favourable comparison with his recognised work. To judge fairly of this the whole play should be read ; but as a suggestion of what is meant I

will transcribe a brief extract ; it is from the beginning of Act V., Scene i.

While in Scotland, it will be remembered, Perkin had married Katherine Gordon, a cousin of King James IV., a most charming lady and well worthy to rank with Shakespeare's heroines. An attempt to invade England from the Scottish border on the part of Perkin, aided by King James, is repulsed, and is followed by another invasion, this time by way of the Cornish coast. The Pretender effects a landing of his forces, but is met and defeated by the army of King Henry.

The scene is in the apartment of Lady Katherine, at St. Michael's Mount, Cornwall. There are present Lady Katherine, Jane, her attending gentlewoman, and a man-servant. Lady Katherine and Jane are in riding-habits.

Katherine.—It is decreed ; and we must yield to fate,
Whose angry justice, though it threatens ruin,
Contempt and poverty, is all but trial,
Of a weak woman's constancy and suffering.
Here in a stranger's and an enemy's land,
Forsaken and unfurnish'd of all hopes
But such as wait on misery, range,
To meet affliction wheresoe'er I tread.
My train and pomp of servants is reduc'd
To one kind gentlewoman and this groom.
Sweet Jane, now whither must we ?

Jane.— To your ships,
Dear Lady, and turn home.

Katherine.—Home ! I have none.
Fly thou to Scotland ; thou hast friends will weep
For joy to bid thee welcome ; but, O Jane,
My Jane ! my friends are desperate of comfort,
As I must be of them : the common charity,
Good people's alms and prayers of the gentle,
Is the revenue must support my state.
As for my native country, since it once
Saw me a princess in the height of greatness

My birth allowed me, here I make a vow
 Scotland shall never see me being fall'n
 Or lessn'd in my fortunes. Never, Jane,
 Could I be England's queen—a glory, Jane.
 I never faw'd, on,—yet the king who gave me
 Hath sent me with my husband from his presence,
 Deliver'd us suspected to his nation,
 Dender'd us spectacles to time and pity ;
 And is it fit I should return to such
 As only listen after our descent
 From happiness enjoy'd to misery
 Expected, though uncertain ? never, never !
 Alas, why dost thou weep ? and that poor creature
 Wipe his wet checks too ? let me feel alone
 Extremities, who know to give them harbour ;
 Nor thou nor he has cause : you may live safely.

Jane.— There is no safety whiles your dangers, madam,
 Are every way apparent.

Servant.— Pardon, lady,
 I cannot choosc but show my honest heart ;
 You were ever my good lady.

Katherine.—O, dear souls,
 Your shares in grief are too—too much !

I am far from suggesting that any opinion be based upon this extract alone. I have quoted it in the hope that its beauty will induce some to examine the play as a whole with the question of authorship in mind. Outside of “Shakespeare” I know of no play of that period that seems to me to combine so much poetic beauty with such clear and fine delineation of character as does this. Of course, this proves nothing ; it is but a suggestion, but a suggestion that may possibly offer a clue to the truth. Act I., Scene ii., is well worthy of attention. Compare Lady Katherine's speeches with Desdemona's in *Othello*, I., ii.

I have attempted, but without success, to find the record of an association between Bacon and Ford, but that proves nothing either way.

The play was first printed—as has already been stated—in 1634, eleven years after the publication of the First Folio, and appears to have been performed for the first time during the same year. It may be asked why, if it was to any considerable extent the work of Bacon under the pseudonym of “Shakespeare,” was it not included in the First Folio? Many reasons suggest themselves as possible. It may not have been finished in time. Bacon may not have been well enough satisfied with it. At the time of the publication of the First Folio, Bacon was suffering under the shock of his unjust and cruel treatment. He was ill; he felt that his life was drawing to a close, and he was very busily occupied in completing and arranging his philosophic and historic works. The preparation of his works for the press was probably, in a great measure, left to others, Ben Jonson, in all likelihood, being one.

It may be objected that my suggestion is a mere guess and that there are guesses enough about “Shakespeare” already. But there is no special objection to a guess if it be represented as one and has something to rest upon, and is not presented as a fact, but if the term guess is objectionable it may be styled a working hypothesis. At all events it appears to me to have enough plausibility to be worth investigation.

ISAAC HULL PLATT.

BACON'S LOST MANUSCRIPTS.

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

RECENT reviews in *BACONIANA*, and in some of the journals, have entirely overlooked the chief point in the book just issued as Part III. of “Francis Bacon's Bi-literal Cypher”—the story of “The Lost Manuscripts.”

For several years the investigation of what could be learned about Francis Bacon has centred upon finding some trace of the original manuscripts of the Shakespeare Plays and of other works formerly attributed to other authors, but now thought, by increasing numbers of students of that literature, to be from the pen of Bacon. These MSS. were voluminous, yet all trace of them has utterly and unaccountably disappeared. The discovery of the bi-literal and word-ciphers in these works opened an entirely new field of research which has proved rich in the evidences of Bacon's authorship of much of this Elizabethan literature about which there had previously been no little doubt and speculation. At length the deciphering of Bacon's "De Augmentis" revealed the hiding-places of the manuscripts to be in the tombs and monuments of the supposed writers. Thus was solved the mystery of their disappearance, and the hope was awakened that some of them may still be in existence. This circumstantial account, first found in the 1623 "De Augmentis," and corroborated by Rawley in "The Felicity of Queen Elizabeth," 1651, and in "Resuscitatio," 1657, and again in 1670-1 by Dugdale, has now been published, and is the chief subject of the book under review. It is the most important "find" in matters Baconian.

After the years I have spent in the study which has developed this full and credible account of the lost manuscripts, it comes with something of a shock that reviewers should pass the discovery by, and attribute to "illusion" the 500 pages or more of my work, with which the writers are evidently but slightly familiar.

I know, of course, that the idea that the earth moves was once thought an illusion, and that some of the most important discoveries in the world's progress were at first considered imaginary, and I can therefore con-

sole myself with the reflection that I have had most respectable company in the field misnamed "illusions." Those who have better understood the nature and magnitude of my work know well it is not illusion, nor delusion, nor creation of the decipherers, that fill the 500 pages I have published, but that the books are the result of careful, earnest, and painstaking application of Bacon's own methods and directions for the disclosure of his hidden messages. David Graham Phillips says: "Only to the rare few is given the power to concentrate steadily, year in and year out, through good and evil event or report," yet that is what one must do in seeking out what it was Bacon's "glory to conceal." The "last word" is yet to be found in something published later than the "Resuscitatio" of 1671.

The same reviewer speaks of the elision of letters in the deciphered writings, such as are "certainly not in Bacon's." I beg to differ, for they are frequent in Bacon's original editions, with many other typographical errors. For examples refer to "Advancement of Learning," in which elisions are numerous. More than twenty appear on the single page opposite p. 106 of the second book.

I quote again: "There is one feature which pervades every sentence which Bacon wrote—the perfect musical effect produced by the words spoken." If reviewer includes "Faerie Queen," "Shepherd's Calendar," and some others as Bacon's, and a portion of the writings over his own name, I agree as to "musical effect," etc., but should disagree entirely as to much that is in his philosophical writings. On the other hand, Bacon himself says that he varied his style to suit the occasion, and there is great diversity in his writings in the manner and form of expression. The hidden writings varied with the mood in the expression of his inmost thought, and that was always impressed with the shadow of the grievous personal wrongs which he suffered.

Complete and satisfactory explanations could be made to other objections urged did space permit, though it would be but repetition of much that has already appeared in some form or place in my replies to various criticisms, or as explanatory of the work. The discussion of details and narrow technicalities, however, the construction or destruction of theories, by *induction* or *deduction*, are but academic; the great fact remains, the *cipher is there*. It cannot be destroyed nor refuted by argument or by disbelief.

The discovery of the lost manuscripts now overshadows all else in importance. Those who have the power to act in the matter should undertake the search for these in all places yet intact where the cipher asserts they were hidden, and no stone should be left unturned beneath or behind which the boxes which once held them could be concealed. Canonbury Tower should be the first to be thoroughly examined. Many changes have occurred, but there can be no doubt of where the MSS. were placed, and where they were in custody up to 1671, and the possibilities should be exhausted as to whether or not any of them can be recovered. It is worthy the attention of the King's Commission, and I hope and trust there may be sufficient interest aroused in the matter to open the way for an exhaustive examination.

ELIZABETH WELLS GALLUP.

BACON'S "RIOTOUS MEN."

WHO were the "riotous men" of whose association with Francis Bacon Lady Anne, in her letters to Anthony, so bitterly complains?

There were members of the Inns of Court, acquaintances of Bacon—and Welshmen among them—whose

youthful indiscretions and irregularities brought them into trouble with the authorities which might have hindered their prospects, but, happily, did not ruin their careers. Conspicuous among their number were—

John Davies, always associated with the cabinet of secrecies concerning "concealed poets";

Francis Markham, captain under Essex in Ireland, and brother of Gervase Markham (*BACONIANA*, Vol. VIII., pp. 127, 130), under whose name were published works on a variety of subjects in prose and verse, for which he has been described as "the most voluminous miscellaneous writer of his age";

Richard Martin, Recorder of London, and organiser of the masque at the Middle Temple in honour of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth (a joint masque of the Inns of Court was performed before the king on the same occasion, "whereof the chief contriver was," according to Spedding, "Sir Francis Bacon," then Solicitor-General);

Thomas Chamberlain, Knight and Justice of the Welsh counties, and later Judge of the King's Bench;

Edward Jones, "a great translator of books," sometime secretary to Lord Keeper Puckering, and afterwards secretary to the Earl of Essex. (Lady Anne, complaining of Francis' associates, contemptuously refers to "that Jones" in one of her letters).

Candlemas Night at the Inns of Court during Elizabeth's reign was frequently the occasion for doing homage to the "Lord of Misrule." The Benchers issued ordinances forbidding "playing at dice or cards, outcries in the night, and breaking open chambers as by the Lord of Candlemas Night." But in spite of the prohibitions, the Lord of Misrule was set up, and riotous scenes took place in the early hours of the 3rd February, 1590, in Gray's Inn.

On the following day there was a meeting of the

Benchers, which Francis Bacon attended, at which it was ordered that seventeen men be put out of the Society for their disorderly conduct, and among their number were Thomas Chamberlain, Francis Markham, and Edward Jones.

Similar disturbances occurred on the same occasion in the Middle Temple. Two members were expelled, and a number of others, including John Davies and Richard Martin, were fined for infringing the ordinance by making outcries, forcibly breaking open chambers in the night, and levying money as the Lord of Misrule's rent.

At Candlemas, the following year, the expelled members appeared at night in disguise, accompanied by townsmen, and were joined by members of the Middle Temple in riotous proceedings of a similar character. For disorderly behaviour on this occasion Richard Martin was expelled, while John Davies was suspended, or "put out of commons," until further order. Davies was re-admitted to commons in May, 1592, and Martin was restored to membership a month later.

Davies and Martin became fast friends. They were the same age, went to Oxford together, and were admitted students at the Middle Temple the same year, and when Davies published his poem on dancing, entitled, "Orchestra," in 1596, the book contained a dedication to his friend, Richard Martin. Unfortunately, in the following year something occurred which interfered with their friendship. Davies had a grievance against Martin, though the cause of the complaint is not precisely known. It is said that it was owing to the raillery of Martin, who was known in Oxford days as "a disputant," that Davies adopted a peculiar method of retaliation.

The night of the 9th February, 1597, is memorable in the annals of the Middle Temple for a strangely

dramatic scene. While dinner was proceeding, the Masters of the Bench seated on the dais, John Davies, barrister, suddenly entered the hall. He was wearing his hat and cloak, a dagger at his belt, and was accompanied by two men, one of them his servant, armed with drawn swords. The men remained at the entrance of the hall, while Davies walked up to the fireplace, calmly surveyed the diners, and, having singled out Richard Martin sitting at one of the barristers' tables, he advanced towards him, drew a stick from under his cloak and broke it upon Martin's head. Retiring quickly to the end of the hall where his men were standing, he snatched the sword from his servant's hand, and, brandishing it over his head, he retreated down the steps to the river and leaped into a boat.

The Benchers appear to have held a lengthy inquiry into this strange behaviour, for it was not until after nine months had elapsed that they adjudicated upon it. On the 25th November they ordered that Davies be expelled—"*nunquam in posterum restitutendus*"—and the order for expulsion was confirmed on the 10th February, 1598.

Davies, being disbarred, retired to Oxford, where, for three years, he devoted himself to literary pursuits. He published his great poem on immortality—"*Nosce teipsum*"—in 1599, in which he dwelt upon the lesson he had learnt from affliction. He petitioned the Benchers of the Middle Temple to restore him in 1601, and his request was granted upon condition that he made a submission which was satisfactory to the Bench. He accordingly appeared in hall, pronounced his submission at the "cupboard" immediately before dinner, confessed that he was carried away by passion when he committed the assault upon Martin, and tendered his apology to his friend with a promise of sincere affection for the future, which Martin accepted, and so the matter ended.

Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, Davies accompanied Lord Hunsdon to Scotland, and on learning that Davies was the author of "*Nosce teipsum*," it is said that King James embraced him and received him with great favour. During his attendance at Court he received the letter from Francis Bacon in which the great philosopher requested him to use his influence with the king on the writer's behalf, and concluded with that significant phrase, "So desiring you to be good to concealed poets."

Davies was appointed Solicitor-General for Ireland in 1603, Attorney-General in 1606, made Knight in 1607, and died shortly after his appointment as Lord Chief Justice in 1626.

A digest of Irish cases, by Sir John Davies, Attorney-General for Ireland, published in 1615, contains a preface dedicating the work to Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor of England. In this preface it is interesting to note the characteristic love of similitudes, the play upon words, the Masonic analogy between the rule of conduct which governs men's actions and the rule of the architect that measures the work, the exceptional phrase "discourse of reason" (BACONIANA, Vol. IX., pp. 163-4), the "peccant humour" ("Advancement of Learning") and "idols" ("Nov. Org.") in one sentence combined.

Some passages from the preface may be quoted:—

"Law is nothing but a rule of reason, and human reason is, *Lesbia regula*, pliable every way, or like a cup with two ears (as the French proverb is) which may be taken up on either side, as well with the left hand as with the right."

"Again, the law is nothing else but a rule which is made to measure the actions of men. But a rule is dead and measures nothing, unless the head of the architect do apply it. . . . The best lute that ever

was made could never make music of itself alone, without the learned hand of the lute-player."

"And this idea I have conceived of him, not of mine own imagination or weak *discourse of reason*."

"Who, when their learned counsel indeed do refuse to nourish that *peccant humour* in them, do seek out discarded impostors or *idols*," etc.

The book contains thirteen illustrations of the double A ornamental heading, the significance of which is pointed out in *BACONIANA*, Vol. VIII., p. 121.

HAROLD HARDY.

"DISCOURSE OF ENGLISH POETRIE," 1586.

IN restoring to Francis Bacon the fame which he considered should better come after death rather than accompany a man during life, the booklet bearing the above title can safely be added to his authorship credit.

Convinced of the civilizing value of "measurable or tunable" English, he invited men of education to practise the art of writing English poetry, but cleverly insinuated his own methods. He was entirely opposed to the miserable rhyming practices then in vogue and desired agreement upon some apt English Prosodia.

He put out his "Discourse" as a sort of draught for consideration, admitted having omitted "the chief collours and ornaments of Poetrie," and having introduced matters "less pertinent."

Young Francis was an educational reformer, but the *mot* of his impresa was the line from Horace which furnished the keynote of his procedure, "*Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci*."

So he first strove to delight his readers with an irrelevant though very interesting review of poetry from its earliest to its then latest exponents. The class work followed, but even that was interspersed with pleasing comment and illustration.

This was no new line for Francis. He had worked upon this principle under the vizards of “Euphues” and “Gosson,” as well as in the Immerito letters, and as E. K. in the Glosse to the “Shepeard’s Kalendar” in the years 1579 and 1580.

To describe his own methods of writing English verse he had perforce to turn to his only printed work of any variety or length, namely, the “Shepeard’s Kalendar.” He could use this the more readily as he had already in the Harvey-Immerito letters insinuated the authorship as being that of Spenser, who, until sent to Ireland in September, 1580, seems to have done clerk’s work in the service of the Earl of Leicester. Here the biliteral cipher story helps to an understanding of the position. Francis was son to the Queen and Leicester, on good terms with them, but unacknowledged openly. Spenser had for a money payment sold to Francis the use of his name when required on title pages. Spenser was permanently settled in Ireland, nearly a month’s journey away by sea and land.

To use the “Kalendar” as his text book involved young Francis in a number of ingenious dissemblings upon the Spenser topic :—

“Whether the author was Master Sp or what rare scholler in Pembroke Hall soever, because himself and his freendes for what respect I know not would not reveal it.”

“If his other workes were common abroade which are as I thinke in ye close custodie of certaine his friends we should have of our owne poets whom wee might matche in all respects with the best.”

"But nowe yet at ye last hath England hatched uppe one Poet of this sorte *in my conscience* comparable with the best in any respect: even Master Sp., author of the Sheepehearde's Calendar."

Under cover of this inky cloud Francis takes opportunity to answer some unpleasant comment upon his sixth Eglogue. It may be contended that had Francis been the author of the "Kalendar" he would not have been so eulogistic concerning it. Those who would so contend have not yet learnt to know young Francis Bacon. *In his conscience* he was satisfied as to his own pre-eminence as a poet. He was the most highly educated young man of his era, conscious of his intellectual power and filled with the reforming zeal of a Ronsard. And do not forget his name was not Bacon. He was heir to the throne of England, awaiting and hoping yet to win royal recognition. Kings, queens, and princes have generally a "guid conceit o' thairsels."

Like Mr. Chisholm in the new Encyclopædia, many literary men, unwilling to pierce the veil for themselves, will continue to shelter behind a title page. William Webbe is the ascribed author and that settles the matter! The biographers, however, know nothing of this deeply-learned scholar and accomplished poet who strutted and fretted an hour upon the stage and then was heard no more.

Curious that this "person," at a date before Bacon had published under his own name, should have been able to anticipate Bacon's thoughts, terms, allusions, methods and illustrations, and give us the whole scheme and motive of the Shakespeare drama.

Sir Edward Sulyard, a wealthy landowner, of Runwell, in Essex, not far from the old Saxon Palace at Havering-atte-Bower, had two sons, the younger being aged 13 in the year 1586, and one William

Webbe was their tutor. In 1592 this Webbe associated with the Grey family at Havering. Sulyard's sister was married to Henry Grey, who lived at the palace. He was one of the Queen's defenders at tilt, and was eventually created Lord Grey of Groby.

The Queen was a frequent visitor to Havering Palace, where she held Court. It was easily reached from Westminster or Greenwich, and was very near to the Earl of Leicester's country house at Wanstead. These Courts at Havering Palace would seem to bring Francis and Webbe into association, and it is more than likely that Webbe did a little copying for Francis, and would be honoured by the suggestion of the use of his name on a title-page. Hazlewood's reprint of the “Discourse” is as near as possible a *fac-simile*, and it will be seen that the epistle and preface are only initialled VV. VV., and that prefixed to both preface and discourse are Bacon's well-known trefoil marks.

In the epistle the writer hardly sustains the *role* of an humble tutor. He offers to be a “trusty Achates” to the Sulyard boys, even so far as “my wealth” (!) may serve.

There is much internal evidence of Baconian authorship. The writer uses the term “merry tales” we find in Bacon's “Promus.” He takes Bacon's division of plays into Comedies, Tragedies, and Histories. He tells the same tale about Alexander and Achilles that Bacon gives in “Advancement of Learning”; deals with the legend of Orpheus as Bacon deals with it in his “Wisdom of the Ancients.” He makes the same complaint against those who “hunt the letter” that Bacon makes in his “Advancement of Learning.”

He coins new words and anticipates Bacon's rythmical prose in expressions such as the following :—

“Without learning boaste without judgment,
Jangle, without reason rage and fume.”

This discourser anticipates the general plan of the Shakespeare plays. They were to present in the shapes of men the natures of virtues, vices, and affections, and join profitable and pleasant lessons together for the instruction of life. He even anticipates Ben Jonson's famous sentence:—"Virgill who performed the very same in that tongue which Homer had done in Greeke." Jonson placed Bacon's labours for the English tongue on the level with those of Homer and Virgil.

I have referred to Webbe as strutting an "hour upon the stage." In 1592 he appeared for another five minutes.

Occasion seems to have risen in this wise. Robert Wilmot, an Essex vicar, was, when an Inns of Court student, one of five who wrote a short rhymed play, entitled *Tancred and Gismunda*, performed before the Queen in 1568.

Judged by the extracts given in Dodsley's "Old Plays," *Tancred*, in 1568, was rubbishy fustian.

In 1592 it was entirely re-written, and except for the title became another play of considerable merit.

It is published in the name of Wilmot, and accompanied by an unusual amount of apologetic and fussy preamble, attempting, with the assistance of Webbe, also an Essex resident, to anticipate the query why a quiet vicar of a country parish should, after twenty-four years' interval, have written a play; this, too, in the style and of the quality of the plays at this period being issued in the names of the actors Marlowe, Greene, and Peele who, we learn from the biliteral story, were mere paid vizards for Francis.

The introductory note under the name of Webbe is just what Bacon at thirty-two, with his mind saturated with legal terms, would be likely to write. The words respite, arrest, *actum est*, commence suit, case, judges,

court, charges, action, cause, plead, and parties, occur in the first few sentences.

We shall never know the inducements which caused Webbe to pose once as author and once as introducer. They were probably simple and yet sufficient.

But I am satisfied that Francis was the true author of the “Discourse,” which served very useful purposes.

1. It was a call to the educated to write English poetry.

2. It gave full instruction in the art of eglogue writing as Francis had himself practised it.

3. It further imputed the authorship of the anonymously published “Kalendar” to the absent clerk Spenser. About a year previously it had been translated into Latin verse by a man who was quite ignorant of the name of either true or alleged author.

4. It gave Francis opportunity to reply to criticism.

5. Most important of all, it prepared the public for the printing of a quantity of other verses, the “Færie Queene” included, which Francis would appear to have had ready to issue under the Spenser ascription. The delay in issue was doubtless due to the unexpected death of his cousin Philip Sidney late in that year, the trouble with Spain, and the death of his father, the Earl of Leicester, in 1588.

I am glad to notice that my view of the authorship of the “Discourse” is supported by Mr. W. T. Smedley. Perhaps he may some time take opportunity to add his reasons for so thinking.

PARKER WOODWARD.

NEARING THE END.

WE seem to be nearing the end of the passage. That Francis Bacon wrote the works published in the name of Shakespeare has been abundantly proved. Mrs. Gallup's recent deciphers as to the lost manuscripts take the enquiry an important step further. When Rawley died, in 1667, the secret of Bacon's parentage and veiled literary efforts passed to Sir William Dugdale. In 1671 Dugdale worked the biliteral cipher. In 1679 Archbishop Tenison, then vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London (the church where Bacon's baptism is registered), published that curious book, with its references to R.C. and Rose and Crown, entitled "Remaines" of Lord Bacon. In 1679 was also published the new Spenser Folio, with the Westminster Tomb as frontispiece. Dugdale died in 1685-6, and his papers passed to his son-in-law, Elias Ashmole. Now Ashmole was a prominent Freemason and Rosicrucian; so that if the secret of Bacon's parentage and concealed authorship had not thitherto reached the Freemasons and the Society of the Rosy Cross, Ashmole was in a position to communicate it. Of course, the Rosicrucian secrets which Ashmole had learnt from Backhouse may have had to do merely with the Alchemist and Theosophist Society, at whose head (according to De Quincey) stood Flood.

De Quincey states that the exoterici, at whose head Bacon stood, afterwards composed the Royal Society. Some notes in "Evelyn's Diary" show that this latter Society was at one time called the Philosophic Society, and met first in London, next at Oxford, and then during the civil wars intermittently in London. In 1662 it was meeting at Gresham College, when it received its charter as the Royal Society. It celebrated its first anniversary on St. Andrew's Day, and on that occasion

each Fellow wore a St. Andrew's Cross in ribbon on the crown of his hat. Secrecy on the question of Bacon's parentage remained essential so long as the line deriving from Robert, Earl of Essex, was not extinct. That a small group of persons, whether as inner circle of the Royal Society or of the body of Freemasons, did possess Bacon's secrets and knew his ciphers may be gleaned from the peculiarities of and attending the erection in 1741 of the Abbey statue to Shakespeare; so that the lost MSS., in which Mrs. Gallup and others have taken so much interest, may have already been recovered and preserved pending a decision as to the publication of the facts. In 1901 a Baconian was told by a Freemason client that the whole matter would be cleared up in three years. In the same year another Baconian was informed by a prominent Freemason that the whole thing we have been struggling with would, in a time drawing near, be announced and made known to the world on authority not to be doubted. To a lady Baconian a learned man, who styled her a self-initiated Rosicrucian, stated that he had seen evidence in the handwriting of Bacon as to certain facts about Queen Elizabeth. A Baconian author received a roundabout intimation that it should be worth his while to seek to pass through the higher grades of Freemasonry. The time has surely come when we can say to the inner circle of that hierarchy, "By inductive methods we have acquired your secrets. Produce your proofs; they are overdue."

PARKER WOODWARD.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Francis Bacon and His Secret Society. An attempt to collect and unite the lost links of a long and strong chain by Mrs. Henry Pott. Second and revised edition, cloth boards, gilt lettered, 356 pp., 7s. 6d. net. Robert Banks and Son.

It is just twenty years since Mrs. Pott published the first edition of "Francis Bacon and His Secret Society." It has had a wide circulation both in America and England amongst those who have taken an interest in the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy, and is therefore too well known to require an elaborate review. The volume contains an enormous amount of information with reference to Francis Bacon, and the author proposes theories concerning and explanations of the literature of the period which are full of interest to the student. Especially does this remark apply to the chapter on "The Rosicrucians: Their Rules, Aims, and Methods of Working." There is one sentence in it which establishes the wonderful insight which she possessed more than twenty years ago into the intellectual proportions of the real Francis Bacon. It is this: "But in mind Francis Bacon never was a boy." Speaking of him at the age of nine years one of the earliest biographical notices of his life says: "His industry was above the capacity and his mind beyond the range of his contemporaries." Mrs. Pott has devoted her life to the study of Bacon and his works, and her name will ever be held in reverence by his disciples for her labours. No one who has written on the subject has realised as she has the apparently boundless capacities of his industry and intellect.

In the preface to the present edition Mrs. Pott makes two statements which many ardent Baconians will refuse to accept. The first by way of correction, and is as follows:—"In the following pages it will be seen that Francis Bacon is spoken of as the son of Sir Nicholas Bacon and his second wife, Anne Cook. This we are now convinced is a fundamental error. Francis was the son of Queen Elizabeth and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. A younger son was Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Essex. He was brother of Francis." Mrs. Pott bases this statement on a complete acceptance of Mrs. Wells Gallup's decyphered story. The second statement is that Francis Bacon "did not really die in 1626"; adding:—"In 1626 he died to the world—retired—and by help of many friends, under many names and disguises, passed to many places. As recluse, he lived a life of study; revising a mass of works published under his 'pen-names'—enlarging and adding to their number. They form the standard literature of the seventeenth century."

The Clouds Around Shakespeare, by the Rev. George O'Neill, S.J., M.A. Price 6d. Dublin: E. Ponsonby, Ltd.

This is a lecture delivered before the Royal Dublin Society on February 22nd, 1911. In 38 pages the author gives a succinct

and admirable account of the difficulties which present themselves in the way of accepting the Stratford Shakespeare as the author of the plays which were published under the name of *William Shakespeare*. In a postscript, speaking of the efforts which have been made to decipher from the plays themselves the characteristics of their author, the Rev. George O'Neill quotes Professor Dowden that "The Shakespeare of each portrait-painter resembles the Shakespeare of the rest with as close a resemblance as portraits commonly possess which are drawn from a real face at different points of view by artists 'indifferent honest'"; and adds: "I am quite willing to accept this view. But what actual living Elizabethan personage do these consentient portraits fit? That is the question towards answering which the present lecture and its predecessor, *Could Bacon Have Written the Plays?* are intended to help."

Les Sonnets de Shakespeare et la Thèse Baconienne, by Paul-Louis Hervier. Reprinted from *La Revue*. Paris.

The authorship of the works of Shakespere is beginning to attract attention in France. It is a matter of wonder that it has not caught on there before, for the discussion is one which might be expected to appeal to the French temperament. In this article M. Hervier deals with the internal evidence of the Sonnets as to the authorship. He says: "Les Stratfordistes ont le tort grave de n'admettre les discussions qu'avec parti pris et de traiter de fous ceux qui veulent collaborer à la recherche de la vérité. Ils ne souffrent aucun doute. Cependant nombreux sont ceux qui hésitent ou parce qu'ils ont pris la peine d'étudier d'un peu près la vie de Shakespeare et les œuvres de Shakespeare ou simplement parce qu'ils sont entraînés par l'exemple d'hommes sérieux et compétents qui eux-mêmes ont douté."

And again:—"Les sonnets forment par la poésie, la noblesse des idées, par leur style recherché et subtil, teinté parfois d'un soupçon d'afféterie et d'euphuisme, par la gravité des pensées morales qui s'en dégagent et leur haute portée philosophique, une des parties les plus intéressantes de l'œuvre Shakespearienne. Mais ils sont ambigus, obscurs même. Depuis près de trois siècles, ils demeurent l'énigme littéraire du monde. Le célèbre Shakespearien Grant White en dit: 'Le mystère des sonnets de Shakespeare ne sera jamais dévoilé.' Il faut donc s'attendre à ce que le chercheur qui essaye de percer ce mystère et le lecteur qui prend part à sa tâche éprouvent quelques difficultés."

M. Hervier considers there is indisputable evidence that Bacon was a poet. He believes the Sonnets were written at different periods of his life and on different subjects. They deal with his struggles, with the accusations made against him which it was difficult for him to answer publicly, with his sufferings, and with his relations to his Sovereign. M. Hervier further considers that the Sonnets are intentionally obscure, and that they are written with a double-entendre.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"Filled up all Numbers."

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—The use of the word "numbers" as signifying verse has been frequently insisted on in your pages, and various instances have been given from time to time to make clear the meaning of Ben Jonson in his appreciation of his patron Viscount St. Alban. So far as I remember the following passage from Dryden's "Dedication to Juvenal," referring to the versification of Samuel Butler's "Hudibras," is new in this connection, and it appears to me particularly apposite. The passage is: "The worth of his Poem is too well known to need my commendation; and he is above my censure; the choice of his *numbers* is suitable enough to his design, as he has managed it, but in any other hand, the shortness of his verse, the quick returns of rhyme, had debased the dignity of style; his good sense is perpetually shining through all he writes; it affords us not the time of finding faults; we pass through the levity of his rhyme, and one is immediately carried into some admirable useful thought. After all, he has chosen this kind of verse, and has written the best in it."

Yours, etc.,

E. BASIL LUPTON.

Leeds, May 27th, 1911.

George Wither.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—Is it fair to include the name of this old poet in the list of those who knew? His authorship of "The Great Assizes at Parnassus" in 1645, which names Lord Verulam as Chancellor of Parnassus, has been cited as contemporary evidence freely in recent books. But it looks as though deeper study of Wither's early writings would bring to light stronger evidence that the secret was no secret to him.

Wither arrived in London in 1606 and fell into rotation with Hall and Marston and Rowlands. In less than five years he was in trouble on account of a satire of his own, of which no copy exists. He was saved by the intervention of the Princess Elizabeth, in honour of whose marriage to the Prince Palatine he wrote a song containing the phrase "Match between great Thame and Rhine." Upon this line Bacon and Beaumont built their masque, *The Marriage of the Thames and Rhine*.

A year or two later he published "Abuses Whipt and Stript" and "The Scourge," for the which, there being no Elizabeth to intercede for him, he went into the Marshalsea. From the latter come the lines:—

"And prithee tell the B. Chancellor
That thou art sent to be his counsellor

And tell him if he mean not to be stript
And like a schoolboy *once again* be whipt."

They are said to refer to Lord Ellesmere, but without justification. The B. indicates rather Ellesmere's successor. In prison he wrote :—

"Since no sooner can I play
Any pleasing roundelay,
But some one or other still
'Gins to descant on my quill,
And will say, by this he me
Meaneth in his minstrelsy."

His early verses in manuscript were lost, he says himself, when his house was plundered, or by some other accident. Wilmott, quoting from somewhere, describes another production as having been secretly "gotten out of the author's custody by a friend of his."

I postulate that Master George Wither had been "hunting on an old scent," and that Lord Chancellor in embryo, Bacon, was taking his own steps for suppressing him. W. E. L.

Shanghai, May, 1911.

Mystery of Francis Bacon.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—May I make a few observations upon Mr. Smedley's interesting paper?

Is it clear that Anthony Bacon's letter to Burleigh was dated February, 1580-1? Also that Faunt left Paris on 22nd March, 1581-2?

In the event of these being the correct dates, circumstances point very strongly to Mr. Smedley's conclusion that Francis Bacon went again abroad in 1581, though his authorship of the "Notes on the State of Christendom" is still doubtful.

In 1581 Bodley was Gentleman Usher to the Queen.

When in 1595-6, at the age of twenty, young Earl Rutland travelled abroad, it would seem as if he went as an "intelligencer" for Essex, then in full control of foreign affairs. He married a step-daughter of Essex in 1599.

To sustain the *role* of a young nobleman making a continental tour for educational purposes, whereby he would gain entry to Courts and capitals and pass as a non-combatant through the lines of any armed forces, evidence of good faith would be needed.

Carefully prepared letters of "good advice" would admirably serve this purpose. Francis Bacon drafted two, the first bearing every evidence of his composition. For the second he evidently told an assistant to copy the impersonal portion of the old letter of advice which Bodley had written to him for his (Bacon's) travels in 1581. This would be sealed, and forwarded from

Gray's Inn to Essex House, where Anthony Bacon would cut off the folding over end of the last sheet containing the superscription before giving it out for transcription for Essex's signature.

Two such letters should effectually hoodwink the suspicious foreigner. But Francis had forgotten to say anything to account for the written notes young Rutland was expected to keep, so a third letter was drafted at the last moment! The fact that Anthony Bacon preserved the drafts enabled this amusing piece of dissembling to survive the ruin of time. P. W.

NOTES.

THE attention of the members of the Society is drawn to an announcement which appeared in the April number of *BACONIANA*. A member desirous of encouraging research work among his fellow-members has offered to give a gold medal, or, as an alternative, books to the value of £6, to be awarded by the Council to the member who, in their opinion, has during the year made the most important discovery of documents bearing upon the controversy as to the authorship of the Shakespeare plays, or a kindred subject; and a silver medal or badge to the member considered second in merit. Members of the Council are not eligible for these awards. Further information may be obtained from the Secretary.

There will be published during the month of October "Bacon's Secret Disclosed in Contemporary Books," by Mr. Granville G. Cuninghame. (Gay & Hancock. 3/6).

Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence has prepared lantern slides of forty of the illustrations in his book, "Bacon is Shakespeare," and he will be pleased to lend them to anyone intending to lecture on the subject. Application must be made to Mr. Frank Burgoyne, The Tate Library, Brixton Oval, London, S.W.



