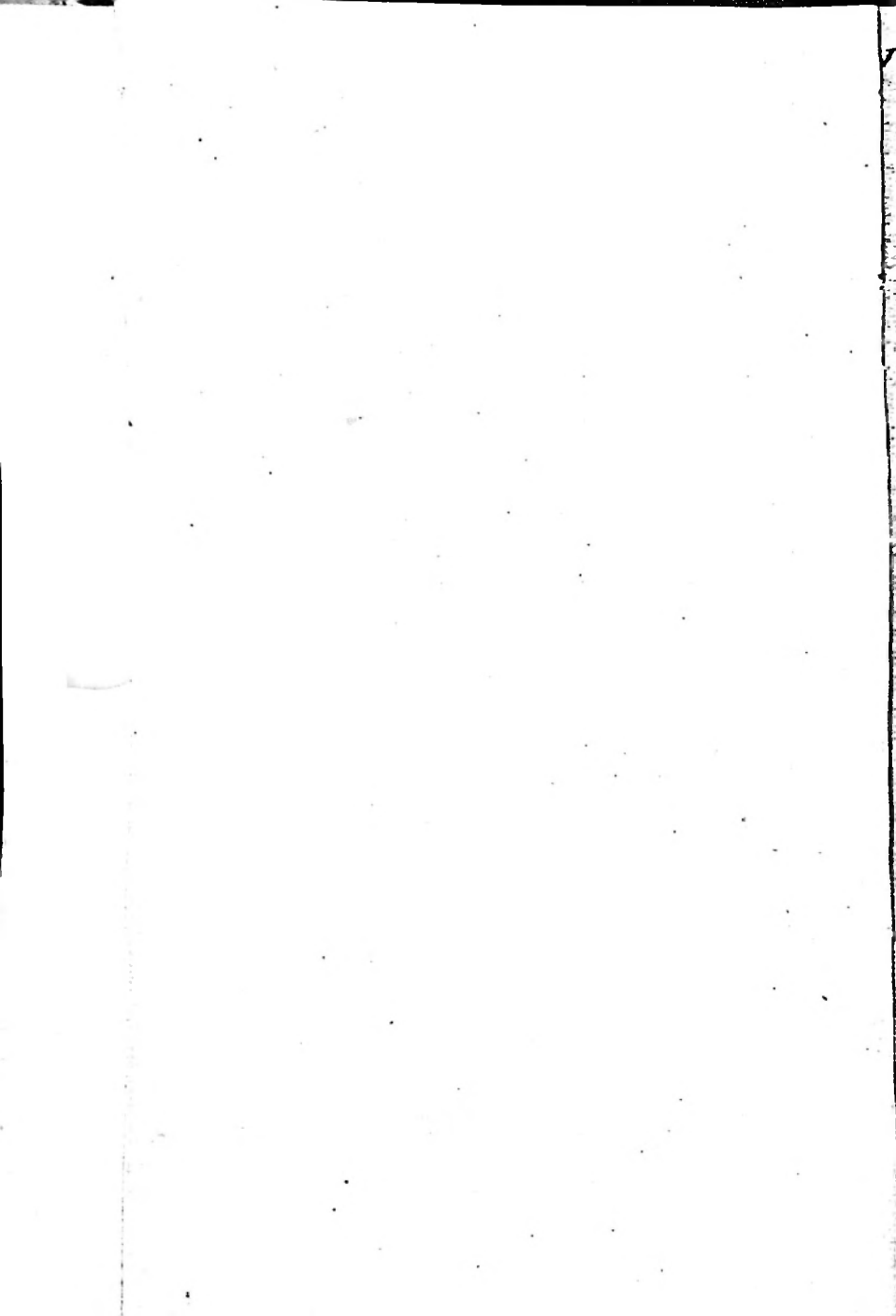


# BACONIANA









JANUARY, 1915.

# BACONIANA

A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

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# The Bacon Society.

(INCORPORATED.)

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

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

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

The Society's Library and Rooms are at 11, Hart Street, London, W.C. (close to the British Museum), where the Secretary attends daily, and from 3 to 5 o'clock will be happy to supply further information.

*The columns of BACONIANA are open for the expression of all shades of opinion on the subjects discussed therein, although such opinions may not be in accord with those held by the Council of the Society or the Editor of the Journal.*

# BACONIANA.

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VOL. XIII. *Third Series.* JANUARY, 1915. No. 49.

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FRANCIS BACON.

BORN 22ND JANUARY, 1562.

"Lord Bacon was the greatest genius that England or perhaps any other country ever produced."—POPE.

"The wisest, greatest of mankind."—HALLAM.

**T**O-DAY is the 354th Anniversary of the birth of Francis Bacon.

No one can understand or appreciate Bacon who does not realise that he was, before everything else, a Jester. Ben Jonson, when speaking of him, makes this plain. He says:—"His language was nobly censorious when he could spare or pass by a jest." So his normal mental habit was that of a Jester. Macaulay confirmed this when he said:—"In wit, if by wit he meant the power of perceiving analogies between things which appear to have nothing in common, Bacon never had an equal, not even Cowley, not even the author of *Hudibras*. . . . Occasionally it obtained the mastery over all his other faculties and led him into absurdities into which no dull man could have fallen." It is unfortunate that not one of Bacon's biographers has realised this fact. The result is that the real Bacon has

never been revealed. He is called "the father of the Inductive Philosophy." He is represented as being the founder of a system of Philosophy as was Descartes or Herbert Spencer. In the *Novum Organum* Book 1, chap. CXVI. he distinctly repudiates such a designation:—"For this (founding a new sect in Philosophy) is not what I am about, nor do I think it matters much to the fortunes of men what abstract notions one may entertain concerning nature and the principles of things. . . . But for my part I do not trouble myself with any such speculative and withal unprofitable matters."

Spedding in his introductory chapter to "Letters and Life of Lord Bacon," gives an entirely misleading idea of Bacon's early life. He writes, "There is no reason to suppose that he was regarded as a wonderful child. Of the first sixteen years of his life indeed nothing is known that distinguishes him from a hundred other clever and well disposed boys." This is not in accordance with contemporary testimony.

The earliest biographical notice of Bacon is to be found prefixed to the French edition of his *Histoire Naturelle*, published in Paris in 1631. The author is presumably Pierre Amboise, to whom the license to print was granted. The following is a translation of a passage which occurs in it:—"Capacity (*jugement*) and memory were never in any man to such a degree as in this man; so that in a very short time he made himself conversant with all the knowledge he could acquire at college.\* And though he was then considered capable of understanding the most important affairs (*capable des charges les plus importantes*), yet so that he should not fall into the usual fault of

\* He left Cambridge before he had completed his fifteenth year.



young men of his kind (who by a too hasty ambition often bring to the management of great affairs a mind still full of the crudities of the school), M. Bacon himself wished to acquire that knowledge which in former times made Ulysses so commendable, and earned for him the name of Wise ; by the study of the manners of many different nations. I wish to state that he employed some years of his youth in travel in order to polish his mind and mould his opinions by intercourse with all kinds of foreigners. France, Italy, and Spain as the most civilised nations of the whole world, were these whither his desire for knowledge (*curiosité*) carried him."

Macaulay described Bacon as possessing "the most exquisitely constructed intellect that has ever been bestowed on any of the children of men." A contemporary writer thus speaks of him:—"He had a large mind from his father and great abilities from his mother ; his parts improved more than his years ; his great fixed and methodical memory, his solid judgment, his quick fancy, his ready expression, gave high assurance of that profound and universal knowledge and comprehension of things which then rendered him the observation of great and wise men and afterwards the wonder of all. . . . At twelve his industry was above the capacity and his mind above the reach of his contemporaries."

His grandfather, Sir Anthony Cooke, was tutor to Edward VI. Sir Anthony is said to have been "somebody in every Art, and eminent in all, the whole circle of Arts lodging in his soul. . . . Knowing that souls were equal and that Women are as capable of learning as men, he instilled that to his daughters at night, which he had taught the Prince in the day, being resolved to have sons by education for fear he should have none by birth and lest he wanted an heir

of his body, he made five of his mind." The mother of Francis Bacon was the second of these daughters. She was distinguished as a classical scholar. The boy's early education was directed by Sir Anthony, At the time of his birth (1560) the English language was without syntax or form and poverty stricken in vocabulary. He would acquire Latin and probably Greek from his cradle. The boy must have thought in Latin. The sources from which he was absorbing all knowledge were written in Latin, with some exceptions, which were in Greek. There was no English language in which he could think of that which he read. It may be said that, as was the case with Montaigne, Latin was his mother tongue. The course of his studies is thus described :—" He, after he had survaied all the records of antiquity after the volumnes of men, betook himselfe to the study of the volumne of the world, and having conquered whatever books possest set upon the Kingdome of Nature and carried that victory very farre." There exists evidence in his own handwriting, to be attributed probably to the time when he was 16 or 17 years of age, that he was proficient in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldæic, Syriac and Arabic languages. It will probably be found that when in France young Bacon was assisting certain French printers just as Philip Melancthon, when he was about the same age, was working for Thomas Anshelmus at Tubingen. It was at this time that his portrait was painted by Hilliard, the Court Miniature Painter, who inscribed around it the words, " Si tabula daretur digna animum malle," freely translated, " If one could only find materials worthy to paint his mind."

But this wonderful boy was self-reliant with fearless independence. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, when twelve years of age. He there took

exception to the course of education which was pursued. "He first fell into a dislike of the Philosophy of Aristotle; not for the worthlessness of the author, to whom he would ever ascribe all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulness of the way; being a philosophy (as he used to say) only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of works for the benefit of the life of man." This boy opposed his opinion to the authority of the staff of the University on the most fundamental point which could be raised as to the pursuit of knowledge and he left Cambridge without taking a degree before he was fifteen years of age.

What a remarkable boy this body of testimony reveals! He possessed the most exquisitely constructed intellect that was ever bestowed on any of the children of men. He was a brilliant wit, a born jester; so abnormally were these characteristics developed in him that they obtruded themselves in all that he did to the hindrance frequently of his pursuits. So extraordinary were his powers for acquiring knowledge that at twelve years of age his industry was above the capacity, and his mind above the range of his contemporaries. He had taken all knowledge to be his province and was then the observation of wise men as he became afterwards the wonder of all.

Records of his connection with two properties in which he was interested reveal another trait in his character.† He was irresponsible so far as money matters were concerned. There is an entry in the State papers, 1608, January 31st. Grant at the suit of Sir Francis Bacon to Sir William Cooke, Sir John Constable and three others of the King's Rever-

† These interesting facts were brought to light by Mr. Harold Hardy.

sion of the estates in Hertfordshire. Sir Nicholas, to whom it had descended from the Lord Keeper, conveyed the remainder to Queen Elizabeth, her heirs and successors, "with the condition that if he paid £100 the grant should be void, which was apparently done to prevent the said Sir Francis to dispose of the same land which otherwise by law he might have done." There is another instance of a similar kind. When Lady Anne Bacon conveyed the Markes estate to Francis it was subject to a like condition, namely, that the grant was to be null and void on Lady Anne paying him ten shillings. This condition made it impossible for Francis to dispose of his interest in the estate, and so it came about that in a letter written by Anthony Bacon to his mother, dated 16th of April, 1593, he urges her to concur in a sale so that the proceeds may be applied to the relief of his brother's financial position. It is evident, therefore, that he would turn into money everything which he could. Hence the unusual provisions to safeguard him. And yet he writes to Lord Burghley:—"I cannot accuse myself that I am either prodigal or slothful, yet my health is not to spend nor my course to get." From his early manhood he was raising money in all directions. Burghley, the second founder of his poor estate, had been "carrying him on." His mother's resources were exhausted as early as 1589, for a Captain Allen writes of her:—"Also saith her jewels be spent for you, and that she borrowed the last money of seven several persons." How he was spending these sums is a mystery.

The assertion has been made that from his earliest years Bacon was an ignoble place seeker, and this charge has been again and again repeated by writers, ignorant of the true facts, until it has come to be generally accepted as true. But there is no justifica-

tion for it. Had he merely sought place under ordinary conditions, it is difficult to believe that it would have been withheld from him. Here was a brilliant young man, possessing exceptional abilities as a thinker, speaker and writer, the son of the Queen's trusted and honoured Lord Keeper, himself a *persona grata* with the Queen from his earliest years, the nephew of four of the most famous women of the time for learning, all of them married to men of influence and mark. By the marriage of the eldest of them, he became the nephew of Lord Burghley, the Lord Treasurer, who was, without doubt, the greatest power, after the Queen, in the Realm—surely a position with substantial emoluments might have been found for him if he was prepared to accept it on the terms upon which it might be offered! But during Elizabeth's reign he remained without advancement, and it was not until the third year of James I., when 46 years of age, that he received his first appointment, that of Solicitor General. Had he been a mere place hunter he would not have had to wait so long for recognition. True, it is that as early as 1580, when only 19, he had a suit to the Queen presented by Lord Burghley. But this suit was of an exceptional nature. In a letter to his uncle, he describes it as "rare and unaccustomed." It needed an apology lest it should appear "undiscreet and unadvised." He states his only hope to obtain it rests in Burghley's affection toward himself and grace with her Majesty, who, he adds, "methinks needeth never to call for experience of the thing, where she hath so great and so good of the person which recommendeth it." The suit was not granted, for in 1585 he was writing to Sir Francis Walsingham, asking his influence on its behalf. "I think," he says, "the objection of my years will wear away with the length of my suit." There is no evidence

as to what that suit was, but it is clear that it was of a very exceptional character, and that it was not connected with his estate or his profession. It has been suggested\* that Bacon, fresh from France, may have been influenced by the great work which had been accomplished by the Pléiade, in building up the French language and literature, and desired, with the Queen's recognition and financial support, to undertake a similar enterprise for his own country.

There is another letter to Burghley, of special interest, written in 1592. The suit appears to have been abandoned, and he writes:—"I wax now somewhat ancient, one and thirty years is a good deal of sand in the hour glass." It is in this letter that he states that he has taken all knowledge to be his province, and this remarkable passage occurs:—"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 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 pioner in that mine of truth which he (Anaxagoras) said, lay so deep." A bookmaker!

There are two sentences in this letter which throw some light on Bacon's connection with Burghley. He addresses him as "the second founder of my poor estate," and later on says:—"if your Lordship will not carry me on." It is manifest, therefore, that up to the time Bacon was 32 years of age, Burghley had rendered him great financial assistance.

It was about the time when this letter was written that Bacon's intimacy with Essex commenced. One

\* See the *Mystery of Francis Bacon*. R. Banks and Son, 1912.

of the earliest developments of this connection was that Essex put forward Bacon as a candidate for the Office of Attorney General, which it was expected would shortly become vacant. It was an unwise proceeding. The brothers Anthony and Francis, by their correspondence with men—Protestants and Catholics—whom they had met on their travels abroad, had established themselves as the Foreign Intelligence department of the country. Up to this time these services had been placed at the disposal of Burghley: now they were transferred to Essex. The intimacy was commenced by Francis, who, writing fourteen years after, says:—"for I did not only labour carefully and industriously in that he set me about, whether it were matter of advice or otherwise; but, neglecting the Queen's service, mine own fortune, and in a sort my vocation, I did nothing but advise and ruminare with myself to the best of my understanding, proportions and memorials of anything that might concern his Lordship's honour, fortune and service."

The great desire of Essex was to control the Queen. In his efforts to this end he used the Bacons and their foreign intelligence service. It is evident that if Essex could place Francis, who was closely attached to him, in the important position of Attorney General, it would strengthen his own power. Thomas Bodley in his autobiography states that he was driven from political life by a similar effort of Essex to obtain for him the position of Secretary of State, and insists on the danger of association with that nobleman. It was as much to the interest of Essex as it was to that of Bacon that the latter should obtain such an influential position. When the Grays Inn men heard of the proposal they ridiculed it, saying "he had never entered the place of battle"; that is, he had never held a brief. In

order to meet this objection a case was found for him, and he made his first pleading on the 25th of January, 1594, in the King's Bench. He acquitted himself so well that Burghley sent his Secretary "to congratulate unto him the first fruits of his public practice." It is clear, therefore, that up to his thirty-fourth year Bacon had not been practising as a lawyer, nor had he subsequently private practice of any account.

Bacon was elected a member of the Parliament which met on the 23rd November, 1584, representing Melcombe in Dorsetshire. He sat in each of the remaining four Parliaments which were summoned during the reign. These Parliaments were not of long duration. There was only one session, and on the conclusion of the business dissolution followed, and there were then no members until another Parliament was summoned, probably after the lapse of some years. The law had not, up to 1597, occupied much of Bacon's time, nor had his Parliamentary duties.

Up to this date no literary work had been published bearing his name. About 1589 he had written a short pamphlet entitled, "*Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England*," but this was not published until 1640, when the Long Parliament was discussing similar questions to those raised in it. There exist in manuscript some slight fragments, styled "*Mr. Bacon in praise of Knowledge*," and a "*Discourse in praise of his Sovereign*," believed to have been written for use at an entertainment given to the Queen by Essex, on the 17th of November, 1592.

His pen produced a reply to the Jesuit Parsons "*Responsio ad edictum Reginae Anglicæ*," which appeared in print in the *Resuscitatio*, in 1657, under the title of "*Observations on a Libel*." In this volume was also included a short tract, "*A True report of*



*Dr. Lopez, his treason,*" which would be written in the year 1594. There is another fragment in manuscript preserved in the Gibson Papers in the British Museum called "*Bacon's Device,*" written for production at some entertainment before the Queen, attributed to the year 1595. All these bound together would make but a very small volume. They would be written without any appreciable tax on Bacon's time, for he was a rapid writer. Rawley says "with what celerity he wrote I can testify," and comments on his great industry, never losing a moment of time. At the end of his life, as in his earliest years, industry was recorded as one of his principal characteristics.

In 1597 appeared a tiny volume entitled "*Essayes. Religious Meditations. Places of perswasion and disswasion.*" The Dedication is signed Fran. Bacon—"To M. Anthony Bacon, his deare Brother." The first portion comprises ten short essays containing about 3,500 words. The "*Meditationes Sacrae*" is written in Latin, and covers twenty-eight pages, about the same space as that occupied by the Essays.

"*Of the Coulers of good and evill a fragment*" is printed on thirty-two pages, with about 160 words on each. The Essays do not contain one Latin quotation, but "*The Coulers of Good and Evil*" abound in them.

From 1572 to 1597 embraces a period of twenty-five years. Having regard to his abnormal development in 1572 it seems impossible to believe, that this period, when his faculties must have been at the zenith of their power, should be practically barren of works. If liberal allowance of the time required for everything that is known of his occupations during that period, be made not one year would be accounted for. Spedding says:—"He could at once imagine like a poet and execute like a clerk of the works." But there is no

record of any work up to the production of the essays which would justify such a comment, nor do they justify it.

Eight years after in 1605 was published "*The Two Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the proficiencie and advancement of Learning, divine and humane.*" The author was then 45 years of age. Such information as there is of his occupations between 1597 and 1605 again leaves most of his time unaccounted for. Although "*The Two Books*" are addressed to King James, it is probable that they were written many years previously with the intention that they should be dedicated to Elizabeth. Had the "rare and unaccustomed" suit of 1580 been granted it is quite possible that this work would have appeared as the manifesto of the scheme. It contains only about 60,000 words, and the young man of twenty could have turned it out without preparation or effort in a very short time. It is discursive, not always exact, and it was evidently written or dictated without reference to the authorities quoted. The author throughout was trusting to his memory. In 1604 was published a letter addressed to the Earl of Devonshire known as "*Sir F. Bacon, his Apologie in certain imputations concerning the late Earl of Essex*" and in the same year a pamphlet entitled, "*Certaine Considerations touching the better pacification of the Church of England,*" and in 1614 was printed "*The Charge of Sir F. Bacon touching Duells.*"

In 1606 Bacon became Solicitor General, and thenceforward until 1621 he was more or less occupied in State affairs. A contemporary biographer writes:— "In a word how sufficient he was may be conjectured from this instance, that he had the contrivance of all King James his designs, until the match with Spain." Still a man possessing such a genius for industry would be able to produce far more than would any

ordinary man. Spratt in his "History of the Royal Society" says that if Bacon had not the strength of a thousand men he had at least that of twenty men.

There is only one short period in Bacon's life in which his time appears to have been absorbed in public duties. On the 7th of May, 1617, he took his seat, accompanied by the Judges, most of the Nobility and other gallants, as Lord Keeper in the Court of Chancery. He was then in his fifty-seventh year. The King and Buckingham were in Scotland. In a letter to the latter on the 8th of June following he writes:—"This day I have made even with the business of the Kingdom for common justice. Not one cause unheard. The Lawyers drawn dry of all the motions they had to make. Not one petition unanswered. And this I think could not be said in our age before. This I speak not out of ostentation, but out of gladness when I have done my duty. I know men think I cannot continue if I should thus oppress myself with business. But that account is made. The duties of life are more than life, and if I die now I shall die before men are weary of me, which in our times is somewhat rare."

In 1609 was published in Latin *De Sapientia Veterum*. An English version under the title of *The Wisdom of the Ancients* was published in 1619. This again is a small book containing about 15,000 words. In 1612 a further edition of the *Essays* appeared, the number being increased to thirty-eight. In 1620, when he was sixty years of age, appeared the *Novum Organum*, no English translation of which was printed until the early part of the nineteenth century.

The *Cogitata et Visa*, of which the *Novum Organum* is an amplification, was written as early as 1607, for there is a letter from Thomas Bodley dated 19th February in that year acknowledging receipt of a

manuscript copy which he criticises. In this letter an extraordinary passage occurs. After commending Bacon's aims in the work Bodley says:—"Which course, would to God (to whisper so much in your ears) you had followed at first, when you fell to the study of such a thing as was not worthy such a student." *Cogitata et Visa* was not printed until many years after Bacon's death. *Novum Organum* is not a large volume, but it bears evidence of the expenditure of more labour in its preparation than do any of his other works. The remainder, by no means extensive, of his productions were according to Rawley the results of the last five years of his life. The most important, perhaps, is the *History of Henry VII*. This was not commenced until the end of June, 1621, and the completed manuscript was sent to the King in the following October. *The Two Books on the Advancement of Learning* were enlarged, written in Latin and published under the title of *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum*, in 1623. In 1622 appeared *Historia Ventorum*, in 1623 *Historia Mors et Vita*, in 1625 *Apophthegmes new and old*, *Translations of certaine Psalmes into English Verse*, and the final Edition of the *Essays*, and in 1627 *Sylva Sylvarum, or a Naturall Historie*, and *The New Atlantis*, which was left unfinished.

Only three works written in the English language were published during his lifetime:—*The Essays*, *The Two Books of the Advancement of Learning*, and *The History of Henry VII*. If they are judged by their quantity they are trivial productions. The *Sylva Sylvarum* which bears date the year following his death was written in English. It certainly does not enhance his literary reputation. *The Advancement of Learning* amplified from two to nine books published in Latin in 1623 as *De Augmentis Scientiarum* was not produced in English until 1640. It is stated in the

title page that in this edition *De Augmentis* is interpreted by Gilbert Wats. It is not a mere translation. The whole work appears to have been rewritten in the English language.

Bacon's desire was that all his works should be preserved for posterity in Latin, the universal language. In his time it was the language in which scholars conversed and corresponded, and in which therefore they could express new ideas. Isaac Cassauban, when he came to reside in England, could not speak a word of English. Yet he experienced no difficulty, as the King spoke French fluently and the Bishops and scholars whom he met conversed in Latin. The meaning which words in the English language were intended to convey might in time change, but the Latin language was settled. His audience in his own country was small. For an appeal to his contemporaries on the Continent, Latin was indispensable.

Bacon was right in his anticipation of the mutability of the English language. Two examples will suffice: he includes in the Sciences—History, Poesy, including the drama, Elocution, Conversation, Negotiation and Theology, none of which would to-day be classified under that designation; also the word Philosophy conveys now quite a different impression to that which was intended in the sense in which he used it. So it is that misconceptions have come about as to his "scientific pre-occupations" and his "system of philosophy." What is termed Bacon's "inductive philosophy" was simply his method of conducting investigation and acquiring knowledge.

An impartial survey of the man, his times, his recorded occupations, his professed objects and ideals must result in wonder as to the paucity of his literary output. Here was the most exquisitely constructed intellect which was ever bestowed on any of the children of

men, employed from early boyhood to the end of life, with an industry which was abnormal, by a man who early in life had surveyed all the records of antiquity after the volumes of men: and who having betaken himself to the study of the volume of the world had conquered whatever books possessed, who as an orator was so gifted that he commanded where he spoke and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion, the fear of every man being lest he should make an end: and who had a wit which has never been equalled: who had filled up all numbers, and performed that in our tongue which may be compared or preferred either to insolent Greece or haughty Rome, so that he may be named and stand as the mark and acme of our language! What has he handed down as the result of this marvellous industry?

The works which bear his name are discursive and fragmentary. The most complete is *The Advancement of Learning*. *Novum Organum* was never finished. Of his great Instauration, which he divided into six parts, only two parts can be traced and yet he speaks of five as being completed and expresses regret that he will not live to finish the sixth.

There is another curious feature of the man which attracts attention. Nowhere does he show the least concern for the spread of education amongst the masses or for the betterment of their conditions of life. He had in view always the advancement of learning, and the conquest of Nature by wresting her secrets from her and applying them for the benefit of mankind.

Except for his association with political life he seems to stand apart from his times. In his works he hardly mentions any of his contemporaries—Galileo, Gilbert and Bruno are referred to by name. Even if the works bearing his name be not included, the period during which he lived from, say, 1576 to 1626, is more brilliant

in the literature of England than any similar period in the history of any other country. And yet there is no visible trace of his connection with it. Is it possible that he could have lived through it and taken no part in it? And be it observed that period is exactly contemporaneous with his life.

The curious fact is that the attention of students is not directed in books written on the English literature of this period to its magnitude and value. The well-worn ruts are travelled over and over again. Certain dramatists and poets are worn threadbare, but the greater bulk of the books published in England from 1576 to 1626 are known only to book collectors and second-hand book-sellers, and their contents remain unexplored. Few of them have been reprinted and copies of the original editions are rare. In 1576 to an Englishman to whom "education had not given more languages than nature tongues" there were no channels through which he could obtain a general knowledge of the antiquities, the histories and geography of other countries or of his own, the customs of their people, their art, and what then passed for science. There were translations of only a few of the classics available. France, Italy and Spain were better supplied. But in 1626 all this was altered, and from books printed in English more knowledge and information could be obtained than from the combined Literatures of those countries.

There exists no evidence of any general interest in a revival of learning during this epoch. Certainly Oxford and Cambridge, the only two seats of learning, exhibit no evidence of its existence. Of Oxford at this period, Mark Patterson says :—"Of any special interest in science, learning, and the highest culture, there is no trace." Cambridge was given up to theological controversy. However thorough the search be, no-

where throughout the country will be found evidence of interest in this revival. And yet steadily was coming from the Press volume after volume, from large, ponderous folios to small octavos, translations and books on every conceivable subject. Where was the public creating the demand? The Bodley Library did not appear to require them, for few are to be found in the 1620 Catalogue. There was no demand for them from abroad, for the English language was unknown there. The cost of printing and publishing must have been enormous, to say nothing of recompense for the writers and translators. Of the solid literature, apart from theological controversial works published during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, it may be estimated, with safety, that not ten per cent. brought back from proceeds of sale one half of their cost. Large sums of money must have been provided by someone for the authors or translators, the printers and the publishers. There is no trace to be found in the records, printed or otherwise, of any man (with one exception) who took interest in the advancement of learning. But given the man with the inclination and the knowledge to pilot such a scheme, he must also have had the control of great wealth to enable him to carry it through.

There is another aspect of this question which is of importance. In the Proheme to a little volume, entitled :—*Of that Knowlage whiche maketh a Wisc Man A Disputation Platonike* (1536), Sir Thomas Eliot states that in writing *The Governour*, he intended to augment our English tongue, “whereby men shoulde as well expresse more abundantly the thyng that they conceived in their hertes (wherfore language was ordeined) having wordes apte for the purpose ; as also interprete out of Greke, Latin, or any other tonge into Englysshe, as sufficiently, as out of any one of the sayde tongues into another.” The Members of the



Pléiade adopted the same method in advancing the French language to a condition capable of expressing the highest emotions and thoughts. Now, either intentionally or as a natural consequence, the production of this literature in England had a similar effect on the English language. In 1576 it may be described as barbaric. Before 1626 *The Plays of Shakespeare* and *The Authorized Version of the Bible* had been produced, examples which Professor Saintsbury says "will ever be the twin monuments, not merely of their own period, but of the perfection of English, the complete expressions of the literary capacities of the languages."

There are other circumstances which suggest a superintending direction in the production of these books. The movement of the work from printer to printer:—Henry Bynneman, George Bishop and Richard Field were at first employed, then Adam Islip and George Eld became active, and at the end of the period William Jaggard and John Haviland were the chief producers. There appears to have been a definite scheme of printers blocks of special designs used as head-pieces and tail-pieces to ear-mark these books. The identical block used by George Bishop in 1584, as the first initial letter in *The French Academy*, was used by John Haviland as the first initial letter in the 1625 Edition of Bacon's *Essays*. The identical block used by Richard Field on the title-page of *Venus and Adonis*, in 1593, was used by Christopher Barker on the title-page of the Genealogical Tables of the first quarto of *The Authorized Version* in 1612. In the one case the block was preserved for 39 years, in the other case for 17 years. Moreover, some of these designs were re-engraved and used in books printed in France, which apparently form part of the same scheme. The Emblem literature of the period contains what appear to be definite references to several of these designs. This extraordinary litera-

ture appears to be absolutely neglected by students, although it was clearly produced with some definite object. If Alciati's emblems published 50 years before be excluded this literature was mainly the product of the period.

There is another striking characteristic of these books. In the Dedications, the Prefaces and Addresses "To the Reader," will be found some of the finest examples of the English language extant. It would be difficult to select a more perfect specimen than the Dedication prefixed to the 1625 translation of *Barclay's Argenis*, to which the name of Kingsmill Long is attached. There is a peculiarity about these dedications. The writer, or the writers, must have been proficient in oratory. A writer who is not merely a good speaker but an orator, has a special style which is the result of instinct, and cannot be acquired. This instinct enables him to express his thoughts in words which give pleasure as their sound falls upon the ears of his auditors. It is no explanation to say that this was a style common to the period. It was not. The matter itself bears evidence that the writer, or writers, had a most comprehensive and familiar knowledge of classical and modern authors. The compilations abound in imagery. There are certain tricks of speech which can be recognised as those of an orator. Who were the men living at that time who could write such prose? If the number of names attached to these examples is to be taken as a guide, such stylists were plentiful as blackberries, but they never employed this style elsewhere. The writer of the preface to *Barclay's Argenis* and the translator of the Work, which is not, it may be remarked, a literal translation of the original, was a master of prose, but Kingsmill Long cannot be traced, and his name appears on no other work. Numbers of similar instances might be quoted.

The suggestion now made is that as early as 1576 someone conceived the idea of advancing the English language from a condition which may be described as little short of barbaric, to one in which it could stand for power of expression beside the classical languages, and at the same time of providing channels by which all knowledge was placed at the disposal of those who might employ that language. If such were the case, it was a magnificent scheme.

Would the result of a thorough investigation of the Elizabethan and Jacobean literature support this suggestion? Would it be worth while for some scholars possessing knowledge of the period to extend their knowledge by making such an important investigation? But they must undertake it with open minds and they must be prepared on sufficient evidence being produced to recant much that they have written.

If the result arrived at justified the adoption of this suggestion as a sound working hypothesis, the rest is plain sailing. There will be no difficulty in selecting the master mind which conceived the scheme. The author of *De Augmentis Scientiarum* and *Novum Organum* at every point meets the requirements. From his cradle he was enthused with a passion for acquiring knowledge and wresting from nature her secrets, possessing the most exquisite intellect which was ever bestowed on any of the children of men, and a capacity for industry which was unrivalled. *The Advancement of Learning* was his Manifesto. The production of a great literature, commencing in 1576 with *The Anatomie of the Mind*, was the means of the realization of his scheme. The many, many apparently fruitless years of his life are accounted for. The English Renaissance runs parallel with that life. When he passed away it was over. The conclusion of Ben Jonson's panegyric becomes intelligible:—"In short, within his view and

about his times, were all the wits born that could honour a language, or help study. Now things daily fall. Wits grow downward and Eloquence backwards: so that he may be nam'd and stand as the mark and acme of our Language."

Ben Jonson knew the difference between a Star, a group of stars as the Pléiade and a Constellation. Could he have had Bacon in his mind when he wrote:—

"But stay, I see thee in the Hemisphere  
Advanc'd, and made a constellation there:  
Shine forth, thou Starre of Poets."

The thought will naturally suggest itself, if Bacon carried out this great work, why did he so rigorously and effectively conceal his participation in it? Such a course was a mark of consummate wisdom. Without it innumerable obstacles and difficulties would have been encountered. It entailed considerable self-sacrifice, but it was a master-stroke of policy. Bacon left his fame to the next ages. Rawley concludes his introduction to the *Manes Verulamiani* with these words:—"Be this, moreover, enough, to have laid as it were, the foundations, in the name of the present age. Every age, methinks, will adorn and amplify this structure: though to what age it may be vouchsafed to set the finishing-hand, that is known only to God and to the fates." What was Rawley's meaning?

But there is another possibility. Bacon's connection with the Emblem literature is attested by Jean Baudoin, who translated the Essays and other works of his into French. The explanation may be found in it. On the frontispiece of Peacham's Emblems, styled *Britanna Minerva*, is a curious device. A hand holding a pen is protruding from a curtain concealing the figure of the writer. The pen has

written "Mente Videbor"—"By the Mind I shall be seen." Around the device are the words:—"Vivitur ingenio cetera mortis erunt"—"One lives in one's genius, other things shall pass away in death."

In 1612 John Owen published a book of epigrams. One is addressed—Ad D B. D stands for Dominum, B might, and probably does, stand for Bacon. It reads thus:—

"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."

Bacon wrote, and repeated again and again:—

"For of the Knowledge 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 may be found out; and of his indulgence and goodness to mankind had chosen the Soule of Man to be his Playfellow in this game."

Bacon said:—"Dissimulation is a compendious wisdom." Is the explanation that he enveloped his work in anonymity? In divine playfulness he hid its source, being convinced that in the next ages his own personality glowing through the text would become revealed to the world at large. Is this the age to which it is vouchsafed to set the finishing hand to Francis Bacon's fame?

Hallam wrote:—"If we compare what may be found in the sixth, seventh and eighth books of the

*De Augmentis*, in the *Essays*, the *History of Henry VII.*, and the various short treatises contained in his works on moral and political wisdom, and on human nature with the rhetoric, ethics and politics of Aristotle, or with the historians most celebrated for their deep insight into civil society and human character—with Thucydides, Tacitus, Phillippe de Comines, Machiavel, Davila, Hume—we shall, I think, find that one man may almost be compared to all these together."

A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* said :—" Columbus, Luther and Bacon are, perhaps in modern times, the men of whom it may be said with the greatest probability that, if they had not existed, the whole course of human affairs would have been varied."

If the suggestion as to Bacon's life work now submitted be found upon investigation correct, the English language, rich as it is, will be barren in words to describe his colossal proportions. And yet this great man, "the greatest, wisest, of mankind," to quote Hallam's words, is neglected by his countrymen, whose indebtedness to him is incalculable. No fitting memorial has been raised to his memory. It is true that the benchers of Gray's Inn have erected a belated statue near to the site, where once stood his lodgings, but something more is surely due to his memory.

The most fitting memorial to Francis Bacon would be a library, in which were gathered together a copy of every volume which was published in England from 1560, the year in which he was born to, say, 1640, much of the French literature published during that period, and books printed in Holland and Belgium. It should also contain a copy of every edition of his work published in every language to the present time. It should also contain copies of all books written upon that period. It should also contain copies of all books of which Bacon or his works form the subject. Of these there

will be found more in the French language than in that of England. What a reference library that would be! The volumes ranged round the room in cases representing each year, so that it would be possible more readily to grasp the gradual evolution of the Elizabethan and Jacobean literature. Valuable and useful as is the collection of books of this period in the British Museum, they are dispersed in so many different galleries to which the reader has no access that the difficulty of consulting them is very great. In the Bacon Memorial Library, the student should be able to go to the shelf and take down any books he requires for reference. If the collection of books was undertaken without advertisement or ostentation, with the exception of some rare volumes, the cost of procuring them would not be great. Money is found in abundance for projects far less worthy of support. Such a Library as this would be a boon to students of literature. It would add lustre to English culture. If Francis Bacon could have been consulted, it is probable that there is no form of memorial which would have been more in accord with his desires.

In the year 1916 will be celebrated the tercentenary of the death of his great contemporary, William Shakespeare. How opportune it would be if at the same time a Bacon Memorial Library could be established on these lines.

WILLIAM T. SMEDLEY.

## DID BACON DIE IN 1626?

**Y**OUR readers must be tiring of this enquiry, but so much is made more comprehensible if he did live some years longer that it is important to get at the real facts.

Amongst other things it gave him much-needed time to prepare further examples for investigation, conducted upon his new method serviceable for keeping the process vividly before men's minds. These examples were to form one of the divisions between the preliminaries of his philosophy and the philosophy itself.

Even the inductive working out of the problem of his death, or retirement, in 1626, was probably intended as one of the examples.

## THE ARUNDEL LETTER.

It is very odd that not until 1702 was the Arundel letter forthcoming, when it was printed by Stephens the Historiographer Royal. It purports to have been written at Arundel House, formerly until its transfer to Earl Arundel, a country residence of Sir William and Lady Cornwallis, a place of summer entertainment upon the top of Highgate Hill, whence it commanded a splendid view of the surrounding country.

Francis Bacon was there to dine with Lady Arundel and friends in 1617. But he must have stayed there many times before.

Lady Cornwallis was by birth one of the Meautys family. Bacon's secretary, Thomas Meautys, was her cousin. They were grandchildren of Richard Cooke, brother of Bacon's reputed mother, Lady Anne, the second wife of Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon.

Sir William Cornwallis was a member of Queen



Elizabeth's Court, was knighted in Ireland in 1599 by Robert, Earl of Essex, and died about 1614.

In March, 1621-2 (as will be seen by a letter of Thomas Meautys to Francis, his employer) Bacon was permitted to come as near to the Verge as Highgate, and one may suspect that his friends, the Arundels, permitted him to reside there as conveniently near his London printers, booksellers and literary and political friends; so that this casually repairing to Arundel House in 1626, when in the hands of a male caretaker or house-keeper only, is very suspicious, as there could hardly have been a more suitable place to die at if the death contemplated was a mere clever subterfuge.

If we can obtain more light upon Arundel House and the history of this letter (said to have come from Tobie Matthews' collection) so much the better.

#### ANOTHER SINGULAR LETTER.

I call attention to another letter on the last page of Vol. 12 of Montagu's "Life and Works of Bacon." It is printed by Montagu for the first time as a letter from Meautys to Bacon. It is signed J.M., and superscribed "For your noblest self my most honrd. lord." It refers to events which did not happen until 1631. Grounded upon its reference to Maxwell a writer on Palatinate affairs, and upon a curious letter from Bacon to the Queen of Bohemia printed in Baconiana 1679, I suspect that Bacon was in 1631 living at Rhenen in Holland as guest of that Queen.

#### THE ROSY CROSS.

I know of no better or more powerful line of investigation into the phenomena of Bacon's life than that taken by Mr. Harold Bayley in "The Tragedy of Sir Francis Bacon," and it is my humble opinion that the more we can get behind the veil of this secret fraternity

for the advancement of religion as established in England, and of learning arts and sciences the nearer we shall be to our goal.

Ben Jonson, the friend, assistant and devoted admirer of Francis Bacon, made at least two references to the Rosy Cross Fraternity in his Masques. In "News from the New World," performed 1620, one of the masquers says:—

"The brethren of the Rosie Cross have their college within a mile of the moon, a castle in the air that runs upon wheels, with a winged lanthorn."

In "The Fortunate Isles," said to have been *designed* for the Court on the Twelfth Night (6th January), 1626-7 Johphiel, an airy spirit from the clouds, converses with Merefool, a melancholic student seeking the Rosy Cross brethren. (The Masque was probably never presented, and was not printed until 1641, after Jonson's death, or possibly not until the folio of 1692. At the moment I have no means of saying which date is correct.)

Johphiel says he has been sent to Merefool by Father Outis (Greek for Nobody), "he that built the castle in the air where all the brethren Rhodostaurotic (query a reference to rose coloured?) live. It flies with wings and runs on wheels."

Johphiel tells Merefool "All the brethren have heard your vows, salute you and expect you by me this next return. But the good father has been content to die for you."

Merefool: For me?

Johphiel: For you. Last New Year's day *as some give out*. . . . He would not live because he might leave all he had to you.

Merefool: What had he?

Johphiel: . . . The farm of the great customs. . . . Then Constable of the Castle Rosy-cross

which you must be and Keeper of the whole Kabal with the seals.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Bacon is cryptically referred to in these Masques. "A winged lanthorn" Beacon (Bacon) and Lanthorn are similars. Winged seems to allude to Mercury. Bacon was often referred to as Mercury, the messenger of the Gods. Besides, who was the great Father of the learned fraternity for the advancement of learning, who was "*given out*" to have died last New Year's day, 25th March, 1626 (the Masque being designed for Twelfth Night some nine months later)? It could only have meant Bacon, and if Bacon had been really dead Jonson would not have joked thus.

Given out that he was dead. Most certainly, yes; but in view of these many curious happenings can we safely say that in 1626 he was dead?

PARKER WOODWARD.

## THE STAGE FRANCIS BACON'S PROVINCE.

### I.

" He whose lips his hand in silence locks."—*Ovid. Metam.*

**T**HE turpitude of the stage, past and present, its great possibilities, present and future, and its New Birth in Time as a *Novum Organum* created for the instruction of man in virtue, each had its own place in the vast contemplative ends of Francis St. Alban, sent headlong into the Theatre of this world, 22nd January, 1561.

Henry VIII, Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, James and Charles Stuart, were all lovers of the Drama. One of them certainly was a past mistress in that Art, of which not one person of their Courts had keener critical appreciation, more profound knowledge, and more practical experience than Francis Bacon.

We have only to read in Charles Isaac Elton's *Family and Friends of Shake-Spear* his description of Bacon's *Masque of Flowers*, to see how artistic was the scenery and complicated the machinery, how gorgeous the dresses, how exquisite the colours, music, singing, and dancing, while in Bacon's Essay on *Masques and Triumphs* he certainly does more than suggest his love and understanding of such subtleties. Not only in Greenwich Palace, Whitehall, or Gray's Inn do we trace this clever Contriver's affection for, and interest in, Dramatic Shows, but we also note his many allusions to the Stage even in his most serious moments. He draws his most brilliant similies from it. During his charge in the great poisoning trial, when the Somersets were harangued by His Majesty's Attorney-General, he paints the crime as a "Tragedy," in which

appears a "Principal Actor," a "Mechanical," as he takes care to explain in technical stage language "not the author." Perfecting the comparison by adding: "The great frame of Justice, my Lords, in this action, hath a vault, and it hath a Stage. A vault wherein these works were contrived, and a Stage with steps, by which they were brought to light. "The time for the Tragedy to be acted," It's "last Act," and the "part played by the King" are each mentioned separately, and at the close of his speech he says: "Where I speak of a Stage, I doubt I hold you upon the Stage too long."

Out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh. The Stage and its Craft was Francis Bacon's Province, and his mind naturally reverts to it at all times, in all seasons.

Like St. Augustine in his *City of God*, Francis in his *De Augmentis* ponders upon the present and future of the Theatre. In its translation by Watts, p. 69 is written: "Dramatical Poesy which brings the world upon the Stage is of excellent use—if it were not abused."

A strong expression, "*excellent use*" which he further strengthens by adding: "For—the Instruction of the Stage may be great." This is the identical view taken by Augustine, who deploras wasted opportunities for moral teaching in the Sacrificial Shows acted before the Gods with shameless disregard of decency.

Augustine and Francis were both Lovers of God by virtue of their Philosophy and Religion, so they not only surveyed the vices and errors of their times with regret, but with earnest desire to heal Mankind of them. So much alike in spiritual acumen and practical level-headedness it seems to me that they both saw the Stage as it were a Ladder reaching up to the

Heavenly City, with angel ministers of grace ascending and descending upon it.

Elton says in his *Family and Friends of Shake-spear*, "Francis Bacon, who wrote 'The Essence of the Masque is Pomp and Glory,' was the man who understood the business as well as a Professional." And this man, being born for "Philanthropia," set to work his hardest to make the most excellent use possible of the Stage. Firstly, he tells us what was wrong with it in those early Elizabethan days. It was but a sport or pastime, or else too bitter in its satire. He says: "that corruptions abounded, and its discipline was altogether neglected," by which word "discipline" I gather he meant the Art and Science necessary to make the Theatre of any real profit to Man. He missed *God's Judgments*, destined to become such an important factor in the new Stage-Plays, which now began to hold their audiences at the Theatre, Curtain, Fortune, and later at the Globe, each new play exactly filling the requirements of Francis Bacon Philosopher, Moralist, and Dramatic Critic.

I thoroughly recognise it is one thing to show that Bacon deplored deficiency with regard to the Stage-Plays of his day, and quite another to claim for him the authorship of the Shake-Speare folio of 1623; but when Francis Bacon discovered a disease, he most certainly undertook the remedy, and in this present case I have particularly strong evidence for believing he did so. After having reported badly on Dramatical Poesy as it existed he adds this significant passage: "If any portion of these works which we report as *Deficient* chance to be more obscure than ordinary, we propose . . . Examples for the perfecting of that work; lest perchance some should imagine that our conceit hath only comprehended some light notions of them, and that we, like Augures,

only measure Countries in our mind, but know not how to set one foot forward thither." The word *obscure* as Bacon uses it here, and as Locke uses it, means, as Johnson's Dictionary tells us, "a negative idea lying in obscurity, too large for a finite capacity."

The Stage-Plays required by our Dramatic Critic were so totally out of the "ordinary," that they required Examples and Precepts from his pen to render the notion "TO BE SATISFACTORILY UNDERSTOOD BY IMPERFECT INTELLECTS."\* So the folio of 1623 was produced, edited by Bacon's own friend and secretary, Ben Jonson, and it will stand for all ages as the perfect Example of an Art that conceals Art, and instructs the mind of Man in Virtue.

When Francis Bacon produced the Examples he promised, he withheld their authorship from the public, thereby setting up a stumbling block to some enquirers, but let them read what else he has to say about Poesy. That it is: "a way how to teach," and also "an art how to conceal," and that "one use of Poesy tendeth to the folding up of those things, the dignity whereof deserves to be retired and distinguished with a *drawn curtain*," and let them mark that he particularly says it veils "the secrets and mysteries of Religion, Policy, and Philosophy."

True it is that—

"He whose lips his hand in silence locks"

knows best the why and wherefore of his actions.

Augustine commends the Tragedies and Comedies of the Ancients as being the most tolerable of their Stage-Plays, being as he says: "Poetical Fables, wherein all the words were honest, and these the old men do cause to be taught to their children amongst their most honest and liberal studies." Francis Bacon

\*See "obscure." Johnson's Dictionary.

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was, as I believe, the Translator of the Second Edition of Augustine's *City of God*, published 1620, and dedicated to the Three Most Noble Brothers, William, Earl of Pembroke, (Lord Chamberlain,) Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and Philip, Earl of Montgomery. The anonymous editor states that the Second Edition has been "compared with the Latin Original, and is in very many places corrected and amended." It contains the copious, Learned Comments of Io. Lodovicus Vives, whose notes are a perfect mine of interest, including those on the Terence and Plautus Comedies, and their Knaveries and Tricks of Love; and on the old Tragedies, described as "that discourse of lamentable Fortunes, extreme effects, and horrible villainies, delighting much the uncleanly and slovenly gods." Baconian language and ideas abound, and as Bacon tells us in his *De Augmentis*: "Wise men and great Philosophers have accounted the Stage as the Archet or musical bow of the mind," we are not surprised to find St. Augustine devoting pages to the subject.

The term gods for our Theatre gallery-goers, the classic Porticoes and pillars, the horse-shoe form of our Theatres, our Tragedies and Comedies themselves, have an origin in the Temple and its Sacrificial Shows, Fables and Mysteries, once offered to the gods. Adapted to modern uses for the benefit of Man by him who took all *knowledge* for his province, was the "acme of our language," and has "done that for our tongue which may be compared or preferred either to insolent Greece or haughty Rome." Preferred? yes! for Augustine says: "The pagan Gods did never establish the doctrine of *living well*, but contrariwise (such a Baconian word) gave free permission to enter . . . upon the mind itself horrible and abominable evils." "Let them show," he says:



“ wherever they had any Public Places where the people might come and hear their gods doctrine concerning the restraint of covetousness, the suppression of ambition, the bridlings of luxury and riot, where they might learn that which *Perseus* thunders into men, saying :

“ Learn wretches and conceive the course of things  
What man is, and why Nature forth him brings.  
.....  
How to use money, how to give to friends,  
What we in earth, and God in us intends.”

Our Hercules, our Orpheus, our Apollo, our Love-God Cupid said : “ Theatres and the like are honourable things,” and again : “ Happy is the man both in regard of heavenly and earthly wisdom, that is *wounded to be cured.*” Taking for his arrow and his lancet Minerva's Spear; he shakes it with one hand, while with the other he “ admits the true beams of Vice and Virtue ” into a sincere and polished looking-glass of his own making. \* “ That the offender seeing his own counterfeit in this Mirror might amend it.” Minerva, who like Harpocrates and Francis Bacon lays her finger on her lip.

Hail ! Pallas masked under the vizard of Pleasure.  
Hail ! Genius of Francis, Hail !

† Pallas, Wisdom's wonder, Fount of Ethereal light !  
Essence in Gods and men surmounting bright !  
Tow'ring beyond the Spheres, and all in fire  
Throned above Jove, far brighter and far higher !

\* Thos. Lodge. “ An Alarum against Usurers.”

† *City of God*, p. 158.

## PART II.

"From Art and Science true contentment springs,  
Science points out the Cause, and Art the use of things."

*Universal Magazine, 1791.*

Amongst his favourite flowers, on smooth lawns watered by silvery Thames, Francis the Jester studied Law. What, Equity? Common Law? No! Most uncommon Law, if we are to trust his account; different, indeed, to that law practised in Westminster in Term Time. He turned a cold shoulder to the Plague stricken City, the great velvet boughs of his cedars stretched themselves above him, swans floated reflected in the ornamental water by which he rested, while in green sequestered alleys, woodbine and wild thyme mingled their perfume with jesting and laughter. Law at Twickenham for the Merry Tales was the study of our light-hearted Philosopher, who gained by it this practical experience, that with plague not many miles distant, men, even in a grieved state of mind, yet cannot sometimes forbear laughing.

Our laughing Philosopher relished merriment keenly, in season and out of season, if puns in letters to Kings and Princes are any guide. It was good, he said, to be merry and wise, and to mingle jest with earnest, and conversation lost for him its taste when shorn of humour. Oh! give me leave to be merry, he cried, however the world goes with me!

Children knew him for what he was, if no one else did. They sweetened his labour, and had his sympathy. And great Philosopher that he was, he could feel and think as a child. Some child-mindedness (he shyly confesses) is in me.

The little girl, busy about her dolls, innocent little ones blowing their soap-bubbles or playing hide-and-seek, the toddling boy a tip-toe after a bird, all young things that have a young, cheerful and dancing time, attract him because he has secret sympathy with Nature in all her moods, and even the baby hand gathering rose-leaves, to make a purse of them only to be broken on his broader hand, shares his interest.

If ever there stepped one who took for his pattern God, it was Francis, who says it pleaseth Him to apply Himself to the capacity of the simplest. And all the while our laughing Philosopher jested while he prayed for his fellow men: "God give you Joy!" for his mind's keen eye saw the exceeding need there was for it in this mad world. He surveyed this insane world by a beam from heaven, which brought the conviction to his soul that to him was given the task to set this mad world right, that he was born for *Philanthropia*, and for the relief of Man's estate. Also that a Store-House rich in knowledge was no longer to be hugged close under lock and key, but was to be put in action to the Glory of God.

The great Archetype must be sought, beheld and gazed upon, and his Attributes and Acts, as far as they are revealed to Man, held up to imitation. The Light of Nature and Experience, his own eternally, must be dedicated by him to the Works and Creatures of God, for without light there is no vision, and light, above all things excels in comforting the spirits of men. He must set up in a fair room one great Light, or a branching candlestick of lights: though in his humility he finds himself of insufficient worth to be its candle holder. And those lights must all, for benefit, converge on an ill soul, or a holy one, as the case may be.

And our laughing Philosopher did set up a great Light or Brand or Torch. Our Prometheush, is fire lit by

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Divine radiance, has enlightened, and still enlightens, the whole circuit of the earth. He tells us himself: I write for Posterity; and if we ask how so, he answers, Because the Gardens of the Muses keep the privilege of the Golden Age, they ever flourish and are in league with Time. Disease of the Mind was the matter, he says, with the world. Morality and Magnanimity were both lacking, so with participation of Divine-ness, he drew his archet or musical bow across his heart strings and let fly Dramatic Poesy, using the words of his wisdom as goads, and in so doing raised and erected minds cast down by depression or folly, or worse.

And his Monuments of wit truly have survived the Monuments of power. His Tragedies and Comedies have been the vehicle for truth which could not otherwise have been brought in. From most mean and sordid instances, Shylock, Macbeth, the King and Queen in Hamlet, Falstaff, valuable light and information has permeated; while Hamlet's, Henry V.'s, Cardinal Wolsley's, Portia's speeches, are they not extraordinary lights with the true properties of light that is conducting and comforting?

Francis writes to Cecil: Men are the best books. In his all-knowledge to medicine their natures he studied their diseases and infirmities, for if you know the causes, he says, you may judge of the effect. Good Lord! Madam, he said to Elizabeth, how wisely and aptly can you discern of Physic ministered to the body, and consider not that there is like occasion of Physic ministered to the mind.

To tune the curious harp of man's body and to reduce it to harmony was the gracious office of our Medicine Man, for no one better understood the agents by which mental diseases are cured than he.

Arts and Sciences were the occupation of his leisure

moments; see we understand the full meaning of the term. On page 171 of S. Augustine's *City of God*, we find that the old Writers called the Virtues, the *Art of Living Well*, or Prudences; for, says the note to this, The habit of living well is justly an *Art* as well as that whereby we play on instruments, wrestle, or make swords of apparel or anything. It was this Art which occupied Francis in his Twickenham Paradise.

The mind was what he set himself to work upon, the body to him above everything was the tabernacle of the mind. Unpolished, it produced distorted false images of things; this he calls Distemperature, and he bethinks himself of seeking out a remedy. *Legitimate forms* must be presented to the mind of Man so that better judgment may be induced, and so it was that Legitimate Drama came to the birth.

Our Medicine man called Momus to his aid, the god of Raillery and Ridicule, the critic god; who set his *pectus fenestratum*, his glass window, in the bosom of Human Nature so that every one might read his own mind there. Such a window, said Bacon, we have.

Black devices contrived in *tenebris* now appear palpably odious, the coals of festering malice blister the tongue and scald the lips of them that imagine mischief in their hearts. It is seen how they pack and shuffle, and cut, and deal, too.

God, the only searcher of the heart of man, inspired Francis Bacon, who with his Dramatical eye, seeing the world as a Theatre, and God and the Angels as lookers on, made a microscopic Globe, and set his players at work there, that all might behold as in a Theatre not only the hidden heart of Man, but God's Judgements.

S. Augustine says the word *Theatre* comes from to Behold, while Ordish in his Early London Theatres sees in it the Stage of God's Judgements.

Nature, says Quintilian (on whom Francis was fed from his cradle) is everything. Go to Nature for your Art; and Francis, the great student of Human Nature, as Hallam so enthusiastically proves, literally and actually held up the Mirror to it, and has reflected the life of Man as God and the Angels know it.

Thomas Lodge helps us wonderfully to understand this life-work. Study his Introduction to an "Alarum against Usurers" (1584) and bear in mind as you read of the hideous reign of Usury in England in the Sixteenth Century and of the Monsters who sucked the fortunes of the youth of the day, and were so cruel and stony-hearted that their bleeding got them the names of *Homicides*, how the Merchant of Venice parallels Lodge, and how Shylock was hammered out on the anvil.

Lodge, in his painting of "Diogenes, A Nettle for Nice Noses," presents a Dog that biteth men for their amendment and not for envy, who biting says: Hear me and I will heal wounds. A most significant saying. Lodge shakes his spear at the Usurer, too, "those men who are so married to their money are far from Mercy, and pretending cousinage will say, My friend, My friend, but . . . this friendly flattering thou shalt find but a weak staff" to stay on.

Diogenes says: what is not a virtue is against it, it is an ulcer and must be lanced, an ill humour and should be purged.

Lodge, as we have seen, uses the simile of the Looking-Glass. My Good Friend, he says, that are to enter hereafter into this world, look on this glass, it will show you no counterfail but the true image, and the reward . . . account yourselves happy to learn by others experience, and not to be partakers of the actual sorrow.

Socrates thought it was meet to expose oneself to

the Comic pen : for if they write true of our vice, they are a mean to reform us, if they write false it concerns both us. Lodge in his *Alarum* against Usurers says : My son muse not upon the world, for that will but flatter thee, but weigh the Judgement of God, and let that terrify thee.

Thus did the wisest and most learned of all the Romans present Stage Plays to the honour of their gods, as points and parts of their religion, and these, *The City of God* tells us, to flourish must not be laid in Hugger-mugger, but be wise, witty and memorative.

The Author then must be a Philosopher, a Laughing One, one who Finds out, who Knows. Francis Bacon commands that a Poet should not invent Fables and romances, not spin them like the spider from his entrails, but consult the Things themselves. Nor can (mark this speech of his, Stratfordians) any force of genius be substituted for labour, search and inspection. Nor, would I add, can an illiterate Clown ever produce exquisite fruit in literature, the results not only of genius, but of profound and patient cultivation and of the study, from childhood up, of Quintilian ; yes, but more, of his models and examples in their original tongue.

Because, by the Art of Memory, Images work better than other conceits, and because the Eye is the most spiritual of the senses, and because things good, and honest, and beauteous to the eye will retain its image in the Soul, and benefit, our Philosopher reflected his Counterfeits on his Mirror that *seeing, the offender might amend*. He polished his Crystal Globe and set it in movement, which, thank God ! has been so set in the firmament of Time that it has revolved on its ennobling, remedial axis ever since. Long may the Drama flourish, lit by the Lamp of Truth ! May its polished surface still ever show forth the greatest

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Good, the Idea of Good, and what it is to be like God, just, wise and holy, and may it ever give me leave to be as merry as Francis Bacon however the world goes with me.

ALICIA AMY LEITH.

[N.B.—The words of Francis Bacon have been largely used, but quotation marks omitted.]

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### THE PROBLEM OF SHAKESPEARE'S MARRIAGE EXPLAINED BY THE CANON LAW.

THE marriage of William Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway is an accepted fact—although the marriage is not recorded in any parish register—but there is a problem concerning the marriage which has puzzled Shakespeare's biographers and has led them to put forward extravagant theories, owing to an insufficient consideration of the Canon Law which throws considerable light upon the problem.

The only official documents which exist relating to Shakespeare's marriage are two records, which are preserved in the Worcester Diocesan Registry, one of which relates to the granting of a marriage licence and the other is a marriage bond.

The entries are as follows :—

(1) On the 27th November, 1582, a *licence* was granted for the marriage of *William Shakspere* and *Anne Whateley, of Temple Grafton*.

(2) On the 28th November, 1582, a *bond* was entered into by Fulk Sandells and John Richardson, farmers, of Stratford, by way of security to the Bishop for licensing the marriage of *William Shagspere* and *Anne Hathwey, of Stratford*.



It is not at all improbable that "William Shakspeare" mentioned in the licence and "William Shagspere" in the bond may be the same individual, because the family of William Shakspeare, of Stratford, wrote their name in many different ways; and similarly "Hathwey" was interchangeable with "Hathaway," for there was no sort of regularity in the spelling of family names in Elizabethan times. But a difficulty has been found in reconciling the licence with the bond by reason of the discrepancy between "Anne Whateley, of Temple Grafton," and "Anne Hathwey, of Stratford."

Sir Sidney Lee, in his "Life of Shakespeare," regards it as "an unwarrantable assumption" that William Shakspeare, to whom the licence was granted, is the same individual whose licence is referred to in the bond which was entered into by the sureties on the following day; and he adopts the theory that the William Shakspeare in the licence is "doubtless another of the numerous William Shakespeares who abounded in the diocese of Worcester."

Mr. G. C. Bompas, on the other hand, in his "Problem of the Shakespeare Plays," prefers the theory that the licence and the bond have reference to the same man; but he draws the inference that William Shakspeare at first intended to marry Anne Whateley, of Temple Grafton, and that as soon as the licence was obtained the friends of Anne Hathaway of Stratford interfered, and insisted on seeing her "righted"; with the result that on the next day William Shakspeare applied for and obtained another marriage licence.

Neither of these theories appear to be convincing when they are examined in conjunction with the provisions of the Canon Law, which has apparently been overlooked to some extent by Shakespeare's biographers.

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The Canon Law was administered in the Diocesan registry, where both the marriage licence was issued and the bond exhibited, and it is to the Canon Law that one must turn to find a more reasonable explanation of the difficulty. The Canons of 1603 are partly declaratory of the ancient Canon Law which prevailed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth ; and the 101st Canon recognised the exclusive right of the Bishop or his officers to grant a licence for the solemnization of marriage without the publication of banns. But the Canon also provided that no licence should be issued without security being taken and the form of the security was a bond entered into by sureties, who bound themselves under a penalty of a certain sum to indemnify the Bishop and his officers in respect of any consequences that might ensue, if it should afterwards be discovered that there was some legal impediment to the marriage.

It was essential, therefore, that the grant of a marriage licence should be accompanied by a bond, in order to protect the Bishop and his officers, in case there should be any irregularity in the marriage ; for the discovery of any impediment might lead to a prosecution of the Bishop's officers and the imposition of penalties.

Now there is considerable difficulty in believing that on the 27th November, 1582, William Shakspeare obtained a marriage licence without the security of any bond, which would be contrary to the Canon Law ; and that on the following day he found sureties who gave a bond in respect of another marriage licence, of which no record was made in the Diocesan registry.

On the other hand, it seems reasonable to suppose that when the licence was granted on the 27th November, the applicant was told that security must be given, and that the sureties must attend at the Diocesan

registry on the following day to enter into the bond, which was required by the Canon Law.

Of course, there is the natural observation that "Anne Whateley, of Temple Grafton" does not appear to be the same person as "Anne Hathway, of Stratford." But the little hamlet of Shottery, where Anne Hathway resided, is only about three miles distant from Temple Grafton, although it is actually within the parish of Stratford. The description, therefore, of a person residing near Temple Grafton as being "of Temple Grafton" does not appear to be a very serious inaccuracy; and the name "Whateley" for "Hathway" might easily be a clerical error. It is certainly easier to imagine a clerical error with regard to these two somewhat similar names—with the exception of e, l, and h, the letters are the same—than to suppose that a licence was improperly granted without a bond, and that on the next day a bond was entered into as security for a licence, which was not duly recorded in the Diocesan registry. The omission of the bond would be a breach of the law on the part of the Bishop's officer, and the neglect to record the licence would be an irregularity for which the registrar might get into serious trouble.

There is something very curious about the form of the bond, which is set out in Mr. Halliwell Phillips' "Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare" (Vol. II., p. 55, 7th ed.). It not only differs in important respects from that adopted in all other known examples, but it does not comply with the requirements of the Canon Law.

The 102nd Canon requires that the bond shall contain three conditions, viz. :—

- (1) That there is no impediment of precontract, consanguinity, affinity, or other lawful cause.

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(2) That there is no controversy or suit pending in any ecclesiastical court touching the marriage of either party with any other.

(3) *That the parties have obtained the express consent of their parents or guardians.*

In the Shakspeare marriage bond the third condition only provides for obtaining the consent of the "friends" of the wife, and there is no mention of the consent of the parents of the husband, although he was a minor and his parents were living.

Considerable comment has been made upon the moral aspect of Shakespeare's marriage, because it could not have been solemnized before the 27th November, 1582, when the licence was granted, and the first child of the marriage was baptized on the 26th May, 1583, that is to say, within six months of the marriage ceremony. On this part of the subject, Sir Sidney Lee disagrees with the view of Mr. Halliwell Phillips, whose contention, however, appears to be more consistent with the Canon Law.

Sir Sidney Lee observes that "Shakespeare's apologists have endeavoured to show that the public betrothal or formal 'troth-pledge,' which was at the time a common prelude to a wedding, carried with it all the privileges of a marriage"; and he appears to think that there is little foundation for the contention of Mr. Halliwell Phillips that the marriage of Shakespeare was the sequel of what was legally termed a precontract.

But according to the Canon Law, which regulated marriage in those days, there were two kinds of precontract:—

(1) The contract *per verba de praesenti*, and

(2) The contract *per verba de futuro*.

The *sponsa de praesenti* was a mutual promise or contract of present matrimony; and if either party

afterwards refused to marry the other, the party refusing might be proceeded against in the Diocesan court, and if he or she disobeyed the order of the Ecclesiastical judge to solemnize the marriage, the penalty was excommunication, and in the last resort imprisonment.

The *sponsa de futuro*, on the other hand, was a mutual promise or covenant of marriage to take effect at some subsequent time; and if either party broke the promise they were not compelled to marry merely on account of the promise, but the defaulter could only be admonished by the Ecclesiastical judge and suffered penance for breach of his promise. In the case of a *sponsa de futuro*, however, if there was cohabitation—"if the contract be executed and he does take her"—then it was regarded as a precontract and the parties might be compelled to solemnize the marriage.

In Shakespeare's case we know that the contract was "executed," prior to the solemnization of the marriage. There is certainly good ground, therefore, for the contention that Shakespeare's marriage followed a precontract, and the circumstances do not appear to have been of an exceptional character in those days.

"The precontract," as Mr. Halliwell Phillips states, "was not only legally recognised, but it invalidated a subsequent union of either of the parties with anyone else." In the Diocesan registries there are numbers of records of suits in the Ecclesiastical courts where a party to a marriage precontract has been ordered to solemnize the marriage in church with the other party, in spite of the fact that he or she had married somebody else, and there were children of the marriage.

In a case for a prohibition, in the reign of Queen Anne, Chief Justice Holt said, "By the Canon Law,

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a contract *per verba de praesenti* is a marriage, so is a contract *per verba de futuro* if the contract be executed and he does take her ; this is a marriage, and they cannot punish for fornication, but only for not solemnizing the marriage according to the forms prescribed by law, but not so as to declare the marriage void." (Wigmore's case, 2 salkeld, 438.)

The law was altered in this respect by the Marriage Act of 1753, which provides that no suit or proceeding shall be had in any ecclesiastical court, in order to compel a celebration of any marriage in *facie ecclesiac*, by reason of any contract of marriage, whether *per verba de praesenti* or *per verba de futuro*. From that date down to the present time the remedy has been an action for damages in the secular courts for breach of promise of marriage.

HAROLD HARDY.

## SOME NOTES ON THOMAS WATSON.

**I**N a work entitled *Polimanteia* &c., by W. C., dedicated to the Earl of Essex, and published at Cambridge in 1595, Shakespeare is mentioned among the university poets. It also connects in a literary sense Watson, Marlowe and Shakespeare. After a careful consideration of the internal and external evidence of authorship of the works ascribed to these names, my conclusion is that Francis Bacon dispersed his poetry under them. The passage is as follows:—

All praise worthy Lucretia Sweet Shak- speare. Eloquent Gaueston.	Let other countries (sweet <i>Cambridge</i> ) enue, (yet admire) my <i>Virgil</i> , thy Pet- rarch, diuine <i>Spenser</i> . And unlesse I erre, (a thing easie in such sim- plicitie) deluded by dearlic beloued <i>Delia</i> , and fortunatelic fortunate <i>Cleopatra</i> ; <i>Oxford</i> thou maiest extoll thy courte-dcare-verse hap- pie Daniell, whose sweete refined muse, in contracted shape, were sufficient amongst men to gaine pardon of the sinne to <i>Rosemond</i> , pittie to distressed <i>Cleopatra</i> , and cuerliuing praiseto her louing <i>Delia</i>	Wanton Adonis. Watson's heyre.
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Wanton "Venus and Adonis" was, of course, Shakespeare's "heyre." He dedicated the poem to Southampton as "the first heir of my invention." Marlowe's "Edward II." ("Eloquent Gaueston" is, I presume, an allusion to Marlowe) was first printed in 1594, of which edition only one copy is extant. It was discovered in the library at Cassel in 1876.

"It gives one to think," to find Watson, Marlowe, and Shakespeare connected in this way. Exactly what the notes are intended to convey is not at all clear. Some have supposed that Shakespeare is

named as Watson's heir. But neither "Lucrece" nor "Venus and Adonis" bear any resemblance in form, to the writings published under the name of "Watson." The latter's amatory numbers are, for the most part, sonnets in which their author rails against Love in such a style as this :—

Loue is a sowr delight ; a sugred greefe ;  
 A liuinge death ; an euerdying life ;  
 A breache of *Reasons* lawe ; a secret theefe ;  
 A sea of teares ; an euerlasting strife ;  
     A bayte for fooles : a scourge of noble witts ;  
     A Deadly wound ; a shotte which euer hitts.  
*Loue* is a blinded God ; an angry boye ;  
 A *Labyrinth* of dowbts ; an ydle lust ;  
 A slaue to Beawties will ; a witles toy ;  
 A raucning bird, a tyraunt most unsuit ;  
     A burning heate ; A cold ; a flattring foe ;  
     A priuate hell ; a very world of woe.  
 Yet mightie *Loue* regard not what I saye,  
 Which lye in traunce bereft of all my witts,  
 But blame the light that leades me thus astraye.  
 And makes my tongue blaspheme by frantike fitts :  
     Yet hurt her not, lest I susteyne the smart,  
     Which am content to lodge her in my heart.

On the subject of Love, Shakespeare and Bacon wrote to the same effect as Watson.

W(illiam) C(lerke) ?, the author of *Polimanteia*, was at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1575-1579, and must have come in contact with Francis Bacon.

Thomas Edwardes, in "L'Envoy to Cephalus and Procris" published in 1595 (that in the library of Peterborough Cathedral is the only copy extant), mentions Spenser ("Collyn"), Daniel ("Rosamond"), Watson ("Amyntas"), Marlowe ("Leander"), and Shakespeare ("Adon.") This is the same list as those named in *Polimanteia*. There is much in Edwardes' poem which is ambiguous. After referring to Spenser, the verses read :—



Deale we not with *Rosamond*,  
 For the world our sawe will coate,  
*Amintas* and *Leander's* gone,  
 Oh deere sonnes of stately kings,  
 Blessed be your nimble throats  
 That so amorously could sing.

*Adon* deafly masking thro,  
 Stately troupes rich conceited,  
 Shew'd he well deserved to  
 Love's delight on him to gaze  
 And had not love her selfe intreated,  
 Other nymphs had sent him baies.

Eke in purple roabes distain'd,  
 Amidst the center of this clime,  
 I have heard saie doth remaine,  
 One whose power floweth far.  
 That should have been of our rime  
 The only object and the star.

Well could his bewitching pen,  
 Done the Muses objects to us  
 Although he differs much from men  
 Tilting under Frierics,  
 Yet his golden art might woo us  
 To have honored him with baies.

Watson and Marlowe are coupled together in the same line and, if we are to take *Amintas* and *Leander* as referring to *two* poets, instead of *one* and the same writer, it is distinctly bad grammar to set down "*Amintas and Leander's gone.*"

What "stately troupes" did Shakespeare deftly mask through? Queen Elizabeth's courtiers? "Purple robes" certainly suggests the highest society, if not royalty itself. And who is it,

That should have been of our rime  
 The only object and the star?

It is only natural to recall Ben Jonson's lines, "To the author, Mr. William Shakespeare," written for the Play-folio, where he says:—

But stay! I see thee in the hemisphere,  
Advanced, and made a constellation there,  
Shine forth thou starre of poets!

And what does Edwardes mean when he says this poet "differs much from men tilting under Frieries?" Were those from which he differed the tilters, or is the word "by" understood? The lines might mean that he differs because of his "Tilting under Frieries." We are not far from Francis Bacon here. There was a notable Friar of the name of Bacon, a conjurer and sorcerer, like the organizer of the Gray's Inn Revels in December, 1594. "Frieries" also suggests *Franciscans*, and *Hoods! Adon*, we read, deftly *masked* himself, and I feel certain that Edwardes knew who was the Shake-speare who wrote "Venus and Adonis," and that the last three verses refer to one and the same poet.

The identity of this Thomas Edwardes has never been established with certainty. One of the "probables," however, was a Cambridge man;—B.A. 1578, M.A. 1582.

"Watson" is merely a pen-name. Nothing is known of him beyond what can be gleaned from the writings, and, such as this evidence is, it points to Francis Bacon. Watson describes himself in his publications as a law student ("Londinensis Juris Studiosus"). He was resident in France prior to 1581, and associated there with Sir Francis Walsingham, and after the latter's death, recalled how Sir Francis delighted in Watson's "tunes." "Tityrus" (Walsingham) is made to say:—

Thy tunes haue often pleas'd mine care of yoare,  
 When milk-white swans did flocke to heare thee sing,  
 Where *Scane* in *Paris* makes a double shoare,  
*Paris* thrise blest is shee obey her King.

The poems prove the vast learning of their author, who had digested the Greek, Latin, French and Italian classics. He tells of the time and study he had given to the art of cypher writing, when explaining the working of the cipher Sonnet on the motto "Amare est insanire." He says:—

All such as are but of indifferent capacitic, and have some skill in *Arithmetike*, by viewing this Sonnet following compiled by rule and number, into the forme of a piller, may soone judge, howe much art and study the Author hath bestowed in the same. Wherein as there are placed many preaty observations, so these which I will set downe, may be marked for the principall, if any man haue such idle leasure to looke it ouer, as the Author had, when he framed it.

Watson refers to his Sonnets entitled "The Tears of Fancie, or Loue Disdained" (1593), as "idle lines unpolisht." Bacon said he prepared a Sonnet to bring about the Queen's reconcilment to the Earl of Essex, adding "thou I preffess not to be a poet"; while Shakespeare describes his "Venus and Adonis" (1593), as my "unpolisht lines"!

Stratfordians often say that Bacon could not have kept his poetical excursions a secret. The truth is that there were quite a number who knew all about it, as the following list (which is not complete) will show:—

Sir John Davies, in his Sonnet addressed to Bacon in "The Scourge of Folly" (ca. 1610).

Thomas Campion in his Epigrams (1619), Epigram No. 190, commends "Dulcis Musa (Bacone)"!

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Ben Jonson in "Poetaster" (1601) and "Discoveries" (1641).

Thomas Powell Addresses Bacon as *Seneca*: see dedication to "Attorney's Academy" (1630).

Henry Peacham, Emblems in "Minerva Britannia" (1612).

Edmund Waller in the Dedication of his Poems (1645), mentions Bacon among the "nightingales who sang only in the Spring, as the diversion of their youth."

The anonymous author of "The Great Assizes holden in Parnassus" (1645), who makes Bacon "Chancellor of Parnassus."

About 25 writers of the "Manes Verulamiani" (1626), among them:—

Thomas Randolph (the dramatist) of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Bishop Williams of Lincoln.

William Boswell.

George Herbert.

William, Loe, James Duport, and several unnamed members of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Not a bad list! The time will come when these references to Bacon as a Poet, now carefully avoided by literary "experts" (experts in the art of concealing Truth!) will be "discovered," and cherished as "allusions to Shakespeare."

And what of Bacon's reference to Sir John Davies, in 1603, as to "concealed poets"; and his letter to Essex, when he was thirty-five, where he says how "the Waters of Parnassus" have quenched his appetite for Office; the veiled allusions in letters to Sir Tobie Matthew in which Bacon sends Measure for Measure, and tells of certain works of his recreation; Bodley's admonition of Bacon with regard to certain "toys" with which his pen had been occupied?

And what is the reason for the omission by Gruter of certain passages in Bacon's "Cogitata et Visa" relating to the missing (?) Fourth Part of the Great Instauration, which was to deal with the human passions? As Edwin Reed, in "Francis Bacon, our Shakespeare" has shown, the comparison of Gruter's publication with the MS. at Oxford, reveals the startling fact that the suppressed portions unquestionably describe the method and purpose of the Shakespeare Plays.

"The Baconian Theory is not worth a moment's consideration"; that is the retort Baconians usually get. And, after all, it is the safest way out for a party which knows it has no chance of escape if it meet its opponents in the open field.

R. EAGLE.

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## NOTES.

### TITLE OF SHAKE-SPEARE'S TEMPEST.

Miss A. A. Leith points out that it is important to note the way Tempest and Sea are used metaphorically by Shake-Speare, Thomas Lodge and Bacon. Hamlet speaks of a Sea of Trouble. In "Nettle for Nice Noses," by Thomas Lodge, we find "suddenly surprised with a huge Tempest in midst of the Ocean Sea, for in sooth the combat of the flesh is a true Tempest and Storm."

While Francis Bacon says in an argument on Law: "The Act of God, a Tempest;" and of Man, "His approach or assumption of Divine or Angelical Nature is the Perfection of his form, the error or false imitation of which good is that which is the Tempest of human life" (page 274, Adv. of Learning).

Seeing what a sermon on this subject is Calaban, it

may be concluded that from living rock the title of *The Tempest* was hewn.

Only one lecture has been delivered during the quarter. On November 20th, Mrs. Bunten read a paper at her studio in Hogarth Road, on Sir Thomas Meautys. It was followed by considerable discussion.

A correspondent sends particulars of an interesting incident which occurred recently.

A lady in the course of a lecture delivered on *Shakespeare* dismissed the Baconian theory as to authorship with the remark that it was not worth a moment's consideration. A member of the audience, convinced that the remark was occasioned by ignorance, sent her several books with the request that she would peruse them. The books were returned accompanied by a letter which read:—

"I wish I had known of these books you kindly lent me before I wrote my paper. Having to give it again next month at Catford, it has been impossible for me to dip largely into the volumes, as I am afraid all my ideas on Shakespeare as the writer of the plays would be altered—then where would my paper be? It would mean that, as it stands, it would be useless. After all, nobody knows, or can ever know now the real facts."

This is by no means an isolated case. It is not an unfrequent occurrence for some staunch Shakespearean to refuse to read a book in which the Stratford myth is laid bare, on the ground that he would prefer not to have his opinions unsettled.

APRIL, 1915.

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# The Bacon Society.

(INCORPORATED.)

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

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

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

The Society's Library and Rooms are at 11, Hart Street, London, W.C. (close to the British Museum), where the Secretary attends daily, and from 3 to 5 o'clock will be happy to supply further information.

*The columns of BACONIANA are open for the expression of all shades of opinion on the subjects discussed therein, although such opinions may not be in accord with those held by the Council of the Society or the Editor of the Journal.*



# BACONIANA.

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VOL. XIII. *Third Series.* APRIL, 1915.

No. 50.

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## THOMAS HEYWOOD.

THE materials for a biographical sketch of Thomas Heywood are very scanty. It would appear from a statement found in his "Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas," published in 1637, that he was a native of Lincolnshire. In another tract he refers to "the time of my residence at Cambridge." There is not a trace of any reference to him in the records of the University, so his name does not appear in the *Athenæ Cambrigienses* of C. H. and Thompson Cooper.

A bookseller, William Cartwright, who in or about the year 1658 reprinted *An Apology for Actors*, which had been published in 1612, bearing on the title page the announcement "written by Thomas Heywood," states that the author was "a fellow of Peter House." That is all the information attainable about his early life until on March 25th, 1598, he appears to be regularly engaged by Henslowe as a player and sharer in the Lord Admiral's company of players.

In the list of persons who attended the funeral of Queen Anne, the wife of James I., Heywood's name appears as "one of her Majesty's players," and it has therefore been assumed that during the intervening years he followed the calling of an actor. I

appears that on the accession of James I. he left the Lord Admiral's Company and entered the theatrical service of the Earl of Worcester, by whom he was transferred to that of the Queen. That is inferred from a sentence in the dedication to the Earl of *The Nine Books of various History concerning Women*, which reads:—"I was (my lord) your creature, and (amongst other of your servants) you bestowed me upon the excellent Princess Q. Anne (to whose memorie I have celebrated in these papers the zeale of a subject and a servant) but by her lamented death your Gift (my Lord) is returned unto your hands, being stil yours, either to keepe unto your selfe, or to conferre where your noble disposition shall best please." Some other contributions to his biography are gathered from references to himself in his writings. In *An Apology for Actors*, he describes himself as "being the youngest and weakest of the nest wherein I was hatcht." "The nest" has been supposed to represent a band of players, but as he goes on to refer to his fellow fledglings "ability in writing and sufficiency in judgment (as their workes generally witness to the world)" it would seem more applicable to a nest of playwrights. In the address *To the Judicial Reader*, prefixed to the same work, he writes:—"My pen hath seldome appeared in presse till now; I have been too jealous of mine owne weaknesse to thrust into the presse; nor had I at this time, but that a kind of necessity enjoyned me to so sudden a businesse." This statement is hardly consistent with the facts. In 1600 was published anonymously, but subsequently attributed to Heywood, the play of "Edward the Fourth," in two parts; in 1601 bearing his name, "The Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon"; in 1605, "If you know not me, you know Nobody, or the troubles of Queen Elizabeth"; in 1606, the

second part of the same play; in 1607 two plays—"The Fair Maid of the Exchange" and "A Woman Killed with Kindness"; in 1608, "The Rape of Lucrece"; and in 1611 "The Golden Age." His productions during the period were not confined to the drama, for in 1608 a translation appeared of Salust with a long and remarkable preface entitled, "Of the Choice of History," and a heroic poem; in 1609, "Great Britain's Troy." His pen therefore could hardly have been described accurately, as seldom appearing in the press.

Upon the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Prince Palatine, in 1613, he produced "A Marriage Triumph," and on the death of James I. he wrote an elegy, from which the reader learns that at one time he was the theatrical servant of the Earl of Southampton.

There is no record of his death. The last time his name appears is upon the title page of "A Satire Against Separatists," bearing date 1648.

Heywood has been referred to as "the most voluminous dramatic writer in the English and probably in any language."\* He states that he had "an entire

\* Lope de Vega far exceeds Heywood or any other dramatist in fertility. In *Parte Quincena* of his *Theatre* he asserts that he had written 900 plays up to 1620; in the *Vigesima Parte* of 1625 the number rises to 1,070; and in the *Égloga á Clancho*, of 1632, which contains the author's last word on the subject, the total is given as 1500. This total is corroborated by Montalbán, in *Para Todos*, which also appeared in 1632; and four years later, in the *Fama Postuma*, Montalbán alleges that Lope wrote 1,800 plays and over 400 *autos*. When over sixty years of age, from 1625 to 1632, Lope produced more than sixty plays a year; and between 1632 and 1635, when over seventy years of age, broken in health and worn out with private sorrows, he wrote at the rate of a hundred plays a year!

hand, or at least a main finger" in two hundred and twenty plays. Of these only twenty-three have, so far, as it is known, been preserved.

In the last edition of Dodsley's *Old Plays*, the following testimony to his industry is quoted from Kirkman, the author of a catalogue of plays. He says that Heywood "was very laborious, for he not only acted every day, but also obliged himself to write a sheet every day for several years together; but many of his plays being composed loosely in taverns, occasions them to be mean. . . . I could say somewhat more of him, and of all the old poets, having taken pleasure to converse with those who were acquainted with them." It is to be regretted that Kirkman did not commit to print the knowledge he had thus obtained for as to Heywood, as well as to many of his contemporaries, it may be said that nothing is known for certain about them.

William Hazlitt's estimate of Heywood's dramatic writings is this:—

"As Marlowe's imagination glows like a furnace, Heywood's is a gentle lambent flame, that purifies without consuming. His manner is simplicity itself. There is nothing supernatural, nothing startling or terrific. He makes use of the commonest circumstances of everyday life, and of the easiest tempers, to show the workings or rather the inefficacy of the passions, the *vis inertiae* of tragedy. His incidents strike firm their familiarity, and the distresses he paints invite our sympathy from the calmness and resignation with which they are borne. The pathos might be deemed purer, from its having no mixture of turbulence or vindictiveness in it; and in proportion as the sufferers are made to deserve a better fate. In the midst of the most untoward reverses and cutting injuries, good-nature and good sense keep their accustomed sway. He describes men's errors with tenderness, and their duties only with zeal, and the heightenings of a poetic fancy. His style is equally natural, simple and unrestrained. The dialogue (bating the verse) is such as might be uttered in ordinary conversation. It is beautiful prose put into heroic

measure. It is not so much that he uses the common English idiom for everything (for that I think the most poetical and impassioned of our elder dramatists do equally), but the simplicity of the characters and the equable flow of the sentiments do not require or suffer it to be warped from the tone of level speaking, by figurative expression or hyperbolic allusions."

Of some passages in "A Woman Killed with Kindness," Hazlitt speaks with admiration.

So much for what is known of Thomas Heywood and of his dramatic works. And it is by these plays that his fame has been established. He has been associated with several other works where the initials "T. H." have appeared on the title page; upon what grounds it is difficult to understand. In 1598 was published "*A Discourse of the Felicitie of Man or his Summun bonum,*" according to the title page, "written by Sir Richard Barckley Knight." It is said to be "Printed for William Ponsonby," but the type and blocks used clearly point to Richard Field as the printer. It is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. The dedication and address "To the reader" should arrest attention, for they are of a remarkable character. The book itself with its quaint, but significant title contains a number of stories from ancient as well as modern writers and quotations from the early poets and from every conceivable source of ancient literature. The story of Christopher Sly is to be found on pages 24 and 25, the incident being introduced thus:—"I remember a pretie experiment practised by the Emperor Charles the Fifth upon a drunkard." No names are given beyond the Emperor's. The book abounds in phrases which recall to the mind of the reader passages in the Shakespeare plays. For instance "When God had created this goodly frame the world" at once suggests the speech of *Hamlet* in Act II., Scene 2, and the remarkable translation to be found in the 1614

edition of *The French Academy* of the first verse of Chapter XLIII. of Ecclesiasticus. Again the Shakespeare play of "Julius Cæsar" is brought to mind when reading:—"Were it not better (said Julius Cæsar) to die once, than to live in such fear and supposition."

There are numbers of such instances.

But the associations with Francis Bacon's are still more marked. It is written:—"Which confirmeth his opinion that made choice of this poesie: *Mediocra Firma*," evidently an allusion to Sir Nicholas Bacon's choice of a family motto. It is probable that anyone reading the following sentence would place it as an extract from one of Bacon's Essays:—"For Libertie lighteth the heart, ; Knowledge enricheth the understanding ; Health preserveth our life and Vertue is the glory of the Soule."

Now in 1631 a second edition of this book was published, said to be edited, with additions by T. H. In the British Museum Catalogue the work appears under the name of Thomas Heywood, but on what authority there is no information. How did the editing with additions come to be attributed to him? Nothing is known of Sir Richard Barckley as a writer. No other book bears his name. It is beyond doubt that if no name appeared on the title page of *The Felicite of Man*, any reader, acquainted with Bacon's style would attribute the authorship to him.

*The Life and Death of Hector*, &c.—a translation by T. H. of Lydgate's original from (1614) and *The two most notable and worthie Histories*, &c., by Sallust, translated from the Latin by T. H. (1609), are both on the same authority placed to the credit of Thomas Heywood.

There are two works bearing this name as the author which require more than a passing notice, namely:—*An apology for Actors*, printed by Nicholas Okes in 1612

and TONAIKEION or *Nine Bookes of Various History concerning Women*, printed by Adam Islip in 1624. The first is a tract of 61 pages, the second is a folio volume of 466 pages with ruled margins. Both are very rare volumes, but the Apology is the rarer.

The controversy as to the harmfulness of stage plays was introduced by the publication of a "Treatise, wherein Dicing, Dancing, Vaine Playes or *Enterludes, &c.*, are reprov'd," by John Northbrooke. It bears no date, but was licensed for the press in 1577, and was printed by H. Bynneman. In 1579 was printed by Thomas Woodcocke "*The Schoole of Abuse, containing a pleausaunt invective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Jestes, and such like Caterpillers of the Commonwealth*," by Stephan Gosson, Stud., Oxon." In 1580 was published anonymously a pamphlet supporting Gosson's contentions, under the title of "*The Second and Third Blast of Retreat from Plays and Theatres.*" In 1583 appeared Philip Stubbes' *Anatomy of Abuses*. This includes a division entitled: *Of Stage-plays and Interludes, with their wickedness*. So far the Stage had been attacked from four quarters without receiving any defence.

In 1584 Thomas Lodge, in his *Alarum against Usurers* incidentally introduces certain arguments in favour of theatrical representations. In the same year George Whetstone in his *Touchstone for the Time* appended to *Mirror for Magistrates* of cities "censures the use of Stage plays on the Sabbath-day, and the abuse of them at all times." In 1587 William Rankins published *Mirror of Monsters* in which he indulges in abuse of all persons and matters connected with theatres, notwithstanding which within a few years afterwards he is to be found writing plays for performances at Henslowe's Theatre.

Notwithstanding the steady and consistent opposition of the Puritans, theatres and theatrical audiences

steadily increased. The first two theatres (The Theatre and The Curtain) had been erected in 1576 or 1577. It was, however, in the inn yards that the bulk of the theatrical performances took place. The audiences were composed of the lowest classes. The plays enacted were for the most part vulgar and obscene. The city authorities frequently interfered and stopped their performance. Dumb shows and Inductions became popular. Up to 1587 there had been no advance in the literary quality of the plays. The next stage in the pamphlet controversy was the appearance in 1599 of Dr. John Rainholds' *Overthrow of Stage Plays*. Rainholds was a man of the widest knowledge, a strong Puritan and his attack, though in many respects extreme and narrow is a very effective denunciation. The publication of this volume was followed by vigorous attempts to limit the number of theatres in, and near London, and to restrain dramatic representations. Yet in 1600 the Globe Theatre was built, and opened by Burbage, who in 1608 acquired the lease of Blackfriars Theatre. There was no addition to the literature, for or against theatres, until in 1610 a coarse and violent attack on the stage was made in a play called *Histrionastix*. There is no definite evidence as to the condition of the London Theatres during this period, or as to the position which they were occupying in the public estimation. But the general effect of what can be learnt justifies the inference that the opposition had decreased, if it had not ceased, and that the status of the actor was improving.

There does not appear to have been at this time any necessity for the publication of a defence of the stage, or of the actors' calling. The English drama had reached its zenith. The Shakespeare plays had all been produced. Although Othello was not published until 1622 and the manuscript, alleged to have been



discovered by Cunningham, may have been and probably was a forgery, it is generally accepted that the notes were based upon authentic evidence that the play was acted as early as 1612. The material was available which should make the drama a means whereby the minds of men should be instructed to virtue. The spade work had been accomplished. The rich drama was provided long in anticipation of the times in which it could be appreciated. The moment therefore was opportune for the production of a manifesto on its behalf. Such was the position when in 1612 *An Apology for Actors* bearing the name of Thomas Heywood was published.

The pamphlet is an octavo of 61 pages. The title page states that it contains three brief treatises on actors :—

1. Their antiquity,
2. Their ancient dignity,
3. The true use of their quality.

Underneath is this motto :—

Et prodesse solent et delectare—

They are accustomed to profit and to delight.

After the title page follows : (1) a dedication to the Right Honourable, Edward Earle of Worcester, Lord of Chepstoll, Ragland and Gower, etc. ; (2) an address " To my good friends and Fellowes the Citty-Actors ; (3) An address " To the Judiciable Reader " ; (4) Verses in Greek and Latin, anonymous ; (5) Odes by Ar. Hopton, John Webster, Rich. Perkins, Christopher Beeston, Robert Pallant and John Taylor, and (6) Lines addressed by " The Author to his Booke."

The dedication is after the style of those to the Earl of Southampton of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. The concluding sentences to the Judiciable Reader might form part of an epilogue to Shakespeare Comedy :—

“ I will neither show myself over presumptuous in skorning thy favour, nor too importunate a beggar by too servilly intreating it. What thou art content to bestow upon my pains, I am content to accept : if good thoughts, they are all I desire : if good words, they are more than I deserve : if bad opinion, I am sorry I have incurr'd it : if evil language, I know not how I have merited it : if any thing, I am pleased : if nothing, I am satisfied, contenting myself with this—I have done no more then (had I been called to account) shewed what I could say in defence of my own quality.”

The Odes (5) are curious. It would be instructive to know how they were obtained and gathered together. Presumably the author would send to John Taylor, the Waterman, and ask him for a matter of 36 lines of rhyme addressed “ To my approved Friend, M. Thomas Heywood.” But why should John Taylor be selected to write lines to be prefixed to this pamphlet? The preliminary odes or sonnets, which are found in many of the books of the period, are well worth careful study and comparison. A still more curious collection follow the address to the World introducing the edition of Taylor's works published in 1630.

The lines headed ‘ The Author to his Booke ’ are so noteworthy as to justify reproduction here. They are so strongly reminiscent of the Soliloquy of Jacques in *As you like it*.

#### THE AUTHOR TO HIS BOOKE.

The world's a theater, the earth a stage,  
Which God and nature doth with actors fill :  
Kings have their entrance in due equipage,  
And some their parts play well, and others ill.  
The best no better are (in this theater),  
Where every humor's fitted in his kinde ;  
This a true subject acts, and that a traytor.

The first applauded, and the last confin'd ;  
 This plaies an honest man, and that a knave.  
 A gentle person this, and he a clowne,  
 One man is ragged, and another brave :  
 All men have parts, and each man acts his owne.  
 She a chaste lady acteth all her life ;  
 A wanton curtezan another playes ;  
 This covets marriage love, that nuptial strife ;  
 Both in continual action spend their dayes :  
 Some citizens, some soldiers, borne to aduenter,  
 Shepheardes, and sea-men. Then our play's begun  
 When we are borne, and to the world first enter,  
 And all finde exits when their parts are done.  
 If then the world a theater present,  
 As by the roundnesse it appears most fit,  
 Built with starre galleries of hyc ascent,  
 In which Jehove doth as a spectator sit,  
 And chiefe determiner to applaud the best,  
 And their indeuours crowne with more merit ;  
 But by their evill actions doomes the rest  
 To end disgrac't, while others praise inherit ;  
 He that denyes then theaters should be,  
 He may as well deny a world to me.

THOMAS HEYWOOD.

It would have been very appropriate if Bacon's description of Dramatic poetry\* had been quoted at the head of *An Apology for Actors*. The treatises are in effect simply an amplification of his words :—

" Drammaticall, or Representative Poesy, which brings the World upon the stage, is of excellent use, if it were not abused. For the Instructions, and Corruptions of the Stage, may be great ; but the corruptions in this kind abound ; the Discipline is altogether neglected in our times. For although in modern commonwealths, Stage-plaies be but esteemed a sport or pastime, unless it draw from the Satyre, and be mordant, yet the care of the Ancients was, that it should

\**Of the Advancement of Learning*, 1640, Lib. II., Chap. 13.

instruct the minds of men unto virtue. Nay, wise men and great Philosophers, have accounted it, as the Archet, or Musicall Bow of the Mind."

That is the text upon which the three treatises or discourses are founded. The first of these is a magnificent example of the orator's art. Some passages in it are unsurpassed by any examples to be found in the English language. They can only be appreciated when read aloud.

It opens with a lengthy sentence in which a peculiarity of the author's mind is at once revealed, namely an abnormal propensity for indulging in similitude and metaphor. This is it:—

"Mooved by the sundry exclamations of many seditious sectists in this age, who in the fatness and rankness of a peaceable commonwealth, grow up like unsavery tufts of grasse, which, though outwardly greene and fresh to the eye, yet are they both unpleasant and unprofitable, beeing too sower for food, and too ranke for fodder; these men, like the ancient Germans, affecting no fashion but their owne, would draw other nations to bee slovens like themselves, and undertaking to purifie and reforme the sacred bodies of the church and common-weale (in the trew use of both which they are altogether ignorant), would but like artlesse phisitions, for experiment sake, rather minister pils to poyson the whole body, their cordials to preserve any, or the least part."

Shortly after the author introduces his subject by relating a dream in which Melpomene, one of the Muses who presided over Tragedy, appeared to him. Her appearance is thus described:—

"Her hair rudely disheveled, her chaplet withered, her visage with teares stayned, her brow furrowed, her eyes dejected, nay, her whole

complexion quite faded and altered ; and perusing her habit, I might behold the colour of her fresh roabe all crimson breathed, and with the envenomed juice of some profane spilt inke in every place stained ; nay more, her busken of all the wonted jewels and ornaments utterly despoyled, about which, in manner of a garter, I might behold these letters, written in a playne and large character :

Behold my tragicke buskin rent and torne,  
Which kings and emperors in their tymes have  
worne.

This I no sooner had perused, but suddenly I might perceave the enraged Muse cast up her scornfull head : her eye-bals sparkle fire, and a suddain dash of disdaine, intermixt with rage, purples her cheeke. When, pacing with a maiesticke gate, and rowsing up her fresh spirits with a lively and quient action, shee began in these or the like words."

And then follow fifty lines of blank verse, in which Melpomene recounts the services she has rendered in the past to humanity, the honour which has been awarded to her, and the neglect and scorn with which she is now treated, concluding :—

Oh ! Senecca  
Thou tragicke poet hadst thou lived to see  
This outrage done to sad Melpomene,  
With such sharpe lynes thou wouldst revenge my blot,  
As armed Ovid against Ibis wrote.

Whereupon the author awoke, and having perused this vision over and over again in his remembrance, he suddenly bethought himself how many poets, tragic and comic, dying many ages before, still lived in their works. He then proceeded to trace the history of

the stage, commencing in the first of the Olimpiads with the triumphs of Hercules, carrying it down to the present time in which he was living. The language in which this is written is not that of the pamphleteer, it is the impassioned outpouring of the orator. Its beauty and the exquisite construction of the sentences, for effect on the auditor, are lost until they are read aloud. And ever and anon is the metaphor bursting forth throughout the history. Argument is continually introduced to emphasize the value of the stage. Space forbids copious quotation, but the passage in which the services of the stage to rhetoric and the orator are so noteworthy, having regard to Hamlet's advice to the players that space must be found for them:—

To come to rhetoricke: it not onely emboldens a scholler to speake, but instructs him to speake well, and with judgement to observe his commas, colons, and full poynts; his parentheses, his breathing spaces, and distinctions; to keepe a decorum in his countenance, neither to frowne, when he should smile, nor to make unseemly and disguised faces in the delivery of his words; not to stare with his eies, draw awry his mouth, confound his voice in the hollow of his throat, or teare his words hastily betwixt his teeth; neither to buffet his deske like a mad man, nor stande in his place like a livelesse image, demurely plodding, and without any smooth and formal motion. It instructs him to fit his phrases to his action, and his action to his phrase, and his pronuntiation to them both.

Tully, in his booke *Ad Caium Herennium*, requires five things in an orator—*invention, disposition, eloquution, memory and pronun'iation*, yet all are imperfect without the sixth, which is *action*, for be his invention never so fluent

and exquisite, his disposition and order never so composed and formall, his eloquence and elaborate phrases never so materiall and pithy, his memory never so firme and retentive, his pronun'iation never so musicall and plausible, yet without a comely and eloquent gesture, a gracious and a bewitching kinde of action, a naturall and familiar motion of the head, the hand, the body, and a moderate and fit countenance sutable to all the rest, I hold the rest as nothing. A delivery and sweet action is the glosse and beauty of any discourse that belongs to a scholler. And this is the action behoovefull in any that professe this quality, not to use any impudent or forced motion in any part of the body, nor rough or other violent gesture; nor on the contrary to stand like a stiffe starcht man, but to qualifie everything according to the nature of the person personated; for in overacting trickes, and toying too much in the anticke habit of humors, men of the ripest desert, greatest opinions, and best reputations, may breake into the most violent absurdities. I take not upon me to teach, but to advise, for it becomes my juniority rather to be pupil'd my selfe than to instruct others?

The ancient dignity of actors is the theme of the second treatise. It exhibits the author's wide knowledge of classical literature, and the marvellous memory which he possessed. This knowledge extended to the conditions of Greece and Rome, and also of other countries during their histories. In speaking of English actors, he refers in eulogistic terms to Tarelton and Kemp amongst those passed away. Only one living is mentioned "in his time the most worthy, famous Maister Edward Allen."

In the third treatise, the true use of the Actor's

quality is insisted on, with illustrations which further confirm the possession by the author of universal knowledge. There is one important consideration urged—that one of the objects which the writers had in producing plays was the enrichment of the English language :—

“ Secondly, our English tongue, which hath ben the most harsh, uneven, and broken language of the world, part Dutch, part Irish, Saxon, Scotch, Welsh, and indeed a gallimafray of many, but perfect in none, is now by this secondary meanes of playing continually refined, every writer striving in himselfe to adde a new flourish unto it; so that in processe, from the first rude and unpolisht tongue, it is growne to a most perfect and composed language, and many excellent workes and elaborate poems writ in the same, that many nations grow inamored of our tongue (before despised). Neither Saphicke, Ionicke, Iambicke, Phaleuticke, Adonicke, Gliconicke, Hexamiter, Tetramittrer, Pentamiter, Asclepediacke, Choriambicke, nor any other measured verse used among the Greekes, Latins, Italiens, French, Dutch or Spanish writers, but may be exprest in English be it blank verse or meeter, in distichon, or hexastichon, or in what forme or feet or what number you can desire. Thus you see to what excellency our refined English is brought, that in these daies we are ashamed of that euphony and eloquence, which within these 60 years the best tongues in the land were proud to pronounce.”

But the reader must have the pamphlet in his own hands for perusal in order to realize its merits. Suffice it to say that it is the most brilliant and complete defence to the Stage and of the actors calling, which has appeared to this day.



Mr. Parker Woodward in *Tudor Problems* has attributed the authorship of this little work to Francis Bacon, and a critical and exhaustive examination of it confirms his opinion. There, however, on the title page, at the foot of the dedication and elsewhere stands the name of Thomas Heywood as the author, and very strong evidence must be forthcoming before the name of any other writer can be substituted for it. It does not meet the case, to point out that many writers have adopted pseudonyms and have published works under their own names and invented names. When Miss Marion Evans adopted as a penname the words "George Eliot" so far as is known there was no individual bearing that name with whom she was acquainted. There was a man, however, of that name who came forward and claimed the authorship, but there was abundant evidence available to confute his claim. The circumstances, however, in this case, differ considerably. There was one, Thomas Heywood, an actor; of that there is authentic evidence; so is there that Henslow paid sums of money to Hawarde, for writing plays for the Rose Theatre, presumably the same Heywood, for there are 23 plays extant which bear his name. There is no evidence that Heywood was at Cambridge, because the statement is based on a sentence in the Apology—"In the time of my residence at Cambridge." If the authorship of the Apology is attacked, nothing in it can be quoted in support of the claim for Heywood, unless corroboration be found elsewhere. It is the author who makes the statement, and if Heywood be not the author, the value of the statement as evidence that Heywood was at Cambridge falls to the ground. But another difficulty presents itself. In addition to the plays before referred to, there are a number of other works bearing his name, and if the opinion be

advanced that Bacon wrote the Apology, this question must be faced—Is it claimed that Bacon wrote everything bearing Heywood's name or only certain of these works? Is it the contention that Bacon arranged with a man named Heywood, who was known as a writer, that certain works of which the former was the author should be published under the name of the latter? The answer is that the investigation must proceed by stages. If the internal evidence in the Apology is sufficient to establish a *prima facie* case that Bacon was the author, other of the works accredited to Heywood must be examined in a similar manner to see what results they will yield.

That it was the custom about this time, for books to be published with names on the title page other than those of the author's is vouched for by the author of *the Arte of English Poesie*, who definitely states that notable gentlemen at Court, who wrote commendably, rather than suffer the discredit which attached to a gentleman to seem learned or to show himself amorous of any good art, either suppressed their writings or suffered them to be published without their own names to them. So the custom is established, for *the Arte of English Poesie* is a standard authority, and if it be established the right to raise the question as to the Apology follows.

A careful perusal of the work warrants the following assertions as to the author.

1. He was a consummate orator—by nature, for an orator can never be made. If a man does not possess the natural qualifications for oratory he can never acquire them. He may become a good speaker, a brilliant debater, but an orator—never, unless he be born one. He must by instinct possess the faculty of expressing himself, without effort or thought, in words, which from their musical cadence afford pleasure

as they fall on the ears of his auditors. That is a *sine qua non*. It is the possession of a peculiar musical ear which is essential, or the man can never be an orator. The author of the Apology possessed this faculty to the full extent. There are passages in it which, adequately declaimed, are unsurpassed in the English language. If Thomas Heywood was the writer he could not fail to have had great renown as an orator. But there is no evidence that he enjoyed such a reputation. Bacon was the greatest orator of his time, or probably of any time.

2. His mind worked so curiously that he could detect similitudes between objects which appeared to have nothing in common. In the first thirteen lines\* of the pamphlet, he introduces three similes or metaphors to which nine of the thirteen lines are devoted. Throughout the book he is continually leaving his theme to relate some incident or work out some metaphor. This propensity becomes almost wearisome at times. His mind was so profusely stored with information and was so alert to recognize a similitude, between the subject he was writing about and some out of the way object, that he was continually drawn aside from his quest. This was a peculiar characteristic of Bacon, to which Macaulay, Spedding, Abbot, and others bear testimony.

3. His mind was stored with knowledge of the details of the histories of the ancient and modern nations especially those of Greece and Rome. It is evident that his references are made from memory and not from recourse to books. His memory must have been phenomenal. Bacon possessed such a memory and used it just as the author of this pamphlet used his.

4. He had an intimate and wide knowledge of mytho-

\*See page 68 of this number.

logy and of classical authors, many of whom were not popularly known. He appears to quote extracts from them from memory. Again Bacon's knowledge and practice in writing fulfil the requirements. Gilbert Watt in the dedication of the 1640 *Advancement of Learning*, says:—"He after he had survaied all the Records of Antiquity after the volumes of men, betook himself to the volume of the world; and having conquered whatever books possest." This was exactly the experience which the author of the *Nine Muses* must have had.

5. He was accustomed to break off to relate an anecdote or tell a story. Another habit of Bacon's, who always insisted that when instruction was given it should be combined with entertainment.

6. He repeatedly sought to emphasize his statements and arguments with interrogative sentences. Another habit of Bacon's.

7. His sentences are frequently framed so that the prose may be scanned as blank verse. Words are unnecessarily introduced to facilitate this. Not that this was intentionally done, but the author habitually thought in blank verse. Bacon's "History of Henry VII." forms a striking example of this method of writing.

8. His mind was stored with the writings of the classical authors in their original tongues, and he is persistently introducing Latin and sometimes Greek quotations from them. Another practice of Bacon's.

9. His construction of sentences and the unusual words found in his vocabulary are peculiar to Bacon. For instance, he uses the words "compendious" and "compendiousness," the former being rarely used except by Bacon, although it is to be found in *The Gouvenor*, by Sir T. Elyot; the latter is still rarer.

10. He is a master of terseness, but is frequently prolix, just as was Bacon.

11. His views and arguments from the first page to the last synchronize with Bacon's. One notable instance may be mentioned. The author, speaking of the ancient writers, says: "Had they lived in the afternoon of the world as they dyed even in the morning," and again: "They lived in the childhood and infancy of the world." Bacon objects to the current use of the term, antiquity. He writes: "As for antiquity, the opinion touching it, which men entertain, is quite a negligent one, and scarcely consonant with the word itself. For the old age of the world is to be accounted the true antiquity; and this is the attribute of our own times, not of that earlier age of the world in which the ancients lived; and which, though in respect of us it was the elder, yet in respect of the world it was the younger."

12. In reading the Apology one is again and again reminded of Shakespeare. Who can read the following:

"Briefly, there is neither tragedy, history, comedy, morall, or pastorall, from which an infinite use cannot be gathered. I speak not in the defence of any lascivious shewes, scurrelous jeasts or scandalous invectives. If there be any such, I banish them quite from my patronage,"

without being reminded of Polonius' description of the players and Anthony's funeral oration. This argument will, of course, only weigh with such as are prepared to accept the Bacon authorship of the Shakespeare Plays.

This article was commenced with the intention of drawing attention to that remarkable work: FONAIKEION, or *Nine bookes of Various History concerning Women*; bearing Heywood's name. Having

read the *Apology* many times the writer took it up again, intending to make only a passing reference to it, but the fresh light thrown upon it as the result of a study of the *Nine bookes* caused his pen to flow on with the foregoing comments upon it. The *Nine Muses*, as it may be called for brevity's sake, is a wonderful production, and if Thomas Heywood was the author should entitle him to a position in the very front rank of early Jacobean writers.

It is difficult to find words with which to describe its marvellous character. In the dedication the author states that he brings the *Nine Muses* with an army of Goddesses and Women to mediate on his behalf. "In these few sheets," he says, "I have lodged to the number of three thousand." If three thousand women are described; there are certainly as many if not more writers quoted in the narration of their deeds. The author appears to have an intimate knowledge of every writer ancient and modern. But that the book is there in print it would seem incredible that such a mass of information could be gathered together. The author apparently has so intimate a knowledge of these writers, that he not only carries in his memory their names, but the contents of their works. For it is clear that, as in the case of the *Apology*, he is writing from memory, and without actual references to the volumes he quotes from.

The Dedication is addressed to the Earl of Worcester, and is in what is termed, the style common to the period. It is common to the period, nay, more, it is restricted to the period, but it is certain that any impartial investigator who will carefully compare these prefaces written in this style must inevitably come to the conclusion that they are from the same pen. It is more possible to believe this, than that such a similarity of style; characterized by such

striking peculiarities, could be employed by so many diverse men.

The *Nine Muses* is an extremely rare book, and does not appear to have been reprinted. The address "*To the Reader*" prefixed to it contains so much information as to its contents that it may be reproduced with advantage here.

### TO THE READER.

Generous Reader, I have disposed to thy most judicall view a discourse of Women: wherein expect not, that I should either enviously carpe at the peculiar manners or actions of any living nor injuriously detract from the Sepulchers of the dead; the first I could never effect, the last I did always detest. I only present thee with a Collection of Histories, which touch the generalitie of Women, such as have either beene illustrated for their Vertues, and Noble Actions, or contrarily branded for their Vices, and baser conditions; in all which, I have not exceeded the bounds and limits of good and sufficient Authoritie. Here thou mayest reade of all degrees, from the Scepter in the Court, to the Sheepe-booke in the Cottage: of all times, from the first Rainebow, to the last blazing starre; of all knowne nations, from the North to the Meridian, and from the East to the Septentrion: of all faiths; Jewes, Pagans or Christians: of all callings; Virgins, Wives or Widowes: of the Fair and Foule, Chaste and Wanton, of each of these something: Briefly, of all Estates, Conditions and Qualities whatsoever. In the Goddesses and other Poeticall Fictions (which to some Readers may appear fabulously impossible) you shall find their misticall sences

made perspicuous and plaine, with the true intent of the Poets, which was not (as some have dreamed) meerly to transerre Worship and Honor upon Naturall Causes, thereby to debarre the true and ever-living Creator of his divine adoration, but rather including in darke and enigmaticall Histories, Precepts of Wisdome and Knowledge, least they should be made too popular, and therefore subject to contempt. The like illustrations you shall find in the Nymphes, Graces, Oreades, Driades, Hamadriades, etc. No seeming fable being here remembered (though never so intricate and obscure) which is not made plaine and easy. In the muses, you shall meet with the first inventresses of all good Arts, and Disciplines; in the Sybills, their divine Prophetes set downe at large; in the Vestalls, the honour due to Chastitie; in Queenes, how such should beare themselves in their power, and other Noble Ladies in their obedience. Wives may reade hear of Chaste Virgins, to patterne their Daughters by, and how to demean themselves in all conjugall love towards their Husbands: Widowes may find what may best become their solitude, and Matrons those accomplishments that most dignifie their gravitie: and so of the rest. Now if any ask, Why I have shut up and contruded within a narrow roome, many large Histories, not deleting them with every plenarie circumstance? I answer, that therein I have imitated *Ælianus de Var. Hist.* and *Valer. Maxim*, who epitomised great and memorable acts, reducing and contracting into a compendious Method wide and loose Histories, giving them notwithstanding their full weight in few words. Some also may cavill, that I have not introduced them in order, neither Alphabetically



nor according to custome or president which I thus excuse: The most cunning and curious Musicke is that which is made out of Discords; and Ovid preferres a blunt Carriage and a neglected Habit above all sprucenesse and formalitie. It may be likewise objected, Why amongst sad and grave Histories, I have here and there inserted fabulous jeasts and tales, savouring of Lightnesse? I answer, I have therein imitated our Historicall and Comical Poets that no write to the stage; who least the Auditorie should be dulled with serious courses (which are meerly weightye and materiall) in every Act present some Zanie with his Mimic action, to breed in the less capable mirth and laughter: For they that write to all must strive to please all. And as such fashion themselves to a multitude, consistin of spectators severally addicted; so I, universallie of Rearders, diversely disposed. I may be further questioned, Why I have in the Front of my Booke no Encomiasticks, or commendatorie Verses for my friends, to usher in the Worke (especially being so much and so long conversant among the Poets) which is able to discourage a Booke wanting their approbation and countenance. Let that (I entreat) be no prejudice to my Labours since I did not communicate them unto any. And how can any man truly commend what he hath not advisedly perused? Neither doe I thinke I am so little knowne or ill-beloved amongst them, that any one would have denied me so small a courtesie. But being only a matter of forme, and neither helpe nor hinderance to that which hath alreadie past the Presse; I expose it naked to the free view, and unguarded with any such faction of friends; either by the worth thereof to be com-

mended, and so live ; or by the weakenesse to be disparaged, and so perish. And these are all the difficulties of which I am now to expostulate, desiring thee to excuse a suddaine Businesse, which began with the Presse, kept it still going and ended some few dayes before it. These things well considered may in any generous spirit prevent all cavill and Criticisme, and to such onely I submit myselfe.

Thine who for thy sake desire to be still industrious.

T. H.

The concluding sentences of this address are very illuminating. The author was conscious of the prodigious feat he had accomplished in writing his book, and he is desirous that the reader should be informed as to the circumstances under which it was produced, which add to the marvel of the feat. This information he conveys in an ingenious manner. He makes an apology for the omission at its front of any commendatory verses from his friends. These could not be obtained, for he had not communicated with any as to what he was writing. As no one had perused the work there were none who could commend it. The book is to stand or fall on its merits. If it be worthy let it live, if it be weak, let it perish. Then the manner of its production is explained. The first sheets of the manuscript were written and sent to the printer to be set up in type, and the remainder was written and followed on, a few sheets at a time as the setting up in type was proceeding, the concluding pages only being written a few days before the whole book was set up. It even conveys more than that, for a printer in those days would not have a sufficient supply of type to set

up the whole book before printing off. The practice was for sixteen or thirty-two pages, if printed in 8's, to be set up and printed off; then the type was distributed and used for the next portion and so on. It is printed in threes, that is in batches of 12 pages of which there are thirty-nine. Adam Islip was the printer and as some of the most important works published about this time bear his name as printer, it is obvious that he had a considerable staff. How long would it take to set up in type twelve pages of the book? The expression "suddaine Business" warrants the inference that the printer would be required to hasten the work. Under these circumstances it is not an extravagant estimate that the twelve pages would be set up in three days. This would mean that the book would be written in from eighteen to twenty weeks.\* If the composition of the type took twice as long it would mean thirty-nine weeks. Let anyone turn over the pages of the volume, which can be seen at the British Museum, and examine page by page the character of the text. Only one conclusion could be arrived at, that unless the author was writing from memory, the time required for its compilation would be years instead of months.

Most of the arguments advanced to support the suggestion that Bacon was the author of the *Apology* strike with equal force if applied to the *Nine Muses*. In addition the eulogies on Queen Elizabeth (pages 123 and 398), and those on Queen Anne (page 123), and the Princess Elizabeth (page 125), are especially note-

\* Since the final proofs of this article were corrected the writer noticed the curious inscription on the last page of the *Nine Muses*. It reads:—Opus Excogitatum, Inchoatum, Explicatum, Et a Typographo excusum, inter Septemdecem, Septimanas. The work was therefore conceived, commenced, set in order, and carried through the press within a period of seventeen weeks. The accuracy of the above estimate is therefore confirmed.

worthy as being exactly in the Bacon style. It will be observed that the word "compendious" is introduced into the address "*To the Reader.*" Interspersed in the text are poems and sonnets after the style of Barclay's *Argenis*. Many of these are of exceptional merit.

Any attempt at an analysis or criticism of the *Nine Muses* would occupy more space than is here available. Suffice it to say that if these comments lead to an awakening of interest in it, on the part of some students of English literature, the object aimed at will be achieved.

The volume, according to the date on the title page, was issued from the press in 1624. It would, if the author's statement before referred to be correct, be written in that or the preceding year. At that time, Bacon was admittedly unoccupied with state or public affairs, and what more likely than that he should employ a portion of his time in its compilation. Every page in it is consistent with the view that he was the author. Moreover, it is highly improbable that there ever lived a man, but he, who could have written it under the conditions stated.

It is necessary to say something more by way of apology for this article. Many staunch Baconians express regret that this and similar claims are put forward attributing to Bacon authorship of books passing under other names. They consider it does the cause they have at heart considerable harm, for, say they—"It is impossible for a man—Bacon or anyone else—to have accomplished all the work claimed for him. Surely it is enough if he wrote the Shakespeare plays and sonnets—confine your claims to them and people will listen to you, but these extravagant suggestions bewilder those who are beginning to take an interest in the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy, and cause them to turn away from association with cranks."

The answer is:—Let each claim be judged on its merits. Francis Bacon is not understood or appreciated. The colossal proportions of his mind, his memory and his capacity for work are not recognised. Some day the truth will prevail, and when it does, much more than has yet been claimed for him will have to be placed to his credit.

WILLIAM T. SMEDLEY.

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SONNET CXLIV.

SONNET CXLIV., commencing, "Two Loves I have" is clearly *The State of the two Cities, the Heavenly and the Earthly*, as seen in Chap. 28 of the work, entitled *St. Augustine of the Citie of God* [p. 502, Folio 1620]. "Two lives . . . have given originall to these two Cities: Self-love in contempt of God unto the earthly; love of God in contempt of one's selfe to the heavenly. The first seeketh the glory of men, and the latter desires God only as the testimony of the conscience, the greatest glory. That glories in it selfe, and this in God. That exalteth it selfe in the owne glory: This saith to God, *My glory and the lifter up of my head*. That boasteth of the ambitions conquerors led by the lust of sovereignty, in this every one serveth other in charity, both the Rulers in counselling, and the subjects in obeying. That loveth worldly vertue in the potentates; this saith unto God, *I will love Thee, O Lord my strength*. And the wise men of that . . . extolling themselves proudly. . . . But in the other . . . only the piety that serveth the true God . . . that God may become all in all."

If we study Sonnet CXLIV. closely, word by word

alongside of this passage, we find it interpreted as the confession of a human Soul, yielding now to its lower and earthly nature with melancholy results, now to its higher with comfort and gladness. The common experience of Humanity. Who has not climbed his Peak of Darien only to sink once more into the Slime of Despond? Augustine probes Cause and Effect as finely as our Shakespeare, and is therefore as great a Teacher. Both the Sonnet and *The Citie of God* deplore the foul and fiendish quality of pride, which together with ambition leads men, says Augustine, to Hell. To serve, he points out, is the privilege of the Angelic State, while our Shake-speare notes the same quality in the citizens of Heaven, *i.e.*, "The airs of Paradise fanned the house and *angels officed all.* (*Alls Well*, Act 3, Sc. 2.) That the worser spirit of the Sonnet should be described as a woman points less to her sex than to her quality of non-strength. The manlier Spirit of the Penitent gains power from "Thee, O Lord my Strength," and does battle with his weaker and more yielding nature. It is worth studying on p. 253, Chap. 14 of the *Citie of God*, Vives Note:—"Many Philosophers, and Euclid for one, gives each man two *Lars*, a good and a bad, such as was that which came to Brutus in the night." Shake-speare, too, takes particular care to emphasise in *Julius Caesar* that the evil *Lars* of Brutus came *in the night*. Brutus says:

"How ill the taper burns,"

and bids his page:

"Gentle knave, good night,"

and again:

"Good Boy, good night."—(*Julius Caesar*, Act. 4, Sc. 2.)

I have already shown in January BACONIANA, p. 34, how alike are the thoughts and words of Vives

to Bacon, and would also point out *wrong pagination* as part of the Baconian method.

Mrs. Pott presents the idea delightfully of the good and evil natures contending (as in Sonnet CXLIV.) in her latest publication, the Child's Romance of *Philomir,\* or Sel's the Man*, which every student of Francis Bacon must know and appreciate. Its Illustrations, also the work of Mrs. Pott's clever pen, testify to the versatility of her genius.

When we remember Mark Anthony's speech in *Julius Caesar*, "Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears," it is very much to our purpose to find wise *Vives* (p. 410, *Holy Citie*) using the same out-of-the-way expression. "Because they (Playwrights) cannot make themselves admired by things really extant, they must fetch their audiences ears up to them by pursuing *chimeras* and *non entia*."

ALICIA AMY LEITH

\*Robt. Banks, Racquet Court. 1915.

## FURTHER NOTES ON WATSON.

WHAT arouses one's interest and suspicion in the authorship of the "Watson" poems, before anything else, is the style of the Dedications and Addresses to the Reader.

The "Eclogue upon the death of the Right Honorable Sir Francis Walsingham" (1590), is prefixed with a letter of Dedication, "To the most vertuous Lady, Lady Francis Sydney, all honour and happinesse." In style and in wording, it is singularly like the letter to Southampton, placed in front of "Lucrece" (1594).

Watson writes :—

"In which poeme albeit I never attaine the height of his worthinesse, yet manie (rather affecting his praise, then my verse) have requested and perswaded me to publish Melibœus in English."

Shakespeare is equally modest as to the merit of his verse :—

"The warrant I have of your Honourable disposition, not the worth of my untutord Lines makes it assured of acceptance. . . . Were my worth greater, my duety would shew greater, meane time, as it is, it is bound to your Lordship ; To whom I wish long life still lengthened with all happinesse.

Your Lordships in all duety

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

Watson concludes :—

"Such as the translation is ('*meane time as it is*') I humble offer it to your Ladiships protection ('*it is bound to your Lordship*'), hoping it will be as favourable redd and accepted, as it is affectionatly written and presented.

Your Ladiships in all duety,

THOMAS WATSON.

"The Epistle Dedicatorie" of the "Passionate Centurie of Love," "Composed by Thomas Watson Gentleman : and published at the request of certaine Gentlemen his very frendes"



To the Right Honorable my  
very good Lord Edward de Vere, Earle  
of Oxenford, etc.

is made up of comparisons with Alexander the Great,  
Bacon's favourite hero.

Who can doubt from Watson's writings that he was  
an aristocrat? His works tell us of his acquaintance  
with Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, the Earl of  
Oxford, the Walsinghams and Sidneys.

In Sonnet 17 of "The Tears of Fancie" (1593),  
Watson refers to himself as having been at Court :—

Then from her fled my hart in sorrow wrapped.  
Like unto one that shund pursuing slaughter :  
All welnigh breathles told me what had happed,  
How both *in Court* and countrie he had sought her.

Like Bacon and Shakespeare, Watson frequently  
alludes to Falconry (the sport only of noblemen) in  
metaphor, as for instance :—

He *Falcon* like came *sowsing* from aloofe.  
(Centurie of Love, LXVII.)

Shakespeare often (apart from allusions to Falconry)  
adopts its language :—

And like an eagle o'er his acry towers,  
To *souse* annoyance that comes near his nest.  
(King John, V.-2.)

It would be interesting to know to whom Watson  
refers in this annotation heading Sonnet LXVII. of the  
"Centurie" :—

A man singular for his learning, and magistrate of no  
small account, upon slight survey of this booke of pas-  
sions, cyther for his liking to the Author, or for his own  
private pleasure, or for some good he conceyued of the  
worke, vouchsafed with his own hand to set down certain  
posies concerning the same : Amongst which, this was  
one ; *Love hath no leaden heeles*. Whereat the Author  
glaunceth throughout al this Sonnet ; which he purposely

compiled at the presse, in remembrance of his worshipfull frend, and in honour of his golden poesie.

Although undated, these hundred " Passions " were published in 1582 ; being registered on 31st March of that year to Mr. Cawoode.

Magistrates of singular learning capable of setting down " golden poesie " were never " as plentiful as tabby cats," and perhaps somebody may be able to suggest his name.

Watson addresses a feigned Mistress in his hundred Passions, and tells us so in his address " To the frendly Reader " :—

Yet for this once I hope that thou wilt in respect of my travaile in penning lovepassions, or for pitie of my paines in suffering them (*although but supposed*) so survey the faultes herein escaped, as eyther to winke at them, as oversights of a blind Lover ; or to excuse them, as idle toyes proceedinge from a youngling frenzie.

His love Sonnets are compiled on Poetic Frenzy masked under the subject of Love ; a device adopted by Shakespeare and other sonneteers of the period. At the end of Sonnet LXXI. of the " Centurie " he tells how it interferes with all other pursuits :—

The Author writeth in this Sonnet unto his very friend, in excuse of his late change of study, manners, and delights all happening through the default of Love. And here by examples he proveth unto him (calling him by the name of *Titus*, as if himself were *Gysippus*) that Love not only worketh alteration in the mindes of men, but also in the very Gods them selves.

To which effect, of course, both Bacon and Shakespeare wrote. This " Titus " is another of Watson's mysterious friends. He addresses him as " deere *Titus* mine, my auncient frend."

Watson has a great fondness for Navigation metaphors :—

Whose haughtie *Love* not for his love relents,  
 But hoysing up her sayle of prowde disdainē,  
 For service done makes no returne of gainē.  
*Centurie, XXVII.*

My heart must needes repine,  
 And storme with sighes to ease me as I may ;  
 Whilst others are becalm'd, or lye them still,  
 Or sayle secure with tide and winde at will.  
*Centurie, XXVI.*

I sat in *Follies* ship, and playde the foole,  
 Till on *Repentance* rocke his sides did craze.  
*Centurie, LXXXVIII.*

Ye captive soules of blindfold Cyprians boate  
 Marke with advise in what estate yee stande,  
 Your *Boteman* never whistles mearie noate,  
 And *Folly* keeping sterne, still puttes from lande,  
 And makes a sport to tosse you to and froe,  
 Twixt *sighing windes*, and surging *waves of woe*.  
 On *Beawties* rocke she runnes you at her will.  
*Centurie, XCI.*

That like a mastles shipe at seas I wander.  
*Tears of Fancie, 53.*

Metaphors of shipping and ship-wreck are always being met with in Shakespeare. One has only to turn up "Bark," "Boat," "Ship," etc., in a Concordance to see how multitudinous they are. In Bacon's acknowledged writings such metaphors are always cropping up. The author of the *Advancement of Learning* likened himself to one who "with a small bark (such as we were able to set out) sailed about the universal circumference, as well of the old as the new World of Sciences, with how prosperous winds and course, we leave posterity to judge."

The Watson poems are saturated with the Shakespearean thought and tricks of diction. These are so numerous that we can only give a few instances :—

When blacke dispaire renewes a Lovers smart.

*Tears of Fancy, Son. 8.*

I'll join with blacke despair against my soul.

*Richard III., II.-2.*

Or brought faire beauty to so foule a damage.

*Tears of Fancy, Son. 24.*

A giving hand though foul shall have fair praise.

*Love's Labour's Lost, IV.-1.*

Fair payment for foul words is more than due.

*ibid.*

"Fair" and "Foul" are found together twice in the first scene of *Macbeth*.

Loves quiver fraught with arrowes of the best :

His bended bow in hand *all arm'd* to kill.

*Teares of Fancy, Son. 4.*

Cupid all armed.

*M. N. Dream, II.-1.*

Fames shril trompe.

*Teares of Fancy, Son. 33.*

All-telling Fame, doth noise abroad.

*Love's Labour's Lost, II.-1.*

Winter's rage.

*Tears of Fancy, Son. 48.*

The furious winter's rages.

*Cymbeline, IV.-2.*

Teares from eies distilling.

*Tears of Fancy, Son. 38.*

Siren tears,

Distill'd from limbecks foul as hell within.

*Sonnet CXIX.*

The vulgar sorte (*i.e.*, the ordinary readers of Watson's Poems !)

*Annotation to "Centurie," LXII.*

also in I *Henry VI.*, III.-2. and *Advancement of Learning*.

Come gentle Death, . . . abridge my woe,  
By cutting of my life.

*Centurie, LVI.*

Let not Bardolph's vital thread be cut.

*Henry V.*, III.-6.

Swift desire.

*Sonnet 41.*

The first my thought, the other my desire,  
These present-absent with *swift* motion slide.

*Shakespeare's Sonnet 45.*

Where Eagle like I late beheld the Sunne.

*Centurie, LXXVIII.*

Nay, if thou be that princely eagle's bird,  
Show thy descent by gazing 'gainst the sun.

*3 Henry VI., II.-1.*

In hope at last, she will voutsafe to say,  
I rewe his death, whose life I made away.

*Centurie, LXIX.*

For so it falls out,

That what we have we prize not to the worth,  
Whiles we enjoy it; but being lack'd and lost,  
Why, then we rack the value; then we find  
The virtue that possession would not show us,  
Whiles it was ours.

*Much Ado, IV.-1.*

I shall be lov'd when I am lack'd.

*Coriolanus, IV.-1.*

When he is dead, he will be loved.

*Promus*

O bitter sweete, or hunny mixt with gall,  
My heart is hurt with overmuch delight.

*Centurie, XII.*

Thy wit is a very bitter sweeting.

*Romeo and Juliet, II.-4.*

That bitterness is often concealed in sweet things which, therefore, turn to sours, is constantly reiterated by Bacon-Shakespeare. This is the subject of Edwin Reed's Parallelism No. 850.

But sweetest things turn      The vinegar of sweet wine.  
sourest by their deeds.      *Promus.*

*Sonnet 94.*

The sweets we wish for      corruption the worst; the  
turn to loathed sours.      sweetest wine makes the  
(*Lucrece*).      sharpest vinegar.

Things, sweet to taste,  
prove in digestion sour.

*Charge against Somerset.*

*Richard II., I.-3.*

This intrusion shall,  
Now seeming sweet, con-  
vert to bitter gall.

*Romeo and Juliet, I.-5.*

The substance of the second Baconian quotation had been adopted by Watson in "The Tears of Fancie" (Sonnet, 58):

So have I found, and now too deerely trie,  
That pleasure doubleth paine and blisse annoy.

and again,

Their sweet delight my paine the more increaseth.

The device of the "mortal war" between the heart and eye in Shakespeare's Sonnets 46-47, was evidently imitated after Watson's Sonnets 19-20 ("Tears of Fancie") :—

My hart accus'd mine eyes and was offended,  
Vowing the cause was in mine eyes aspiring :  
Mine eyes affirm'd my hart might well amend it,  
If he at first had banisht loves desiring.  
Hart said that *love did enter at the eyes*,  
And from the eyes descended to the hart :  
Eyes said that in the hart did sparkes arise,  
Which kindled flame that wrought the inward smart ;  
Hart said eyes' tears might soone have quencht that flame,  
Eyes said harts sighs at first might love exile :  
So hart the eies and eies the hart did blame, &c.

That love enters at the eye is stated by Shakespeare in "The Merchant of Venice," III.-2 :—

Tell me where is fancy bred ?

It is engender'd in the eyes.

and in "Love's Labour's Lost," IV.-3.

Love, first learned in a lady's eyes.

In the "Natural History," Bacon says, "the affections . . . which draw the spirits into the eyes . . . are two, love and envy. And in the Masque, "A Conference of Pleasure," written some thirty years earlier, he writes of, "the eye, where love beginneth."

It is impossible to read a few lines of "Watson" without some startling reminder of Shakespeare. Thus in Sonnet 25 of "The Tears of Fancie" Watson tells how:—

Each tree did beare the figure of her name,  
Which my faint hand upon their barks ingraned.

Reed, in *Parallelism* 699, quotes passages from "As You Like It," and "Sylva Sylvarum" on this subject.

Who does not perceive the touch of Bacon's mind and hand in the lines

The negro seldome fees himselfe too warme  
If he abide within his native coast?

(*Centurie* LVII.).

To which there is a foot-note:—

For both experieñce teacheth and philosophical reason approveth, than an Ethyopian may easily in Spaine be smothered with the heate of the countrey, though Spaine be more temperate than Ethyopia is.

In the "Centurie" Sonnets, Watson mentions in his annotations the authors whence he borrows. Bacon's custom, says Rawley, was to light his torch at every man's candles. It was also Watson's and Shakespeare's. Watson's vast learning is shown by his imitations of

Ovid, Cicero, Tibullus, Lucan, Mantuan, Seneca, Horace, Virgil, Propertius, Sepsinus, Martial, Ausonius, Marullus, Pliny, Apollonius, Flaccus.

Musaeus, Sophocles, Theocritus, Xenophon, Aristotle, Hieronimus (St. Jerome), Pomponius Mela (the Geographer), Seraphine, Petrarch, Strozza, Pontano, Fiorenzuola, Parabosco, Ronsard, Forcadel ("An excellent civilian, and one of the best poets of Fraunce these many years").

The art of secret writing he learned from Trithemius. All these writers are drawn upon in the composing

of a hundred Sonnets. I doubt if more than one man has ever lived who had absorbed such learning. At twelve years of age Bacon's industry was said to be "above the capacity, and his mind beyond the reach of his contemporaries."

R. EAGLE.

#### NOTE ON MRS. STOPES' LETTER AND MR. HARDY'S REPLY (BACONIANA, OCT., 1914).

**I**T is very instructive to have an article and the reply printed in the same magazine. Mr. Hardy's reply to Mrs. Stopes, on pages 209-211 of the October BACONIANA of 1914 is very comprehensive, however, he lost a strong point by accepting her spelling of the name of that Stratford peasant, "willm Shagsper" (1563-1616), as "Shakespeare." It is absolutely false and criminal to write or accept such spelling. In his book, "Shaksper, not Shakespeare," William Henry Edwards, A.M. (1825-1903), and in the book, "Shaksper could not Write" (1886 and 1906) by William Henry Burr, A.M. (1819-1908), both of these authors have shown beyond all contradiction the utter disregard of truth and historical facts as exhibited by the Shagsperites when they persist in writing the name of the Stratford man as "Shakespeare."

It is recorded here in an American Shakesperian magazine that the late Dr. Furnivall "bust up" the London Shakespeare Society between 1840 and 1860, by proposing to give up the name "Shake-speare" which Sir Francis Bacon had printed on the title-pages of "Richard the Second," and "Richard the Third," and adopt the name "Shakspere" (the final "e" was not there) because that was the nearest approach



to the horrible scrawls called signatures of the Stratford man's will. In Halliwell's "Outlines," 11th Edition of 1898, Vol. 2, p. 266, is a copy of a letter written by Edmund Malone (1741-1812). He writes to the effect that the name was not written with a final "e" "until the last half of last century," that is until after 1650. Malone was the first one to state that the two last letters of the name of the Stratford peasant "willm Shagsper" were not "re" but the garman "r," and in his book Mr. Edwards has proved it beyond all successful contradiction. Messrs. Edwards' and Burr's books are to be found in the British Museum and in the library of the Bacon Society.

It is amusing and suggestive of the utter lack of truth and honesty in the Shagsperites to see how universally they falsify the name of "willm's" father, which is plainly written "Shaxsper" in the baptismal record of April 26, 1564, this name is written with an "x" over 12 times in the Stratford Records, and "Shaksper" in that list of 19 men of 1655. The name of the son in the Marriage bond of Nov. 26, 1582, is plainly written "willm. Shagsper." Facsimiles of the first two are to be found in "Outlines," and of the marriage bond in Gray's "Shakespeare's Marriage," 1905, and in "New Shakespereana," of June, 1906.

In the "London Atheneum," of February 23, 1907, page 226, is an article written by Mrs. Stopes concerning the books found in Stratford. The date of the wonderful library was after 1600; (An Inventory of January 10, 1606-7), how that will help her attempt to show the superior education of "willm," his parents and neighbors, before the year of 1580 is not apparent. The cold unpleasant fact remains that notwithstanding the superior educational advantages possessed by the Stratford people in 1566, over two-thirds of nearly a score of their principal men could not write their

names, but signed with their mark, John Shaksper being one of these ignorant men. See the facsimile in "Outlines," as noted above. In 1588 over half of nearly thirty of the principal men of that town could not write. See G. G. Greenwood's "In re Shakespeare," 1909, or "The Vindicators of Shakespeare," 1910.

R. A. SMITH,  
Ward Dept., U.S.A.

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### TENISON'S BACONIANA, 1679.

**I**N the period 1616 to 1709 Shakespere, the deserving man of Stratford met with scant attention. After the mystifying 1623 Folio of certain Shakespeare Plays silence was maintained, except that in 1632 again in 1664, and finally in 1684, the 1623 Folio was reprinted. As to who was responsible for its reproduction there was nothing to show. It seemed as though the reading public were to be dosed with the Tome whether they wanted it or not.

In 1640 some unknown person or persons caused to be reprinted the Shakespeare sonnets, having for frontispiece an ambiguous portrait by Marshall with a bewildering verse below it.

Five sonnets are omitted, the original numbers of which totalled 287.

With regard to another supposed poet, one Spenser, editions of poems appeared from unexplained sources, unless we are to suppose them purely publisher's ventures.

In 1679 a big Tome of the Spenser poems was printed without explanations, having for frontispiece an engraving of the "Spenser" monument in Westminster

Abbey. Some unknown added a so-called account of the Life of Spenser, exhibiting several curious ambiguities and telling little or nothing of the man who living most of his life in Ireland, was yet affirmed to have written many long and very excellent poems published in England.

In 1709 one Rowe, a poet, holding the official position of Poet Laureate, published the Shakesperean plays as revised and edited by himself. He added a first and ridiculously empty account of the life of the supposed dramatic author, affirming the top of the actor author's performance to have been that of ghost in his own Hamlet (hamlet) and making no reference whatever to the sonnets and other poems. In its way the attitude of the wits of the 17th century was similar to what we sometimes hear to-day. We have the poems and plays and what does it matter who wrote them?

In the case, however, of Francis Bacon the pundits of the 17th century adopted an entirely different attitude. Universally they recognised him as the one great man of the Age. Tenison compared him to the Phoenix whom Nature gives the world but once in five hundred years.

Dr. Rawley printed in 1657 an account of Bacon's life. Sir William Dugdale another account in 1675. Archbishop Tenison a longer account still in 1679, Stephens another in 1702, while Blackbourne collected and published in 1730 all the various accounts of the great man's life and all his acknowledged writings except very few. Mallet about 1740 published another Life of Bacon.

Notice of Bacon's death and works did not have to wait seven years.

In 1626 a chorus of poetical lamentations came from thirty-three persons and Rawley said he had reserved

from print a considerable number of other and better contributions. Poets like Ben Jonson, Waller and Cowley subsequently expressed their high opinion of the great Verulam. Other writers such as Tobie Mathew, Osborne and Powell, divines and high officials such as Bishop Wilkins, Dr. Rawley, Dr. Glanvill, Dr. Sprat, Sir William Dugdale, Archbishop Tenison and Mr. Stephens, all in their turns gave expression in print to high encomiums concerning him. Although all his acknowledged writings of any size had been printed by 1627, his letters, speeches, scraps and memoranda were printed at intervals in small portions as though they were precious ointments. (This was before the age when publishers and literary men had omitted intellectual "hari kari" by lecturing on Shakespeare and editing "him" for the use of schools and universities.) Rawley published Bacon's Miscellany Works, 1630. Latin versions, 1638; Resuscitatio, 1657; Opuscula, 1658. An unknown contributed "Remains," 1640. Tenison after consulting with "Learned and Prudent Men" supplied more scrappy "Remains" in 1679. Stephens printed books of carefully selected letters and more Baconian scraps in 1702 and 1734. There really must have been a big demand for these things. One can surely say this from the number of copies which defying the attrition of time have reached the custody of the second-hand bookseller of to-day.

I must not omit the Amsterdam publication by Gruter in 1653, "Scripta in Naturali," &c., which contained nineteen of Bacon's MSS., entrusted by Sir Wm. Boswell to Gruter before 1649. Gruter had then many other important private documents which he was very keen to print, but which presumably afterwards reached safe English custody.

I hold a strong opinion that Tenison and many other

men knew well that Bacon was author both of Spenser's poems and of Shakespeare's plays, and that the Folio Plays were intended to form part—necessarily secret, because secrecy was essential to Bacon's scheme of teaching philosophy aphoristically, through the medium of the plays—of his Great Instauration.

Tenison seems to have obtained possession of a Will of Lord Bacon described as his last. It does not agree with the terms of the 1625 Will in certain respects, viz. : 1. Advice as to MS. and unfinished fragments was to be sought of Mr. Selden and Mr. Herbert. 2. The Elegie in felicem Memoriam Elizabethae was to be published. 3. In addition to £100 Bacon is said to have bequeathed to Rawley, "the great Bibles of the King of Spain."

The 1679 Remains in themselves offer no ostensible reason for publication.

Tenison leaves a notable gap on page 49 where he makes bold to affirm that Bacon projected and intended as part of his Instauration, Instances and Examples for a particular Explication and Application of the Second Part. In the "Shakespeare Enigma" the Revd. W. A. Sutton has a useful suggestion as to the Shakespeare Folio Plays and their connection with the Instauration. The interesting thing is that Tenison *affirmed that he knew what was intended*, and very obscurely hinted at what the missing part consisted of. It is a suspicious circumstance that Tenison at page 16 for a simile to Bacon's misfortunes quoted the *Tempest* whereby Sir George Summers was cast upon the Bermudas which *Mariners* esteemed an inaccessible and enchanted place, and which was also a fruitful region. The *Tempest* is the first of the Folio Shakespeare plays, and is in its text associated with the Bermudas. (Bermoothes.)

Note also on page 73 Tenison's ambiguous references

to Bacon's judgment of and performances in Poetry. Overleaf Tenison almost betrays what was passing through his mind. He refers to a certain edition as claimed to be:—

“Purged of all faults”

and suggests it cannot be purged unless the whole volume be made one entire *Blot*.

This is oddly reminiscent of Hemings and Condell's address in the Shakespeare Folio:—

“Cur'd and perfect in their limbs  
Scarce received from him a blot in his papers.”

On the same page Tenison writes:—“Posterity (I hope) will do his Lordship Honour and Benefit to themselves in a larger and more accurate Collection of his Works.”

It is a fair assumption that Tenison had upon his mind a far off day when the Shakespeare Folio having fulfilled its great educational experiment, would be given its fit place in “a larger and more accurate” edition of Bacon's works.

Tenison lived in an intelligent age, but one cannot credit that he and the learned and prudent men consulted would have considered suitable for publication the inconsequent and rubbishy scraps from Bacon's papers collected in the 1679 Remains.

The likely alternative is that they merely form the outward framework of an ingenious ciphered message.

This view finds support in the very curious words and phrases one meets with at the very outset of the collection, such as:—“Sanctuaries,” “best King in the world,” “Vault,” “Stage,” “Actor,” “brought to light,” “within a curtain and after came forth,” “the glory of God is to conceal a thing and the glory of a King is to find it out,” “Keys,” “some degrees

of light," "Wheel of Justice," "by the means of some discreet Divines," "Secrets," "Secrets," "Tower," "Tower."

It may therefore well be that Baconiana 1679, of which many copies would seem to have been printed, waits for its cryptic communications to be mastered by someone of sufficient patience and sharpness to pierce the veil. One last point. Bacon, in his "De Augmentis," mentions Kay ciphers. Now according to a clue which need not be further alluded to here the Kay cipher was so called because K was the first letter of the Elizabethan alphabet to be expressed by two numerals, viz., 10. In this Z was 24. But instead of counting A as 25, two nulls were introduced before A, which thus became 27. The Kay cipher count of Shakespeare is 259, thus:—S18, H34, A27, K10, E31, S18, P15, E31, A27, R17, E31, total 259.

In Baconiana, 1679, page number 259, is followed by the words, "That is Francis Bacon."

My conclusion is that Tenison knew when he published Baconiana that Bacon had written the Folic plays, that they formed an important part of his scheme of instruction, and that he had desired his secret to be kept until a future age. It is probable that the "Will" from which Tenison quoted constituted a private set of instructions to the men in Bacon's confidence. It is probable also that Bacon anticipated the likelihood that some would be unable to keep the secret and provided the safety valve of a method of disclosure in cipher.

PARKER WOODWARD.

## MR. SMEDLEY'S "FRANCIS BACON."

IT would be useful to know the date when Queen Elizabeth obtained from Nicholas Bacon the younger the Grant to her and her successors of the freehold reversion of Gorhambury and other manors in Hertfordshire. In March, 1599, Francis wrote to the Queen urging her to buy Gorhambury from Anthony Bacon. Anthony being a bachelor and in ill-health, she may have satisfied Francis with buying the freehold reversion. If Anthony died without issue the estate devolved upon Francis in tail male together with half the furniture of Gorhambury House, under the will of the greatly wealthy Lord Keeper Bacon. Had Francis been as stated in biliteral cipher (and as I believe) the Queen's eldest, though unacknowledged son, the freehold reversion would have passed to him should he have been permitted to succeed to the throne. As events occurred, it passed to King James. The Royal Grant at the suit of Sir Francis Bacon in 1608 enabled him to vest the freehold in the trustees of his marriage settlement, Francis at that date being one of the law officers and on terms of favour with James I. The State Paper note is misleading and correctly viewed does not fit the theory that Francis was an irresponsible person in money matters. I think Mr. Smedley is also wrong about the Markes estate. It seems to have belonged to the same group of Hertfordshire property. Lady Ann Bacon, Anthony, and then Francis were successively entitled—the latter only contingently, but with a strong expectancy of succession. Pressed by Harvey for repayment of £600 lent against his Star Chamber reversionary office, which was a valuable one, it was not unreasonable that he should have asked Anthony and Lady



Ann to allow it to be pledged to Harvey as collateral security. If the Lady Ann condition had the control contended, Markes could not have been made a security except a very doubtful one. That Markes was made a security and was about to be redeemed a few months later is shown in "Spedding," Vol. 1, at page 246. I cannot agree with the spendthrift theory. It is confuted by the very letter which Mr. Smedley quotes:—

"I cannot accuse myself that I am either prodigal or slothful."

The suggestion that he had exhausted Lady Ann Bacon's resources as early as 1589 is entirely wrong. Captain Allen's letter was to Anthony—Lady Bacon's poverty is there plainly and distinctly laid at Anthony's door. We know, too, that Anthony's expense abroad were very large indeed (over £500 per annum, and his mother's remark that Anthony would only be £100 better off by her death shows that all she could raise had been spent on Anthony and him alone. The Markes security, all that Francis had ever asked for, was redeemed within a few months. Francis was splendid in his expenses when he had money to spend. If, as I expect, he had considerable obligations to printers and bookbinders he managed to pay his way and was only in difficulties of a serious kind when the Queen's supplies, through Burghley, were either delayed or as in 1594, stopped altogether. Mr. Smedley's misapprehension seems to have prevented his noticing the great "plum" of the Anthony Bacon letter of 16th April, 1593.

"It cannot but be a grief unto me to see a *mind that hath given so sufficient proof of itself in having brought forth many good thoughts for the general to be overburdened and cumbered with a care of clearing his particular estate.*"

Here was Anthony reviewing the facts after a year's return from a long residence abroad. Unless he referred to book authorship for general readers, the sentence is unintelligible. 1592 was the year of Anthony's return and of the letter from Francis to Burleigh intimating that if were not supplied with the means of commandment of other wits than his own (that is to pay his literary staff) he should give up the Queen's service and turn bookmaker (that is writer of books) for a living.

The loyalty and courageous struggle made by Anthony to keep his foster brother's head above water was a fine action. All this time Robert Earl of Essex, the second son of the Queen's secret marriage, against whose birth there was no bar sinister, was being supplied with ample funds. It was probably owing to Anthony (who became his secretary) that Essex was roused to the necessity of doing something for Francis.

I apprehend that Mr. Smedley's sentence referring to Bacon's "great contemporary, William Shakespeare," would have been expressed differently had he considered it carefully.

This is a Bacon Society with, I thought, at any rate, one belief in common, namely, that Bacon was author of the Shakespeare plays and poems.

For that reason, viz., that Mr. Smedley is out to capture the men of letters—which he will never do—instead of the men in the street with whom we have a real chance, I observe he did not mention the most suggestive of the Peachem's Emblems.

I refer to the picture of Francis Bacon on page 33, and that opposite it showing a hand out of a cloud grasping a spear with its point in another cloud.

PARKER WOODWARD.

## MR. SMEDLEY'S REPLY.

With reference to the two authenticated statements (for information as to which I am indebted to Mr. Harold Hardy), the all-important point for the purpose of my argument is that in 1608 someone—reciting the fact that Sir Nicholas Bacon, son of the great Lord Keeper, conveyed the remainder in certain estates to Queen Elizabeth, her heirs and successors, with the condition that if he paid £100 the grant should be void—added these words, "which was apparently done to prevent the said Sir Francis to dispose of the same land which otherwise by law he might have done." That can only mean, that for some reason, Sir Nicholas was determined to make it impossible for Francis to dispose of his interest in those estates for more than £100, either by way of Mortgage or Sale. When Lady Anne conveyed the Markes Estate to Francis it was subject to a similar condition, namely, that the grant was to be null and void upon Lady Anne paying ten shillings to Francis. For some reason, then, she desired to make it impossible for Francis either to sell his interest in the Markes Estate or borrow on it more than ten shillings, because, at any time, she could turn out Francis, or any assignee of his, by paying him ten shillings. Surely, the only rational inference to be drawn from these authenticated facts is that it was held to be unwise to let the estates pass into his hands without making it impossible for him to turn them into money.

The word "spendthrift" is Mr. Woodward's not mine. The clause in the letter written to Lord Burghleigh by Francis, to which Mr. Woodward draws attention as overlooked by me, I have actually set out *in extenso* in my article. Nor have I been prevented by any misapprehension from noticing what Mr. Woodward describes as "the great plum" in Anthony's letter of the 16th of April, 1593, for I have again and again

drawn attention to its value as evidence that Francis had been engaged in some great public work as to which historical records are silent. I have never suggested that Bacon was a spendthrift in the ordinary acceptation of the word. In the "Mystery of Francis Bacon" (pages 74 and 75), I say:—"He received pecuniary assistance from his uncle, Lord Burghley. 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." In that all-important letter which would have been lost if Rawley had not published it in the *Resusciatio*, 1657, he not only describes Burghley as "the second founder of my poor estate," but uses the expression, "and if your lordship will not carry me on." If this means anything, it implies that up to the writing of that letter Burghley had been financially supporting him in some project. Mr. Woodward says that Francis "was only in difficulties of a serious kind when the Queen's supplies through Burghley were either delayed, or as in 1594 stopped altogether." I cannot find a shred of historical evidence to support this statement. I do not know of any statement or historical fact which would justify *even the inference* that the Queen ever contributed through Burghleigh or otherwise one shilling to support either Francis or his projects.

The theory which I have ventured to put forward is this. From 1576 to 1626 a remarkable literature was created and published in the English language; such evidence as can be obtained negatives the conclusion that it was produced on commercial lines; there was no cultured public to purchase and the cost of its production could not have been recouped by sales; there is no evidence that, at this period, anyone but Francis Bacon concerned himself with, or was interested in

the advancement of learning. His work bearing that title proves that he did so concern himself and was so interested ; the production of this literature, for which apparently there was no demand, was the only means by which learning could be advanced ; another object in its production was the perfecting of the English language, and arising therefrom this further object, that any student possessing only the use of that one language should have access through this literature to knowledge of the antiquities, the works of the classical authors, and of every conceivable subject ; the enormous cost of its production was provided by someone ; from his earliest years Bacon was in pecuniary difficulties, although he states that he was neither prodigal nor slothful, and there is nothing to contradict his statement.

My suggestion is that he was the producer, was responsible for the cost and that his monetary difficulties were the result of the obligations he entered into, in furtherance of what was the great purpose of his life. I may be wrong, but I submit that this is a theory worthy of consideration by all students of Elizabethan and early Jacobean literature.

I disagree with Mr. Woodward when he says that in the beforementioned letter to Burghley, Bacon intimates " that if he were not supplied with the means of commandment of other wits than his own (that is to pay his literary staff) he should give up the Queen's service and turn bookmaker (that is, a writer of books) for a living." The wording does not bear this construction. He asked for " place of any reasonable countenance," because he did easily see that it brought commandment of more wits than of a man's own which was a thing he did greatly affect. This, I understand, to be a reference to his suit of 1580. He considered the work upon which he was engaged to be a

Royal Work, and sought to have it undertaken by the Crown with himself as Director. Occupying that position, he would have command of more wits than his own. He was not threatening to give up "the Queen's service," but "all care of service," which means all hope of obtaining "that place of any reasonable countenance," which he had hitherto sought. He never dreamt of turning bookmaker for a living. He states definitely that if Burghley will not carry him on, he will sell his inheritance and purchase some lease of quick revenue or some office of gain which can be executed by deputy, he, of course, drawing the revenue for his maintenance and leaving him free to become a maker of books and a pioneer in that mine of truth which Anaxagoras said lay so deep. Bacon knew too well that there was no living to be obtained by writing books, nor for a matter of that, by publishing such books as he desired to produce. The emblem on page 33 of Peacham's "Minerva Britannia" does not bear upon the point I was endeavouring to emphasize. That, to which I referred, on the title page certainly represents a hidden writer, whose hand only protrudes from a drawn curtain. It has written the words "Mente videbor"—by the mind I shall be seen. Nearly every portrait of Bacon has this curtain looped up at the side of the head, as in Marshall's engraving prefixed to the 1640 *Advancement of Learning*, or displayed behind the head. It is I think this curtain to which Thomas Powell refers when he says:—O Give me leave to pull the Curtaine by," and again "And thus I pluckt the Curtayne backe again." There is no emblem that I know of which is of such remarkable significance.

W. T. S.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

A Mrs. Bunker, in Berkeley, U.S.A., descended from the Dudley family (there was a Governor of Massachusetts of the latter mentioned name) recently made the following statement to a prominent Baconian, viz. :—

"When I was a child, my grandmother told me that her grandmother had told her that she was related to English royalty by marriage, but that there was a stain on the family name, by reason of the murder of Amy Robsart."

In the light of the biliteral cipher story of the secret marriage of Queen Elizabeth and Lord Robert Dudley the above narration may be of interest to your readers.

U.S.A.

## TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

DEAR EDITOR,—Has it ever been suggested that the Coat chosen by Shake-Spear may contain a classical allusion to the *Augur's Staff* and the bird called the Pic?

Picus, the first King of Laurentum (of the Laurel) was said to have been turned into a Pic because he kept one always for augury, and therefore Virgil saith he was painted with the Augur's Staff by him.

(*Aenid* II., 7).

"*Ipse Quirinale lituo, parvaq, sedebat,  
Succinclus trabea.*"

He in a sorry paule did sit,  
An Augur's crosier joy'ned with it."

I quote from *Vive's Note* in St. Augustine's *Cities of God*. St. Augustine himself gives us this verse on Saturn, the father of Picus, whom some think was King in Latium before Picus.

Th' indocile sort on Mountains high disperst  
He did compose, and gave them laws and first  
Would call it Latium, where he latent lay  
In whose reign was the *Golden Age* men say."

"Tush, but these, they say, are fictions."

It is quite on the cards that Francis Bacon translated this edition of St. Augustine (1620) dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke and his brother and the Earl of Arundel, adding something of his own.

This last sentence at any rate smacks of Bacon!

The name Picus is the same as Shake-Spear, or Spearholder, and would easily lend itself to Allegory.

Yours truly,

A STAUNCH BACONIAN.

March 25th, 1915.

14, Thanet Street.

## TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

At page 300 of his "Life of Shakespeare" Sir Sidney Lee points out that from the 1640 edition of Shakespeare Sonnets Nos. 18, 19, 43, 56, 75 and 76, Mr. Tanner should be interested in this as the numbers total to that curious number 287 (the letters in the Address to the readers in the Shakespeare Folio count to the same total.

A.D. 287 is the alleged date when St. Albans was the first Grand Master in Freemasonry. Several other instances of the importance given to this number have already been given in these pages.

J. W.

## NOTES.

The Annual Meeting of the Bacon Society was held on the 8th of March, in the Library. The report and audited accounts were submitted and approved and the officers were elected for the current year except that the appointment of a successor to the late Sir Edwin Durning Lawrence as President was deferred.

The following letter received from a distinguished poet is noteworthy as a sign of the times. The writer has never been in any way associated with what are called Baconian views. "Many thanks for your kindness in sending me a copy of your paper entitled *Francis Bacon—A Tribute and a Proposal*. It was the more welcome as I had been recently reading for the second time your book *The Mystery of Francis Bacon*, of which you were good enough to send me a copy at the time of its publication, three years ago. The case which you state in that book seems to me to call for a far more adequate reply than has yet been forthcoming from the adherents of the old doctrine, yet I still find many widely educated men contemptuous of the suggestion that Bacon accomplished what you claim as his work. I am far too busy a man to enter the lists myself in this cause, but I wish you success in your endeavours. The proposal to form a Bacon Memorial Library strikes me as excellent and I hope it will be carried out."



JULY, 1915.

# BACONIANA

## A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

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# The Bacon Society.

(INCORPORATED.)

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

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

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

The Society's Library and Rooms are at 11, Hart Street, London, W.C. (close to the British Museum), where the Secretary attends daily, and from 3 to 5 o'clock will be happy to supply further information.

*The columns of BACONIANA are open for the expression of all shades of opinion on the subjects discussed therein, although such opinions may not be in accord with those held by the Council of the Society or the Editor of the Journal.*

# BACONIANA.

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Vol. XIII. *Third Series.* JULY, 1915.

No. 51.

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## THE STORY OF ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX.

THE layman whose faith has been shaped by the stately histories of the past will, of course, be disturbed at any attempt to show that the authority which he has so long revered may be deficient ; hence the modern scholar is bound to produce documentary evidence to give validity to any historical work which he attempts, and if he uses material which has not such proof to sustain it, is equally bound to preface it with " we are told," " it is said," or some other remark which relegates it to the category of the uncertain.

The sources accessible to the historian of a century or so ago were meagre, but since his day private and public correspondence, state papers and documentary materials of many kinds have been drawn from their crypts and coffers, and published and docketed for use ; so it comes about that the student, finding that much of the popular history of the past was based upon books written within the purlieus of despotic governments, reflecting the interests of the Court, and more or less inspired by those in power, seeks documentary evidence with which to test its statements.

Even now we have hardly escaped from such in-

fluences. It was the knowledge of this that prompted Thomas Wentworth Higginson to declare in an address before the Massachusetts Historical Society, that our histories would have to be re-written ; indeed, a book has been thought necessary to guide us in distinguishing between false and true historic evidence, though we think it a futile work, since a critical judgment and not a rule, must ultimately determine the question. The CIPHER story of the execution of Essex prompts us to examine Camden's and Howell's accounts of that tragic event, to ascertain, if possible, whether there is anything in them to warrant it.

But first let us make a brief study of his life preceding that event. The date of his birth is said to have been November 10th, 1567, at Netherwood, Herefordshire, but the historian of the Devereux family says :— " Although I have followed the general report of former writers in making Netherwood the birthplace of Robert, Earl of Essex, I must observe that it is more than doubtful, for the Register of Thornbury, in which Netherwood is situated, makes no mention of the fact."<sup>1</sup>

At Chartley, where the family residence was situated, all the children of Sir Walter Devereux are registered, except Robert. We are further informed by Sir Henry Wotton, who was conversant with the life of the family, that Sir Walter did not regard him as a father would naturally regard an elder son, but " died with a very cold conceit of him ; some say through the affection to his second son, Walter Devereux."<sup>2</sup> In the cipher we are told that Robert was named for his father, Robert Dudley. As it was more fitting that the

1.—Lives and Letters of the Devereux Earls of Essex, Walter Bouchier Devereux. Vol. 1, p. 8, London.

2.—The Characters of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, p. 21, Lee Priory, 1814.

head of a house should bestow his name upon the eldest son, who was to succeed him, the light that Wotton throws upon Walter Devereux's treatment of Robert suggests the question, was Robert really his son, and may not Walter have really been his eldest son? If it is objected that if the cipher is true it shows that Dudley bestowed his name upon Essex though he was his second son; the reply to this is, that the question of legitimacy could not be successfully raised in the case of Essex, while it might be in that of Francis Bacon, whose constant asseveration that he was born "in holy wedlock" shows that he was sensitive upon that point, as he possibly had reason to be.

In August, 1575, Elizabeth made a visit to Lady Devereux, young Robert being then eight years of age. Sir Walter, grasping and avaricious, was then absent and pressing her for large grants of land. From there she wrote him a letter in which occur these pregnant words, "The search of your honour with the danger of your breath hath not been bestowed on so ungrateful a prince, that will not both consider the one and reward the other." What could she mean by the danger of his breath if he were not the repository of some great secret?

We are told that her interest in him was so great that she granted him almost the entire County of Antrim, though she shrewdly made him a loan of ten thousand pounds at ten per cent. for improvements, which proved to be a good curb to control him. But this did not satisfy his needs, for six months later, February 5th, 1576, he wrote in this imperative manner, "But Her Majesty is to resolve for me quickly for I am come to that pass as my land being entangled to her no man will give me credit for any money." Elizabeth, however, was relieved of him a few months later, for, says Camden, "He returned into England,

where openly threatening Leicester—he was—by a peculiar Court-mystery of wounding and over-throwing men by Honours, sent back into Ireland with the insignificant title of Earl Marshal of Ireland.” On arrival he was taken suddenly ill, and died, not without “suspicion of poison.” The suspicion was increased by Leicester’s presumably putting away Douglass Sheffield,<sup>3</sup> by whom he had a son, and secretly marrying the widow of Essex.

The first recorded presentation of young Robert Essex to the Queen was when he was ten years of age, the same age at which Francis Bacon was first introduced to her. On that memorable occasion, it will be remembered, when the boy was asked his age, he replied: “Two years younger than Your Majesty’s happy reign,” greatly to the delight of the Queen. The bearing of the young eagle, Essex, was quite different, for when she impulsively attempted to kiss him, he drew back and rejected the proffered favour.

Both these boys had been trained by the same tutor, Whitgift, but the one was engaging as Elizabeth in her happy moods, and the other as imperious as she in her less propitious ones. When at Cambridge he seems to have been under strict instructors, for he complained to Burghley, his guardian, of the slenderness of his wardrobe, which was “scantily supplied.” When presented at Court by Leicester, with whom he was a greater favourite than Francis, the Queen showed a remarkable attachment to him, and bestowed greater favours upon him than upon Raleigh, which created a life long enmity between the two young men. The bravery, rashness and kingly bearing of Essex appealed to Elizabeth, and aroused in her that motherly instinct so common to the feminine heart, making her constantly solicitous for his health and safety. As

3.—Elizabeth, Camden, p. 217, *et seq.*

wilful and capricious as herself, she bore his extravagant humours with strange patience, keeping him by her and entertaining him with cards and games in the little circle of her chosen favourites. On one occasion she gave Blount, one of her courtiers, a favour to wear upon his arm, which, being observed by Essex, incited his displeasure, and ended in a duel. On another occasion he boldly accused her of insulting a friend to please Raleigh, and left her in anger. The next day he was about leaving the country when she sent Carey to pacify him, which, with difficulty, he succeeded in accomplishing.

When in one of his fits of temper he turned his back upon the Queen, she gave him a blow upon the ear which caused him so far to forget himself as to clasp his hand upon his sword, an act which she ever remembered. After the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, he was so rash as to write James to aid him in getting Davison, whom she had unjustly imprisoned in the tower, restored to favour. No son in the line of succession could have carried affairs with a higher hand, and writers have often spoken of the Queen's patient treatment of him as that of a mother towards a headstrong but beloved son. His house became a centre of correspondence with foreign courts, which made him obnoxious to the Cecils, and paved the way to his final downfall. So reckless of consequence was he, that on one occasion, Elizabeth exclaimed: "By God's death! it were fitting some one should take him down, and teach him better manners, or there were no rule with him." This brief glimpse of Essex will make plainer the reason of his ruin.

We realize that it is likely to jar one, who has adjusted himself to a certain historic perspective, to be told that he has been regarding things from a wholly wrong angle. To learn, for instance, from a Cipher

story, that Francis Bacon and Robert Essex were the sons of Elizabeth Tudor and Robert Dudley, sounds strangely enough, though we are prepared to believe from evidence that has come down to us, that she had children by Dudley. Of course it may be said that if Sir Nicholas Bacon, Pembroke, Burghley and Cecil, knew who these children were, and if the story is true they certainly must have known, it is remarkable that the secret did not leak out. The answer to this is evident. It was a secret of State which they were bound to hold sacred by every dictate of self-interest. That it did leak out we know, for several persons were punished for discussing it, probably many more than we know. The two to whom the children most naturally would have been entrusted were Lady Bacon and the wife of Walter Devereux, two of her close friends. This friendship we know with the one was never broken, though it subsequently was with the other. At Walter Devereux's death, Burghley, whose mother was the sister of Lady Bacon, became the guardian, and later, Dudley, the titular step-father of Essex. These are two points not unworthy of notice.

But it will be said that when Essex was on trial, and his brother occupied the anomalous position of prosecuting him in behalf of the crown for the crime of treason, would not Essex, brave and bold as he was, have been likely to confound his judges with the declaration that he was the Queen's son, and his brother, the rightful heir to the throne, his prosecutor? This is as strong as this objection can be stated.

The reply is, that at the trial he had no witness to whom to appeal. Sir Nicholas Bacon, Pembroke and Burghley, the three to whom he could have appealed as witnesses in his favour, were dead, and Bacon says the evidence of Elizabeth's secret marriage had



been destroyed by her long before. He had not the least chance of a favourable hearing. The Queen was old; his arch enemy, Robert Cecil, was then all powerful; indeed, the announcement of his birth would only have hastened his ruin; besides, he held the Queen's ring, if we are to believe the tradition, which would probably secure his pardon; but were this wanting, had she not shown so much affection for him, that it must have seemed certain that she would exercise clemency in his behalf? There can be no doubt that he so believed.

But it will be said, granting this, when he reached the scaffold, would he not at the last moment have made the announcement of his relation to the Queen, or, before that event, have communicated it to his spiritual adviser? This would seem likely. But what were the conditions surrounding him from the close of his trial to his execution? The crafty Cecil, "the Fox," was sure to prevent any declaration from him becoming public, for if Essex were permitted to live it would be fatal to him. He was already plotting for the succession of James, which, if known by the Queen, though she might be thinking of it herself, would have caused his head to "hop" from his shoulders, to use one of her striking expressions, for though this imperious woman could be influenced by an appeal to her fears or passions, she could brook no interference of a subject in the question of the succession. Cecil was at the crisis of a dangerous game, and Essex had no chance of being heard once the door of his dungeon was closed upon him. The Queen in the meantime, we are told by Camden, "wavered in her mind concerning him—and she sent her command by Sir *Ed. Cary* that he should not be executed." This would never do, "His Life would be the Queen's destruction," and "shortly after she sent a fresh

command by *Darcy* that he should be put to death."

On the morning of the 25th of February the execution took place. This is the simple story we are told by Camden, but how the warrant was obtained is left out. The CIPHER story informs us that during the preceding night his eyes, at the instigation of Cecil, were destroyed by one of those monsters who haunted the prisons ready to commit any atrocity demanded of them. While we know from the history of Henry VI., Richard II., and others that similar horrors occurred in these infernal dungeons where cruel men immured their victims, and that Cecil may have been capable of sanctioning such a crime, we are impelled to impatiently exclaim with our Stratfordian friends, Impossible! If the eyes of Essex had been destroyed it might have appeared at the execution, of which we shall see, according to Camden, there were witnesses.

The question for us to consider, if the story of the royal parentage of Essex were true, would he have been given by Cecil opportunity to make it public, and had he suffered mutilation as described, could it have been concealed? To ascertain this we must know whether the conditions surrounding him between his condemnation and death would have permitted such concealment and mutilation? To do this we must go afield, outside of the formal parterres of history, for such stray scraps of evidence as we may find, and bring them together which, strangely enough, no one has hitherto thought it worth while to essay, for Camden, complaisant old chronicler of royalty, has given a circumstantial account of the whole affair, which carried the inference that he was an eye witness of the execution. When critically examined, however, we find that he is very careful to state that he was present at the trial, but avoids saying that he was at the execution, which had he been, he certainly would

have done. Camden's account after the commitment of Essex to the Tower is precisely what authority would have sanctioned. First he states that Essex "desired that he might suffer privately within the tower." In his account of the execution, however, he states that "Thomas Mountford and William Barlow, Doctors of Divinity, with Ashton, the Minister of the Church, were sent unto him early in the morning to administer Christian Consolation unto his Soul," and that seven noblemen and several aldermen and knights were present, the noblemen sitting "near unto" the scaffold. Raleigh is said also to have "beheld his execution out of the Armoury." <sup>4</sup>

That the greatest pains were taken by Cecil to make it appear that Essex insisted upon having his execution take place privately is evident. Barlow, one of the discredited transmitters of the story of his last hours, loudly proclaimed that it was private at the Earl's request, "Lest the acclamations of the citizens should hove him up." <sup>5</sup>

Oldys is responsible for publishing the absurd story that Essex told "the Queen that her condition was as crooked as her carcase." <sup>6</sup> Says Lingard, "Many believed that this was the real cause of his execution within the Tower." This story coupled with his alleged request, was a convenient method of extending this belief; indeed, frequent evidences appear of Cecil's anxiety to impress the public with the belief that the private execution of Essex was granted him as a favour. He further says: "There is indeed something suspicious in the earnestness with which Cecil instructed Winwood to declare in the French

4.—The History of Elizabeth, &c. Camden, pp. 621, *et seq.*

5.—Birch, Vol. II., p. 482.

6.—The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh. William Oldys, gent. Vol. I., p. 329, London, 1829.

Court, that Essex had petitioned to die in private." <sup>7</sup>

To justify himself Cecil called particular attention to what he described as "The written confession on four sheets of paper *in his own hand*. If such a holographic confession ever existed, it would have been preserved most carefully we may be sure, but we have only Cecil's word for it.

Referring to the privacy of the execution, Jardine remarks that it was "Inconsistent with his declaration at his trial; but the fact is rendered suspicious by the eagerness of the Council to declare it." Then Cecil in his letter to Winwood, having already directed the ambassador respecting the report he was to make of the Earl's conduct to the French King, adds in a postscript, "You must understand that he was an exceeding earnest suitor to be executed privately in the Tower." It is expressly mentioned in all the despatches, and forms a distinct article in the paper signed by the three clergymen. The King of France, however, appears not to have believed the story, and to have had some information on the subject previously, for on Winwood's relating to him the circumstances of the confession of the Earl, and stating his wish for a private execution, the King interrupted him, saying, "Nay rather the clean contrary, for he desired nothing more than to die in public." <sup>8</sup>

The secrecy with which the execution was conducted and the methods resorted to in order to prevent him from talking, attracted attention, and the "divines" were sharply criticised, being called, "the mere tools of the Government." Ashton, who

7.—Lingard, Vol. VI., p. 619.

8.—Criminal Trials. David Jardine, Esq. Vol. 1. p. 369 *et seq.* Boston, 1852.

Cf. Memorials of Affairs of State, etc. Sir Ralph Winwood, Kt. Vol. 2, p. 372. London, 1725.

seems to have been appointed as a sort of death watch to him, is spoken of as "Base, fearful and mercenary." It is to these men that we are indebted for all that was made public concerning his last hours. The so-called confession, we are told, "provided plentiful materials for Proclamation, Sermons and Declarations. The auditors of what he said on the scaffold consisted of such, and so many persons only, as the lieutenant had instructions to admit within the gates; and that to all intents and purposes an audience picked and prepared by the Privy Council."<sup>9</sup>

So much were the clerical attendants of Essex discredited that Raleigh, when he went to the Tower, was cautioned not to have such "divines" about him. Of his appearance at the execution the original account says:—"All the tyme of his beinge on the Scaffold the Erle never uttered worldlie thought, takeing no notice of anie person more than another."<sup>10</sup>

Lingard says:—"It was remarked that he never mentioned his wife or children, or friends."<sup>11</sup>

He had said at the close of his trial, "Before his death he would make somethinge knowen, that should be acceptable to her Majestie in point of State."<sup>12</sup>

But, says Jardine, "The most pressing instructions had been previously given to the officers and divines to prevent him from speaking of the nature of his affairs, or of his associates, and to confine him to a simple declaration of sorrow for his treason."<sup>13</sup>

Essex, after sentence had been pronounced against him, petitioned "the Lord Highe Steward that he

9.—Ibid, p. 371.

10.—State Trials. Stephen. Vol. 3, p. 87.

11.—Lingard. Vol. VI., p. 620.

12.—State Trials. H. L. Stephen. Vol. 3, p. 79. London, 1902.

13.—Jardine, p. 374.

might have his owne preacher ; it was answered that it was not so convenient for him at that tyme to have his owne Chaplein as another." His reply was : " Yf a man is sickness would not willinglie commit his bodie to an unknowne phisition, he hoped it would not be thought but a reasonable request for him at that tyme to have a preacher which hath been acquainted with his conscience."

Finally, however, Ashton, who is said to have been the preacher he desired, and the two others we have mentioned, were assigned him. These men subsequently furnished Cecil a convenient channel by which to reach the public ear. Particularly well did Barlow, the ablest of the trio, serve him, for " The Sunday after Essex's death, he preached at St. Paul's Cross, following Cecil's instructions very precisely in publishing Essex's confession. He subsequently received abundant preferment, culminating in the bishopric, first of Rochester and then of Lincoln."<sup>14</sup>

We may well ask why was Cecil so solicitous to make the world believe that a private execution was granted Essex at his own request, and why so anxious to prevent him from " speaking of the nature of his affairs," and to so " precisely " instruct his pliant agents what to deal out to the public? The account given of the execution is certainly " precise." We have a pathetic acknowledgment from the scaffold of the victim's sins, and of the justice of his punishment ; indeed, the tragedy is so well staged that one can hardly doubt its truth ; and yet, it is not improbable that it is all a fiction made to fit the occasion by Cecil, Barlow and Ashton. If there was nothing to conceal no secrecy was necessary. There was nothing of the kind when Raleigh went to the block,

14.—State Trials. H. L. Stephen. Vol. 3, p. 81. London, 1902.

nor when the companions of Essex followed him. Why all this effort at secrecy in one instance, and publicity in another? No wonder it excited suspicion.

We have seen that Essex before death intended to make something known of public importance; what was this, and why did he not disclose it to his "spiritual" confidant? The declaration must have excited curiosity enough for Ashton to be questioned with regard to it, and it seems that he was. We have a letter from a correspondent of Anthony Bacon, dated May 30th, 1601, which is suggestive. The writer appears to have known Ashton, and to have drawn from him certain admissions. The italics are in the original. He describes him as "a man *base, fearful, and mercenary*, but such a one as by *formal show of zeal* had gotten a good opinion of the earl, who that way, being himself most religious, might easily be deceived." In the account given to the public, Ashton says, that Essex first told him something which he declared he did not believe. The writer of the letter to Anthony informs us that when Essex told his story, Ashton retorted:—"Your end was an ambitious seeking of the crown." What could Essex say to Ashton that could possibly elicit from him an expression of disbelief, and the opinion that it was an ambitious seeking of the crown? This appears to have been discussed, for Spedding says that "His change in what he was to disclose was imputed to the influence of Mr. Ashton, a Puritan preacher, who attended the Earl in the Tower."

The writer of the letter describes the violent terms which Ashton professed to apply to the helpless man, "words of gall and bitterness," and says:—"The Earl was much amazed with this style, his expectations being so exceedingly deceiv'd as looking rather in his case for a comforting than so bitter and slan-

derous accuser, and after a sad and silent pause, answered him :—

“ *Mr. Ashton*, you have laid grievous things to my charge of which if I *could* not with truth free and clear myself, I might justly be holden one of the most unworthy creatures on earth.” How foreign to this are the words now put into the Earl’s mouth that his object was to “procure access to her majesty, with whom I assured myself to have had that gracious hearing, that might have tended to the infinite happiness of this State, both in removing evil instruments from about her person, and in settling the succession for the crown,” which, Ashton says was “by” Act of Parliament of the King of Scotland, as the true and immediate heir after her Majesty of this Kingdom.”<sup>15</sup> This, Ashton claims, being a “great matter,” gave him the opportunity of bringing in Cecil, the Lord Admiral the Lord Keeper, and Treasurer, the bitter enemies of Essex, to hear his “confession.” The introduction of the succession of the Scotch James was no doubt inspired by Cecil to divert attention from himself, and seems to have served his purpose, though it makes his infamy still blacker, as he was sending a fellow being to death for what he himself was doing for a prospective reward, which in due time was paid in full. It is doubtful if the Queen’s pardon would have saved Essex after the death warrant was signed. He was in the power of enemies, resolved upon his destruction not the least of whom was the Lord Admiral, Nottingham, who, after the death of Essex, in a letter to Montjoy describing his “confession,” said, “He even charged his Sister with sharing his treason, and spared not to say something of her affection of you. Would

15.—This letter to Anthony Bacon may be found in full in Camden’s Elizabeth, Hearn’s Notes, pp. 957-961.



your Lordship have thought this weakness and this unnaturalness in the man? ”<sup>16</sup>

Montjoy was one of the bosom friends of Essex, and in love with his sister. His star also was foreseen to be in the ascendant; hence the mean insinuations of Nottingham, who was so instrumental in the death of Essex, intended to mitigate the effect of his doings upon Montjoy, the bosom friend of the unfortunate Earl. Nottingham's harsh and cruel character renders his evidence of little moment. He had served under Essex in the Cadiz expedition, and they had afterwards quarrelled. It was chiefly by Nottingham's persuasion and influence, says Davison, Elizabeth's conscientious, but unfortunate Secretary of State, that Elizabeth signed the death warrant of the Queen of Scots.

Of the confession Spedding says this, which throws light upon the manner in which it was prepared for the public palate:—

“The discretion of the Queen”—it would have been better to have said Cecil and his confederates—“obliged her to leave a portion of the story half told, and some of the most important confessions unpublished, *for the narrative could not be so managed as not to involve allusions to matters of which proofs could not be produced.* Of these suppressed depositions some are lost probably beyond recovery, among them the four sheets of confession made by Essex himself.”<sup>17</sup>

Vague mention is made of the “Confessions of Irish servants and retainers—that Essex had discussed the probability of his becoming King of England.” But how could a mere subject without royal blood think for

16.—Tanner Mss. 76, fol. 22.

17.—Does not this accord with Bacon's declaration relative to proofs which he tells us were destroyed, that he and Essex were children of the Queen. The italics are ours.

a moment of such a thing? Certainly Essex, who was a brave and able man, versed in affairs of state, could never have discussed such a question, unless he was conscious of having some right to the succession. Rash as he undoubtedly was, he was not so rash as to do that.

The whole matter relating to the treason of Essex is confused and open to grave differences of opinion. Bruce, the editor of the Correspondence of Cecil with the Scotch King, is wholly in sympathy with Cecil. One, however, who is free from the social and hereditary influence which coloured the view of Bruce, is likely to take a different view of the evidence. Two vital points are submitted to us to sustain, both involving the charge of treason, and had these not existed, it seems doubtful if his enemies, powerful as they were, could have convicted him; in fact, Bruce admits that "The criminal facts of which Essex was ultimately convicted, the treasonable conferences at Drury House, and the consequent London outbreak—to which the depositions were principally applied—constituted but a very small portion of the plot." But even Mr. Bruce does not give us anything else which is tangible, and satisfies himself by saying of these assumed facts, "They did not come in question legally, at his trial, and the little information we find respecting them in the proceedings—is altogether unsatisfactory and inconclusive. What there appeared in reference to them *rather slipped out than was made known intentionally.*" He concludes, however, that this unused evidence "was purposely kept back because it implicated persons not before the court." There seem, then, to be left but two points of evidence sufficiently vital to bring him within the scope of the Act making it treasonable to discuss the succession to the throne of England of one, not the legitimate offspring of the reigning monarch, and Cecil's noisy reply to Essex at

the trial, "I have said that the King of Spain is a competitor of the Crown of England, and that the King of Scots is a competitor, *and my Lord of Essex is a competitor, for he would call a Parliament, and so be king himself.*"<sup>18</sup>

These two points conspiring to place another upon the throne, or himself, were treasonable acts, and either one furnished a sufficient reason for his legal condemnation. As to the first, not a single letter is in existence, nor is there any valid evidence in the vague confessions of Southampton and others associated with him, that Essex ever conspired to place James VI. upon the throne. Of course he was fully aware of the political exigencies of the time, and realised that Cecil was vitally interested in the Scotch succession upon which alone his retention of power could rest. In political circles there was more or less coquetting with James by Montjoy, Southampton, Davis and others of the Essex party, and perhaps by Anthony Bacon, his able secretary, in order to counteract the efforts of Cecil, which Essex himself must have been anxious to accomplish, but the declaration of Cecil that he was scheming for his own advancement to the throne utterly invalidates the charge that he was seeking it for James, and may properly be dismissed from consideration. As for his own advancement, as we have already said, it would have been sheer madness for a subject in the position occupied by Essex to think of such a thing. If he did he must have thought that he possessed a moral claim to it. Think of a mere subject addressing the old Queen in this strange fashion. The letter is dated Ardrackon, August 30th, 1599; "To the Queen, from a mind delighting in sorrow, from Spirits wasted with passion, from a heart torn in pieces with care and travail, from a man that hates

18.—Letters and Life. Spedding, Vol. 2, p. 325.

himself and all things else that keep him alive. It is your rebel's pride and successes must give me leave to reason myself out of this hateful prison, out of my loathed body."<sup>19</sup>

This was from a young man, gallant, self-reliant, and ambitious. Was this wholly inspired by aversion to the command of the Irish expedition?

Bruce dilates upon "a little black taffeta bag," which Essex always wore about him, and which he frankly told the officer who stripped him naked, contained about a quarter of a sheet of paper, and that this, "a book of his troubles," and papers in two small iron chests, he burnt in the presence of his wife and certain friends.<sup>20</sup> It would be interesting to know what the paper in this little taffeta bag, and "the book of his troubles" contained. What troubles could this young man have, who, if we accept the testimony of his friends, was of a studious and joyous nature, to put down in a book which he so carefully preserved until he knew that his person and premises were about to be searched by pitiless enemies? If they were political troubles, troubles at Court, or arising from his life in the world, they could hardly have been dangerous enough to make such unusual secrecy necessary.<sup>21</sup>

We are told that the paper was "probably" a letter from the Scotch King, but this is only a guess; Cecil had a bundle of more dangerous letters at Hatfield. The fact is, the story of Essex as we have it, is a fiction

19.—Correspondence of King James VI. of Scotland, &c. John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A., London, 1861, pp. XVII. *et seq.* XXXIII. In these letters names are not mentioned, but numbers are employed. We have, however, the key to them. Thus 0 was Northumberland; 3, Howard; 10, Cecil; 24, the Queen; 30, James, etc.

20.—This is from Birch. An edited version is in the *Lives and Letters of Devereux*. Vol. II., p. 68.

21.—Again we refer to the cipher story.

emanating from his enemies, and never correctly told. It has been a case of following the leader by every one who has written on the subject, even by Devereux, who repeats the cut and dried story of the confession and execution of the most noted of his past kinsmen. None of them has ever attempted to subject this inspired story to a critical analysis, and a brave and gallant gentleman has come down to us a hair-brained and turbulent fool. If, however, he was really the son of Leicester and the Queen, his attitude towards her appears no longer strange, and his "troubles" are readily accounted for.

In the trial of Essex there is a reasonable probability that the position of the Queen and Bacon was misunderstood. Essex had headed a dangerous uprising, and it was necessary to the integrity of the throne that he should be suppressed, no matter how dear to the Queen or Bacon he might have been. There was but one way open to Essex, namely to frankly confess his error and throw himself upon the Queen's mercy, and this was just what Bacon urged him to do. It is probable that this was what the Queen ardently desired, as it left her an opportunity to pardon him, but the proud rebel resented every suggestion of the confession which Bacon urgently pressed upon him, no doubt with the hope of saving his life. Even after his conviction there is evidence that he would have been pardoned if the Queen could have had her way. This may be no more than a plausible deduction from the account of the trial as we have it, but it seems worth considering.

Among the silent memorials left by prisoners in the Tower is one presumably made by Essex, which is preg-

22.—A short sketch of Beaumont Tower. W. R. Dicke, p. 11, London.

nant with significance. We quote from the official hand-book of the tower :

“ Over the doorway of the small cell, at the foot of the stairs, is the name Robart Tidir.”

Tidir or Tidder is an obsolete form of Tudor, that royal family of which Elizabeth was the last representative, and it is a remarkable fact that Francis Bacon in the “ New Atlantis,” published after his death by his chaplain, contains these words in cipher, “ My name is Tidder, yet men speak of me as Bacon.”

We leave it for the reader to decide if the conditions surrounding the execution of Essex are not precisely such as would have existed if the Cipher story were true. It should, however, be borne in mind that while the Cipher story suggested this study of the case of Essex, all that is here adduced rests upon historical data.

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## BACON'S LICENCE TO TRAVEL BEYOND THE SEAS.

### LETTERS PATENT AT THE RECORD OFFICE.

**I** HAVE recently made a discovery at the Record Office of the Letters Patent dated the 30th June, 1576, which contain the terms of the licence granted to Francis Bacon to travel on the Continent for the period of three years.

The document is as follows :—“ Elizabeth, by the grace of God : To all and singular our Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, Customers, Comptrollers, and Searchers, and to all other our officers, ministers and subjects to whom it shall appertain and to every of them greeting. Whereas we have licensed our well-beloved Edward Bacon and Francis Bacon, sons of our right trusty and well-

beloved counsellor, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Knight, Keeper of our great seal of England, to depart out of this our realm of England into the part of beyond the seas and there for their increase in knowledge and experience to remain the space of three years next and immediately following after their departure. We will and command you and every of you to suffer them with their servants, six horses or geldings, and three score pounds in money and all other their bag and baggage and necessaries quietly to pass by you without any your let stay or interruption and these our letters or the duplicate of them shall be as well unto you for suffering them to pass as unto them for their going and remaining beyond the seas all the time above limited sufficient warrant and discharge. In witness whereof,

Witness ourself at Westminster, the 30th day of June."

The document is interesting because it reveals the fact that Edward Bacon was associated with his half-brother Francis on his travels abroad; and the allowance of their servants, six horses, and £60 in money, suggests that they travelled together on leaving England. They appear to have parted company on the Continent some time later, as we know from the letter of John Sturmius to Lord Burghley that Edward Bacon was at Strasburg in December, 1577. (S. P. Foreign, 5th Dec., 1577.) Edward was the one of the three half-brothers to whom Francis was most strongly attached, and in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil in April, 1597, Francis describes him as "my most kind and best-deserving half-brother, Mr. Edward Bacon." (Birch, Vol. 2, 337.) Anthony also showed his appreciation of Edward's kindness in a letter to Essex, where he mentions "the only one of all my half-brothers and well deserving on account of

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the brotherly offices which he had often performed to Francis, which I esteem as done to myself." (Lamb. MSS., Vol. 15, f. 94.) Edward had a lease of Twickenham Park, and it was to Twickenham that Francis so often retired to compose his thoughts and enjoy the delights of a country seat, about which he was proud to tell the moneylenders that it was unencumbered, "because it is my pleasure and my dwelling." (Spedding, Vol. 2, p. 28).

HAROLD HARDY.

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### THE SPELLING OF SHAKESPEARE'S NAME.

In the last number of *BACONIANA*, Mr. R. A. Smith complains that I have missed a point in the Bacon controversy by accepting the spelling of the name of the Stratford man as "Shakespeare," and he evidently regards it as a serious matter. "It is absolutely false and criminal," he declares, "to write or accept such spelling." That is certainly an amazing statement. It is more surprising still to find such an assertion in an article in which reference is made to Halliwell Phillips' "Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare," because there are numerous documents set out in the second volume of that work which show that the name of William Shakespeare of Stratford was frequently spelt exactly as it appears upon the plays. The documents are legal documents, containing no sort of reference to William Shakespeare as author, and the variety of spelling in those records is a useful illustration of the want of uniformity in the spelling of proper names in Elizabethan times. In those days the Lord Treasurer's name was indifferently spelt *Burleigh*, *Burghley*,



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and Burgley. Raleigh's name was frequently written Raleigh or Rawley, and a multitude of instances of this kind could be given. The various ways in which the family of Shakespeare spell their name are too numerous to mention, but the table given below ought to make it clear that the name, William Shakespeare, appears in many documents of the period, which refer to the man of Stratford without any sort of connection with the works that bear his name.

Spelling of Name.	Number.	Description of Document.	Reference.
Johannes Shackspere	4 times	} Bill of complaint against Jo. Lambert, 1589. Deed of Conveyance to Geo. Badger, 1579. Answer to Jo. Lambert to Bill of Complaint, 1597. Draft grant of Coat of arms, 1596.	Halliwell Phillips "Outlines" Vol. 2. pp. 11-13 Ditto p. 13.
" Shackspere	14 times		
" Shackspere	once		
" Shakespere	6 times		
John Shakspeare	14 "	} Bill of Complaint, 1597. Draft grant of Coat of arms, 1596.	Ditto pp. 15, 16. Ditto p. 56.
" Shakespeare	twice		
William Shakespeare	14 times	Deed of Conveyance to Jo. Coombe, 1602.	Ditto pp. 17-19.
" "	6 "	Note of Fine, 1620.	Ditto p. 25.
" Shakespear	14 "	Conveyance of Tithes, 1605.	Ditto pp. 19-24.
" "	twice	Bond for performance of covenants, 1605.	Ditto p. 25.
" Shackspere	3 times	Draft Bill of Complaint respecting tithes, 1612.	Ditto pp. 25-31.
" Shackspere	twice	Bill of Complaint against Jo. Lambert, 1589.	Ditto p. 12.
" Shakespeare	once	Conveyance of Tithes, 1605.	Ditto p. 24.
" "	12 times	Deed of Bargain and Sale of Blackfriars Property, 1613.	Ditto pp. 31-34.
" "	12 "	Counterpart of same.	Ditto p. 34.
" "	7 "	Mortgage of Blackfriars Property, 1613.	Ditto pp. 34-36.
" "	7 "	Deed of Trust of same, 1618.	Ditto pp. 36-41.
" "	5 "	Foot of Fine, 1597.	Ditto pp. 104-5.
" "	once	" , 1602.	Ditto p. 105.

This table is not exhaustive, but I hope it may be sufficient to show that the point about the spelling of the name is not a strong point, and that there is nothing false or criminal in accepting the spelling, which was adopted by those who were personally or professionally acquainted with the affairs of the man of Stratford.

HAROLD HARDY.

## CHURCH-WARDENS' ACCOUNTS.

**W**HO would think to find anything of romance in the Accounts of Churchwardens? Year after year in countless places throughout the Kingdom they are made up, passed, docketted, filed away, and left to moulder in dusty cupboards, if they are not soon transferred to the furnace. Scarce anyone troubles to soil his fingers by turning over those that are 50 or 100 years old, and few would find anything to reward his pains if he did brave the dust and grime of years.

It is, however, a matter of great satisfaction that such were not the thoughts and feelings of the late Revd. John V. Kitto for some years Rector of St. Martins in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square. He not only turned over and examined the Church Wardens' accounts of that Church dealing with a period in the long distant past, but published them in a handsome volume, and it was my good fortune recently to come across this book.<sup>1</sup>

Seeing that the period 1525-1603 spanned the time of Bacon's birth, and remembering that this was the Church in which he was christened I turned the pages to the date of that event, to see if, perchance, there were any notice of it, or if, perchance, the churchwardens had expended any money on that ceremony; when the child, that afterwards grew to be so great and so famous a man, was made a Christian and first admitted to the Church.

And what did I find?

<sup>1</sup> St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, The Accounts of the Churchwardens, 1525-1603; Transcribed and Edited by John V. Kitto. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Kent, Hamilton and Co., 1901.

Just the following delightfully simple and pathetic entry, without further comment or remark :—

<p>“ 1560, in Christmas Quarter ffirst payed          “ to two poore folkes for making cleane of the          “ church layne when the Lorde Keper's child          “ came thither to be christened.<sup>1</sup></p>	} iiijd.
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Only fourpence! two pence to each poor person; but was there ever so small a sum that contained so much interest? Here was the first appearance in public of the great personage, little though he was, and helpless, “ mewling and puking in the nurse's arms,” and these two “ poore folkes ” were doing their best to honour the occasion by “ making cleane of the church layne,” while the churchwardens lavished fourpence on the work! Surely Bacon himself did not know of this entry in the churchwardens' accounts, or he would somehow, have woven it into a special essay: “ Of the Primals of Eminence ” or “ The *Prima Via Vitae*.” There would have been some title, different from anything anyone else would have thought of, with classic allusions to the great sums of money spent on babes—who have often proved worthless—and, as an anti-climax, bringing in the 4d. for “ making cleane of the church layne ” on this occasion. But unfortunately these church-wardens' accounts were mouldering in their dust while Bacon lived, and probably never saw the light till good John Kitto dragged them out. And one cannot help reflecting, and regretting, that small though this entry may be, recording Bacon's first appearance in the world, it is more than we have of his Exit. Not a word, or a scratch of a pen, is there anywhere, recording or giving information, about his burial and funeral. He goes out; and we do not

<sup>1</sup> A footnote by Mr. Kitto gives the exact day, 25 January, 1560-1, taken from the registrations of Christenings in the Church.

know if the churchwardens anywhere spent even as much as fourpence upon cleaning the lane for the passage of his coffin.

“ The long bright day is done,  
“ And darkness rises from the fallen Sun.”

But it is not only in regard to the great Francis Bacon that interesting entries are to be found in these Churchwardens' accounts. There is one very curious entry concerning Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper. It is as follows :—

“ March, 1579.

“ Item : the IXth. of Marche was buried “ Sr. Nicholas Bacon, late Lord Keper of the “ greate Seale of England the best clothe xxd., “ the whole daies knell ijs iiijd. vj pcales xiijd.”	}	vs.
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This entry clearly shews that Sir Nicholas Bacon was buried at this church ; the entry is quite of the same form and tenour as all the other entries referring to burials at the Church, and reading it, without more, one would at once understand that Sir Nicholas Bacon was buried there. But the curious thing is that the generally received opinion has it that he was buried in St. Pauls. The Dictionary of National Biography makes this statement, and it is also stated with absolute clearness by Weever in his “ Funeral Monuments” published in 1633. There he says (p. 812) that Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, is entombed in St. Paul's with his two wives. “ You may reade this inscription upon the said Monument ” :—

“ Hic Nicolaum ne Baconum conditum, &c.”

Giving the well-known epitaph upon Sir Nicolas. This of course refers to old St. Paul's, the building that was destroyed in the great fire.

How then can we explain the churchwardens' entry

given above? It clearly refers to a burial at or in the Church. Had there been only the "Knell" and the "peales" paid for, there might have been some doubt; but the xxd. for "the best clothe" clearly refers to the actual burial, the cloth being used to cover the trestles upon which the coffin stood, and for lining the grave's mouth. At least so it appears to me. Nor does it seem a reasonable explanation that the funeral service may have been held in St. Martin's and the coffin then conveyed to St. Paul's for interment. Such a procedure though usual nowadays was not followed in the days of Queen Elizabeth.

But an important consideration for Baconians is the date of the burial, 9th March, 1579, as given by the Churchwardens, for here again arises the confusion from the non-recognition of the Elizabethan New Year. In those times, New Year's day was on the 25th of March, and on that day the style or number of the year changed. If New Year's Day had been the first of January then, as it is now, the 9th of March, 1579, would have been the 9th of March, 1580; just as the date of Francis Bacon's christening was the 25th January, 1560 (according to Elizabethan notation), but 1561, according to modern notation. Somehow we have got into the habit of saying "Francis Bacon was born in 1561," and of counting the lapse of time since his birth as from 1561. Somehow also we have got into the way of saying "Sir Nicholas Bacon died in 1579," whereas, to put it on the same plane as Francis' birth in 1561, the year should be 1580. And thus we constantly—but wrongly—say: "Francis" was 18 when Sir Nicholas died"; arriving at that conclusion by deducting 1561 from 1579; whereas he was 19, for we should deduct 1561 from 1580; or 1560 from 1579.\*

\* I myself have dropped into this mistake.: See "Bacon's Secret Disclosed," p. 61.

The confusion arising from the non-recognition of the Elizabethan New Year's Day is very widespread. I notice that Mallet in his "Life of Bacon," written in 1740, gives the date of his birth as 22nd January, 1561, thus adopting the modern notation for the year, though the Elizabethan notation remained in vogue in England until 1752 when it was officially changed.

There is another point of interest in Weever to which I should draw attention, where he says that Sir Nicholas Bacon is "entombed in S. Paul's *with his two wives.*" His words on this subject are quite clear and distinct. Under the name of a place "Thornage," at p. 812 of his "Funeral Monuments," 1633, he says:—

"Three Bacons have at this day their residence at "Culfurth in Suffolke, a goodly house erected by Sir "Nicholas Bacon, Knight, the first Baronet, sonne "unto that Sir Nicholas Bacon, Knight, Lord Keeper "of the great Seale of England; who for his singular "wisdom and most sound judgment, was right worthily "esteemed one of the two supporters of this kingdom "in historie. Who lieth entombed in S. Paul's with "his two wives. Who died An: 1578 (*sic*). You "may read this inscription upon the said Monument.

"Hic Neolaum ne Baconum conditium," &c.

This passage is not brilliantly accurate, in points where we can check it, for he is wrong in the year of Sir Nicholas' death, and the statement that his *two* wives lie entombed with him is contradicted by Francis Bacon, who in his will states that, at any rate, the second wife, Lady Anne, is buried at St. Michael's Church, St. Alban's, and that Bacon himself wished to be buried there. Lady Anne died in August, 1610, more than 30 years after her husband, and it is certainly much more likely that the statement of Francis Bacon is true than that of Weever. But it is impossible to check this by reference to records; all the registers of

St. Michael's Church prior to 1643 have disappeared, and though there are transcripts of these in the Archdeaconry Court of St. Alban's Abbey from 1572, even in the transcript there is a gap from 1600 to 1628, so that the place where Lady Anne's burial would appear is lacking. So also for that matter, is the place where the burial of Sir Francis himself would be recorded, and as I said before, we have no record anywhere of his burial, nor account of his funeral. His beautiful monument stands in the little St. Michael's Church, but the somewhat curious epitaph on it does not say, "Hic jacit," "here lies," but uses the very unusual phrase, "Sic sedebat," "thus he used to sit."

The consideration of Weever's remark about Sir Nicholas' two wives has made my pen run on somewhat, but I think what I have said makes one recognise that Weever's statements must not be taken without examination, and perhaps though Sir Nicholas Bacon's Monument was in St. Paul's, his body may be at St. Martin's Church, as our churchwardens' accounts show.

We have notices in these accounts, too, of the Earl of Essex, that restless and uncontrollable man whose career was so brilliant, and so sad.

"Paymentes in Midsomer q'ter, 1596. Item  
 "payd unto the Apparitor for a prayer booke  
 "to be red in the Churche at the Earl of Essex  
 "going to Cales." .. .. . xijd.  
 "Itm paid for Ringing the viijth of Auguste,  
 "being upon Commandement from the Counsell  
 "for the good successe that the Earle of Essex  
 "and the reste of his followers had at Cales  
 "voyadge." .. .. . iijs.

Those who still are unwilling to know who the Earl of Essex really was, will perhaps be astonished to learn that a special prayer book should have been issued to pray for him when starting out on his Calais expedition ;

or that the Council should have ordered the bells to be rung to celebrate the success of his voyage. No such care or compliments were given to other great commanders when they set out on their expeditions or when success was achieved. Evidently there was somebody influencing the Council in a very high handed manner or they would scarcely have shown such respect and care for so untried a man as Essex. There were no prayer books issued for Howard, or Drake, or Frobisher, no peals rung at the overthrow of the Spanish Armada ; but the "good success at Cales voyadge," forsooth, is of supreme interest to the Council. And the bells of St. Martin's were not an honour lightly conferred, or easily obtained. There was no knell rung on the funeral day of Sir Philip Sidney, he who was accorded the most magnificent ceremony in St. Paul's that that Church had ever seen . . . there was no knell rung at the death of Robert, Lord Leicester, in '88 ; he who had occupied the highest position in the kingdom ever held by any subject, and never held by any but he : that of Lieutenant-General and Marshal of All England. But there was a knell rung "after ye execution of ye Queen of Scots," and on the very day of the execution, too, the 8th of February ; though only tenpence was paid for it !

The ringing of bells that went on for the Queen herself was very extraordinary, and must have been disturbing to those living near, one would think. She never went to Windsor, or Richmond, or Greenwich, or Hampton, or Wansted,\* or anywhere else, but the bells rang out upon her going, and rang out again on her return ; and the usual payment was viijd. This ringing was so faithfully and continuously done that I believe there is a more exact record of the Queen's movements in these churchwardens' accounts than is to

\* The seat of the Earl of Leicester.



be found anywhere else. There is recorded her last "remove" from Whitehall to Richmond, on the 21st January, 1602-3; but there was no funeral knell rung when she returned. There was no knell rung on the day of her death, the 24th of March (the last day of the year), but instead a "peale" for "the proclaiming of our Kynges."

But besides these unpremeditated ringings for the Queen when she went on journeys and "Progresses" there were the regular ringings that took place on certain dates. On every 7th of September, Her Majestys' birthday, there was an expenditure for ringing. And on every 17th of November "for ringing at ye change of Hir Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s raign" there was a great outpouring of the bells; as much as six shillings and the labour of six men was given on that occasion, whereas the birthday cost only xijd. And there is a curious little human touch about the 17th November ringing, that is seen in these dry old accounts. It was evidently the great function of the year for the bell-ringers, when the big sum of six shillings was expended, and they earned a shilling apiece; besides the great interest excited in the neighbourhood, and the swelling importance of the ringers over "Hir Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s change." The last occasion that this was rung was the 17th November, 1602. When it came round again, in 1603, a greater change had taken place and there was no Queen to ring for. But the day was associated with much jollification, and stoups of liquor, and singing of rounds and catches, and drinking to the Queen's better health, and long life. That all this should stop was indeed a deprivation. We can almost hear the very words of the complaint: "Man an' boy, for the last four and forty year, I ha' rung the Queene's change, and drunke me a stoup o' ale to her honour, an' we ha' sung our catches at 'Ye Belle.'" What reason, I prithee, this

should now be stayed? And so, after much wrangling a compromise is effected by the churchwardens, and we have in the Michaelmas quarter, 1603, the entry of an expenditure :—

“ Item given to the ringers the xvijth November, vjd.  
It is pathetic !

GRANVILLE C. CUNINGHAM.

## NOTES ON ROMEO AND JULIET AND COMEDY OF ERRORS.

**T**HE clear duty of Baconians is to let the pure milk of the word flow, and so expose the fallacies churned by Shaxpurians.

Francis' Works have been allowed to remain hidden underground long enough.

In Hazlitt's *Shakespeare Library*, Vol. I. (1875) he reprints an old poem, *Romeus and Juliet*, signed Ar. Br., *The goodly Hystorie of the true and constant love between Rhomeo and Julietta*, a Novel, which has this further Superscription :—

*The goodly History of the true and constant love between Romeus and Julietta*, which alters the name of the lover to that in the poem. A Note appended gives William Painter as the author, and the *Palace of Pleasure* as the work. Mr. Collier's Introduction to the 1844 edition of the Collection is appended. From this I quote :—

“ On the title page of Broke's poem ” (the signature Ar. Br. is put down without question to an Arthur Broke), “ the story is said to have been written first in Italian by Bandell, as if Broke had versified the Novel as he found it in Bandello, but such is by no

means the case. . . . The truth is that Broke's poem reads more like an original work than a translation. . . . It is a production of singular beauty for the time, full of appropriate and graceful imagery. . . . Those who have hitherto spoken of Broke's poem have not spoken of it as it deserves, and the commentators on Shakespeare seem scarcely to have ventured (even if they had formed) an opinion on its merits."

An important admission from a Shaxpurian !

Shaxpurians never venture to approach any point that militates against their pre-conceived ideas, it is the privilege of bolder Baconians to face and level mountains of Difficulties and lay open the Way of Truth. Mr. Collier says only three copies of the earliest edition of Broke's poem are known, one at Oxford, in Malone's collection, one in Mr. Huth's Library (these are the most perfect), and another at Cambridge, among Capell's books.

The question for us is, is 1562, the date given as the year Richard Tottell produced the poem first, the correct one? This should be carefully investigated. Tottell is said to have entered the poem again on the books of the Stationer's Company in 1582, but Mr. Collier is at pains to say :—

" If any such edition were published we have never had an opportunity of examining it." By any sort of juggling could the poem under review be the 1582 edition? That date would make it the groundwork of our Shakespeare's Play, produced at the Curtain 1596, under the direction of Lord Cobham, acting then as Lord Chamberlain. Before reading Mr. Collier's encomium I was as much impressed with the beauty of the poem as he was, and I consider it the work of Francis Bacon. It contains conclusive Baconian touches, *i.e.* :—

## TO THE READER.

Amid the desert rockes, the mountain beare  
 Brings forth unform, unlike herself her yonge;  
 Nought else but lumps of fleshe, withouten heare.  
 In tract of time, her often lycking tong  
 Gives them such shape, as doth (ere long), delight  
 The lookers on."

In John Spencer's *Things New and Old, or a Storehouse of Similes, Sentences, Allegories, Apophthegms, Adagies, Apologues, Divine, Moral, Politicall, etc.*, published at Sion College, 1658, is the following (p. 264 Folio).

"It is said of the Bear that of all the creatures she bringeth the most ugly and *mishapen* whelps, but by licking of them, she brings them to a better form, yet it is a Bear still. Thus all of us are ugly and deformed in our inward man: 'Tis true good breeding, learning, living in good Neighbourhood may lick us fair, and put us into a better shape, but shall never change our nature, without the operation of the blessed Spirit."

Montaigne who, as well as Spencer, is a mask for Francis, uses the same figure:—

"Arts and Sciences are not cast in a mould, but rather by little and little formed and shaped by often handling and polishing them over; even as Beares fashion their young whelps by often licking them."—Book II. Chap. XII., p. 4.]

The whole of this passage is instructive and Baconian.

It would help greatly if any reader would send me other examples of the Bear simile found in the literature of the time.

Traces of Francis' pen are found in recurrent usages of this idea, "*Constant in Unconstancie.*"

In *Romeus and Juliet* (Broke's Poem) occur these lines:—

"For Fortune chaungeth more than sickel fantasie;  
 In nothing Fortune constant save in unconstancie."

Francis Bacon's translation of the 104 Psalm has this line:—

"The Moon so constant in unconstancie."

Richard Barnfield has long been pointed out as "more like Shakespeare than any other Elizabethan writer." An anti-Baconian, and literary critic urged the fact on my notice. In Barnfield's Poems we find these lines :—

"Fortune is full of fresh varietle  
Constant in nothing but inconstancie."

W. Jaggard includes the Sonnet: "If Music and sweet poetrie agree," and the Ode: "As it fell upon a day," in *The Passionate Pilgrim*. Mr. Collier advocates now Shakespeare, and now Barnfield, as the author. Barnfield, after 1605, ceased to publish, aged 31.

He is said to have been a member of Grays Inn, but his name is not included in the entrances. Thomas Watson mentions him :

"Great his name, so gentle was his nature."

Francis Meres says :—

"Amongst us best in this kind (Pastoral) are Sir Philp Sydney, Master Challoner, Spenser, Stephen Gosson, Abraham Fraunce, and Barnfield."

Wood wrote this "great" name as *Barifield*, and took no notice of Barnfield. The Canonbury estate, which Francis leased and where he was living when he received the Great Seals, contained a "*Barn Field*," this may have suggested the Mask.

To continue our thread, broken for the moment, we find this fable in J. Spencer's *Things New and Old*, under the title :—

#### MAN'S INCONSTANCY.

"There is a fable how that Inconstancy would needs have her picture drawn, but none would undertake it, because her face and shape altered so often. But at length Time took a pencil in hand, and because he had

no other Table to do it upon, he printed her picture upon Man. And most true it is that all men and women since that time have had too much of her resemblance, and too many men have her face to the life. They will be religious, and they will not be religious, there's nobody knows what they will be, nor what to make of them; they are constant in nothing but inconstancy, they have their gales of devotion, their breathings of love, one while, at another time when the fit is upon them then there's nothing but lumpishness of spirit, and dulness of affection, now faithful to their promise, anon, fallen off, for one by-respect or other."

Shakespeare of course says :—

"Swear not by the inconstant moon."

And Spencer, like Bacon and Shakespeare, connects the moon with inconstancy.

"The world's inconstancy, the world's grand imposture, the Flux and reflux of honours and advancement, how hath the Moon of great men's honours been eclipsed at the Full?" [p. 497].

Spencer reiterates in his Apopthegm, 1229 [p. 336], what he has already said :—

"Think of the world's instability, and that fortune is constant in nothing but inconstancy."

To return to Arthur Broke, Wood does not mention him at all. He is not entered by Cooper in his *Athenæ Cantabrigiænsis*. Who was he? He is said to have been shipwrecked and drowned in 1563. A most remarkable writer of a most brilliant poem, the details of which Shakespeare has exceedingly closely reproduced in his play, and yet a man who apparently published no other work of his own, only a collection of Scripture Agreements.

The following passage occurs in the Introduction

to *Romeo and Juliet* in the Italian translation of the Plays: "*Romeo and Juliet* is perhaps the only one woven by Shakespeare on a story only of Love. Every scene, every page, exhibits purity of the affections, delicacy of heart with ardour of passion, and fervent imagination, and a love purely Italian inspired by our lovely sky. A noble ecstasy induced by the perfumed air of our open plains in the Springtime of Life." It affords evidence that our poet fulfilled to the uttermost all that an Italian critic requires of him, a *personal knowledge* and appreciation of his country. How he imagines Shaxpur obtained this he does not venture to say.\* "Shakespeare knew and appreciated," he assures us, "the spirited and splendid form of Italian fancy, he had read our Novelists and poets, and it is a boast of ours that he has taken not a few of his best works from our stories and popular traditions." He gives us the information that in 1470 a Neapolitan Novelist wrote a story of two lovers much resembling that of *Romeo and Juliet*, Siena being the seat of the incident.

Joseph Hunter, in his *New Illustrations of the Life, Studies and Writings of Shakespeare* (1845), Vol. II. p. 120, points out the statement made by the Nurse [A.1, S.3]: "'Tis since the earthquake now eleven years, and she (Juliet) was weaned." Hunter speaks of a shock felt in England in 1580, which Knight thinks is the one alluded to, and, therefore, dates the play 1591. Hunter also speaks of an earthquake that destroyed Ferrara in 1570, and of an inscription cut 1571 on St. Stephen's Church, Ferrara, that records the terrible event: "The order of towers, places, and temples in this inscription corresponds to the order in which they occur in the well-known passage in *The Tempest*."

\* *Bacon in Italy*. BACONIANA, Vol. X., discusses this subject.

He insists this is the earthquake meant. "Will this come in aid," he adds, "of the argument of those who contend that Shakespeare must at some period of his life have breathed the air of Italy, seen the Italian palaces, and witnessed the Italian customs he has so accurately exhibited?" Certainly it will, for my strong opinion is that Francis Bacon being in Ferrara two days with Montaigne, in 1580, may, therefore, not only have experienced the earthquake in Italy, but did see the inscription on St. Stephen's Church (as he specially mentions in the Diary, seeing many beautiful churches in Ferrara) and that he made use of it in *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Tempest*.

Before abandoning the subject of *Romeo and Juliet* I should like to point out the line A. 1, S. 1, which opens the Play:

*Samson*. Gregory, o' my word, we'll not carry coals, meaning they would not submit to an injury, as we learn by the way the same expression is used by Barnaby Rich in the third of eight Novels imprinted by him in London, 1581, and reprinted by The Shakespeare Society, 1846.

Fineo, the lover-hero, finds himself attacked in the street by the brother of his beloved Fiamma, who gives him to understand that he has offended one who *would bear no coals*." The Preface provided by the Shakespeare Society draws especial notice to this (among other resemblances to Shakespeare), under these words:

"A remarkable expression, applied in the same way as by our great dramatist in his *Romeo and Juliet*."

Barnaby Rich, a Moralist in a corrupt time, opens out yet another pathway by which Francis Bacon spread his dramatic lessons of chastity, morality, and general learning.



It is not without purpose that we find in the same scene, in *Romeo and Juliet*, Gregory saying: "The weakest goes to the wall." The title of a Play of Barnaby Rich played by the Lord Oxford's Company, "sundry times." It was printed first 1600, and illustrated Rich's novel of *Sappho, Duke of Mantona*, and contained, according to the anonymous Preface of the Shakespeare Society's reprint this line: "The unvalued Sepulchre of Christ." This is quoted in a long passage to afford "an instance of the precise mode in which Shakespeare uses the word "unvalued" for *invaluable* in *Richard III.*" and to render the preface-writer able to remark: "Some portions of the play would hardly be unworthy of his pen." Oh! the fallacies of Stratfordians! Barnaby Rich's second story *Apolinaris and Silla* deals fully with the argument of *Twelfth Night*.

It seems to me that no one wrote the play upon it but the one who himself wrote the poem. Malone enumerates the use of names and incidents in the two works, and says: "Several passages of *Romeo and Juliet* appear to have been formed on hints furnished by the poem, of which no traces are found, either in Paynter's novel or in Boastuau, or in the original, and several expressions are borrowed from thence which will be found in their proper places."—Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, vi., 3

Only another attempt to rob Shake-Speare of every possible originality! If I have succeeded in interesting any Baconians in this most attractive poem, and in inducing them to accept it as a first effort of our Immortal Bard in the creation of one of his sweetest and most loveable Plays my work is done. Paynter's Novel is dull and matter-of-fact beside it, it is a literal translation from Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*, is dated 1567, and, as I believe preceded Broke's

Poem. The story seems to owe its earliest form to a Greek Romance, and to have then passed into Italy, where Luigi da Porto was its exponent in 1535. Possibly the "Argument" of the story—which Broke says: "I saw set forth on Stage with more commendation than I can look for," may allude to an early private performance of the play to some of Francis' own personal friends. Twelfth Night was staged first as a Court Mask, before it saw the light in a Publick Theatre, or House, as it was then called.

It is amusing to note Hazlitt's naive remark on a statement which is of great interest, and should be investigated by some learned Baconian. He tells of a fragment of an old Latin Play on this subject in the Sloane Museum MS., 1775, and adds: "It is not likely to have served Shakespeare!" Why not I wonder? Hunter, in his *New Illustrations*, gives extracts from this Latin Play, which is worth consideration, as possibly also by Francis. "It is clearly," says Hunter, "the work of some person whose dramatic taste was formed in the school of the Ancients." Paris is a character that finds no place in this play, but a new character is introduced Philophilus. "It has," says Hunter, "beauties of its own," though he does not think it is the play alluded to in the Broke Poem. The fallacies manufactured by Stratfordians are wonderfully obstructive to their arriving at the Truth.

ALICIA A. LEITH.

## A NOTE ON "THE COMEDY OF ERRORS."

THE fallacies of Stratfordians are seen to advantage in a little notice inserted by Hazlitt before his *Story of the Two Brothers of Avignon from Goulart's Admirable and Memorable Histories*, 1607, in his *Shakespeare's Library*.

He says: "W. W.'s translation of the *Menæcluni* of Plautus, 1595, supplied Shakespeare with the plot, outline, and part of the material for this drama. . . . Warner's version of the *Menacluni* though not published till 1595, had been completed some time before and handed about among the translator's friends. *Probably Shakespeare may have seen it in MS.*" The italics are mine. The wonderful MSS. Shakespeare saw! He probably did see the *Menæcluni*, for there is little doubt but that "our" Shake-Speare was the real translator. Hazlitt continues: "No early English version, in print or MS. of the *Amphitrio* of Plautus, is known ever to have existed, but the same idea is to be found in it." Goulart's story of the twins, marvellously alike, contains this sentence, "A reviving of *Sosias* in Plautus *Amphitrio*." W. Warner is specially known as the author of *Albion's England*—that most curious book. John Sturm at Strasburg encouraged the acting of Plautus in his school at which I have shown.

BACONIANA, Vol. VII. p. 85, Francis, as a youth, was a visitor.

ALICIA A. LEITH.

## SIR PHILIP SIDNEY AND "LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST."

ACCORDING to the writers of "Lives" of Shakespeare, the sole purpose of the author of the Plays was to provide attractive fare for "the youths that thunder at a Playhouse and fight for bitten apples." But it is much to be thankful for that he was free from the taint of any commercialism. Gervinus rightly said that "Shakespeare despised the million, and Bacon feared, with Phocion, the applause of the multitude."

It is significant that Shakespeare follows closely the observations in Sidney's "Apologie for Poetrie" (1595), as to the real "purpose of playing" where, he says, we should see "all vertues, vices, and passions so in their naturall seates, layd to the viewe." It is an introduction to the Plays; the first of which had yet to be published.

Towards the end of the little book, the author deplores the degradation of the stage, and the "grosse absurdities" which were then applauded, above which Shakespeare soared so majestically. He writes:—"So falleth it out, that hauing indeed no right Comedy, in that comicall part of our Tragedy, we haue nothing but scurrility, vnwoorthy of any chaste eares: or some extreame shew of doltishnes, indeed fit to lift vp a loude laughter, and nothing els: where the whole tract of a Comedy, shoulde be full of delight, as the Tragedy shoulde be still maintained, in a well raised admiration. But our Comedians thinke there is no delight without laughter, which is very wrong, for though laughter may come with delight, yet cometh it not of delight:

as though delight should be the cause of laughter, but well may one thing breed both together : nay, rather in themselves, they haue as it were, a kind of contrarietie : for delight we scarcely doe, but in things that haue a conueniencie to ourselues, or to the generall nature : laughter almost euer commeth, of things most disproportioned to ourselues, and nature. Delight hath a joy in it, either permanent or present. Laughter hath onely a scornful tickling." After a discussion of those things which cause delight, and which laughter, he continues, " But I speake to this purpose, that all the end of the comicall part, bee not vpon such scornefull matters, as stirreth laughter onely : but mixt with it, that delightful teaching which is the end of Poesie. And the great fault euen in that point of laughter, and forbidden plainely by *Aristotle*, is, that they styrre laughter in sinfull things ; which are rather execrable then ridiculous ; or in miserable, which are rather to be pittied than scorned. For what is it to make folkes gape at a wretched Begger, or a beggerley Clowne ? or against lawe of hospitality to jest at straungers, because they speake not English so well as wee doe ? What do we learne, sith it is certaine

*(Nil habet insoelix paupertas durius in se,)*

*Quam quod ridiculos homines facit.—*

But rather a busy louing Courtier. A hartles threatening *Thraso*. A selfe-wise-seeming schoolemaster. An awry-transformed Traueller. These, if we sawe walke in stage names, which we play naturally, therein were delightfull laughter, and teaching delightfulness."

These deficiencies were immediately supplied by Shakespeare in " *Love's Labour's Lost*," supposed to be the earliest play. We find :—

*Berowne*, the " busy louing Courtier."

*Holofernes*, the " selfe-wise-seeming schoolemaster."

*Armado*, an "awry-transformed Traueller," and a "threatening *Thraso*."

And the characters create both laughter and delight.

The difficulty, which the Stratfordians have to face, is that the date of "Love's Labour's Lost," is placed before the date of publication of Sidney's masterpiece. Furnivall, Brandes and Grant White mention its composition as early as 1588-9, though not published until 1598 as "A pleasant conceited Comedie; newly corrected and augmented." Sidney died in 1586 and had been Governor of Flushing since November, 1584. Who was the custodian of the M.S.? Certainly not the rustic who, at the time Sidney left England, had not come to London.

There are resemblances between *Armado* in the Play, and *Thraso* in Terence's "Eunuchus." Both these bragging soldiers make great display of their "familiarity" with Kings:—

*Thraso*: Undoubtedly it is the case with me, that everything I do is a cause for thankfulness.

*Gnatho*: Upon my faith, I've observed it.

*Thraso*: The most mighty king, even, always used to give me especial thanks for whatever I did; but not so to others.

*Gnatho*: He who has the wit that you have, often by his words appropriates to himself the glory that has been achieved by the labour of others.

*Thraso*: You've just hit it.—Act III. Sc. 1.

*Brag*. Sir, the King is a noble Gentleman and my familiar, I doe assure ye very good friend: for what is inward between us, let it passe. I doe beseech thee remember thy curtesie. I beseech thee apparell thy head: and among other importunate and most serious designes, and of great import indeed too: but let that passe, for I must tell thee it will please his Grace (by

the world) sometime to leane vpon my poore shoulder, and with his royal finger thus dallie with my excrement. By the world I recount no fable, some certaine special honours it pleaseth his greatnesse to impart to Armado a Souldier, a man of travell, that hath seene the world.—Act V. Sc. 1.

The pedant describes his behaviour as “vaine, ridiculous and *thrasonicall*.” His is, moreover, ready with drastic threats towards Costard his rival for the love of Jacquenetta :—

*Brag*: “Dost thou infamonize me among Potentates? Thou shalt die.” There is a very striking parallelism between the following passage from “*Eunuchus*” (Act III., Sc. 6) and “*Othello*” (II.—1).

*Chaerea*: Am I at liberty to give vent to these raptures? O supreme Jupiter! now assuredly is the time for me to meet my death, when I can so well endure it: lest my life should sully this ecstasy with some disaster.

If I were now to dye,  
'Twere now to be most happy. For I feare,  
My Soule hath her content so absolute,  
That not another comfort like to this,  
Succedes in unknown Fate.

R. EAGLE.

## BACON'S EXPENSES.

**M**R. SMEDLEY argues that in 1593, Lady Ann Bacon, and before 1608, Nicholas Bacon the younger, evidenced by their actions that it was held to be unwise to let certain estates pass into the hands of Francis Bacon without making it impossible for him to turn them into money.

I have already shown that if the reservation existed as to Lady Ann's interest in the Markes estate it did not prevent Francis using it as collateral security to ensure the continuance of a loan called in. It is not fair to the memory of Francis to say that the condition had any further object than to enable Lady Ann to get her property back; which she did within six months.

But even in a small matter, such as this, Mr. Smedley should give us the recorded fact instead of the *ipse dixit* of his learned friend, Mr. Hardy.

As to the other "authenticated fact," we are referred to a glosse in the Calendar of State Papers under date 1608. If a fact, it is an extraordinary one that a sovereign could ever have been fettered by such a condition. Certainly it could not possibly fetter Francis, unless he were son and heir and successor to the Queen. That it did not ever fetter the successor to the throne is shown by the making of the Royal Grant of the remainder in question in 1608. Nicholas Bacon was alive and did not interfere with his £100 condition, although the remainder was on Francis Bacon's application granted to the trustees of his marriage settlement.

These "facts" do not support the contention that



the Bacons sought to control Francis in the enjoyment of his property for fear he should turn it into money and the suggestion is, therefore, unfair to his memory.

I deny that he strained the monetary resources of Lady Ann Bacon. I agree that in 1593 and 1594 he borrowed extensively from Anthony, but there is no evidence that Anthony was not repaid. I agree with Mr. Smedley in the extreme probability of his considerable expenditure being in the preparation and production of literature. Mr. Smedley does not ask me to justify the inference from historical fact that the Queen contributed to the support of Francis, and at one time deferred or stopped her contributions. But at the risk of distressing him and others who hesitate to accept the biliteral decipher as true in substance and in fact, I must give my reasons.

On 18th October, 1580, Francis wrote to Lord Burleigh, who controlled the Queen's income from large estates and public subsidies, and the Queen's expenditure, a letter from which I now quote two paragraphs :

1. "It must be an exceeding comfort and encouragement to one setting forth and putting myself in way towards her Majesty's service to encounter with an example so private and domestical of her Majesty's gracious goodness and benignity."

2. "And now seeing it hath pleased her Majesty to take knowledge of this my mind and to vouchsafe to appropriate me unto her service *preventing any desert of mine by her princely liberality*; first, I am moved to beseech your Lordship to present to her Majesty my more than humble thanks therefore." If that is not providing his maintenance, what is it?

I believe the cipher story that he was sent to Europe in September, 1576 (visited England in 1578) and finally returned with Paulet's despatches in March, 1578-9.

I believe that it was the tragedy of his life, after his return, that he had to write and behave as a son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, because the Queen would not openly acknowledge him. But as in 1580 so afterwards his applications for help and advancement (except loans from Anthony) *were always to the Queen.*

Mr. Smedley would be justified, from his point of view, in contending that the expenses abroad 1576-9 were provided by Sir Nicholas. Yet I am sure the contrary was the case. Sir Nicholas did not even provide for him in his will. It was not his affair.

When Francis went abroad again in 1581-2 Sir Nicholas was dead. The letter of Sir Thomas Bodley, Gentleman Usher to the Queen's private apartments, exhorted him to study the arts of states and Governments. Bodley was the intermediary through whom Francis was supplied with money by certain "friends."—(Letter written December, 1582.)

The letter of 1591-2, in which Burleigh was styled "the second founder of my poor estate," imports that the Queen was the first founder. She may have declined to meet his increasing monetary needs; and I think the phrase "And if your Lordship will not carry me on," meant that if Francis could not be provided with funds from the treasury or some appointment of sufficient revenue, then he would become a sorry bookmaker, which could only mean that he would write books for a living. This boldness was intended to impress the Queen with the fear that he might do something derogatory to his royal birth. The difficulty continued during the years of his disgrace 1593 and 1594. The Queen naturally hesitated to let him take an office under the State, and yet would not provide money for his needs.

His disgrace with the Queen really culminated on 7th March, 1592-3, when his opposition to a treble

subsidy caused her to forbid him the Court. Here was her son pressing her for more money and yet opposing her own needs in Parliament.

If she did not seek to bring him to heel by refusing funds I do not know Queen Elizabeth. Harvey who had lent Francis £600 against his Star Chamber reversion, became alarmed and, in April, called in his money.

That difficulty was overcome by giving the collateral security of the Markes estate. In September, Anthony lent Francis £200 and various small sums in September and October. In January, 1593-4, Francis, for the first time in his career, appeared as counsel for private clients, his doing so causing a great flutter amongst the judges and statesmen, a condition inconsistent with the Nicholas Bacon parentage assumption.

He pawned his plate with Cooke, and the number of quartos of plays and other publications now claimed as of his authorship printed in 1594 was exceptional. In July he borrowed another £100 from Anthony and went North. The Queen offered him money to work as one of the counsel in the important Lopez treason case, but he replied that it was impossible, although he was only at Huntingdon. Did she fear his going to Scotland? On a like occasion she had sent to bring her other son Essex back to her. Francis proceeded to Cambridge and received his degree of M.A. at a special congregation—the usual exercises and ceremonies being dispensed with. (Important young man this!) He returns to London, visits Gorhambury and stays Lady Ann from writing to Burleigh. He took up the Lopez examination business. In September he wrote that the wheel was now going. About that time he borrowed another £150, and in October, admitted to Anthony that his total indebtedness was £650. The following January he wrote

Anthony that he should go abroad. On 21st March, 1594-5, writing to Burleigh, he referred to his private estate, "which hath been bettered only by yourself (the Queen except) and not by any other in matter of importance." By June a letter to the Lord Keeper shows that Francis was then in the Queen's service once more. In the autumn Essex gave him land to the value of £1,800, and the Queen extended his lease of Twickenham Lodge. I expect the Queen also gave him money, for we hear no more of Anthony's loans, which must have been repaid. Evidently, they were not "matter of importance."

I think the historical evidence justifies the conclusion that from 1579 until the estrangement in 1592-3 Francis was supported financially by the Queen; that the quarrel resulted in a refusal of the extensive funds Francis needed, and may, in 1594, have gone to the extent of a cutting off of all supplies.

The small borrowings in January, March and April, 1594, considerably support this inference.

PARKER WOODWARD.

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#### NOTES ON "BACON'S EXPENSES."

**M**R. WOODWARD contends "that if the reservation existed as to Lady Ann's interest in the Marks Estate, it did not prevent Francis using it as a collateral security to ensure the continuance of a loan called in."

It may be useful to set out what is known about Bacon's connection with this Estate. It was situated in Essex and with other property including the Red Lion Inn at Romford was vested in Lady Ann Bacon. How she came by it I have been unable to trace, but as Gildea Hall, the residence of her father was situated close to Romford, it probably formed part of her dowry

provided by Sir Anthony Cook, or it may have come to her on his death. There is no evidence that it belonged to Sir Nicholas Bacon. At any rate, in 1584 it was entirely under Lady Ann's control. By deed dated 5th January, 1584 (26 Elizabeth) she voluntarily assigned the Marks estate, the Red Lion Inn and other property at Romford, to Francis, reserving to herself the right to take back at any time the premises assigned on payment of ten shillings. From the date of this deed, Francis would enter into enjoyment of the income produced by these properties.

So Mr. Woodward is mistaken when he says that the condition had not any further object than to enable Lady Ann to get her property back which she did within six months.

On the 26th of April, 1591, Francis executed a mortgage of the Marks Estate to George Harvey to secure a loan of £1,300\* This loan was repaid on the 1st of May, 1592, but on the following day the money was again advanced,† and again repaid, 18th June, 1594.

There is a letter from Harvey to Anthony Bacon, dated 24th February, 1593 (Lambeth MSS., 648, 94), in which he is asking for £32 10s. due on the 31st of January, from Francis to whom he had at Anthony's request given a fortnight's grace for payment. This amount would, at 5 per cent. per annum, be a half-year's interest on £1,300 which was the amount of the mortgage on the Marks Estate.

Mr. Woodward has not, as he states, shown that Lady Ann's reservation did not prevent Francis from using the Estate as a collateral security. It was never so used. It is clear that Lady Ann Bacon must in some way have acquiesced in these charges. It would be

\* Record Office, 34 Elizabeth, Part I., No. 1245.

† Close Rolls, 1453.

sufficient if she had agreed with Harvey that she would not exercise her right of preemption to his detriment. When Anthony's letter of the 16th of April, 1593, was written Francis Bacon's interest in the Marks Estate was, and had long been under mortgage to Harvey for £1,300. Anthony sought Lady Ann "to bestow the whole interest in Marks on Francis." He goes on to express the fear that failing this his "brother will be put to a very shrewd plunge, either to forfeit his reversion to Harvey or else to undersell it very much." Lady Ann was only prepared to do this on condition that Francis should not have the handling of the proceeds of sale, but that they should be paid over to her, that Francis should provide her with a list of his debts, and that she should discharge them. Her fear was that if she consented, Marks might be sold, and the debts or some of them remain undischarged. That it was a sale and not a mortgage which was contemplated at this time is evident from Lady Ann's remark to Anthony:—"Besides your brother told me before you, twice then, that he intended not to part with Markes."

Francis would not agree to Lady Ann's condition as to the disposal of the proceeds of sale. What was the fate of the negotiations cannot be found, but apparently they fell through, for the loan from Harvey was repaid on the 15th of June, 1594, and so far as can be traced from the documents, the property was unencumbered until the 18th of May of the following year, when it was again mortgaged to Harvey for £1,300. This loan was repaid on the 16th of November, 1595.\*

There is a letter, however, from Anthony Bacon to

\* 37 Elizabeth, Part 22.

Lady Ann dated 6th September, 1593,\* in which Anthony refers to his sale of the Barly Estate to Alderman Spencer. After stating that the documents had been acknowledged before a Master in Chancery, he says :

"So that now nothing resteth but my brother Bacon's joining which being done, the Alderman is bound to pay me immediately £1,500 more besides the £1,400 he hath already delivered; but if my brother make difficulty, I am not to receive it till the end of next term at which time likewise he is to pay me the other £500, which makes in all £3,400 whereof I am to pay £1,300 to Mr. Trott who most friendly and kindly, hath promised me to lend it my brother for the receiving of Marks out of Mr. Harvie's hands."

"Brother Bacon" is Sir Nicholas Bacon for there is a letter drafted by Francis from Anthony dated 28th, 1593, to Sir Nicholas asking him to join with Anthony and Francis in the sale. A letter from Francis to Alderman Spencer dated 22nd November, indicates that the purchase was not then completed. As Harvey was not paid off until the 15th of June, 1594, it would appear that Sir Nicholas did make difficulty and the transaction was not carried through until that date. The inference is that Trott found the money to discharge Harvey's mortgage, but that Harvey again lent the amount on the 18th of May, 1595, to enable Francis to repay Trott, and this loan from Harvey was discharged on the 16th of November, 1595, but from what source so far no information has been found. There all trace, which has so far come to light, of the fate of the Marks Estate ends.

I cannot find that Harvey had a charge on Bacon's reversion of the clerkship of the Star Chamber. When Anthony uses the expression: "either to forfeit his reversion to Harvey," Spedding in a note says:

\* Lambeth MSS. 649-210. ;

"Meaning the reversion of the Clerkship of the Star Chamber;" but he did not apparently know that Bacon's reversion of the Marks Estate was then charged to Harvey.

The point which I made with reference to the note on the document of 31st January, 1608, is this, that after the record of the right of preemption retained by Sir Nicholas Bacon, these words are added by way of explanation:—"This was apparently done to prevent the said Sir Francis to dispose of the said land, which otherwise by law he might have done." The words speak for themselves, and warrant my conclusion.

That in 1608 Nicholas Bacon did not interfere when the remainder was vested in the trustees of his brother's marriage settlement does not support Mr. Woodward's contention, but is consistent with the note in question as to the object of the condition. If the properties were vested in trustees, Bacon's power of disposing of them by sale would be effectually barred.

I stated recorded facts, and did not rely on the ipse dixit of Mr. Harold Hardy. I gave him the credit of unearthing the documents, namely the deeds of 5th January, 1586, and 31st January, 1608. To these I now add the Mortgages to Harvey, and the Recognizances to Otley or to Harvey mentioned in this article.

Mr. Parker Woodward writes:—"I deny that he strained the monetary resources of Lady Ann Bacon."

It is beyond question that Lady Ann's resources were strained as early as 1589 for Captain Allen, after visiting her at Gorhambury in a letter to Anthony Bacon dated 17th August, 1589, says:—

"Upon my arrival at Godombery, my Lady used me courteously until such time I began to move her for Mr. Lawson ;



and to say the truth for yourself ; being so much transported with your abode there that she let not to say that you are a traitor to God and to your country ; you have undone her ; you seek her death ; and when you have that you seek for, you shall have but a hundred pounds more than you have now."

and further on :—

"also, saith her jewels be spent for you and that she borrowed the last money of seven several persons."

The letter of 16th April, 1593, from Anthony Bacon to his mother referred to on page 105 of BACONIANA for January last, in which he described her "as a wise and kind mother to us both" refers to a "motherly offer she had made to Francis," which was that to help him out of debt you (*i.e.*, she) would be content to bestow the whole interest in Marks upon him." This brought an answer from Lady Ann Bacon written on the following day in which she says :—

"I have been too ready for you both till nothing is left."

That sentence alone justifies my statement. But she emphasizes the point. After complaining that Francis retained "that bloody Percy" in his employ, she adds :—

"Surely I am utterly discouraged, and make a conscience further to undo myself to maintain such wretches as he is."

The postscript, to the contents of which I have already referred, to this letter is of importance in considering the relations of Lady Ann and Francis. In it she writes :

"If your brother desire a release to Mr. Harvey, let him so require it himself, and but upon this condition by his own hand and bond, I will not ; that is, that he make and give me a true note of all his debts, and leave to me the whole order and receipt of all his money for his land to Harvey, and the just payment of all his debts thereby. And by the mercy and grace of God it shall be performed by me to his quiet discharge without cumbering him and to his credit."

In a subsequent letter she writes :—

"My plain proposition was and is to do him good. . . . I did desire only to receive the money to discharge his debts indeed ; and dare not trust such his riotous men with the dealing withal. I am sure no preacher, nor lawyer, nor friend would have misliked this my doing for his good and my better satisfying."

Then she continues :—

"He perceives my good meaning by this and before, too. But Percie had winded him. God bless my son. What he would have me do and when for his own good, as I now write, let him return plain answer by Fynch. He was his father's first choice, and God will supply if he will trust in Him and call upon (him) in truth of heart, which God grant to mother and sons."

There is further evidence, that Lady Ann had been assisting Francis in a large way, in a letter he writes to her, dated October 4th, 1593. He is asking her for a hundred pounds and as to repayment says :—

"Specially your ladyship of your goodness being content it be repaid out of Mr. Boldroe's debt, which it pleased you to bestow upon me."

As Anthony was to become security for Francis for this advance of a hundred pounds, I think the natural inference is that Lady Ann was borrowing it for the latter. She had apparently already assigned to Francis a debt due to her by a Mr. Boldroe which certainly was in excess of the amount of the advance now sought. This transaction further supports my statement that Francis had strained the monetary resources of Lady Ann Bacon.

There is yet another letter of Francis to Lady Ann dated February 14th, 1593 (*i.e.*, the February following October, 1593), which throws light upon their relations. It appears that after the death of the Lord Keeper, the furniture which was in York House

was stored in the custody of Bacon's cousin Kempe. In this letter Francis writes :—

" Further, if your Ladyship withdraw any implements of house from thence, which I take it were such as served in York House, your Ladyship had ever an intention they should be bestowed of Markes or Twicknam and indeed I want them and find how costly the buying of new is. Whereof I do but remember your Ladyship ; for I am fain, as they say, between Gray's Inn and Twicknam to rob Peter and pay Paul, and to remove my stuff to and fro, which is chargeable and hurteth the stuff. And therefore, Madam, they would do wondrous well if you thought so good ; and if your Ladyship would give me leave to see what I want, the rest may remain where it shall please you. But herein I refer myself to your Ladyship's good pleasure.

" Besides my cousin hath in custody my residue of plate, which, if your Ladyship take all out of his hands, I pray let me receive."

Further evidence of Bacon's economy in providing furniture will be found in the postscript of his letter dated June 9th, 1594, to his mother. He writes :—

" In which respect because carriage of stuff to and fro spoileth it, I shall be glad of that light bed of striped stuff which your Ladyship hath if you have not otherwise disposed of it."

There are several deductions to be made from the foregoing extracts. First, Bacon's resources were so limited that when he resided at Twickenham Lodge, the lease of which was held by Edward Bacon, he had not the means wherewith to furnish it properly, and when he went to stay there he had to cart some of his furniture down from Gray's Inn and bring it back on his return. He does not therefore appear to have been extravagant in his personal expenditure. Secondly, there is a sort of claim on or interest in the York House furniture implied. This almost goes to the extent of his saying :—" If you do not require them, I need them and am entitled to them." Thirdly, the

reference to "my residue of plate" is curious. Apparently Francis was entitled to part of the plate which had been in use at York House, subject to some sort of control by Lady Ann. I cannot find that Francis pledged his plate to Cooke, whoever that may be. The general effect of all these transactions is to increase the wonder as to how Bacon applied all the money he had borrowed and raised up to this time.

Mr. Parker Woodward's contention is that up to 1593, Francis was not in straightened circumstances, that he was in enjoyment of an ample income from the Queen paid through Burghley up to the date when by his speech on the subsidies he displeased her. The historical facts are against this contention.

There is evidence that in 1590 Bacon was borrowing on usurious conditions. On the 14th of January in that year he entered into a recognisance to Thomas Otley, a leather seller, of London, to pay him £500 with this condition attached to it—that if he paid £357 10s. on or before the 16th of December following, the bond should be null and void. On the 7th of November, 1590, he entered into a similar document to George Harvey, of College Row, Essex, for £400 with the condition that if £200 were paid by 24th of March, 1592, it should be null and void. Then there is the loan of £1,300 from Harvey, on the 25th of April, 1591. It is a justifiable deduction from Lady Ann's stipulation in April, 1593, that she should have a list of the debts of Francis that there were other debts. The borrowings from Anthony to which Mr. Woodward refers were after this date and were a comparatively small proportion of the total. Francis did not admit to Anthony on the 4th of October, 1594, that his total indebtedness was £650, but he acknowledged that £650 was due from him to Anthony at that date.

Mr. Parker Woodward bases his suggestion, that

the Queen was supporting Francis through Lord Burghley, mainly on the letter of the 18th of October, 1580. In my opinion that letter affords no justification for that theory.

Francis had approached Lord Burghley and laid before him some project which he was desirous of carrying out. He had fully explained the matter in conversation, and on the 16th of September, 1580, he followed it up in two letters\* one to his aunt Mildred, in which he refers to his proposals to Lord Burghley and solicits her to use her influence with her husband in support of them, the other to Lord Burghley, referring to the conversation in which he had obtained a promise from his Lordship that he would tender the suit to the Queen. In this letter no mention is made of what was the object of the suit, but it was one which required an apology. Bacon describes it as "rare and unaccustomed," as one of which the Queen could have had no experience, but he relies for obtaining her assent to it on the recommendation of one so great and so good as his Lordship. Spedding says he can throw no light on what this suit was. A suggestion as to its object will be found in "The Mystery of Francis Bacon," pages 66 to 81. Spedding comments, "The Queen, who though slow to bestow favours, was careful always to encourage hopes, entertained the motion graciously and returned a favourable answer." Burghley related this to Francis, who returned his thanks in a letter, dated the 18th of October, 1580, from which Mr. Woodward quotes.

From a letter written by Francis to Sir Francis Walsingham, on the 25th of October, 1584, it is known that the suit was still being actively urged, but without result. "I think the objection of my years," he writes, "will wear out with the length of my suit."

\*See BACONIANA, III. Series, Vol. IX.— page 13.

This suit was only finally abandoned in Bacon's letter to Burghley, the date of which is approximately fixed by the expression it contains:—"I wax somewhat ancient, one and thirty years is a great deal of sand in the hour glass."

To return to the letter of the 18th of October, 1580. Bacon, after expressing satisfaction at Burghley's relation of her Majesty's gracious opinion and meaning towards him, says:—

*"It must be an exceeding comfort and encouragement to me setting forth and putting myself in way towards her Majesty's service, to encounter with an example so private and domestical of her Majesty's gracious goodness and benignity; being made good and verified in my father so far forth as it extendeth to his posterity, accepting them as commended, by his service, during the non-age as I may term it, of their own desserts. I, for my part, am well content that I take least part either of his abilities of mind or of his worldly advancements, both which he held and received, the one of the gift of God immediate, the other of her Majesty's gift: yet in the earnest and loyal affection which he bare to her Majesty's service, I trust my portion shall not be with the least nor in proportion with my youngest birth. For, methinks his precedent should be a silent charge upon his blessing unto us all, in our degrees, to follow him afar off, and to dedicate unto her Majesty's service, both the use and spending of our lives. True it is I must needs acknowledge myself prepared and furnished thereunto with nothing but a multitude of lacks and imperfections. But calling to mind how diversly and in what particular providence God hath declared himself to tender the estate of her Majesty's affairs, I conceive and gather hope, that those whom he hath in a manner pressed for her Majesty's service, by working and imprinting in them a single and zealous mind to bestow their days therein, He will see them accordingly appointed of sufficiency convenient for the rank and standing where they shall be employed; so as under this her Majesty's blessing, I trust to receive a larger allowance of God's graces. As I may hope for these, so I can assure and promise for my endeavour that it shall not be in fault; but what diligence can entitle me unto that I doubt not to recover. And now seeing it hath pleased her Majesty to take knowledge of this*

*my mind and to vouchsafe to appropriate me unto her service preventing any dessert of mine with her princely liberality; first I am moved to beseech your Lordship to present to her Majesty my more than most humble thanks therefore and withal having regard to mine own unworthiness to receive such favour and to the small possibility in me to answer what her Majesty conceiveth, I am moved to become a most humble suitor unto her Majesty that this benefit also may be affixed unto the other, &c., &c."*

And then he proceeds to ask, in the same high flowing style, as the further "benefit" that the Queen shall correct him where necessary.

The sentences Mr. Woodward relies on are here printed in italics, and when he asks:—"If that is not providing his maintenance, what is it?" the reply must be that, having regard to the context, the words cannot bear that construction.

The letter was evidently written with the intention that Burghley should show it to the Queen, and it was intended to flatter her vanity. But year after year passed, and the suit was never granted, notwithstanding the favourable manner in which it was at first received. "To vouchsafe to appropriate me to her service, preventing any desert of mine with her princely liberality," is a grandiloquent way of acknowledging the promise or rather the intimation that she was disposed to grant the suit and in it appropriate him to her service, his lack of desert being supplied by the princely liberality of her nature. There is no question of pounds, shillings and pence involved in this courtly phrase. And let it once more be remembered, the suit was never granted and the princely liberality was never exercised.

If confirmation be required that this view is the correct one, it will be found in Bacon's letter to the Queen, written in May, 1593. It commences:—

"Remembering that your Majesty has been gracious to me in countenancing me, and conferring upon me the reversion

of a good place, and perceiving your Majesty had taken some displeasure towards me, both these were arguments to move me to offer unto your Majesty my service to the end to have means to deserve your benefit and to repair my error."

Here will be found the extent of the favours he had received from the Queen. She had countenanced him and conferred on him the reversion of the Clerkship of Star Chamber. That is all.

This much is manifest that in January, 1584, Lady Ann Bacon provided Francis with a substantial income, derived from an estate and properties which evidently passed to her as a member of the Cooke family.

I cannot trace the slightest evidence, nor does Mr. Woodward advance any, supporting the suggestion that when Burghley was referred to as "the second founder of my poor estate," Bacon was reserving the place of first founder for the Queen. Such a view is not in the picture. Nor is it possible that Francis when he threatened to become a sorry bookmaker, intended to imply that he would write books for a living. That is still more out of the picture. The context in which he announces his determination to sell the inheritance that he has, and purchase some lease of quick revenue, or some office of gain that shall be executed by deputy, and so leave him free from the care of providing for his maintenance, expressly excludes it.

Mr. Woodward's remark on Bacon's first appearance as counsel in a private cause is not justified by the facts. He says:—"his doing so causing a great flutter amongst the judges and statesmen, a condition inconsistent with the Nicholas Bacon parentage assumption."

When the candidature for the office of Attorney General was in progress, the strongest point against Bacon's pretensions was his lack of experience. His



opponents urged that "he had never entered the place of battle," that he had never pleaded in court. In order to meet this objection a brief was obtained for him, and on the 25th of January, 1593-4, he made his first pleading in the King's Bench. He was so successful, Anthony writes to his mother in a letter dated the 8th of February, that Burghley sent his Secretary to congratulate him and to ask for a note of his case and the chief points of his pleading, so that he might report it where it would do him most good. He had another case in the same Court on the 5th of February, and on the ninth he appeared in the Exchequer Chamber, before the two Lord Chief Justices and other Judges. Henry Gosnold, a young lawyer of Gray's Inn, a friend of Anthony's, writes to him with an account of the hearing. There was no flutter for the Lord Keeper and Lord Treasurer, who were entitled to sit on the bench, were not present. Gosnold says:—

"That Mr. Francis Bacon retains his reputation gained is not strange to any that knows him. That he hath increased it is not incredible. The absence of the Lord's that were looked for was recompensed with a presence of learned Judges, and seemed an assembly rather capable than honourable. The respect they gave him, although it was extraordinary, was well noted, but not envied. The attention of the rest springing from an experience of good and an expectation of better, could not be better. His argument, contracted by the time, seemed a *bataille serrée*, as hard to be discovered as conquered. The unusual words with which he had bespangled his speech, were rather gracious for their propriety than strange for their novelty, and like to serve both for occasions to report and means to remember his argument. Certain sentences of his, somewhat obscure, and as it were presuming upon their capacities, will, I fear, make

some of them rather admire than commend him."

The foregoing is all that has come down of Bacon's first pleadings. There was no flutter among the statesmen, and it was Bacon's unconventional method of pleading which astonished the judges. All this was what might have been expected from one who was described by a contemporary as "a prodigy of parts he must be who was begot by wise Sir Nicholas Bacon, born of the accomplished Mrs. Ann Cooke." It was certainly not inconsistent with that parentage.

The production of a number of quartos of plays and such publications, did not tax Bacon's financial resources. They might even have paid their way. The works for the publishing of which he was borrowing money were of a very different calibre.

Mr. Woodward is convinced that Sir Nicholas Bacon did not supply the funds for the expenses of Francis when he visited the Continent from 1576 to 1579, and adds:—"Sir Nicholas did not even provide for him in his will. It was not his affair." As to the source from which the expenses were defrayed there is no evidence, but Mr. Harold Hardy has recently discovered, at the Record office, the letters patent dated 30th June, 1576, reciting the license granted to Francis to travel on the Continent for three years. The text of the letters patent is given on pages 132-133 of this number of *BACONIANA*. It will be observed that the license was granted jointly to Edward Bacon and Francis Bacon, who shared the provision of servants, horses and money for the journey. The natural inference is that they were provided by Sir Nicholas Bacon, whose pecuniary position would certainly enable him to provide for his sons.

Nothing in Bodley's letter justifies the assumption that the Queen was supplying Francis with funds.

Bodley sends him £30 and states that he would have sent a greater sum but that his extraordinary charge that year had utterly unfurnished him. Concluding he asks for information as to Francis' progress and promises "I will make you as liberal a return from myself and your friends here as I shall be able." This is not consistent with the hypothesis that Bodley was the Queen's agent in supporting Francis. Here as elsewhere Mr. Woodward lets his anxiety to substantiate the cypher story obscure his appreciation of the fact that on account of his supreme intellectual qualities Francis was "the observed of all observers." He had long been the observation of wise men and was now the wonder of all.

The knowledge of Bacon's visit to Europe in 1576, and his return to England, cannot be placed to the credit of the cipher story. Historical evidence as to these was public property two hundred and fifty years before the cipher story was dreamt of.

It is a mistake to say that the Lord Keeper made no provision for Francis in his will. The full text of that will is given on pages 181-4 of this number of *BACONIANA*. The testator after leaving to his wife, Lady Ann Bacon, all his interest in York House, in consideration of which, and of such assurances of manor lands and tenements as he had already assured to her, and for all loves that had been between them, continues:—"I desire her to see to the well bringing up of my two sons, Anthony and Francis, that are now left poor orphans without a father." Apparently he considered the bringing up of Francis *was* the affair of himself and his wife. He leaves to Anthony, if he arrives at the age of 24, half of all the household stuff that may remain at Gorham-bury at the time of his death (except the plate, tent and pavilion), but if Anthony dies before reaching that age the bequest is made to Francis. He proceeds to

bequeath certain estates in the Counties of Hertford and Middlesex to Anthony, providing that if he dies without leaving male heirs :—" Francis, my son, shall have, hold, occupy, and enjoy the said woods, farm, and other the premises before bequeathed to the said Anthonie, to him the said Francis his exccutors and assigns for ever." When providing for a release in law of Lady Anne's dower rights in certain manors, lands, tenements and hereditaments, he speaks of " my sonnes Nicholas, Nathaniell, Edwarde, Anthonie and Franncis." There are bequests to Nicholas; one of two hundred pounds to Nathaniel towards the building of a house at Stifkey; but to Edward, his youngest son by the first marriage, he leaves neither money, horses, land nor goods, nor even any reversion.

Rawley, in that most unsatisfactory life of Bacon, which was published in 1657, states he had heard of knowing persons that his father the Lord Keeper had collected a considerable sum of money, which he had separated with the intention of buying land to provide an income for his son, " who though he was the youngest in years, yet he was not the lowest in his father's affection (Lady Ann speaks of Francis as being his father's first choice), but the purchase being unaccomplished at his father's death, Francis received no greater share " than his single part and portion of the money dividable amongst five brethren." It is certain that under the will of Sir Nicholas, on the death of Anthony, Francis inherited Gorhambury and its contents. If Rawley is to be believed, the Queen did not provide funds for Francis, for he states :—" Though she cheered him much with the bounty of her countenance, yet she never cheered him with the bounty of her hand."

I am not attacking the cypher story of Bacon's birth. It may or may not be true. But I contend

that the support which Mr. Woodward has endeavoured to advance for it from historical evidence has failed at every point.

For the purpose of my contention Bacon's parentage is immaterial. Whether he was the son of the Queen and Leicester or of Sir Nicholas and Lady Bacon he was the greatest genius the world has produced. He was raising money wherever he could from his earliest years, and yet he stated that he was neither prodigal, nor slothful. I believe that in 1580 he had conceived the idea of giving his country a language and a literature worthy of it. This was the dominating purpose of his life. He endeavoured through Burghley to obtain the support of the Queen to his great scheme to this end as the first step towards the advancement of learning but failed in his endeavour. He, and he only, could realise the transcendent importance of this scheme in building up the future greatness of England. The task was gigantic, but he scorned obstacles and difficulties. From Lady Ann Bacon, Anthony, Lord Burghley and everyone that came in his way he sought financial aid. He was magnificently unselfish. His lands, reversions, and everything he possessed he was prepared to sacrifice to achieve his object. He went further in his abandonment. He risked liberty, character, and honour, and he won! His daring in incurring financial obligations to confer this inestimable boon upon his country was surpassed by his daring in intellectual matters. He had such a thorough appreciation of his intellectual supremacy that he was prepared to hide his personality, confident that as the fruits of his genius advanced the culture and mental power of his countrymen, the hidden source—his great intellect—which had brought into existence this result must be manifest, and his fame be revealed. His confidence was just. "From the day of his death his fame has been constantly and steadily

progressive ; and we have no doubt that his name will be named with reverence to the latest ages and to the remotest ends of the civilised world."

I do not plead guilty when Mr. Parker Woodward charges me with being unfair to Bacon's memory.

WILLIAM T. SMEDLEY.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

### "THE GOLDEN BOOK OF ENGLISH SONNETS."

#### TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—About a year ago Mr. W. Robertson, M.A., of Edinburgh, published (Harrap and Co., 3s. 6d.) a new anthology of sonnets entitled, "The Golden Book of English Sonnets," and it may interest your readers to learn that at page 24 he has inserted a sonnet by that voluminous pamphleteer and playwright, Robert Greene (1560-1592), who called Shakespeare "an upstart crow," and who wrote "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay," "George-a-Greene," and other comedies—and that on the following page, facing Greene's composition, Mr. Robertson has inserted the sonnet by Francis Bacon, beginning "Seated between the old world and the new." This sonnet, it will be remembered, formed part of a Masque written by Bacon about the year 1594, and no one (not even Spedding) has ever questioned its being his work. On pages 11-20 of the anthology are printed what the editor apparently considers the ten finest sonnets by Shakespeare, and readers will do well to compare them with that by Francis Bacon. Also on page 23 will be found a sonnet by Thomas Lodge (1556-1625) who was a friend of Robert Greene and collaborated with him on several of his plays ; and on pages 21 and 22 are inserted sonnets by Bartholomew Griffin and Sir Walter Raleigh, two of the authors whose compositions were published in the "Passionate Pilgrim," as having been written by William Shakespeare.

There is no doubt that this anthology must be classed amongst the best that have ever issued from the press, and will probably long be regarded as the standard work on the subject. It is, therefore, satisfactory to find that Bacon's sonnet has been included, and has at last taken its place as one of the most celebrated of English sonnets.

Yours faithfully,

SAMUEL WADDINGTON.

15, Cambridge Street,  
Hyde Park, W.

COPY OF THE WILL OF SIR NICHOLAS BACON,  
LORD KEEPER OF THE GREAT SEAL.

In the name of God, Amen. The thre and twentithe daie of December in the yere of our Lord God a thousand fyve hundred the seaventye and eighte, and in the one and twentithe yere of the reigne of our Sovereigne Laydie Elizabeth by the Grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, Defender of the Faithe, etc. (1) Sir Nicholas Bacon Knighte Lord Keper of the Greate Seale of England beyng of whole mynde and memorie doe make this my present testament in manner and forme follywyng revokynge all former wills and testaments made by me, before the date hereof.

First. I comyte my sowle to the hands of Almighty God whoe of his omnipotencie did create yt and of his infinite mercie redemed yt and nowe as my undoubted hope ys by the same mercifull redemcon will glorifie yt and save it.

My desier ys to be buried at Pawles where my tombe is. And because I geve noe blackes to the riche that have noe neede therefore I geve to the poore that have neede fyve hundred the marks to be distributed accordynge as by a sedule subscribed wythe my hand dothe appeare. I will notwithstanding blackes be geven to my householde folkes both at London and Gorhamburie and to all my children their husbands and wiffes.

Item I geve to my deare and welbeloved wief one thowsande fyve hundred the ounces of my plate whereof thone haulfe guylte and thother haulfe parcel guylte and white, to be chosen by hir oute of all my plate excepte soutche parcels as I geve away by speciall name.

I give hir also all my lynen, naperie, hangynges, coches, fytters, and all other my howshold stufe and howsholde stoore remayninge at London excepte my readie money, plate and armor and excepte suche evidence as apperteyne to eny lands or hereditaments as be assigned to eny of my children by my former wief, and excepte suche things as remayne in my studie and suche things as I geve awaye by speciall woordes requyringe my wief in consideracon of the same provision and stoore to kepe so many of my howsholde together at her charges during a monethe after my deathe as will tarrie so longe for the better doinge whereof I give hir in readie money<sup>lii</sup>. I give hir also suche jewells and golsmythes worke (excepte plate) as remaynethe with hir. I will also to my said wief all my horses and geldynges. And also all my intereste in all my stockes of sheepe goynge at Ingham or Tymwoorthe or within eny of my sheepe courses there. To possesse and use

durynge hir life uppou condicon that within one yere nexto alter my decease and before her marriage agayne she become bounde to my executors in the some of two hundredthe pounds that at the tyme of her deathe she shall leave to suche person or persons as oughte then to possesse the same mannor and stocke of sheepe goynge uppou the same mannor and within the same sheepe courses of like goodnes and of as greate a number as she shall reccave.

And this is donne because I ame bownde uppou covenants of marriage of my eldest sonne to leave suche a stocke after the deathe of my said wief. And I will that the the stockes letten with Stifkey goe as the lands is there appoynted to goe and remayne. And I will that the one haulfe of all the howsholde stufe that shall remayn at Gorhamburie at the tyme of my deathe (excepte my plate, tent and pavylion) to Anthonie at thage of 24 yeres. And if he die before then to Frauncis at the same age. And thother haulfe I will to Anthonie after the deathe of my wief And in the meanetyme my wief to have the use of it. To whome also I geve all my greene store of howsholde remayninge either at Redburn or Windridge and all my other goodes and cattalls remayninge there (except my plate and money and other things before geven or excepted).

Item I will that all my lease of Aldenham and all copiehold lands or tenements lyinge in the parrishes of Sainte Michall or Sainte Stephens nighe Staint Albones or joyninge to any lands of Westwicke, Gorhamburie or Praye shall remayne and goe accordyne as my howse of Gorhamburie is appoynted to goe and remayne.

Item I geve to my said wief all my intereste in Yorke Howse in consideracon of which legacies and in consideracon of suche assurances of mannors lands and tenements as I have assured unto my said wief and for all loves that have bonne betwene us I desier her to see to the well bringing upp of my two sonnes Anthonie and Frauncis that are nowe left poore orphans without a father.

And further I will bequethe to the said Anthonie my sonne all that my lease and tearme of yeres and all my intereste and demaunde which I have of or in all those woodes comonly knowne or called by the name or names of Brittelfirthe alias Brighteighfirthe alias Brighteighe woode and Burnet Heathe lyinge nd beyng in the parish of Sainte Stephens in the countie of Hertforde. And also all that yerely rente of £26 13 4 due and payable for the said woodes. And also all my righte tittle and possession which I have of and in eny lands tenements



and heriditaments assuered to my said (son) Sir Nicholas for the true payment of the said rente of £26 13 4. And also all that my lease and tearme of yeres and all my tittle and intereste and demaunde which I have of or in the fearme of Pynner Parke lying in the parrishe of Harrowe in the County of Middlesex. And also of and in all my other landes tenements and heriditaments lying in the said parrishe of Harrowe. To have and to houlde to the said Anthonie the said woodes lying within the said parrishe of Sainte Stephens. And all the said fearme called Pynner Park and all the said landes and heriditaments in Harrowe for and duryng so maney yeres as yt shall happen the said Anthonie to live. And if yt shall fortune the said Anthonie to die before the full ende and expiracon or determinacon of the said leases and tearmes therein contained then my will and intent is that the eldest sonne of the bodie of the said Anthonie for the tyme beyng and the heyres mayles of his bodie for the tyme beyng shall have houlde occupie and enjoye successively during their severall lyves all the said woodes and fearme and other the premysses before bequeathed to the said Anthonie for so maney yeres as the said eldeste sonne of the said Anthonie for the time beinge or the heyres males of the bodie of the said eldest sonne shall severallye and successivelie fortune to live and yt it fortune the said Anthonie and his said eldeste sonne and the heyres males of the said eldeste sonne and everie of them to die without issue male of their bodies and of the body of every of them before the full ende and determination of the saide leases and termes of yeaeres therein contained, then my will and full meanyng is further that Francis my sonne shall have houlde occupy and enjoe the said woodes fearme and other the premysses before bequeathed to the said Anthonie. To hym the said Frauncis his executors and assignes for ever.

Item I geve also to my eldeste sonne and his heyres all my fearmes in Mildenhall and of Langerfearme and of the lands and tenements in Ilketeshall and of my howse in Silver Streete that I have of the House of Westminster and of my fearme of Dullynghams.

And further I will to my said heyre my tent and pavilyon remayninge at Gorhamburie and all my apparrell armor and weapon remaininge eyther at Redgrave or at any howse in London and all my howshoulde stufe stocke stoore and other goodes remayning at Redgrave, and all things remayning in my studie at London excepte suche as be geven awaye by speciall wordes.

Item I geve to Robert Blackeman my nephewé all my

intereste in the lease of the meadowes and grounde at Hame.

And to Nathaniell my sonne towards the buildyng of his howse at Stifkey twoo hundredthe poundes and besides all my lease of the lands in Stifkey and my stocke of sheepe goeing upon them.

Item I give to the Master and Fellowes of Bennet Colledge in Cambridge to the buildinge of a chappell there cc<sup>li</sup>.

And I geve to every of my freendes and to my servantes and suche other person as be named in a pagyne hereafter followyng subscribed with my hand all suche thyngs and somes of money as beene in the same appoynted.

Provided alwayes that iff Ann my said wief doe not make or cause to be made within one yere next after my decease and before she be married agayne to everie of my sonnes Nicholas, Nathaniell, Edwarde, Anthonie and Frauncis, a sufficient release in lawe of all her right tittle intereste and demaundes of dower of and in all the manors landes tenements and hereditaments whercof by reason of my seysin she is or then shalbe dowable and deliver or cause to be delivered to everie of my said sonnes one suche release within the said yere and before she be married, then I will all my legacies guifts, and bequestes to her made shalbe void and then I will the same together with the reste of my goodes debtes and cattalles after my debtes paied funeralls discharged and legacies performed to my eldeste sonne Nicholas.

Item I will that the hundredthe poundes stocke remayning with the Mayor of Sainte Albones and his brethern's handes for the settinge of the poore of woorke be continued in their handes so long as they performe the covernauntes agreed upon betweene them and me otherwise that my wief or heyres to Gorhamburie receive and kepe the same.

And of this my will I make my executors Sir Nicholas Bacon Knyghte and Nathanyell Bacon, and overseer my Lorde Treasurer my brother in lawe to whon I geve a standyng cuppe with a cover garnyshed with cristall weighing 53 ounces 3 quarters, and to my Ladie Burghleyo my sister in lawe a deepe bowle with a cover haveyng my cognizaunce weighing 21 ounces and a half.

To Anthonie my jewell that I weare and to my daughter Bacon my eldeste sonne's wief my cheaste in my study made by Albert and my little boxe with ringes and to Mistress Butts my ringe with the beste turquois.

In wittnes whereof I have subscribed everie pagyne of this my will with myne owne hande and set to my seale the daie and yere firste above writton.

OCTOBER, 1915.

# BACONIANA

## A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

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# The Bacon Society.

(INCORPORATED.)

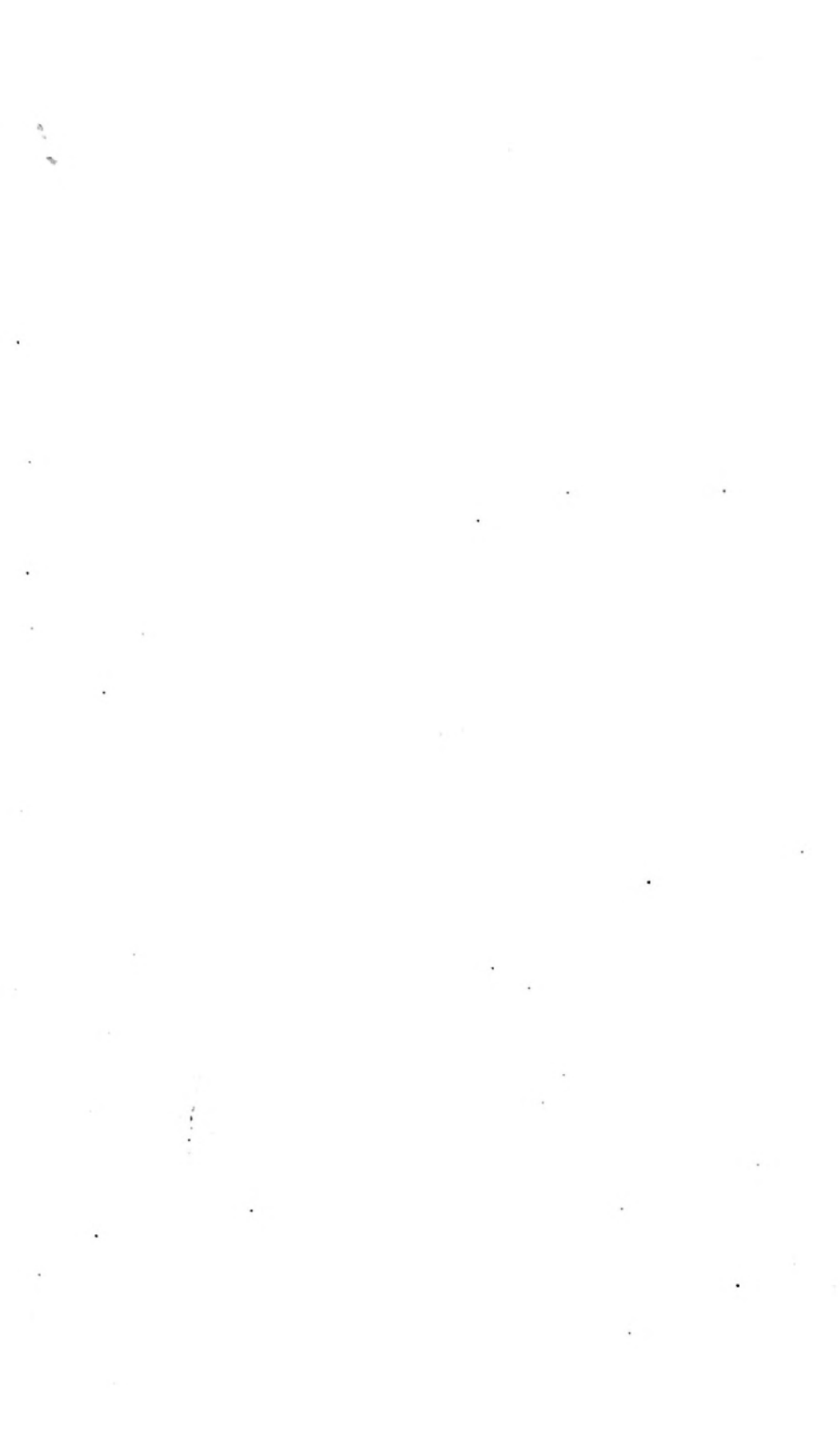
THE objects of the Society are expressed in the Memorandum of Association to be:—

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

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

The Society's Library and Rooms are at 11, Hart Street, London, W.C. (close to the British Museum), where the Secretary attends daily, and from 3 to 5 o'clock will be happy to supply further information.

*The columns of BACONIANA are open for the expression of all shades of opinion on the subjects discussed therein, although such opinions may not be in accord with those held by the Council of the Society or the Editor of the Journal.*





Constance Mary Loff.

*Born 1833; died 1915.*

# BACONIANA.

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VOL. XIII. *Third Series.* OCTOBER, 1915.

No. 52.

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## THE STORY OF ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX.

(Continued.)

### THE QUEEN'S RING.

THE story of the ring said to have been given by the Queen to Essex as a pledge to help him in his last extremity, has been retold by many writers to the present time, but recently has been declared to be a fiction. In seeking reasons for this it appears that the story has been told of two rings, and that neither Howell nor the Helmingham MS. mention the ring at all. The latter seems to be the principal reason urged for discrediting the story, and is a novel way of establishing a negative to one acquainted with that useful chronicler, Howell, for we well know that there were many true occurrences which he did not record. The lack of mention in the Helmingham MS. is an equally unfortunate citation. That the objection urged by those who discredit the story fail to settle the question, rests upon as good authority as Judge Stephen, who firmly expresses his confidence in the truth of the tradition in these words, "There is at Helmingham a portrait of Essex's daughter, Lady Frances Devereux, wearing the jewel in an earring, and in case this does not convince my readers, I may add that the jewel itself, a ring with a lock of hair, which may once have been red, hanging from it, is now at Ham House, the property of the

Earl of Dysart." (State Trials, H. L. Stephen, p. 81, Vol. 3. London, 1902). Let us endeavour to trace the story to its source.

The first recorded account of the ring is given by Aubery de Maurier, French ambassador to Holland, who had it from Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador there under Elizabeth's successor. Carleton returned from his embassy in 1618. That the story was in circulation at an early date appears from an allusion to it by Clarendon in a book (Disparity between the Earl of Essex and the Duke of Buckingham), supposed to have been written while at Magdalen College, where he matriculated in 1621. The best account is by Lady Elizabeth Spelman, the great-grand-daughter of Sir Robert Cary, who attended upon Queen Elizabeth during her last days. She says, "When the Countess of Nottingham was dying, she sent to entreat the Queen to visit her, as she had something to reveal before she could die in peace. On the Queen's coming, Lady Nottingham told her that when the Earl of Essex was lying under sentence of death, he was desirous to ask Her Majesty's mercy in the manner she had prescribed during the height of his favour. Being doubtful of those about him, and unwilling to trust any of them, he called a boy whom he saw passing beneath his window, and whose appearance pleased him, and engaged him to carry the ring, which he threw down to him, to the Lady Scrope, a sister of Lady Nottingham, and a friend of the Earl, who was also in attendance on the Queen, and to beg her to present it to Her Majesty. The boy, by mistake, took it to Lady Nottingham, who showed it to her husband in order to take his advice. The Earl forbade her to carry it to the Queen, or return any answer to the message, but desired her to retain the ring. Lady Nottingham having made this confession,



entreated the Queen's forgiveness; but Elizabeth exclaiming, "God may forgive you, but I never can!" left the room in great emotion, and was so much agitated and distressed that she refused to go to bed, nor would she for a long time take any sustenance."

This ring has descended in one unbroken succession to Rev. Lord John Thynne from Lady Frances Devereux afterwards Duchess of Somerset, who was the daughter of the Earl of Essex. It bears the head, in relief, of Queen Elizabeth, engraved on a sardonyx; the sides are chased and the underside of the seal is blue enamel. That it was not mentioned in the will of the Duchess of Somerset is no proof against its genuineness, as it had doubtless been given already to her daughter, Mary, wife of the Earl of Winchilsea, who passed it on to her daughter, Francis, wife of Thomas Thynne, Viscount Weymouth.

That there is another ring which has been called the Essex ring is not strange; it would be strange if there were not several. This ring is said to have belonged to the Queen of Scots, who gave it to Queen Elizabeth. In some unexplained way it is said to have passed into the possession of Charles First, who, its owner claims, gave it to Sir Thomas Warner, a West India adventurer. Its present owner is one of his descendants. Its title to validity is too shadowy for serious consideration.

When the cipher story appeared, which mentioned the ring, one of the first things seized upon by Stratfordians was this, and they hastily raised the objections which we have cited. Even should the cipher story be disproved, we believe that the reader will conclude, that the story of the Queen's ring has sufficiently clear evidence in its favour to keep it out of the obscurity of merely popular tradition.

JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER.

## BACON'S DEALINGS WITH MARKS ESTATE.

THE history of Francis Bacon's transactions with the estate in Essex called Marks, in which Lady Anne Bacon had a life interest, may be gathered from the deeds enrolled at the Record Office, which include a voluntary conveyance by Lady Anne to Francis in 1584, four mortgages by Francis to George Harvey for £1,300, extending over a period of four years from 1592, and finally the sale of the estate to Harvey for £1,500 in 1596.

The first deed, dated the 5th January, 1584, is a conveyance of the Marks estate by Lady Anne to Francis, "for the natural love and affection she beareth toward the said Francis, her son," and it contains the condition that if at any time Lady Anne shall pay to Francis the sum of ten shillings the grant shall be void. Apparently, the object of this condition in the deed was to preclude Francis from selling the estate, but it is clear that it did not prevent him from raising money on it by way of mortgage, or it may be that Lady Anne consented to the mortgage, as suggested by Mr. Smedley.

The first mortgage of the estate took place on the 26th April, 1592, when Francis borrowed £1,300 from George Harvey. The money was due at the end of twelve months, but owing to financial difficulties Francis, being unable to repay the loan, was anxious to sell the estate to the mortgagee. On the 16th April, 1593, when the money was becoming due, Anthony

wrote to Lady Anne, telling her that Francis was desirous of selling the estate to Harvey, but that he was precluded from doing so unless Lady Anne would consent "to bestow the whole interest in Marks upon him." Anthony further explains that if Lady Anne withholds her consent to the proposed sale, Francis "will be put to a very shrewd plunge either to forfeit his reversion to Harvey or else to undersell it very much." (Sped., Vol. I., p. 243.)

Unfortunately for the brothers, Lady Anne did withhold her consent, except upon a condition which Francis would not accept, "that is, that he make and give me (Lady Anne) a true note of all his debts and leave me the whole order and receipt of all his money for his land to Harvey, and the just payment of all his debts thereby."

In consequence of this *impasse* the loan was renewed, and a fresh mortgage was executed on the 26th April, 1593. The renewal of the mortgage, however, did not bring grist to the mill, but merely postponed the day of reckoning for another twelve months, *i.e.*, until the 26th April, 1594.

Other measures, therefore, were necessary for providing money for the brothers, and on the 4th September, 1593, Anthony and Francis sold 1,800 acres in the Counties of Herts., Essex and Cambridgeshire—including the Barley estate—for the sum of £3,380, to John Spencer, then described as "of Bishopsgate Street, citizen and alderman," but in the following year created Knight and Lord Mayor of London.

The money received from Alderman Spencer enabled Francis to pay off the mortgage on Marks, and the deed was cancelled in the following June. After an interval of some twelve months, during which Marks remained unencumbered, another mortgage to Harvey for £1,300 took place, on the 18th May, 1595, and this

was cancelled on the 16th November in the same year. The money was not paid, but on the same day a fresh mortgage was executed, which provided for the repayment of the loan on the 24th May, 1596.

In addition to this liability to pay the debt of £1,300 to Harvey in May, Francis had borrowed £1,000 on the mortgage of "certain marsh lands," and the money was due on the 24th March, 1596. (Sped., Vol. 2, p. 28.)

At the beginning of 1596, therefore, the outlook was serious. Two mortgages of £1,300 and £1,000 respectively would have to be redeemed in a few months, or the mortgaged estates must be parted with at a considerable loss. The marsh lands were valued at £1,700, and Francis had succeeded in finding "a man in the city," who agreed to purchase them for £1,600. But at the eleventh hour the "City man" raised some question as to the title and declined to be bound by his bargain. In desperation, Francis wrote to his "good friends," the money-lenders, Maynard and Hicks, and implored their assistance, offering as collateral security his lease of Twickenham Park, which had been granted to him by the Queen on the 17th November in the previous year. (Sped., Vol. 2, p. 28.)

The moneylenders may have found the money for the redemption of the marsh lands, but they did not provide sufficient to save the Marks estate. When the time arrived for payment of the £1,300 to Harvey, Francis was unable to find the money, and he was forced to consent to a sale of the property for £1,500. The deed of sale is dated the 20th May, 1596, when the mortgage deed was cancelled, and apparently Francis received from Harvey the balance of £200 in cash.

Deeds Relating to Marks Estate. 191

Date.	Nature of Conveyance.	Close Rolls.
5th Jan., 1584.	Conveyance of Marks by Lady Anne Bacon to Francis Bacon, with condition.	38 Eliz., Pt. 2.
26th Ap., 1592.	Mortgage of Marks by Francis Bacon to Geo. Harvey for £1,300. (Cancelled 1st May, 1593.)	34 " " 21.
2nd May, 1593.	Mortgage of Marks by Francis Bacon to Geo. Harvey for £1,300. (Cancelled 18th May, 1594.)	37 " " 17.
18th May, 1595.	Mortgage of Marks by Francis Bacon to Geo. Harvey for £1,300. (Cancelled 16th Nov., 1595.)	37 " " 22.
16th Nov., 1595.	Mortgage of Marks by Francis Bacon to Geo. Harvey for £1,300. (Cancelled 20th May, 1596.)	38 " " 12.
20th May, 1596.	Sale of Marks by Francis Bacon to Geo. Harvey for £1,500.	38 " " 16.

COPY OF INDENTURE 38 ELIZ. PR. 2 (No. 1,518).

THIS INDENTURE made the 5th day of Jan. in the 26th year of the reign of our sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth. . . . Between the Lady Anne Bacon widow late wife of the Rt. Hon. Sir Nicholas Bacon, Knt., late Lord Keeper of the Great Seal deceased of the one part, and Francis Bacon of Gray's Inn in the County of Middlesex, Esquire, one of the sons of the said Sir Nicholas and Lady Anne of the other part WITNESSETH that the said Dame Anne Bacon for the natural love and affection she beareth toward the said Francis her son and for divers other good reasons, causes and considerations her moving, hath granted and surrendered and by these presents doth fully and clearly grant and surrender unto the said Francis Bacon and his heirs *all that* the Manor of Marke with the appurtenances in the County of Essex *and all that* manor messuage and tenement with the appurtenances called

the Red Lion in Romford in the said County of Essex and all and singular the messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments of the said Lady Anne Bacon, in Hornechurch, Dagnam Romford and Howering-at-Bower in the said County of Essex with all and singular their appurtenances together with all the right title and estate and interest of the said Lady Anne Bacon of, in and to the same or any part thereof *Provided always* that if the said Lady Anne Bacon or her assigns at any time hereafter during her natural life shall well and truly consent and pay or lawfully tender unto the said Francis Bacon, his heirs and assigns or to any other to his use the sum of ten shillings of lawful English money at or within the mansion or dwelling house of the said Lady Anne Bacon commonly called Gorbambury in the County of Herts, that then and at all times of such payment or tender this present grant and surrender of the said Manor of Marke and other the premises with their appurtenances to be utterly void frustrate and of no force or effect and that it shall be lawful for the said Lady Anne Bacon to enter into the same as in her former estate everything being contained herein to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. IN WITNESS, &c. MEMORANDUM that on the 18th February in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth the aforesaid Lady Anne Bacon widow acknowledged the aforesaid Indenture and all and singular in the same contained and set forth in the form aforesaid.

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COPY OF STATE PAPERS Dom. Jas. 1, Jan. 31st, 1607-8.

"A warrant at the suit of Sir Francis Bacon to William Cooke of Hynam, in the County of Gloucester, Knight, John Constable of Grays Inn, in the County of Middlesex, and Thomas Hedley, Esquire, Thomas Underwood and John Younger, Gent., of His Majesty's reversion or remainder of certain lands and Tenements in the County of Herts., as were assured by Sir Nicholas Bacon, Knight, late Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, to his sons Anthony Bacon, Esquire, and Sir Francis Bacon in tail, the remainder to himself and his heirs which descended from him to Sir Nicholas Bacon, eldest son, who conveyed the same remainder to the late Queen Elizabeth, her heirs and assigns, with the condition that if he paid £100 the said grant should be void which was apparently done to bar the said Sir Francis to dispose of the said land which otherwise by law he might have done. Subscribed by Mr. Attorney."—(State Papers Domestic James I. docquets, Vol. 9.)

HAROLD HARDY.

## THE AMBIGUITIES OF MR. POPE.

**R**EADERS of my "Tudor Problems" will have noticed the reasons given for my supposition that the secret literary fraternity of the Rosy Cross began to "bank the fires" of their activities in 1679 when the feigned "Life of Spenser" was attached to a collected edition of the "Spenser Poems." Poet Laureate Nicholas Rowe in 1709 followed this up with an edition of the Shakespeare Plays having prefixed a feigned life (the first pretence at a biographical account) of the ascribed author of them.

Rowe did not even visit Stratford for "material," but stated that he had obtained some facts from Betterton the actor who, he said, had made a journey there. Oldys in one of his manuscripts asserts that even Betterton never went to Stratford.

The indications are that the hundred years period of Rosy Cross activity and secrecy under the rules of the fraternity, was drawing to its end. They were winding up their own and their Founder, Bacon's affairs, and leaving (as he evidently wished) the facts about him and his work to be discovered by men and women of a later age working upon inductive lines. The last scrupulously careful selections from Bacon's letters, papers and acknowledged works were made and published in the period 1704-34. Dr. Mead, the eminent physician to the King, and Stephen the royal Historiographer, were prominent in these matters. In 1738 after Stephen's death, Dr. Mead, with Alexander Pope and the third Earl Burlington took the lead in placing a statue to "Shakespeare" in Westminster Abbey (rather late for a centenary!) With

Pope's part in this business we are immediately concerned.

Pope's M.S. (in the British Museum) of part of his versification of the Iliad printed in 1720 after long preparation, affords internal proof that he had made considerable use of Bacon's prose "catalogue of the Ships" which Rawley had cyphered in biliteral in the Anatomy of Melancholy of 1628.

This does not detract from the merit of Pope's verse. Quite properly he consulted every translation available.

His manifest use of Bacon's manuscript together with his association with Dr. Mead, the great authority on Bacon's works (see preface to Blackbourne's Life and Works of Bacon, 1730) raises the fair inference that Pope was in a position to know that Bacon was the true author of the Shakespeare Plays and Poems.

There are other indications. Observe how slightly Pope refers to the Stratford strolling player in his "Satires from Horace," 1734.

Shakespeare (whom you and every playhouse bill  
Style the Divine, the Matchless, what you will),  
For gain not glory wing'd his roving flight,  
And grew immortal in his own despight.

In his "Essay on Man" in the previous year he had conjointly praised and disparaged Bacon in the well-known lines.

"If parts allure thee think how Bacon shin'd  
The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind."

Nor is it surprising that poor little hunch-backed Pope should have sought to lay bare the supposed weaknesses of the philosopher poet who had one hundred years before been so severe upon the deficiencies of men of Pope's physical condition.



We learn from Lord Oxford's "Memoirs" that Pope was only four feet six inches in height. He was humpbacked and deformed. He had after arising from bed to be invested in a stiff canvas bodice before he could stand upright and was continually dependent upon female care and help.

Such a little, self-conscious, satirical, clever yet weak and ill shapen person as Pope would have bitterly resented Bacon's "Essay of Deformity" :—

"Deformed persons are commonly even with nature; for as nature has done ill by them so do they by nature; being for the most part (as the scripture saith) void of natural affection; and so they have their revenge of Nature."

"Whosoever hath anything fixed in his person that doth induce contempt hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn; also it stirreth in them industry and especially of this kind to watch and observe the weakness of others that they may have somewhat to repay."

And he could not have edited the Shakespeare plays without seeing and being hurt by the references to the deformed there expressed. For instance :—

"I that am curtailed of this faire proportion  
Cheatd of feature by dissembling nature;  
Deform'd unfinished, sent before my time  
Into this breathing world, scarce half made up,  
And that so lamely and unfashionable  
That dogges bark at me as I halt by them." —RICHARD III.

Pope's preface to the 1723 Shakespeare is a clever piece of writing addressed to the reading public who did not know the facts, but with a watchful regard for those who did. He made no pretence at biography, and his assertions were of an ambiguous nature.

For instance :—

"His (Shakespeare's) sentiments are not only in general the most pertinent and judicious upon every subject; but by a talent very peculiar somewhat between penetration and felicity he hits upon that

particular point in which the bent of each argument turns or the force of each motion depends ! This is most amazing from a man of no education or experience in those great and public scenes of life which are usually the subjects of his thoughts."

Of course, it would have been amazing from such a person if the true author, Pope, took care of his own reputation as a critic in view of the time when his preface would have to be considered in relation to the truth of this authorship matter. Take another instance :—

"So that *he seems* to have known the world by intuition, to have looked through human nature at one glance and to be *the only* author that gives ground for a *very new opinion* that the *philosopher* and even the man of the world may be born as well as the poet."

See how Pope abstained from committing himself. He does not even admit that the poet *is* born, not made. He knew better.

"Another cause (no *less strong* than the former) may be deduced from our author's being a player."

Certainly the deduction has been attempted, however, unsuccessfully, by modern actors notably by the late Sir Henry Irving. But Pope is careful not to make such a deduction himself.

"But as to his want of learning it may be necessary to say something more : There is certainly a vast difference between learning and languages. How far he was ignorant of the latter I cannot determine, but it is plain he had much reading, at least, if they will not call it learning."

Cleverly ambiguous all this ! It is, of course, difficult to say how far anyone is ignorant of languages. "Nothing is more evident than that he had a taste of natural philosophy mechanics ancient and modern history poetical learning and mythology : we find him very

knowing in the customs rites and manners of antiquity”  
(The rest of this passage is well worth reading.)

“ Whatever object of nature or branch of science he either speaks of or describes, it is always with competent if not extensive knowledge.” (Surely again most amazing if from a man of no education or experience). “ He appears also to have been conversant in Plantus from whom he has taken the plot of one of his plays ; he follows the Greek authors and particularly Dares Phrygius in another. (Although I will not pretend to say in what language he read them). The modern Italian writers of novels he was manifestly acquainted with ; and we may conclude him to be no less conversant with the ancients of his own country from the use he has made of Chaucer.”

Here are some more ambiguous statements :—

“ One cannot therefore wonder *if* Shakespeare having at his first appearance no other aim in life than to procure a subsistence directed his endeavour solely to hit the taste and humour that then prevailed.”  
(Much virtue in an “if.”)

“ The folio edition (in which all the plays *we now receive as his*, were first collected) was published by two players.

Pope while paying the greatest respect to “ Shakespeare's ” marvellous ability, was true to his own disposition as a deformed person, and had “ somewhat to repay.” In 1723 he hit out at “ Shakespeare ” precisely in the same way as in 1733 he snapped at Bacon the real author. The comments in the Essay and in the Plays had to be “ paid for.”

“ Shakespeare afforded *most conspicuous instances* both of beauties *and faults* of all sorts.”

“ As he has certainly written better so he *has perhaps written worse than any other.*”

“ Nor does the whole fail to strike us with the

greater reverence *though many of the parts are childish ill-placed and unequal to its grandeur.*"

Pope in writing with his tongue in his cheek, this preface for the unenlightened reader, only continued the attitude of the secret literary fraternity of the previous century towards "inferior readers."

But he was careful to keep himself right with an eventually enlightened posterity.

We learn thus between the lines that Pope was aware that the writer of the "Shakespeare" plays and poems was a philosopher and a man of the world as well as a poet, that the subject of his thoughts were the great and public scenes of life ; that his sentiments were pertinent and judicious, his arguments strictly to the point ; that he had much learning of natural philosophy, mechanics, ancient and modern history, poetry, mythology, customs, rites, and manners of antiquity and competent knowledge of nature and science ; that he was conversant with the ancient writers of Latin Greek and old English, the modern Italian novelists, and was not ignorant of languages.

Reasons of state importance existed why nothing damaging to the reigning dynasty should be disclosed at that period there being already trouble with a young Pretender. This explains the movement in 1738 for raising a statue to "Shakespeare" 125 years (it was erected in 1741) after the nominal author's decease. Did not Pope once write, "Act well thy part, there all the honour lies?"

PARKER WOODWARD.

## VIGNETTES OF HISTORY.—I.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH (b. 1552, d. 1618).

**B**OTH Francis Bacon\* and William Shake-Speare† assure us that "Good wine needs no bush," a motto most suited to preface the sketch of this great man. Edmund Gosse (*English Worthies*) gives 1552 as the date of Raleigh's birth in a curious way. He says:—

"Camden and an anonymous astrologer combine to assure us" he was born then. I, on the contrary, should not be the least surprised to find instead of 1552, the date was 1549 when he first saw the light. Gosse also says the youth of this man "so perfumed with romance" is concealed "in provoking obscurity," and that during long and important periods no glimpse is had of him.

We know this, however, that Walter Rawley, of Islington, Esquire, "of the Court," had a Company of Servants, who, close upon Christmas 1577 broke the peace at Hornsey under the leadership of Richard Pauncefort, recalling the name of the good Comedy actress, Miss Pauncefort, of the old Lyceum. Tradition connects with Raleigh the *Old Pied Bull Inn*, at Islington, the spacious public rooms of which have windows emblazoned with Mermaids, a green bush of Tobacco leaves, parrots, and Sea-horses, all very illustrative of our great navigator. It was turned into an Inn in the eighteenth century, and is supposed to have been Sir Walter's Elizabethan villa,

\* *Promus*.

† "As you like it."

surrounded by fourteen acres of land. Whether the fine public room to the front of the House was ever used for private Dramatic representations is a question, but there is yet another building in Islington coupled with Raleigh's name which seems in every way to suggest that it was used for theatrical purposes.

At a time when every noble gentleman had his private Company of players it were no unlikely thing that his merry roosting Servants just mentioned were actors. A beautifully built house of wood and plaster, outliving by reason of its splendid architect three hundred years of wear and tear, was erected in Elizabeth's reign close against the estate of Canonbury, in Islington, by Raleigh. So John Nelson, in his *History of Islington*, believes, pointing out Raleigh's brilliant gifts as an Architect and Gardener at beautiful Sherbourne. Tradition, dumb as to the real uses of this fine old house in Lower Street, called *The Old Queen's Head*, the history of which, says Nelson, "is involved in the greatest obscurity," yet assigns the building of it to Raleigh, and whispers vaguely that it was one of his Smoking Taverns. Also that it was named in compliment to Queen Elizabeth. When we note its oak-panelled great Hall, and large parlour, with stuccoed ceiling ornamented with dolphins, cherubs, acorns; its classic medallion with I.M. on it, the ascent of several steps to its large Porch supported by standing caryatides in carved oak crowned by Ionic scrolls, and its three lofty stories projecting over each other, it seems fitter for a place of entertainment on a large scale than an ordinary tavern where the fragrant Sovereign weed was enjoyed with a tankard of small ale. The mysterious way this building is spoken of in Nelson, and the copious shower of coffee stains that adorn the pages that treat of it, makes one wonder whether it really

was a Private Theatre, in which Francis Bacon, Raleigh, Essex, and Cecil enjoyed the best actors in the world for tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical performances, "where Seneca could not be too heavy, or Plautus too light." According to Nelson, Cecil and Essex both have their share in the traditions of this old House. Daniel, in his *Merrie England*, tells us in this house Plays were acted in King George II.'s time, for a playbill is extant to that effect. "G. II. R. By a Company of Comedians, at the Queen's Head, in the Lower Street, Islington, this present evening will be acted a Tragedy called the *Fair Penitent*, to which will be added, a Farce, called *The Lying Valet*."

It was in 1583 before his nose was put out of joint by Robert Essex, that the Queen showered most of her gifts upon young Sir Walter, amongst which, first and foremost, stands Durham House, Strand, once the mansion of handsome Thomas, Lord Seymour or Sudeley, Admiral of the Fleet, the passionate and indiscreet lover of the young Princess Elizabeth, who after getting her into sad disgrace with King Edward VI., was beheaded in 1548, for treason. Among the Queen's most munificent gifts to young "Water," as she called him, was the licensed duty on the sale of wines, which besides proving a most valuable revenue, brought every Tavern and Inn in England under his direct influence, and was an invaluable opportunity for any one interested in the welfare and improvement of the Drama.

All the many Mermaid Taverns, yes, and the Historic *Mermaid Club*, owed their very existence to him, and to the *Man behind him*. That Raleigh was a man who understood the value of silence we see by the following quotation from what is known as his *History of the World* :—

“ He that makes himself a body of crystal that all men may look through him and discern all the parts of his dispositions makes himself (withal) an ass ; and thereby teacheth others either how to ride or drive him. Wise men, though they have single hearts in all that is just and virtuous, yet they are like coffers with double bottoms, which when others look into, being opened they see not at all that they hold on the sudden and all at once.”

° That this is written by another rather than Sir Walter's pen is pointed out by the Baconian method of *wrong pagination* being used.

The quiet Devonshire Manor Farm of Raleigh's babyhood was far less to his taste than the gay Court, where he stood close by the Queen's side and showed princely arrogance to those who crossed him. Sir Oracle indeed ! “ When I ope my lips,” cried Sir Walter at this time : “ let no man bark ! ”

To Francis Bacon he was always constant and loving. With Essex and Cecil he was mostly at dagger's drawn, and there is a tradition that a duel fought before the Queen's eyes between Essex and him is immortalised in Shake-Speare's *Richard II.* A.i.S.3, where Henry Bolinbroke Duke of Hereford, and Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, the combatants, are doomed to exile in consequence of their unseemly quarrel.

In *Nicholl's Progress*, p. 41, Vol. II., we find some sort of confirmation of this, “ That which passed from the excellent Majesty of Queen Elizabeth in her Privie Chamber at East Greenwich, 4 Aug: 1601 towards William Lambarde. He presented her Majesty with his Pandecta with all her Rolls, Bundles, Membranes and Parcels, that be reposed in her Majesty's Tower at London. . . Her Majesty fell



upon the Reign of *King Richard II.*, saying : " I am Richard, know ye not that ? "

*William Lambard* : " Such a wicked imagination was determined and attempted by a most unkind gentleman, The most adorned creature that ever your Majesty made."

*Her Majesty* : " He that will forget God will also forget his benefactors. This tragedy was played 40 times in open streets and houses."

Francis Bacon, in his Apopthegm 22 has something to say on the same subject.

" The Book of Deposing *King Richard the Second* and the coming in of Henry IV. supposed to be written by Dr. Hayward, who was committed to the Tower for it, had much incensed Queen Elizabeth, and she asked Mr. Bacon, being then of her Counsel learned, whether there were any treason contained in it? Who intending to do him a pleasure and to take of the Queen's bitterness with a merry conceit, answered . " No, Madam, for Treason I cannot deliver opinion that there is any, but very much felony."

The Queen, apprehending it gladly asked : " How ? " And wherein ?

Mr. Bacon answered : " Because he had stolen many of his sentences and conceits out of Cornelius Tacitus."

Francis Bacon has more to say about this Play in his *Declaration of the Treasons of Robert, Earl of Essex*. [p. 424, Works of Bacon. Ed. William Ball].

" The afternoon before the Rebellion, Merick, with a great company of others . . . had procured to be played before them the Play of deposing *King Richard the Second*. Neither was it casual, but a Play bespoken by Merick. And not so only, but when it was told him by one of the players that the Play was old, and they should have lost in playing it because

few would come to it, there were forty shillings extraordinary given to play it and so thereupon played it was. So earnest was he to satisfy his eyes with the sight of that Tragedy, which he thought soon after his Lordship should bring from the Stage to the State." Again, Francis Bacon alludes to the same thing in his *Apology in certain Imputations concerning Essex*. p. 437.

"I remember an answer of mine in a matter . . . which though it grew from me went after about in others' names. For Her Majesty being greatly incensed with that Book which was dedicated to my Lord of Essex, being a story of the first year of Henry IV., thinking it a seditious prelude to put into the people's heads boldness and faction," etc. He then gives the same anecdote he put in his Apopthegm, adding the well-known bit about having "him racked" to produce the mischievous author. He tells us: "The Queen would not be persuaded that it was his writing whose name was to it," a strange admission for Francis Bacon to make. During the Trial of Essex the question of this Play comes up again. In the same "Apology" he says: "It was allotted to me that I should set forth some undutiful carriages of my Lord in giving occasion and countenance to a seditious pamphlet as it was termed, which was the book before mentioned of *King Henry IV*. Whereupon . . . I said to their Lordships that it was an old matter, and had no manner of coherence with the rest of the Charge, . . . and, therefore, that I having been wronged with bruits before, this would expose me to them more, and it would be said I gave in evidence mine own Tales." It seems incredible that he should allude to "this matter" (which he had spoken of before as growing from himself though it went about after in other's names, The story of *King Richard the Second*) now, as mine own tale!

Sir Walter Raleigh's name occurs often in the Trial of Essex, for he was Captain of the Guard when the Rebellion broke out. It should be particularly noted what Raleigh wrote to Cecil, July, 1597, from Weymouth, about the coming Islands Voyage: "I acquainted the Lord General with your letter to me, and your kind acceptance of your entertainment, he was also wonderfully merry at your conceit of *Richard the Second*. I hope it shall never alter, and whereof I shall be most glad of, as the true way of all our good quiet and advancement, and most of all for His sake whose affairs shall therby find better progression." Edmund Gosse calls this allusion to Richard: "an obscure question," as it assuredly is, and adds: "It would seem as though Cecil had offered Shakespeare's new Tragedy to Essex and Raleigh on their leaving town." But, according to Bacon, the play, instead of being new was too old to suit the people; and Raleigh's letter points to Cecil having been the invited to the farewell performance rather than the inviter.

In personal appearance, Sir Walter was six foot high, with a bright, happy face, and a vivid personality. Like his friend Francis his forehead was so high it was almost out of proportion to his other features, his superb satins and velvets were positively princely, and to his life's end he wore priceless stones on his very shoes. Like Francis he was a lover of gardens and brought some of his favourite flowers home from the Azores, yellow wallflowers; and like him, too, he was a brilliant orator and elocutionist. His capricious queen lost faith in him and with a ear too open to calumnies feared and imprisoned him. James feared and beheaded him, and when he took him prisoner and put him in the tower the "caged bird" as his friend Prince Henry called him, was found with pockets

full-filled with diamonds and jacinths. It was for Henry Prince of Wales, the *History of the World* was written. A learned work thickly sprinkled with Franciscan wisdom, and which, like the Mermaid Club, was without doubt owed to the *Man behind the Man*.

We are told that Raleigh with choice spirits enjoyed literary Banquets of the gods in his suite of rooms in the Tower, but not who these were that went in and out as they liked. That Raleigh may have had a share in the plays is possible, but that this active soldier from youth up, this "Shepherd of the Sea," as he is called in the *Fairie Queen*, had the erudition and amount of knowledge requisite to compile the *History* I cannot believe.

That the real Founder of the State of Virginia was again the *Man behind the Man* has already been fully discussed in BACONIANA. Think of that when you smoke To-Bacco.

I cannot forbear drawing special attention again to the *role* played by Puck in the "Midsummer Night's Dream." The little pink flower of the West is done full justice to to-day in the new patriotic red, white and blue advertisement of B.D.V. To-bacco. The leaves of the fragrant plant are arranged as a typical laurel wreath tied with a true lover's knot round those cryptic initials, with the little pink flower peeping out between those leaves (looking more like a pink forget-me-not than anything else), representing the *Love in idleness* that Puck circled the earth to obtain. *Apooke* is the Indian name for the weed, *A! Puck*, you have much to answer for when pronounced in the Indian way! Think of this when ye \*drink To-Bacco. *The Man behind the Man* had more to do with the cultivation of that little pink flower than Raleigh ever had, both in Virginia and in

\* Old expression for smoking.

England. B.D.V. as has been already pointed out in BACONIANA stands (in some circles) for *Baco di Verulami*. "It is English, quite English don't you know."

I will conclude this slight sketch of our famed and gallant discoverer, with some trenchant Baconian lines from his *History*.\*

"History hath given so fair and piercing eyes to our mind."

"The world's great glory hath put out the eyes of our mind."

"The exceeding workmanship of God's wisdom and the liberality of His Mercy formed eyes to our souls as to our bodies."

It is within the compass of our subject to show how like Francis Sir Walter links God's Mercy with His Judgments. The latter he specially emphasises.

"The secret and unsearchable Judgements of God, and "The Judgements of God are for ever unchangeable."

His reference to Bacchus and his Voyage to India is remarkable, and may mean that Francis travelled there, which is more than probable. "Under the title "Bachus and Hercules expedition into the East Indies . . . these two great Captains (whom Alexander sought by all means to out-fame)," he says: "The countries towards the spring of Indus are now possest by the Great Mogul, the ninth from Tamberlain. . . . In the wrath of Indus the Ascension, a ship of London suffered ship wrack in the year 1609, and some of the company travelled over land till they came to Agra . . . our own experience has taught us that there were many stranger things in the world than are to be seen between London and Staines."

\* See "Golden Mettle of their Soldiers." BACONIANA. Vol. XII.

“ God Who is the author of all our tragedies hath written out for us, and appointed us all the parts we are to play ; and hath not, in their distribution, been partial to the most mighty Princes of the world . . . that appointed Bajazet to play the Grand Seignior of the Turks in the morning and in the same day the Footstool of Tamerlane . . . that made Bellesarius play the most victorious Captain, and lastly the part of a blind beggar, of which examples many thousand may be produced, why should other men who are but as the least worms complain of wrongs ? ”

“ Made myself a fool in print.”

“ This observation is exceeding feeble.”

“ The greatest idiotism.”

“ Those that are the best men of war, against all the vanities and fooleries of the world, do always keep the strongest guards against themselves, to defend themselves from self-love, self-estimation, and self-opinion.”

“ For myself I shall never be persuaded that God hath shut up all Light of Learning within the lanthorn of Aristotle’s brain.”

And again, “ It is certain the Age of Time hath brought forth stranger and more incredible things than the Infancy,” using the age of time as Francis Bacon does for these later days.\*

With his beautiful poetically rhythmic reflections on Death I close.

“ He holds a glass before the eyes of the most beautiful, and makes them see therein their deformity and rottenness, and they acknowledge it. O eloquent, just, and mighty Death ! Whom none could advise thou hast persuaded, what none have dared thou hast done, and whom all the world hath flattered thou only

\* *Novum Organum*. Book I. “The present time is the real antiquity.”

hast cast out the world and despised. Thou hast drawn together all the stretched greatness, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of Man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words *Hic Jacet.*"

ALICIA A. LEITH.

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## A LIFE OF ROBERT CECIL, FIRST EARL OF SALISBURY.

BY ALGERNON CECIL.(1)

**S**TUDENTS of the career of Francis Bacon think, or, at least, suspect that it was hindered by his shrewd, small cousin, Robert Cecil, who became the first Earl of Salisbury. They will, therefore, perhaps, turn for an hour their contemplation from the daily result of the Arts of War to the Arts of Peace, as practised by a master of some of them, and read the "Life of Robert Cecil," just written by a descendant, and inheritor of no little of the intellectual power which has brought so many members of that house to a foremost place in our history. The readers may not agree with the opinions and inferences of the author, but must surely agree that his work is a brilliant, thoughtful biography of the highest class as a literary achievement. He had a precious, but overwhelming mass of material to sift, he had, no doubt, natural prejudice in favour of his distinguished ancestor, but he has succeeded in being clear, concise, and rather just. No attempt can be made by the present writer to review the volume, as he has not access to the private

(1) John Murray, London, 1915.

or even to all the published documents on which it is founded, but he proposes to extract or refer to some passages touching Francis Bacon. As was likely, the biographer of Robert Cecil has adopted the conventional idea of the character of the greater man, but shows some trace of compunction and doubt in doing so. "He was," writes Mr. Algernon Cecil, "very poor, very brilliant, very ambitious; the last partly, no doubt, from an honest desire to use his great talents, but partly also from a lower and less creditable motive. One of the austere as well as the most scrupulous of judges has picked out eye-service, men-pleasing, as his dominant and besetting sin. At all events, neither pride nor modesty ever tied his lips. He asked, or his friends asked on his behalf, persistently and without hesitation; and that for which he asked was sometimes more than others had the right or the power to give him. It has been the fashion to regard the Cecils as his secret and inveterate opponents, but neither their letters, nor their acts are proof of it. There is no warrant at all for thinking that they regarded him with particular dislike. No doubt, all that was best in him, all that has come down to us, filtered and consecrated by time, was hidden from them, at least at the moment we are speaking of, as it was hidden from most, perhaps all, of his contemporaries. Nor, even if they could have known it, were they the kind of men to appreciate the really noble and single-hearted endeavour with which, through good report and ill, he pursued that new philosophy of nature which had early captured his fancy. Busy and practical, they doubtless thought of him chiefly as a poor relation and one who was hard to satisfy. But this is not to call their repeated professions of good will insincere." Let this quotation be stayed



here for an instant to borrow the author's own phrase, and interject the acknowledgment due to him that he has made in good set terms a "really noble and single-hearted endeavour" to be just to the most misunderstood victim of mortal injustice. A more acute judge than the "one of the most scrupulous of judges" (Dean Church) whom he cites without expressly upholding, Mr. Algernon Cecil proceeds: "What Burghley wrote to Lady Bacon was probably quite true—that he was of less power to do his friends service than the world was pleased to fancy. And had Bacon taken the rather unpalatable advice his relatives gave him, not to fly at too high game, it is possible he would have attained his end more quickly than he did. As it was, without any exact breach with them, he attached himself to Essex—Essex, whose sympathies were so much wider whose generosity was so much more expansive than theirs, who, perhaps alone among his contemporaries, had some idea of what Bacon was really worth. Bacon's fortune became Essex's care; Bacon's success a matter personal to his friend," pp. 7, 8-9. And how the too impetuous advocacy of that fiery friend failed in the cause he undertook is shown by the references to Spedding, which follow. Later on in the "Life," the author deals firmly and fairly with the character of his not very transparent ancestor, and, now more sternly with that of Francis Bacon, whose "Essay on Cunning and Deformity," if pointed at the subtle minister, would move the coldest biographer of him to sharpen his pen. "It will come," he writes, "then as a surprise to many to learn that Salisbury said of his cousin that 'he had the clearest prospect of things of any man of his age.' That is very judicious, very accurate praise. And it perfectly harmonises with a more familiar remark from

the same lips, that Bacon was 'a speculative man,' " p. 351. Surely if the opinion of his contemporaries is to be regarded, these two remarks were commonplace indeed. But the writer honours them as criticisms, and adds:—"If these two criticisms are authentic, and there is no reason to doubt them, it seems probable that Salisbury had taken just that measure of Bacon which commends itself to minds not bewitched by Bacon's genius. More than most men he had reason to know at once his cousin's strength of vision and weakness of purpose." Then Mr. Cecil turns to Bacon's private notebook for well-known passages to show premeditated flattery and insinuation, and continues:—"He was one whose wide views and profound thoughts never became fruitful and active principles of conduct, one who, despite all that nature had given him of wisdom and understanding, never shook off the motives and desires of common clay," p. 352. This may be true in quite a different sense from that intended and might be corrected into the statement that he never shook off his idea, true or false, of the motives and desires of common clay. He was not of "common clay," and underrated it. "His cousin," adds the biographer, rather more epigrammatically than accurately, "promoted him according to his ability, and repressed him according to his character. For character is the first and not the second qualification for great place," p. 352. The proposition is not historically correct, and, surely, the example in the author's mind when he made it was the Lord Salisbury who so nobly guided Queen Victoria, and not the Earl who managed King James, for with praiseworthy candour, Mr. Cecil, on the next page, gives a shocking instance of the first Lord's cunning, and says:—"Nor can there be much doubt that this was the weak joint in the harness." But

he is able from the literary resources of Hatfield to place the domestic and religious side of his character in a light much brighter than that thrown by history on the public side of it.

The readers of BACONIANA will be struck by an omission from this excellent work treating of a period with which they are better acquainted than "the general." It cannot be that when sketching the career and character of "Bacon," the controversy as to the authorship of the plays attributed to "Shakespeare" was forgotten. Judging from the style and tone of the biography it seems unlikely that Mr. Cecil chose to ignore that controversy with the contempt so uneasily affected by the literary rank and file. He is, of course, familiar with the Plays and Essays and cites both effectively. An opportunity of reference to the question came when from the Howe MSS. he transcribed the "Ten Precepts" which Lord Burghley addressed to his son Robert as a supplement to the Ten Commandments. How natural it would have been to contrast the Ten Precepts with the "few precepts" (perhaps also ten) given by Polonius to Laertes! How tempting to one of the fairness and literary taste shown by Mr. Algernon Cecil to weigh the ethical value of the two sets of admonitions and even to decide against those of his wise and great ancestor! How interesting to us to know from the provenance of the Howe MS., whether Bacon or the actor Shakespeare was most likely to have access to it and to have written a parody infinitely superior!

J. R. OF GRAY'S INN.

## JOTTINGS ON LORD BACON.

### THE BACON MS. LETTERS, AND PAPERS, AT LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY.

THE letters which Francis Bacon, and his brother Anthony received, and wrote to their friends, offer an interesting study, which enables us to judge of the character of the recipients, and to get some idea of the news of the day.

Hundreds of these MS. letters lie bound together in mighty tomes, in the Lambeth Palace Library, deposited there by successive Archbishops of Canterbury and their assistant Bishops, who rightly considered that these papers of the 17th century were too valuable to cast aside.

Thanks to these discriminating collectors, the various biographers of Lord Bacon have been able to trace his life and his sufferings after his fall, which give such poignant chapters in Spedding's "Life and Letters" of the great philosopher.

Yet in glancing at the letters in Lambeth we find that many have been overlooked, and probably never read by anyone, and the thought comes to the mind that two or three lines in some apparently unimportant letter might let in a light upon Bacon's life and work that would mount him up on a higher pedestal than ever.

But which of the hundreds of letters is the one to contain that ray of light? Is it in a letter to Bacon, or is it one from him to some friend? Who will be the lucky finder, and where is that paper? It is no use going to printed books which have been

published about him, we must look elsewhere, and the only hope left us, that in some obscure corner of a library, either in London or abroad, there may be, in faded ink, some words, or cypher numerals, that will reveal a secret long hidden.

Let us glance at the arrangement of the Bacon papers at Lambeth for the benefit of those interested students who have no time to visit that grand library and its stately hall.

Every facility is given for study, and help is offered if need be, by the learned librarian, and it is quite certain that help will be needed at first among so many books. Say that we first desire to see some of Lord Bacon's MS. letters, and we are asked to sit down and write on a piece of paper which collection of letters we would like to inspect; the Tenison collection, or the Gibson collection?

But we shake our head doubtfully, and then it is suggested that we should look at some of the catalogues. We grasp at this, but our satisfaction is short lived, for the catalogues are so heavy and bulky that the eye travels wearily down the lines of indices volume after volume, in a vain search for information that will interest us. We find that in the Tenison collection alone, the Bacon papers occupy sixteen large volumes, consisting mostly of letters to Anthony Bacon when he was travelling in France as an "Intelligencer" and which he carried about with him for eleven years, and brought back to England. These were used by Thomas Birch when writing his "Memorials of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," but he merely gave extracts from the letters, and in no case the whole document.

Here is a list of the numbers of letters which Birch consulted, and which are now bound in volumes in the Tenison collection:—

In Vol. 1	..	134	letters and papers.
In Vol. 2.	..	190	” ”
In Vol. 3	..	357	” ”
In Vol. 4	..	239	” ”
In Vol. 5	..	216	” ”
In Vol. 6	..	228	” ”
In Vol. 7	..	198	” ”
In Vol. 8	..	147	” ”
In Vol. 9	..	161	” ”
In Vol. 10	..	257	” ”
In Vol. 11	..	156	” ”
In Vol. 12	..	193	” ”
In Vol. 13	..	271	” ”
In Vol. 14	..	191	” ”
In Vol. 15	..	185	” ”
In Vol. 16	..		Gazettes and papers.

In these sixteen volumes of Bacon letters there are many of interest as regards Anthony Bacon, who went abroad very shortly after inheriting large estates upon his father's death. There are quaint letters from his servants and estate managers and agents, and much news of his mother, Lady Bacon, and her efforts to aid in the management of her son's worldly goods.

But the important letters which we expect to find from Francis to his beloved brother Anthony, are nearly all missing. Many must have been burnt with the view that no one else should read the intimate revelations about their relatives, and also Government affairs. Yet it is not certain that in the letters still to be seen, that there may not be a hint or a word that would help a Baconian, if a Baconian read them carefully. Francis Bacon is named as being in London at certain dates, and for this we are thankful as it clears up certain points; and he is the chief agent in

collecting rents, and sending his brother the income due to him; but where are his letters to his brother Anthony?

Turning to the Gibson collection, we find in Vol. VIII. (936) that there are 282 letters of great value to the historian and biographer. They are mostly from Francis Bacon in his later life, when he was at the height of his prosperity, and the depth of his humility. Many of these letters are published in Spedding's "Life of Bacon," but some written *to* Bacon have been left out of that biography, which might have added to its interest.

To go back, we were left looking at the catalogue, which in some cases gives a hint of what the letter is about, such as those addressed to King James I. Which letter shall we read? There are so many, and the eye is puzzled by the old script, but we chose those after Bacon's fall, when he is imploring pardon from the King, or help from the all-powerful and haughty Buckingham, whom he had helped to raise, and whose "Patents of Nobility" had all been drawn up under his hand. Now Buckingham, the younger man, has to be almost knelt to, for no pardon can be obtained without his help.

The help was long in coming, but arrived at last, and we are filled with sorrow at reading the grateful letters Bacon was obliged to write to his mighty superior for much delayed benefits.

The trembling writing gives an idea of the heart's anguish, and reveals much to an interested observer.

Some of the most interesting letters received by Anthony Bacon are those to him from Henry IV., King of France and Navarre. A few seem to be in the monarch's own hand, and others are only signed by his "affectionate friend" Henri.

We are disappointed to find they are mostly

concerning loans of money to Anthony, who was always borrowing from anyone who would advance him a few pounds, and who even applied to the King, with whom he had been on such friendly terms.

There are letters from Anthony's humble friends, thanking him for money paid to them for services as news senders or "Intelligencers," whom we would now call "spies." We gather that Anthony was on the English Government Secret Service, and that it was with difficulty he obtained news of importance, for which he had to pay pretty highly. The Royal letters are in Vol. XIV. (942 and 953).

One contains graceful thanks to Anthony for the care he took of the King's friend, Antonio Perez (who had such a strange career), and the antiquarian is glad to handle paper touched by the chivalrous King of Navarre, of the big heart, who never forgot his friends.

There is much research work awaiting the student at Lambeth Palace Library, but we have only space to say these few words upon the subject. We feel grateful to Archbishop Tenison, for collecting these documents many of which are said to have come from St. Martin's Church. He gave them to his librarian and chaplain, Edward Gibson, afterwards Bishop of London, who was also a collector. The papers were deposited in the library very early in the 18th century, and were bound in fourteen volumes, to which Dr. Ducarel made indices; that to the Gibson Collection was made by Dr. David Wilkins, M.A., who was appointed librarian by Archbishop Wake about 1718.

A copy of the index to the Bacon letters in both the Tenisonian and Gibsonian collections will shortly be on the shelves of the Library of the Bacon Society.

Alice Chambers Buntén.



## MARLOWE PROBLEMS.

IT is curious to observe how Marlowe, like the player from Stratford, avoided any acknowledgment of, or contact with, his works, when, for men in their position, advancement must have resulted. As in the case of Shakespeare, there is nothing in his lifetime which connects him with the writings now passing under the name of Marlowe, nor were any of them published before his death, except *Tamburlaine*, in 1590—anonymously.

Marlowe was stabbed in a Tavern brawl at Deptford, in June, 1593, and buried in an unknown grave at St. Nicholas' Church, at the age of twenty-nine. Who took charge of his unpublished manuscripts? *Hero and Leander* was entered on the Stationers' Books on 28th September, 1593, though not published until 1598.

Havelock Ellis declared this to be "the brightest flower of the English Renaissance," observing that no Elizabethan had so keen a sense of physical loveliness as these lines reveal:—

His body was as straight as Circe's wand ;  
Jove might have sipped out nectar from his hand,  
Even as delicious meat is to the taste  
So was his neck in touching, and surpassed  
The white of Pelops' shoulder.

There was, however, one man then living who could equal Marlowe in his exquisite imagination, and the felicity of his descriptions.

One has not to dive far into the companion poem of "Venus and Adonis" to discover that Marlowe and Shakespeare drew their inspirations from the same

well. Is this not apparent from the latter's masterly portrait of Lucrece ?

Without the bed her other fair hand was  
 On the green coverlet ; whose perfect white  
 Show'd like an April daisy on the grass,  
 With pearly sweat, resembling dew of night.  
 Her eyes, like marigolds, had sheath'd their light,  
 And, canopied in darkness, sweetly lay,  
 Till they might open to adorn the day.

Articles have appeared in *BACONIANA* demonstrating the complete harmony between the poets, in thought and in the choice of words by which to convey those thoughts, in style, characterisation, and in the use of rare words common to them. The dragging in of the name Bacon in *Faustus* (twice), and the *Jew of Malta*, suggests similar instances in *Henry IV.* (Part I.), and *The Merry Wives*.

It is most amusing to find how these references to Bacon are, both in Shakespeare and *Faustus*, in proximity to remarks about " hanging."

In that very superfluous scene, *Henry IV.*, Part I., Act II., Scene 3, two carriers are introduced, and the following passage occurs :—

*1st Carrier* : What, ostler ! come away and be hanged, come away.

*2nd Carrier* : I have a Gammon of Bacon, and two razes of Ginger, to be delivered as far as Charing Cross

The remainder of the scene is crammed with illusions to being " hanged " for, as Mrs. Quickly says, " Hang-hog is Latin for Bacon."

The key to this jest, supplied by the story of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and the culprit named Hog, told in Bacon's *Apophthegms*, is familiar to everybody interested in the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy through Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence's pamphlet.

In the first edition of *Faustus* (1604), Gluttony is brought on as one of the seven deadly sins. He says to Faustus:—

“O, I come of royal parentage! My grandfather was a Gammon of Bacon, my grandmother a *hogshead* of Claret-wine.”

“Wilt thou bid me to supper?” asks Gluttony. “No,” answers Faustus, “I’ll see thee *hanged*”!

In the 1616 Edition, Faustus merely answers, “Not I,” and the reference to “hanging” is omitted.

Marlowe has not, of course, received such minute consideration from Baconians as have the works of Shakespeare. This is only natural, for how very few, other than Baconians, know anything about these plays and poems. As far as public discussion is concerned, it seems to me that, for the present, we should confine ourselves to the authorship of Shakespeare. The convert having survived the shock of the destruction of his illusions about Shakespeare, will be quite prepared to entertain the investigation of other literary problems designed by Francis Bacon.

The title-page of the first known quarto of “*Faustus*” (1604) reads, “The Trag call History of Doctor Faustus. Printed by V. S., for Thomas Bushell. By Ch. Marl.”

Who was this Thomas Bushell? Was he related to the Thomas Bushell (born in 1594), who became Bacon’s Seal-bearer?

The 1609 Edition, “Written by Ch. Marl,” was “Imprinted at London by G. E., for John Wright.”

It is worth noting that G. Eld printed “Shakespeare’s Sonnets” and “*Troilus and Cressida*,” the same year.

The 1616 Edition is “written by Ch. Marl. London. Printed for John Wright.”

Marlowe could certainly not have printed *Faustus*,

as we have it, because the 1604 Edition refers to Dr. Lopez in the past tense :—

“ Mass Doctor Lopus was never such a doctor.”

While Lopez did not leap into notoriety until his trial, in February, 1594, at which Essex presided, being hanged at Tyburn in June—a year after Marlowe's death.

Sir Sidney Lee has shown that the character of Shylock was the result of the impression, which the trial and death of the Queen's Jewish physician, made upon Shakespeare. The significance of Gratiano's taunt is undeniable :—

“ thy currish spirit

Govern'd a *wolf* who, hanged for human slaughter,  
Even from the galloes did his fell soul fleet  
And . . . . infused itself in thee.

(Merchant of Venice).

Lopez, of course, means “ Wolf.”

Bacon was ordered to draw up a report of the Lopez case, but in what capacity Shakesper was concerned we must, as usual, leave to our imaginations. “ Doubtless ” he got another job of horse-minding, in which occupation, tradition says, he gained an early reputation.

But if Shylock bear the traces of the influence of the Lopez business ; why not Barabbas ? *The Jew of Malta* is entered in Henslowe's Dairy, February, 1591-2. The play may, however, have been subjected to considerable revision, as was Marlowe's and Shakespeare's (and Bacon's) almost invariable custom. Was not “ Marlowe ” thinking of Lopez when he made Barabbas describe his wealth as

The comfort of mine age, my *children's* hope ?

It is perfectly clear from the play that Barabbas had only one child—Abigail; for whom, like Shylock for Jessica, he had the deepest affection. But Lopez had five children—three daughters and two sons—and towards them he was greatly devoted.

*The Jew of Malta* was entered S.R. on 17th May, 1594, by Nicholas Ling and Thomas Millington, but not published until 1633, when it was entered by Thomas Heywood, the poet. It was "Printed by I.B., for Nicholas Vavasour."

Why and where was the MS. preserved for forty years? No doubt because the same author turned the story of the Jew into the more "finished" play of *The Merchant of Venice*. How the MS. came into the hands of Heywood is a nice point, and it would certainly be interesting to know if he had also charge of any MSS. of Shakespeare."

The work which Marlowe must have performed after shuffling off "this mortal coil" makes a fascinating study. The edition of Marlowe's plays, published by Routledge, includes both the 1604 and 1616 *Faustus*, so that the omissions, additions, and other revisions may be noted. It is a pity that commenators should tamper with the text of the original when meanings are obscure to their orthodox minds. Thus, although all the Quartos read in Scene I. :—

Then haste thee to some solitary grove,  
And bear wise Bacon's and Albanus' works.

we find "Albanus" altered to "Albertus."

Critics, faced with the difficulty of the additions and alterations in *Faustus*, after Marlowe's death, have endeavoured to persuade themselves, and their followers, that these are by an inferior hand. As usual, they have quarrelled among themselves; some authorities, rightly maintaining them as the work of the original author.

Which, may I ask, is the better between this piece of Baconian prose as it appears in 1604, or in 1616?—

*The first Edition :—*

*Duke* : Believe me, Master Doctor, this makes me wonder above the rest, that being in the dead time of winter and in the month of January, how you should come by these grapes.

*Faust* : If it like your grace, the year is divided into two circles over the whole world, that, when it is here winter with us, in the contrary circle it is summer with them, as in India, Saba, and farther countries in the east.

*The 1616 Edition :—*

*Duke* : This makes me wonder more than all the rest, that at this time of the year, when every tree is barren of his fruit, from whence you had these ripe grapes.

*Faust* : Please it your grace, the year is divided into two circles over the whole world ; so that, when it winter with us, in the contrary circle it is likewise summer with them, as in India, Saba, and such countries that lie far east, where they have fruit twice a year.

*Faustus* was enlarged, after Marlowe's death, from 37 pages to 54. Several new characters appear, among them Bruno, who is "led in chains." The persecutions of Bruno did not begin before 1598. Would it occur to any mere dresser of plays to go so far as the alteration of the names of characters?—thus "A Knight" becomes Benvolio, and Ralph becomes Dick. But all this fits in with Bacon's well-known practice,—"I ever alter as I add"; and some of the Shakespeare plays (*Othello*, *Richard III.*, *Merry Wives*, *Henry VI.*) were similarly treated after the death of the Stratford bumpkin.

Among the *additions* to *Faustus* I notice a striking Baconian parallelism :—

In Bacon's *Promus* (1594) there is a jotting :—

" The gods have woolen feet."

This entry from Bacon's private notebook is worded in the play as :—

" The gods creep on with feet of wool."

That delightful song, " The Passionate Shepherd," had a very "strange eventful history." It was originally published in a volume entitled "The Passionate Pilgrim," by W. Shakespeare, printed for W. Jaggard, 1599. In this little book, the poem appears as follows :—

Live with me and be my love.  
And we will all the pleasures prove  
That hilles and vallies, dales and fields,  
And all the craggy mountaines yeeld

There will we sit upon the Rocks,  
And see the Shepheards feed their flocks,  
By shallow Rivers, by whose fals  
Melodious birds sing Madrigals.

There will I make thee a bed of Roses,  
With a thousand fragrant poses,  
A cap of flowers, and a Kirtle  
Imbrodered all with leaves of Mirtle.

A belt of straw and Ivyebuds,  
With Corall Clasps and Amber studs,  
And if these pleasures may thee move,  
Then live with me, and be my Love.

*Loves answer.*

If that the World and Love were young,  
And truth in every shepheards tounge,  
These pretty pleasures might me move,  
To live with thee and be thy Love.

In "England's Helicon," (1600), the four verses of the Shepherd's song are expanded into the familiar poem of six stanzas, while some of the lines are touched up. Following it is the "Reply"; but now five new verses appear, making it an imitation of the Song, and signed "Ignoto":—

If all the world and love were young,  
And truth in every shepherd's tongue,  
These pretty pleasures might me move  
To live with thee and my thy love.

Time drives the flocks from field to fold.  
When rivers rage and rocks grow cold;  
And Philomel becometh dumb,  
The rest complains of cares to come.

The flowers do fade, and wanton fields  
To wayward winter reckoning yields:  
A honey tongue, a heart of gall,  
Is fancy's spring, but sorrow's fall.

Thy gowns, thy shoes, thy beds of roses,  
Thy cap, thy kirtle, and thy posies,  
Soon break, soon wither, soon forgotten,  
In folly ripe, in reason rotten.

Thy belt of straw and ivy buds,  
Thy coral clasps and amber studs,  
All these in me no means can move  
To come to thee and be thy love.

But could youth last, and love still breed,  
Had joys no date, nor age no need;  
Then these delights my mind might move  
To live with thee and be thy love.

In 1651, was published the collection of Letters, Poems, etc., of Sir Henry Wotton, under the title of "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ." It contains the poem "The World's a Bubble" signed "Ignoto." In a



subsequent edition of this book, the poem is given as by "Fra Lord Verulam"; but I would like to refer my readers to Mr. Cunningham's article on "Ignoto" in *BACONIANA* of October, 1913.

So here we have a poem first of all published as Shakespeare's; then two years later, enlarged from five to twelve verses, of which the dead Marlowe is given credit for six, and "Ignoto" (the unknown) for the remainder. "Here's a maze trod indeed!"

It is an absolute absurdity to suppose that those clear waters would flow from such a muddy fountain as the obscene ruffian, Marlowe. He was probably one of the play-brokers, or poet-apes, on whom Ben Jonson has much to say in the "Poetaster." Such a one might easily get a false reputation of being the actual author. Greene in "A Farewell to Folly" (1591) refers to gentlemen who, because of "their calling and gravity," suppress their own names, "and get some other to set his name to their verses," adding, "thus is the ass made proud by this underhand brokery."

In *The White Devil*, Act IV., Sc. II. (1612), Webster puts into the mouth of the hypocritical Flaminco, the significant lines:—

It may appear to some ridiculous  
Thus to talk knave and madman, and sometimes  
Come in with a dried sentence, stuff with sage:  
But this allows my varying of shapes;  
*Knaves do grow great by being great men's apes.*

R. EAGLE.

## THE SPELLING OF SHAGSPER'S NAME.

THE practice, on the part of Shakesperean biographers and commentators, on the Bacon-Shakespeare "scuffle," of writing or accepting "Willm Shagsper" the name of the putative author of the Shakespeare dramas, as "William Shakespeare" is one that may justly be termed reckless, criminal and inexcusable.

The "reference to "Outlines" which Mr. Hardy mentions in *BACONIANA* of July, 1915, page 134, was not a reference to "Outlines" as an authority for the writer's statements, it merely called attention to that letter of Malone (1741-1812), in which it is stated that the name of "Willm's" father, was not written with a final "e" until after 1650. Aside from the fac-similes in "Outlines." Halliwell-Phillipp's book is a mass of fiction, and is not worthy of any consideration by a "Lover of Facts."

As an example of Halliwell's unreliability, attention is invited to the 10th edition of "Outlines" (1898), Vol. I, page 90. On that page he gives the printed heading of fac-simile reproduction of a manuscript as "Shakespeare": whereas the original actually appears as "Shakspar." On page 137 the name is printed again "Shakespeare," whereas the original shows "Shak s p e." On page 248 the original is clearly "Shakspar" and on page 249 it is "Shakspar," but Halliwell persists in printing it "Shakespeare." Numerous inaccuracies of a similar character are found in the two volumes of "Outlines." The foregoing illustrations are perhaps sufficient to show the folly of quoting the printed transcripts found in "Outlines" and ignoring the fac-simile reproductions.

On page 357, of the fifth edition of "Outlines" (1885), is the following: "There is often a difficulty in ascertaining if the final stroke of a word is an *e* or simply a flourish." This illuminating passage is suppressed in the later editions of "Outlines;" it is not only the unpleasant fact for its Shagsperite readers, that has been committed and suppressed in the more recent editions of "Outlines." The question arises, why was it suppressed? Was it because that fact formed an obstacle to Halliwell's habit of constantly adding an "e" where it did not exist, as noted by Wm. H. Edwards, A.M., and Judge Stotsenberg in their books? In "Outlines" Vol. 2, on pages 220, 226, 234, 236, 237, 239 (4 times), 240 and 374, are facsimiles of the name of the Stratford man's father, John, written a Shax. The first syllable of the name nearly always appears as Shax, or Shox, or Shag, or Shack, or Shak (without the e). It will be noted that all these illustrations are not *printed transcripts*, as were all of those cited by Mr. Hardy in BACONIANA (page 135) of July, 1915.

Attention might again be called to Malone's statement recorded in "Outlines" and quoted on page 97 of BACONIANA of April, 1915, to the effect that the Stratford man's name was not written with a final "e" until after 1650. Malone's letter was written October 21, 1789, it is printed on page 399 on "Outlines," Vol. 2, and not on page 266 as inadvertently stated in the April (1915) number of BACONIANA. Mr. G. G. Greenwood, M.P., states, in one of his books, that Malone inspected the manuscripts in the eighteenth century, when the writing was not so faded as it is now. It is reasonable to assume that Malone's testimony is more valuable than is that of persons who examine the same manuscripts in the twentieth century.

## 230 The Spelling of Shagsper's Name.

When there is such documentary evidence of the correct name of the Stratford peasant as the record of baptism of April 24, 1564, where the name was written "Gulielmus Shaxsper" and the marriage bond of Nov. 28, 1582, where it is written "willm Shagsper" ("willm" was written four times) certainly that Stratford man should be called "Guilelmus Shaxsper" or "willm Shagsper." In this marriage bond the name of the wife was written "Ann hathwey," therefore *Anne Hathaway* is false, a characteristic Shagsper fiction.

As concerning "the various ways in which the family of Shakespeare spell their name are too numerous to mention, &c." as stated by Mr. Hardy, it may be noted that the "Johannes Shaxsper" and the "willm Shagsper" families are the only families in question in this discussion, all reference to others of that name is foreign to the subject. Neither of these men being able to read or write, they did *not* "spell their name" because they *could not*. The name of the Stratford peasant was written "willm Shagsper" as noted above, he had arrived at man's estate, was married and the father of "the premature Sussanna." It is the only historically correct way to write his name. As to Lord Burleigh or Sir Walter Raleigh, there is no uncertainty about the personality of these men, but there is about "willm Shagsper"; to quote the various ways that those men wrote their names is very far-fetched indeed, it only be-fogs the question.

In Mr. Hardy's list of illustrations, all of them based upon the "printed transcripts" (not on the fac-similes) in "Outlines," appears the following "*Shakespeare* twice Draft coat of arns, 1596. (Ref. to pg. 56)." The name as thus spelled is another instance of Halliwell slip-shod methods. The original actually appears as "Shake yer," (see fac-simile on page 49 of "*Shakespear*

Documents," collated by D. H. Lambart, London, 1904). If Mr. Hardy can cite a Stratford manuscript of a date prior to the year 1593, (the year when Francis Bacon put forth *Venus and Adonis*, and signed the name "William Shakespeare" to a letter of dedication), in which manuscript the name was written "Shake-speare" or "Shakespeare," such manuscript might be valuable as throwing some light on the question of the correct spelling of the Stratford man's signature.

It is a source of surprise that Mr. Hardy should quote the printed transcripts that appear in "Outlines." As an authority for correct and authentic spelling those transcripts in "Outlines" are worthless as shown above. Halliwell-Phillipps, as well as Sidney Lee, Prof. Charles Wallace and other Shagsperites, are not, and it would seem, cannot be accurate when they write or quote anything relative to the name of the man of Stratford. They persist in adding a final "e" that does not appear in the manuscript, and frequently they supply an "e" an "a" or a "k" in the middle of the name. Wm. H. Edwards and Judge Stotsenberg mention this habit of Halliwell and Lee, and the writer, in "New Shakespereana," of May, 1910, has severely scored Prof. Wallace for resorting to the same trick.

R. A. SMITH.

## BACON'S EXPENSES.

THE new facts my comments have provoked justify a further return to this subject.

In the original paper to which I took exception, Mr. Smedley adduced a note on the State records 1608 and a deed of 1584 (though he had not until now supplied particulars) as evidence that Francis Bacon evidently "would turn into money everything which he could. Hence the unusual provisions to safeguard him." Also that he was spending money which exhausted his mother's resources as early as 1589.

The discussion that followed has shown that Lady Ann's complaints of 1589 were about the expenditure of her son Anthony, and had no reference to Francis.

It has also shown that the condition of the 1584 conveyance was not a provision to safeguard Francis, since he borrowed £1,300 on the Marks estate which Lady Ann had by the conveyance kindly placed at his disposal, she having other good means.

Further, that the £1,300 was borrowed in 1591, was paid off on 1st May, 1592, re-borrowed by Francis on 2nd May, 1592, again repaid 18th June, 1594, relented by Harvey on 18th May, 1595, and ultimately discharged 16th November, 1595. The real explanation of the 10s. repurchase condition is that thereby Lady Ann could keep the estate from being sold. According to the 1593 correspondence with Anthony, Lady Ann seems to have gone back upon her promise to let the Marks estate be bestowed wholly upon Francis. "She made a new and petulant condition that she should have the handling of the money and pay Francis' debts." Very naturally, the proposal dropped through. Francis would have none of it.

We should now see clearly that the Lady Ann repurchase clause was merely for *her own protection* to keep the Marks estate in her own family, and was not a condition for safeguarding Francis.

We are indebted to Mr. Smedley for printing Sir Nicholas Bacon's Will. It makes evident that Gorham-bury did *not pass by the Will*, but had been settled on Sir Nicholas Bacon's second marriage. So Anthony's estate in tail in Gorham-bury under the marriage settlement must have been bought from him by Francis or *for Francis*. In view of Francis's request to the Queen, by letter of the 13th March, 1599, for help to buy it, we may be certain that was how he did acquire it. At or about the same date the Queen must have bought the freehold reversion. The interesting thing about the note on the state record concerning the document of 31st January, 1608, is, that the writer evidently knew that a conveyance to the Queen, her heirs and successors involved its acquirement by Francis! So the Record Keeper was aware that Francis was son and heir to the Queen.

Sir Nicholas Bacon, Junior, naturally wanted to prevent "Francis" from selling the reversion to a valuable family estate which, doubtless, he thought at the death of "Francis" ought to go back to the Bacon family in the person of the eldest son of the deceased Lord Keeper.

This was no "provision for safeguarding" Francis. He was then over forty, and in a position of great importance in the nation.

Mr. Smedley's thesis consequently comes to nothing.

Mr. Smedley contends that (whether the cypher story may or may not be true) my humble endeavours, to support it from historical evidence have failed from every point. Well, my success or non-success with

Mr. Smedley is no great matter, however regrettable in regard to his leading position in our Society.

Yet, as I am convinced of the truth of the cypher story and have at this moment positive proofs (which I shall not disclose at present) confirming certain of its important assertions, I shall not swerve from its advocacy. I have used the term *historical*, but it may be better termed *circumstantial* evidence as we may be sure that in reference to a state secret of this kind the records of a historical character must necessarily be scanty and often garbled.

Of course, the whole circumstantial evidence, which travels over the relationship of so many parties, cannot be dealt with in a short article. But I should consider as circumstantial evidence such matters as the Queen's visit to Gorhambury, the month before Francis was sent to Cambridge, the youth's education at Trinity founded by Henry VIII. instead of at St. Bennet's, where Sir Nicholas was educated, and the earlier fact that a bust of Francis' head at age of twelve was made in the year of a special visit by the Queen to Gorhambury, in 1572. The form of the licence to travel and the nominal provision for Francis in the Will of his supposed father were no more than needful pretences, Edward Bacon, ten years older than Francis in 1576, soon parted company with him, and the letters from Sir Amias Pawlet show that Pawlet was especially the henchman of the Earl of Leicester to whom he applied when after two years he desired relief from his office of Ambassador in France. They show also that Francis was Pawlet's companion in the troublous times during which they were following the French Court at Tours and Poitiers before they got back to Paris; They show, too, that Francis had a resident tutor, Mr. Duncombe, and there is recorded in one of the letters in payment in August, 1577, by Pawlet to



Mr. —, of £10 out of the Queen's funds by "especial Command." Pawlet's introduction of Duncombe to Sir Nicholas is curious; "thinking him worthy of the government of your lordship's son *or of my gentleman in England of what degree soever.*"

I take as supporting evidence the visit paid by Francis to the English Court in 1578 and the miniature of him painted by the Queen's private Limner Hilliard, which bears that date. I attach importance also to his final return being with a special dispatch about him *sent by Pawlet to the Queen.* I draw an inference from the complaint by Francis to Burleigh of his being put to the study of English Law. Why should he, if a son of Sir Nicholas, complain? I maintain that the letter of October, 1580, is proof that a pounds, shillings and pence support by the Queen was made

Mr. Spedding (Vol. I. p. 107) held the same view. He considered that Francis was then appointed "Queen's Counsel Extraordinary." The Bodley letter of December, 1581, when Francis was again abroad and urged to study state affairs to fit him for a position of great importance, is another bit of circumstantial evidence, followed as it was by elaborate "Notes on the State of Chirstendom."

The exceptional treatment at Gray's Inn procured for Francis by Burghley is consistent with his having been a youth of more importance than Sir Nicholas Bacon's son (Spedding, Vol. I, p. 65). That a youth of 24 should have been suffered to write a special letter of advice to Queen Elizabeth is again remarkable. Still more that he should begin it with, "Care, one of the natural and true—bred children of unfeigned affection."

Most of these facts are not mentioned in the cypher story. I can understand Sir Nicholas taking chief pride in a child of great parentage brought up from

tender infancy as his son. I can, too, understand Lady Ann's attitude towards him. Affection is largely dependent upon association. But that Sir Nicholas did not provide for him is confirmed by Dr. Rawley, who wrote in the admittedly garbed "Life" that Francis was "onely unprovided for" I attach the importance of circumstantial evidence to the resolute attitude of Francis towards the Queen over the subsidies quarrel. Spedding said ("Evenings with a Reviewer") "He stood frankly and firmly upon his justification refusing to understand upon what ground his conduct rightly construed, could be considered offensive." Francis remarked "he spake simply and only to satisfy his conscience. He knew the common beaten way to please." Had he not been the Queen's son, but only a shallow hanger on at the Court he would have followed the "common beaten way." I attach evidential importance to his insistence (at the age of 34 and without having held a brief) upon having conferred upon him one or other of the rich important law offices of the Crown and his threats of retirement if the Queen refused him.

It is impossible to go on here with these evidences, but I note that the £1,300 on Marke's estate was paid) off the day before the Queen (harmony being restored) had on 17th November, 1595, extended the lease of Twickenham Lodge and about the date that Essex had made over to Francis land of the value of £1,800. This is indicative of where the £1,300 came from.

When Burghley sent his Secretary to learn how Francis had managed his first brief in 1594 he said he wanted the information for where it would do Francis the most good. Surely that referred to the Queen? Surely, too, the intended presence of the Lord Keeper and Lord Treasurer to hear his third public pleading was exceptional.

I cannot put down this fuss and the exceptional treatment when Francis took his M.A. from such a conservative and important body as the Cambridge authorities as merely due to knowledge of his great abilities. He had published nothing under his own name at that date, and membership of the Commons was then not much valued, otherwise the electors of Andover would not have requested Earl Leicester to tell them whom to elect. The conclusion is, that it was an open secret—that Francis was probably a bastard son of the Queen, but nobody dared talk or write about it. In 1570 a gentleman named Marsham was condemned to lose his ears for saying, "My Lord of Leicester had two sons by the Queen."

Mr. Smedley might tell us what befell the Marks' estate after 1595.

I feel sure that both Anthony Bacon and his mother had their money returned to them, and Francis had nothing to reproach himself with or be under comment on that score.

PARKER WOODWARD.

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In making a few concluding remarks on Mr. Parker Woodward's criticisms I may point out that I did not seek this discussion. On the 354th anniversary of his birth I wrote an appreciation of Francis Bacon. I endeavoured to refrain from introducing anything of a controversial character, but unintentionally I provoked Mr. Parker Woodward. I think I may claim that the discussion has not been unproductive of additional information, so I do not regret it.

Mr. Woodward still insists that Lady Anne Bacon's complaints in 1589 of her impoverished condition were not caused by any help extended to Francis. Her letters do not support this view. In April, 1593, she wrote, "I have been too ready for you both until

nothing is left." But nothing was left in 1589! Therefore, it follows that prior to that year her gifts to Francis must have taxed her resources. We have now definite historical evidence that in 1584 she voluntarily gave him the Marks' estate, the Red Lion at Romford, and also properties at Hornechurch, Dagnam, Romford and Howering-at-Bower, all in the county of Essex. There is no evidence that she was so generous to Anthony. The only reservation was as to the Marks' estate; I agree with Mr. Woodward:—"The real explanation of the ten shilling repurchase condition is that thereby Lady Ann could keep the estate from being sold." This was not for Lady Ann's protection, but to safeguard Francis. Eventually, she gave in and, as will be seen from Mr. Hardy's article on page 190 of this number, in 1596, Harvey got the Marks' estate. He already held a mortgage of £1,300 and paid Francis £200 in cash. Lady Ann did want "to keep the Marks' estate in her own family," in the person of her son, Francis. But she failed; his financial embarrassments were too great for her to withstand the urgency of his appeals and those of Anthony on his behalf. First she must have assented to his mortgaging it and in the end to his selling it to Harvey.

I do not think Lady Ann Bacon ever asked for her money back, or even wanted it back, and certainly she does not appear to have had it back.

I need not say more with reference to the similar provision as to the Hertfordshire properties. There stands the definite statement on the State paper (see page 192):—"Which was apparently done to bar the said Sir Francis to dispose of the said land, which otherwise by law he might have done."

Mr. Woodward writes:—"I have used the term *historical*, but it may better be termed *circumstantial*

evidence." I am not called upon to deal with such evidence. I maintain that I have justified to the fullest extent every statement in my original article, which has been challenged by my friend.

I have only one further comment to make, Mr. Woodward writes :—" Mr. Spedding (Vol. I., p. 107) had the same view " (*i.e.*, that the Queen had made provision for the support of Francis.) "He considered that Francis was then appointed ' Queen's Counsel Extraordinary.' " This is what Mr. Spedding says on page 107 :—" It has been said indeed, that before this time the Queen had appointed him ' one of her counsel learned extra-extraordinary,' but even if this be true (which, from the absence of all contemporary allusions to a distinction so unusual I doubt), it does not alter the case ; for whether he obtained it sooner or later, it was an honour without any emolument appertaining."

There I must leave the subject.

WILLIAM T. SMEDLEY.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

"Read Robertson. He has sunk the Bacon Theory deeper than did ever plummet sound. It can never float again."

So said a parlour-lecturer that evening in the parlour of one of these great hotels, to a group of literary ladies of both sexes, who proposed to mingle the delights of deep-sea bathing and cat-boat navigation with pure Literature!

"Shakespeare and the Musical Glasses," quoth Goldsmith, "Bacon and soft-shell crabs!" I suppose that of all that parlour-full I was the only wight who procured straightway a copy of Mr. Robertson's book that I might really test that amateur lecturer and find out for myself whether Mr. Robertson really had sunk the Bacon proposition down to keep company with Prospero's Library! But that is just what I did.

And it is a big book and no mistake about it!

Mr. Robertson has bulked large into the field. He has omitted nothing of or pertinent to the date and time at which the Shakespeare Plays appeared, or backward therefrom to cover the days when William Shakespeare of Stratford breathed Warwickshire oxygen, whether a babe in arms or a lad at large, or a youth or a man of man's estate, so only that while he was alive anything existed that can be recognised as alluded to in the plays—surely THAT is enough to prove that William Shakespeare babe or boy or man—Shakespeare himself and no one else put that Allusion into those Plays!

For frankly, THAT is all Mr. Robertson contends, and all he claims to prove in his six hundred closely packed pages!

As to the PROBABILITY, as to the Possibility even of anything to which allusion is found or may be tortured into the Plays, having been unknown to the babe or the boy, or the man Shakespeare of Stratford—or as to the possibility of its having been put there or having found its way there through or *via* some other medium of channel THAT does not glimpse itself within Mr. Robertson's purview! Briefly Mr. Robertson has written a big book—a very big book. He has demonstrated that all the lore of the ages—all the

wealthy of learning that came in translation from the Classics or through the Italian, or that filtered into England by way of Norse or Gallic cannule—MIGHT have been familiar to the peasant boy and man of Warwickshire so far as time went—in other words that there was no difficulty arising from the fact that certain lore was IN EXISTENCE from and between the years 1580 and 1616, in supposing that Master Shakespeare borrowed it for his Plays!

BUT THE ACTUAL QUESTION—THE QUESTION UPON WHICH THE ENTIRE THEORY OF THE BACON AUTHORSHIP IS BASED—NAMESLY THE PROBABILITY OF A WARWICKSHIRE PEASANT HOWEVER ABNORMALLY ACCOMPLISHED, HAVING TAKEN ALL KNOWLEDGE AND ALL LITERATURE FOR HIS PROVINCE. THIS QUESTION MR. ROBERTSON APPEARS NEVER TO HAVE HEARD OF, AT LEAST HE DOES NOT DEIGN TO DEVOTE TO IT THE PASSING HONOUR OF A GLANCE!

Full forty years ago there was printed in New York City a book, now hard to find. It was written by a barrister, absorbed in professional pursuits. It pretended to no microscopic examination of the great field or rather harvest, of Renaissance. Literature, a harvest, as indeed it was, of all precedent European culture, packed into English warehouses. But what that book essayed to do, it did, to wit, it presented singly and solely, alone and unaffected by Opinion, Speculation, Surmise, or Guesswork, the PROBABILITY of the Shakespeare Authorship!

The first sentence of that book (it was Appleton Morgan's "The Shakespearean Myth") struck the keynote. And, indeed, beyond this first sentence one need hardly advance to paralyse the entire corpus of Mr. Robertson's most able (but it seems to us, most futile) book.

This is the initial sentence of Mr. Morgan's book. "The thirty-seven Plays called collectively 'Shakespeare' are a phenomenon, not only in English Letters but in Human Experience. The literature of the country to which they belong, had, up to the date of their appearance, failed to furnish, and has been utterly powerless to produce since any type, likeness, or formative trace of them; while the literature of other nations possesses not even a corresponding type. The history of a century on either side of their era discloses within the precincts of their birth, no resources upon which levy could have been made for their creation; They came and went live a meteor, neither borrowing of what they found, nor loaning to what they left, their own peculiar and unapproachable magnificence."

And this succinctly stated proposition Mr. Robertson proposes to dispose of and answer and (to use the figure of our Bay Head Parlour pundit) "sink deeper than did ever plummet sound"—by demonstration that certain words and phrases used in the plays are not or may not be, as the late Dr. Theobald supposed, hapax legomena of the Plays, but had been framed at some earlier date and used elsewhere than in the Plays!

Only an industrious study in the voluminous pages of the Great Murray Dictionary, after all, is necessary for such a demonstration, if indeed the fact be so. But let that pass. We are indebted to Mr. Robertson for collating the evidence in convenient form.

But this is not in the minutest degree an answer to the argument drawn from the IMPROBABILITY! Hume's Argument against Miracles (to wit, that miracles are Impossible because they are Improbable), was buttressed by the demonstration of the Improbability as a FACT; whereas Hume's weak point was, that he assumed BOTH the Improbability and the Impossibility.

ALLAN E. OLIVER.

Bay Head, New Jersey, U.S.A., July 8th.

THE STORIES OF THE MURDER OF AMY ROBSART  
AND OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S CHILDREN.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—The letter on page 111 of BACONIANA for April, 1915, relative to a family tradition about Amy Robsart as told by a Mrs. Bunker, of Berkeley, U.S.A. (which is a rather indefinite location of the town of Berkeley), who was a descendant of Gov. Thomas Dudley (1578-1652) of Massachusetts Colony, reminds the writer of a similar tradition.

The parents of Mrs. Virginia (Osborn) Burr, the widow of William Henry Burr (1819-1908) of Washington, D.C., U.S.A., author of "Shaksper Could not Write" and a contributor to BACONIANA; see sketch of Mr. Burr in BACONIANA of October, 1909), were born in England. Her father's sister, who was also born in England about 1822, told Mrs. Burr more than once that it was a common topic of conversation, and was a matter of common belief, that Queen Elizabeth was the mother of two or more children. While the story did not appear in print, it was freely told from one to another. It also coincides with the items related in the "Bilateral Cipher" and the story told by Jane Dormer (1538-1612) in



that book "Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria," issued in London in 1887. See *BACONIANA* of April, 1906, page 132.

In addition to the children of Elizabeth born in 1549, 1561 and 1567 is there not a tradition that she had a daughter who was born between the years of 1561 and 1567, the years of the birth of Francis Tudor (Bacon), and Robert Tudor (Essex.)

AN AMERICAN SUBSCRIBER.

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## ERRATUM.

In the April number of *BACONIANA*; page 85, in the fifth line of Miss A. A. Leith's article on Sonnet cxliv, the words "Two lives" should read "Two loves."

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## OBITUARY.

Death has levied a very heavy toll on the Society during the past two years. It is with deep regret that we have to record the death of Mr. George Stronach, M.A., of Edinburgh, who was one of the most capable exponents of the Baconian theory. Mr. Stronach had for some years suffered from an incurable internal disease. He had undergone operation after operation which only brought temporary relief. He passed away early in April last. Mr. Stronach was Principal Assistant in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. He received his education at George Watson's Hospital (now George Watson's College), of which institution he was a foundationist and gold medallist, in the same year as his brother was Dudgeon Medallist. The honours thus secured by the two brothers were won for the first time in the same year. Mr. Stronach then attended the Edinburgh University, where he took his M.A. degree. He was much interested in politics, and during Mr. Gladstone's campaign in Midlothian, in collaboration with his friend the late Mr. G. R. Halkett, he prepared "Gleanings from Gladstone" and other political pamphlets. These had a large measure of popularity. He contributed both prose and verse to numerous magazines, and was Edinburgh correspondent of several London and provincial newspapers; In July 1880 he was appointed Principal Assistant in the Advocates' Library, and was for many years in charge of the business-room and reference-room. From his wide reading and extensive knowledge of the con-

tents of the Library he was well qualified to assist readers in research, and he was always willing to do so. Mr. Stronach leaves a widow, a son, and a daughter.

The pages of BACONIANA bear testimony to Mr. Stronach's great ability as a controversialist. He espoused the Bacon authorship of the Shakespeare plays and poems many years ago and his contributions to the subject are marked by close reasoning, keen logic and a wide and accurate knowledge of the facts. Perhaps he was at his best in a criticism which he wrote on Sir Sydney Lee's "Life of Shakespeare." It first appeared in BACONIANA, but was subsequently issued in the form of a pamphlet. The Society loses by his death one of its most efficient writers.

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### IN MEMORIAM.

CONSTANCE MARY POTT, b. 1833, d. 1915.

*Quod manet melius quam quod transit.*

PROMUS.

The earth can have but earth which is his due ;  
 My spirit is thine, the better part of me :  
 So then thou hast but lost the dregs of life,  
 . . . my body being dead ;

. . . . .  
 The worth of that is that which it contains,  
 And that is this, and this with thee remains.

SONNET LXXIV.

When from the dark and silent corridors of time Incomparable Verulam "paces forth," the world shall look with purged vision on the life and labours of one passed from our little here on to her larger There.

Perhaps we have all stood a little near our leader, teacher, friend, Mrs. Henry Pott, to rightly focus our view.

Privileged as we lovers of Francis Bacon have been to sun ourselves in the radius of her benignant, gracious personality and be fed, we babes in knowledge, from the well-spring of her wisdom (poured out with the selfless generosity of her Master Francis himself), we have scarcely till now realised the enormous debt we owe her.

Her loss brings home to us as nothing else could do the fact that we Baconians of to-day are the product of her brilliant intellectuality, and of her sensitive, intuitive, and energising spirit.

First and foremost, then, our late Leader Mrs. Henry Pott is nothing less than the *Mater Magna* of the Bacon Society, and is to be venerated as its Foundress, though its immediate initiator was the late Dr. Zerffi. It was he who talking it over with her in 1883, together with a select committee of her personal friends, sent out in August, 1884, the preliminary circulars regarding the aims of the Society, which after the first *Conversazione*, held July 17, 1884, was soon on foot, with Mr. F. Fearon, Mrs. H. Pott's brother, as Hon. Sec., and her husband as Treasurer.

The Hon. Ignatius Donnelly spoke at a meeting held at the Westminster Town Hall, on his Cypher in 1888, and on April 11th, 1893, the Editing Committee of BACONIANA met for the first time at 81, Cornwall Gardens. Those who possess the precious early volumes of our organ may trace in many articles of varied subjects the versatile and learned pen of Mrs. Henry Pott. Indeed, at first the entire matter for each number was practically provided by herself.

No one realised more effectually than our leader that

"Heaven doth with us as we with torches do, not light them for themselves,"  
and that

"No man is lord of anything, though in and of him there be much consisting,  
till he communicate his part to others."

It were hard to find a more faithful disciple of her Master Francis than our elect lady, from dawn to sunset dauntless. The following lines express her fearlessness and courage as the two first do his.

"I will strive with things impossible and get the better of them."

"I will find out Truth though it were hid indeed in the centre."

"I am a woman, when I think I must speak."

As a child in the schoolroom, if not in the nursery, Constance Fearon brought up in the laboratory to reverence both God's Books, Nature, and Bible, by a learned, loving, lawyer father, saw a volume of Bacon on the table of a friend. The child, ripe for knowledge, opened it at the words: "What is Truth?" said jesting Pilate and would not stay for an answer." The impression lasted a life-time. It was her un-Pilate like staying, contemplative attitude towards it that made

her in after life so valuable a pioneer in the Mine of Truth. In the child's extraordinary sympathy with the mind of Bacon, we trace the "true beginning of her end." One of the big works for which we owe her untold gratitude is the publication with Longman, in 1883, of the *Promus*, a MS. Note-Book of Francis Bacon, discovered by her in the British Museum, and edited by her with a world of valuable notes, and a Fore-word by Dr. Abbott.

On p. 476 is the line :—

"The nature of everything is best considered in the seed," while below stands this quotation from 2 Henry IV., placed there by the Editor :—

"There is a history in all men's lives . . . the which observed, a man may prophesy with a near aim of the main chance of things, as yet not come to life, which, in their seeds and weak beginnings, lies intresured."

Unlike the usual sequence of literary studies, with Mrs. Henry Pott, Bacon came first, Shake-Speare second.

It was not till Constance's "own ideal knight who revered his conscience as his king, and loved one only and who clave to her," had wooed and won her, and she was the wife of that "very parfit gentil knight," Mr. Henry Pott, of Wallington, Surrey, that she first learnt to know her Shake-Speare.

As soon as she became the ardent student we knew her of the Plays and Sonnets, she awoke to the astounding fact that they echoed the philosophy, the heart, the very words, and more, the "*Soul of words, the Notions*," as the *Novum Organum* calls them, of Francis Bacon. From this seed sprang the conviction, matured as years went on, that there was but One Master Mind dominating the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. And to proving this her wide brow and facile pen were consecrated. When and how she found leisure for teaching and inspiring our Society as she did, for world-wide correspondence of the fullest kind, for all her deep and well-thought-out literary productions (the manual labour of which she kept in her own hands,) is incomprehensible. Particularly when we consider her domestic life as mother of nine children, and her busy social and family circle.

Her vitalising energy found new and fresh expression in *The Ladies' Guild of Francis Saint Alban*, started by her in 1905 to meet a real need, and of which she was President. Her eager desire for the spread of truth was cabined, cribbed, confined by the Society that ruled out discussion and revela-

tions concerning Free Masonry and Cyphers, which she thought in the interest of Bacon should receive encouragement, so the larger Society was supplemented by a wheel within a wheel.

A Guild of Women, who laid no fingers on lips, and told out all they knew. A report of its meetings and lectures, containing valuable additions from her pen, appeared from time to time. This organ flutters still under the title of "*Fly-Leaves.*"

The cryptic, esoteric side of our question has been also dealt with in her wonderful book, *Francis Bacon and His Secret Society*, lately re-edited with additions, and containing a most comprehensive view of his life and aims from the Rosicrucian side.

Behind her in MSS. she has left a copious Dictionary dealing with every kind of subject connected with Francis Bacon. It runs into many volumes, and in the interest of that miracle of men should be published. Her love for children, and her sympathy with their thoughts and feelings is expressed in her child's Romance of *Philomir or Self's the Man*, and her little book, *Quite a Gentleman*, which was written long ago for her own boys, is still the delight of the modern Schoolmaster. Space forbids more details of a life and mind whose freshness and fragrance continued to its earthly close, and which so fully realised the beautiful thought of her Master Francis :

"Above all believe it, the sweetest Cantic is *Nunc Dimittis* when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations."

"The rest let sorrow say." . . . . .

A DISCIPLE.

## MRS. HENRY POTT.

OB. MAY, 1915.

" 'Twas not for what the World regards as Fame,  
 Her Time and Talents lavishly she spent,  
 Her's was a loftier task, a worthier aim,  
 On which her every energy was bent—

The Realms of Myth to fearlessly assail  
 Armed with the Principle " Truth must prevail."

Misjudged, misunderstood, she yet pursued  
 Unflinching, the path to Truth and Sight ;  
 Strong in her faith, even with hope imbued  
 That Truth would conquer, Faith be lost in Sight.

\* \* \* \*

Her day is done, but from beyond the Veil  
 The message comes—" *Work on. Truth will  
 prevail.*"

H. KENDRA BAKER.

Vol. XIII. THIRD SERIES.

# BACONIANA

A Quarterly Magazine.

LONDON:  
GAY & HANCOCK, LIMITED,  
12 & 13 HENRIETTA ST., STRAND, W.C.  
1915.

*“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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