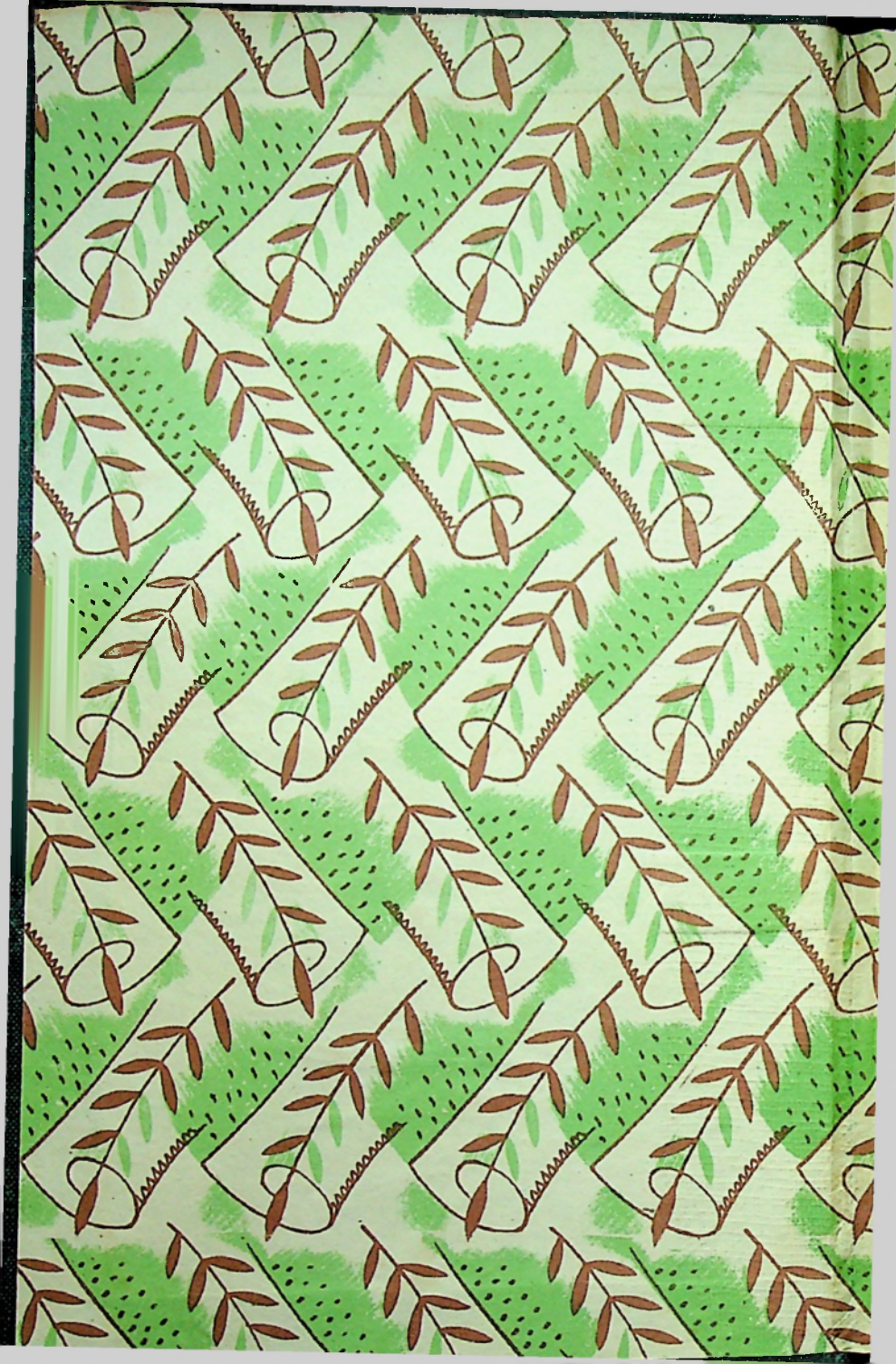


BACONIANA





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

—FRANCIS BACON.

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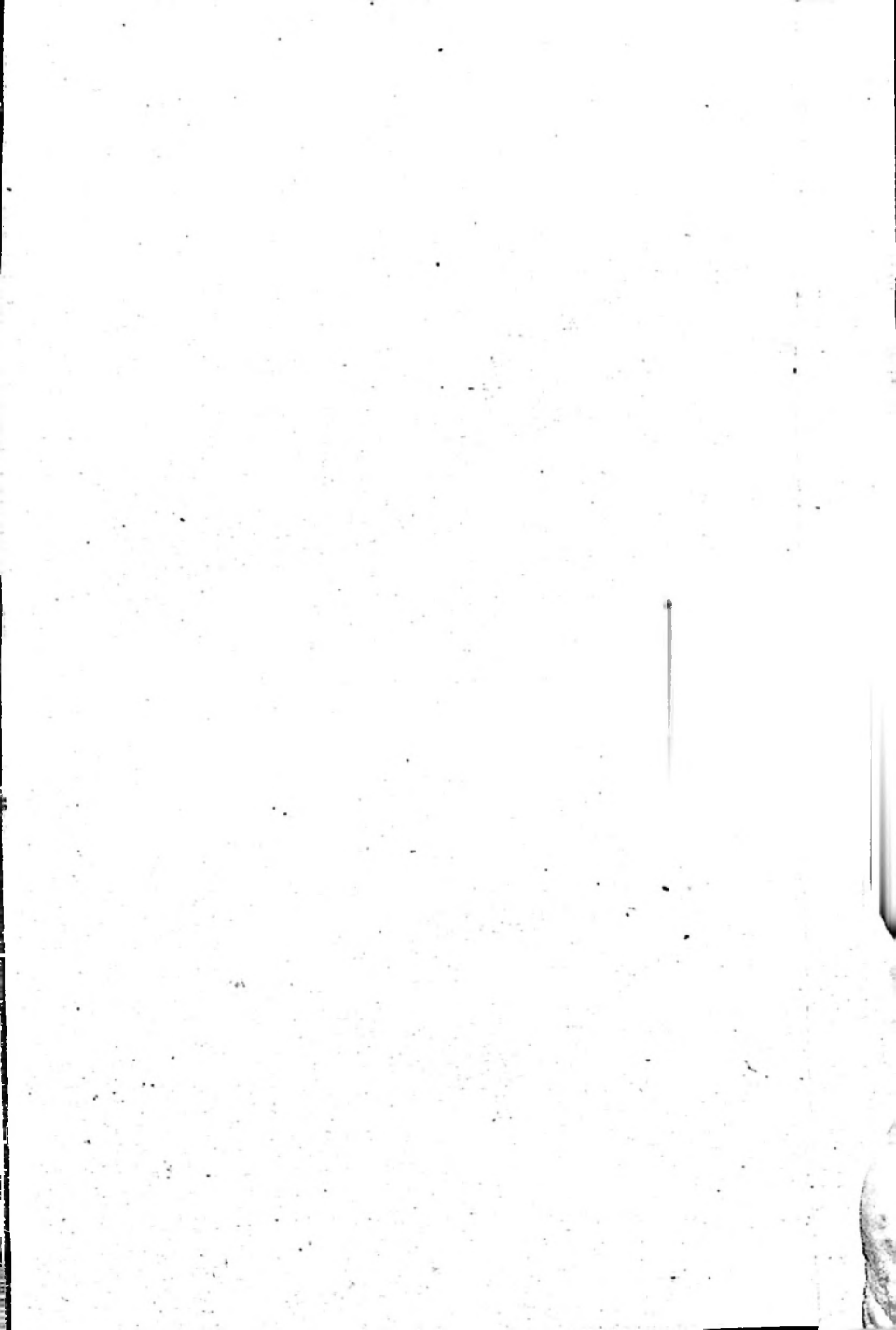
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The Bacon Society.

(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.

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No. 53.

" CIVILE HISTORY."

THE Renaissance was later in England than in Italy, France, or Spain. Even the Reformation scarcely hastened it, and not until the reign of Elizabeth was our nation fired with the desire of knowledge which had for more than a century inflamed the choice spirits of Latin races. That they could supply the tinder for the spark when struck in this country was evident to those who kindled it. Amongst them, if not at their head, was the man of great and exalted mind who devoted it, with his life, to "The Advancement of Learning." The use that he made of the abundant foreign material good for that purpose, none but a Magliabecchi could hope to trace and describe, to do so would be a vast work of enlightenment. "Learning" is indeed a wide word, and that Bacon gave it no narrow meaning is plain from the range of topics glanced at in the volume to which I refer. One of the innumerable branches of the Tree of Knowledge sketched by him is delineated in Lib. 2. It is civil history. Let me try to show how the "learning" of history was promoted in his time, and occultly by him. "Why occultly?" the reader may ask. The present writer is not prepared with any short satisfactory answer, unless it be to point out the ominous fact that one of the very few English Histories published before the time of Bacon, viz.: "Halles' Chronicle," beginning only at Henry IV.

and ending at Henry VIII., which was issued by Richard Grafton in 1550, was suppressed by proclamation in 1555. But let me pass on to my undertaking which is merely to prove how much historical knowledge was made accessible, even to Englishmen "unlearned in the tongues," between the year 1576, when Bacon left Cambridge, and the year 1626, the alleged date of his death. History, before that period, was, with rare exceptions, to be found only in fragmentary and scarce works written in Latin or foreign languages, and many of those works were still unprinted. But during his period a broad field of history was covered by books printed in English, some of them huge costly volumes, coming to the hands of the few, and many small concise books, likely to have more readers. And, besides these, history was artfully taught and commended to the multitude, lettered and unlettered, by means of the Drama.

For, as Bacon wrote, "Drammatical or Representative, is as it were, a visible History; for it sets out the Image of things, as if they were present, and History, as if they were past," And again: "Drammaticall or Representative Poesy, which brings the world upon the stage, is of excellent use, if it were not abused. . . . For although in moderne 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 instruct the minds of men into virtue. Nay, wise men and great Philosophers have accounted it as the Archet, or musical Bow of the Mind. And certainly it is most true, and, as it were, a secret of Nature, *that the minds of men are more patent to affections and impressions, congregated than solitary.*" (Adv. of Learning, Lib. II., pp. 106-7.)

I suggest that the diffusion of historical knowledge

was planned, or encouraged, or assisted by Bacon in pursuance of his vast scheme —formed, no doubt, some time before it was expounded in the “Advancement of Learning.”

It may, and, of course, will be said that the issue from the English press of a large number of works imparting a knowledge of history, either in gross or in detail, during some 20 years of Bacon’s life was a mere coincidence, due to the wealth of active minds which enriched that bright age. Perhaps so. Perhaps, however, the fact may be more reasonably attributed to the direction of a master developing a great scheme, if some of those works are described with due regard to the range of subject, and chronological order of the periods treated of in them. The most ambitious in scope was “The History of the World,” by Sir Walter Raleigh fo. 1614, of whom Ben Johnson said that “The best wits in England were employed in making his history.” Almost another history of the world was attempted in “Purchas his Pilgrimage,” fo. 1613, with its very long list of the authorities on which it was based. Another work of wide view was “The Historie of Justien,” containing a narration of Kingdomes, from the beginning of the Assyrian Monarchy unto the reign of the Emperor Augustus. First written in Latine by that famous Historiographer Justine and now again newly translated into English by G. W. sm. fo., 1606, printed by William Jaggard,” a significant name. Of rather more restricted, but still vast range, having regard to the dominion of Rome, was “The Historie of all the Romane Emperors beginning with Caius Julius Cæsar, and successively ending with Rodolph the second now reigning. First collected in Spanish by Pedro Mexia, since enlarged in Italian by Lodovico Dulce, and Girolami Bardi, and now Englished by W. T.” sm. fo.

1604, and *The Roman Historie of Ammianus Marcellinas*, translated by Philemon Holland. Adam Islip, fo. 1609. Let us now turn to "The history of Great Britaine . . . by John Speed, roy. fo., 1611, printed by Wm. Hall & John Beale. The proeme of this great and full work is remarkably learned and well expressed, but is not signed. Remarkable also are the initial letters at the commencement of chapters. The letters are enclosed in a square border, and behind the capital is a man in different attitudes holding a book. The same or very similar capital letters may be found in other volumes published, even by other firms, in the period now dealt with, and in those volumes as in this of Speed the first initial is often B,—which is noteworthy. Next, *The Annales or General Chronicle of England*, begun first by Maister John Stow and after him continued and augmented with matters forreigne and domestique, ancient and moderne, unto the ends of this present year 1614, by Edmund Howes, gentleman, fo. 1615 printed by Thomas Dawson for Thomas Adams. The Historical Preface has the head-piece ornament of the First Folio Shakespeare, with the mysteriously inconspicuous difference only of the number of plumes in the tail of the centre birds. The initials T and B also resemble with a slight difference those in Speed.

The *Chronicles of Englande, Scotlande and Irelande*, by Raphael Holinshed, fo. 1577. It was the second edition of 1587, on which some of the historical plays of "Shakespeare" were founded. The Tragedy of *King Lear*, 4to. 1608, dealing with one reign in British History contemporary with that of Romulus, and recorded by Geoffrey of Monmouth. The Tragedy of *Cymbeline*, 4to, 1623—a King of Britain in the time of Augustus Cæsar. "The Misfortunes of Arthur," 1587. (See BACONIANA, Vol. X., 117.) who opposed the

Saxon invasion of England. In the composition of this play Bacon is proved to have lent a hand.

The Lives of the three Norman Kings of England, William I., William II., Henry I., by John Hayward, 4to, 1613.

The Troublesome Raigne of John, King of England. 4to 1591.

The Chronicle of Edward the First, a play by Geo. Peele, 4to 1593.

The first part of the Life and Raigne of King Henry the III., by John Hayward, 4to, 1599, comprising but the first year.

The historie of Henrie the Fourth, by “Shakespeare,” 4to, 1598. The second part, 4to, 1600.

The Cronicle History of Henry the fift, 4to 1600.

The Tragedie of King Richard the second, 4to, 1597.

The Collection of the Historie of England, by Samuel Daniel, sm. fo., 1626. [From the Romans to end of Ed. III.]

The first part of the contention betwixt the two famous houses of York and Lancaster, 4to, 1594, the third edition of which was published in 1619 and printed by Isaac Jaggard.

The Second and Third Parts of the same.

The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of York, sm. 8vo, 1595.

The Historie of the raigne of King Henry the Seventh, by Francis Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, 1622.

The famous History of the Life of King Henry the Eighth, by “Shakespeare,” 1st fo., 1623.

Here is a short list. It might be much lengthened by anyone accustomed to a library who would spend some hours in the British Museum. Space at my disposal does not permit me to go through the works which

I have specified, and show how the style of prefaces, the printer's names, the initial letters, the headline ornaments, the tail pieces, and other facts correspond to prove that the issue of the books and plays was under a comprehensive scheme organised by the most comprehensive mind. "Civil Historie," however, was but one of the many branches of learning that Francis Bacon proposed to advance. An examination of the Elizabethan literature in English on other branches, such for example as Ecclesiastical History would repay the student, and support my theory.

J. R.,
of Grays Inn.

A CHOICE OF EMBLEMES.

FOR unveiling the vizarded books printed by Francis Bacon and his secret literary colleagues, engaged in inaugurating a standard English literature, two processes have been needed.

1st. The collection by some enthusiast of all available details concerning an ascribed author of the period.

2nd. A growing conviction that the facts of the ascribed author's life would not marry with the literary achievement bearing his name.

Mr. Halliwell Phillip's researches concerning Shakespeare, of Stratford-upon-Avon, began the doubts as to the authorship of the Plays and Poems. "I cannot marry the facts of this man's (Shakespeare) life with his verse," wrote R. W. Emerson. Scrupulous care was taken to make it appear that Edmund Spenser, the clerk, who was sent to Ireland in 1580, was the writer of the poems which, during his lifetime and after

his death in 1598-9, were written and printed in England by Francis Bacon under Spenser's name.

The decipher from the biliteral cipher claimed the "Spenser" poems as the work of Francis Bacon, and the critical examination of the evidence by Mr. Harman, C.B., Mr. Granville Cuninghame, and others ("of which I, meanest, boast myself to be") confirmed the truth of the claim.

I have already ("Tudor Problems") claimed "a Choice of Emblemes" as not the work of the ascribed author, Geoffrey Whitney, and here give my reasons more at length.

It is perfectly natural that a great literary superman, such as Bacon was, being anxious to place the English language and literature upon an assured footing, would realise the importance of providing English readers with a selection (with the verse translated into English) from the many picture Emblem books printed in other languages.

In the case of Geoffrey Whitney, we are fortunate in having had, as preliminary to critical investigation, the enthusiastic and untiring enquiries of Mr. Henry Green, M.A., who published in 1866 a facsimile of "A Choice of Emblemes," accompanied with valuable facts and literary notes.

Whitney appears to have been born in Cheshire. His parents at one time lived in London, and Geoffrey probably studied law there, while his age, in 1586, when the book was published; is computed to have been about forty. There being such "a polish, a roundness of metre and rhyme," Mr. Green thought it indicated with certainty that the verses in "A Choice" were not the only ones which had flowed from his pen.

But the only previous writing claimed as his is a short written account in Latin on parchment, dated 2nd August, 1580, of a visit to a sand-bank off Yarmouth, by a party of Norfolk gentlemen.

The handwriting is not claimed to be his, neither is it signed, but the name "Galfridus Whitney" is recorded as one of the burgesses present.

The only verses ascribed as from his pen, other than those in "The Choice," are printed in "Dousa's *Odæ Britannicæ*, 1586." So that if the evidence points to another author of "The Choice," that other author was also doubtless the writer of the verses in Dousa's book.

Robert, Earl of Leicester, whose connection with the county of Norfolk commenced as M.P. in 1553, was from 1572 until his death in 1588, High Steward of Great Yarmouth.

When Serjeant Flowerdew, who was under-steward from 1580 to 1584 (when he became one of Her Majesty's judges of the Exchequer Court) resigned his position at Yarmouth, Whitney was appointed to receive the fees of the Court for the Steward, but upon the appointment by the Corporation of one John Stubbe to the office of under-steward, Whitney was required to leave, unless Mr. Stubbe chose to retain him as clerk. The Earl tried to induce the corporation to appoint Whitney to the post, but was unsuccessful.

After the publication of "The Choice," in 1586, there is no documentary evidence about Whitney until his Will, proved 28th May, 1601, in which his name is written "Jeffery," and signed "Geffery," in that respect differing from the name "Geffrey" on The "Choice" According to the Will he was the lessee of a farm held of Richard Cotton, of Cambermere. He bequeathed a little money, a few silver spoons, "my Liberarie of Books," his nag, and sundry items of wearing apparell to various relatives. The books were to go to his nephew if it should please God to indue him with learning in the Latin tongue."

We may infer that the books were in Latin, and that Geffrey was able to read them.

The spelling in the Will is not consistent with much regard for English scholarship.

At the date "The Choice" was prepared for the press Whitney was out of employment; and ready for something to do. If the bilateral cipher account is true, Francis Bacon was the Earl of Liecester's eldest son, his mother being Queen Elizabeth. Had Francis prepared the "Choice" of Emblems and been in need of some person upon whom to pass it off as "author," Whitney, as a man of mature age and clerical experience, out of a job, would serve for such a purpose well. Moreover, he could usefully represent his employer at Plantins printing office, in Leyden, seeing the book through the press.

We have no knowledge of Bacon's whereabouts in 1585, but as his father, the Earl, was preparing men, munitions, ships and horses, for his expedition to the Low Countries, it is probable that Francis was employed in and about Yarmouth, Lowestoft and Norwich, in association with the preparations, and that here he obtained the local knowledge which was afterwards shown in the "Greene" publications and in "Lenten Staffe" ("Nashe"), printed a few years later. Very probably he went to Holland also.

"A Choice" was an elaborate and expensive undertaking. With a special block to be cut for frontispiece and twenty-three blocks of new Emblems drawn and devised for its 250 pages, besides the printers' bill and cost of seeing it through the press at Leyden, the £45 compensation obtained by Whitney from the corporation for loss of office, would not carry far. The "Epistle to the Reader" strengthens this view:—

"When I had finished this, my collection of Emblems (gentle reader) and presented the same in writinge to my Lorde presentlic before his Honour passed the seas into the Lowe Countries; I was after

earnestlie required by someone that perused the same to have it imprinted, whose requeste when I had well considered, although I did perceive the charge was very heavie for mee (weighing my owne weakness) I meane my wante of learninge and judgment to set forth anything unto the vieve of this age."

The epistle dedicatorie is dated at London, 28th November, 1585. Leicester had by that date gone abroad. Francis Bacon's letter to Walsingham, in August, 1585, to press the Queen for a consideration of his "suit," is interesting in this relation. Mr. W. T. Smedley considered this letter to have had relation to Bacon's desire to have his business of building up an English literature placed upon a proper financial footing. I agree entirely with Mr. Smedley upon this point. Francis Bacon was not desirous of contemporary, but posthumous fame, and so long as adequate precautions were taken, as I happen to know was the case; to establish his claim to this book in future ages, it mattered not how many fathoms deep he then drowned it.

He knew and continuously affirmed that the lives and great deeds of men were only eternised in books; that monuments of brass and marble did not survive the "ruines of time."

An Emblem book was particularly adapted to the preservation of the names of friends and celebrities to future ages and correspondingly well adapted for the innocent deceptions which Bacon enjoyed. For time present the Emblem book was Whitney's, and there was consequently no harm in recording in it the names of Whitney's family and friends. Indeed, for the purpose of present mystification it was important that it should be done. The Earl of Leicester's own son and his old Yarmouth clerk were equally well suited.

The "Emblems" kept alive memories of Whitney's

father, brother, and other relatives ; of his old village, old school and schoolmates, and of friends and notables in and around Norfolk and Chester. There were many Emblemes to spare for dedicatory uses, and even a selection from the Earl of Leicester's entourage did not exhaust them.

First place was, of course, given to the Earl of Leicester, Francis Bacon's father, to whom the book is specially dedicated, then followed (as frequently with Francis) a reverent verse to the Deity. After that an emblem, having special reference to the Queen.

The second series of Emblemes begins with verses in praise of the Earls of Warwick and Leicester, followed by another set in praise of Sir Philip Sidney. Other Emblemes are dedicated to Leicester's, two chaplains, and to Sir John Norris, and other captains of the expeditionary army. Two of the judges remembered, one of them (Needjham) was married to Jane, a daughter of Lord Keeper Nicholas Bacon. Two London physicians, the Queen's Organist, one of her Equerrys, and the Dean and Head Master of St. Paul's Cathedral received notices. Two Emblem verses of considerable length are addressed to the poet, Edward Dyer, a particular friend and associate of Francis Bacon. On the whole a very representative collection of the notables of the day. Those persons whose initials are only given are impossible to trace, but as Drake is referred to probably Walter Raleigh was meant by the initials Ra. W. He seems to have belonged to the literary group.

The evidence that the compiler of "The Choice" was a much more powerful intellectual personality than a whole family of Whitneys is shown in the "Epistle Dedicatorie." The only man at that date who had the great learning and mental grasp to write that powerful epistle was Francis Bacon. The style alone

betrays him, not to mention the amazing range of authorities quoted. He pressed the importance of learning and the eternising to all posterities of the record of things worthy of memory. He compares man to a bubble of water. The writer figures himself as emulating the labours of learned men, "although of all the meanest."

Compare Bacon writing as "Spenser" in Colin Clout, 1595, in allusion to the daughters and family of Sir John Spencer, of Althorpe, "of which I meanest boast myself to be."

He says about the Emblemes, "divers of the inventions are of my owne slender workmanship," but he values them chiefly because under pleasante devises are profitable moralles. Always the hidden teacher! That Bacon was the author may also be deduced from the address to the Reader. "I offer it heare (good reader) to thy viewe in the same sorte as I presented before." (Compare Heming and Condell's words to the reader in the Shakespeare Folio, "Are now offered to your viewe").

For my intituling them to some of my friendes, "I hope it shall not be disliked, for that the offices of dewtie and friendship are alwaies to be favoured: and herein as I follow my auctors in Englishinge their devises So I imitate them in dedicating some to such persons as I thinke the Emblemes doe *best fitte* and pertaine unto." (Compare Bacon's dedication of his psalm versions to the Rev. George Herbert:—

"It being my manner of dedication to choose those that I hold *most fit* for the argument, I thought that in respect of divinity and poesy met (whereof the one is the matter the other the style.") Again, "yet all Emblemes for the most part maie be reduced into these three kindes, which is Historicall, Naturall and Morall." (Compare "Webbe Discourse of English

Poesie," 1586, and Bacon Ad. of Learning.") Compare "This slender assaye of my barren muse" with Bacon's apology for the use of the word *Essaies* in the draft Dedication to Henry, Prince of Wales, circa. 1607-12.

"The word is late but the thing is auncient."

The first new Emblem has a mark, which indicates its Baconian origin.

Mr. Green points out the remarkable fact that in "The Choice" are obsolete words, mostly only also found in Chaucer, "Spenser" and "Shakespeare."

The author of the "Shepheardes Kalendar," 1580, shows how interested he was to preserve for the English language old words from Chaucer.

Mr. Green has elsewhere told of the great use of Emblem references in "Shakespeare."

Five of the seven Emblem titles in *Perioles* are illustrated in "The Choice." Mr. Green believes that the other two were invented by "Shakespeare."

It would extend this article (already long) to give further internal evidence, but compare the lines on page 183:—

"In duste wee write the benefittes wee have,
Where they are soone defaced with the winde."

with the last lines of Bacon's admitted poem:—

"Who then to frail mortalitie would trust
But limns in water and but writes in dust."

Consider, too, page 185, upon which both the Emblem and verses are new:—

"Yea ofte eche worde and line survaye.
Before hee made an end."

"Then alter ofte and change, peruse and reade and marke."

"I alter ever when I add, so nothing is finished till all is finished."—(Bacon's letter to Tobie Mathewe).

PARKER WOODWARD.

FRANCIS BACON'S VISITS TO EUROPE.

OF course we know that Francis, as a boy of sixteen, travelled with Sir Amias Paulet to France in September, 1576. He returned upon a visit to England in 1578, on which occasion his portrait in miniature was painted by the Queen's Court limner Hilliard. Returning to France, he remained there until 20th March, 1578-9, when he came back to England as bearer of a dispatch to the Queen from Sir Amias, in which Francis is mentioned "as of great hope endued with many good and singular parts." There is nothing to show that Francis made anything like a grand tour on this occasion. He was under age and probably spent most of his time in the train of the English Ambassador, whereby he would see much of French Court life at Paris, Blois, Tours and Poitiers, became expert in the French language and literature, and familiar with the efforts of French poets to enrich both.

In 1580-81 he was in his twenty-first year and fit to make the grand tour in Europe usually undertaken by young English noblemen at about this period of their lives. Burleigh seems to have been prominent in arranging this. Anthony Bacon, who was abroad as an intelligencer, wrote to Burleigh, under date February, 1580-1, giving advice and instruction for Francis to follow.

He may be assumed to have gone abroad within a few days following receipt of Anthony's letter. As to the way he went one may gather help from "Francisco's Fortunes," printed by Francis in 1590, under the vizard of the actor Robert Greene. This would indicate that he went through Paris and Lyons, then across Germany to Vienna, then through Venice and northern Italy to Rome. From Rome he appears to have visited Genoa, and on through Savoy into northern France and Spain. Back again from Spain, he seems in October, 1581, to have reached Orleans, and found himself like many other travellers on the return journey, short of money. He wrote to Sir Thomas Bodley (who, as an old traveller, returned in 1580 from about four years' tour abroad, and who as an intimate of Leicester and Burleigh, had probably made the arrangements for the young man's tour) asking for money. The thirty pounds which Bodley no doubt remitted in December, 1581, to Francis, then I expect at Paris (see the Bodley letter discovered by Mr. Smedley and quoted in his book, "The Mystery of Francis Bacon") was not very much. Bodley apologised for the smallness of the amount, but filled up his letter with much good advice as to what the "friends" finding the money from time to time wanted Francis to do. This the letter shows was so much about the state of things in France, particularly the religious differences, as Francis could get together.

Francis was to instruct himself in all things which might tend to wisdom and honour and make his life more profitable to his country and himself. He was to rely not only upon his memory, but to keep written notes.

The notes on the "State of Christendom," which were printed in a supplement to the second or 1734

collection of Bacon's letters, which Stephens, the Historiographer Royal, had put together are probably the notes which Francis prepared. They are the sort of notes which a bright young English man of letters would think good enough for the elderly gentlemen who wanted this sort of thing.

It will be noticed that Francis tells the most about Rome, the northerly Italian states, Austria, Spain, and particularly about France. I should expect they were written up for the "Friends," sometime after Francis got to Paris, possibly even finished in England, which he seems to have reached about February, 1581-2. A note about the Emperor of Austria states how that monarch was governed by his mother, while she remained with him. (Francis had a grievance in common with that potentate.)

He would learn subsequent to his Vienna visit that the masterful lady left there in August, 1581. He would learn in Paris that there was going to be a Diet assembled in Augsburg. It would take a long time to arrange and was not held until July 3rd, 1582.

Moreover, he would see in France the preparations making there for the help to the fugitive King of Portugal (naval expedition, June, 1582). It is quite likely that Francis procured Faunt to help him with the "Notes," and just probable they were never asked for, and that may be why several blanks in the manuscript were never filled.

At the latter end of 1589 an important letter of State, dealing with Queen Elizabeth's relations with her Catholic and Protestant subjects, had to be taken to the Courts of France, Austria and Venetia by some shrewd and careful diplomatist.

Indications are afforded by "Francesco's Fortunes," 1590, Greene, and "An Almond for a Parrot," "A Prognostication," 1591, and Piers Pennilesse," 1592,

Nash (another mask for Bacon) that Francis Bacon was bearer of the letter. He would go (no other way being open in consequence of warfare between Spain in the Low Countries and France) by his former way of Paris, Lyons, then across Germany to Vienna, then through Innsbruck, Botsen, Trent, Verona, Padua, to Venice, then back by way of Bergamo to Coire, and thence through Germany to Stade, at the mouth of the Elbe, and back by ship to England. He must have seen something of the Danes also on this return journey.

None of the vizarded writings, such as those which Francis title paged to "Gosson," "Lyly," "Watson," "Greene," "Spearer," "Nash," were printed at such dates as to conflict with these assumed journeys abroad. I held at one time the notion that 1592-3 was the period of Francis Bacon's second excursion in Europe, but further consideration shows 1581 as the more probable year of his grand tour.

PARKER WOODWARD.

SOME THOUGHTS ON "DON QUIXOTE."

IN BACONIANA, of July, 1914, some remarks of mine were reproduced from *The Referee*, in deprecation of the outcry which arose—an outcry not confined to the Shakespearian camp—over a pronouncement of our late lamented President, Sir E. Durning-Laurence, that Bacon wrote, not only the "Shakespeare" Plays, &c., but also "Don Quixote." At that time, however, I could do no more than make a mild protest on the ground that nobody had then had the time to examine the grounds upon which the suggestion had been made. I certainly had not, for I had never read "Don Quixote" in the form known as "Shelton's Translation," on which the whole case rested. Since then, however, I have had an opportunity of procuring a copy of that remarkable book*, and of studying it carefully, and I am bound to admit that, in my view, the much reviled writer had good grounds for his startling statement.

Having come to this conclusion myself, I may give some of *my* reasons for believing that "Francis Bacon wrote 'Don Quixote.'" They differ from, or rather go somewhat beyond, those stated by Sir Edwin, and, of course, it may be that they are all wrong. In that case it will be for those who think so to controvert them. I merely put them forward as, in my opinion, deserving of attention, and with a view to elicit the truth.

But, before attempting to show that Francis Bacon was the author of the immortal book, let me give briefly

* The Edition of Macmillan, 1900.

my reasons for believing that Cervantes (the reputed author) was *not*. And the chief of these is this, which, I may say, in passing, is my chief reason for disbelieving that William of Stratford wrote the Plays, etc.—namely, that he had not the necessary qualifications for the task. He had not, to begin with, and above all, that sense—that "saving sense of humour" and that attic salt of wit, which are the foremost characteristics of "Don Quixote" and which show themselves upon every page, and which, by-the-by, are *English* wit and humour, as I shall show further on. The other works of Cervantes give no sign of any such mental, or temperamental gifts as these. They consist, as all who have read them know, of certain stilted Plays and Verses, chiefly devoted to *Love*, and most of them now forgotten, and in these is not a particle of that wit and humour that is so plentifully displayed in the pages of "The Don." They are, indeed, of the nature of some writings in which, as the "wondrous boy," Chatterton, writes (to alter *one* word):—

" Not one ray of *humour* shines
In the drear desert of a thousand lines."

a thing which no writer could possibly repress, either in prose or verse, if he had any such quality *in* him. For nature, as Horace says, must assert itself—it must *out*:—

"[Eam] expellas furcâ, usque tamen recurret,"

you know. He says so in his "Art of Poetry."

So much for Cervantes' qualifications. In the next place, he never *claimed to have written* it. His name, it is true, is on the title page, but that, to any one who knows anything of Elizabethan books and

their production (as I claim to have shown in my pamphlet on "Literary Legends") stands for little. For, in the introduction to the book, Cervantes says, or is made to say, that he was "not the *father*, but only the *stepfather*" of it (*quasi dicat, not the author*), and all through the work he refers to himself as the "translator," and specially names the "author" as one "Cid Hamet Benengli," and, though this has been taken as a sort of jest, yet *littera scripta manet*, and in my belief in this he was not joking, but *serious*. In fact, the whole story of its production is told in its own pages, as I hope to show further on.

But to proceed with the story of the book. Though it first appeared in a Spanish dress—Spain being then the master power of the world—the book must, I submit, have been originally written by an Englishman, and from an English point of view. There is every evidence of this. Let me give but a few instances. While the "local colour," as they say, is as perfect as any stranger could make it, it is not always as a Spanish artist would lay it on. Take the story of those windmills—the best remembered incident, perhaps, in the book—are they *Spanish* windmills? By no means. Spanish windmills, I am told, have no sails or arms. Don Quixote's *had*, and it was those arms, waving about "like the arms of Briareus," that made him take them for giants. They were not, in short, windmills of the Spanish sort, but of the Flemish fashion—the fashion adopted in England—where they might be seen any day whirling their wings "in the fields" of Kent or Essex (with which Bacon was so familiar), but certainly not on the top of the wild and windy Spanish sierras, where they would soon be smashed to pieces, and where, by-the-by, there were no "fields" to enclose them. [The Don, you may note, saw *eleven* in one field!] The writer, in short, drew

his picture from England or Flanders, with its lowlands and enclosures. And the same with the *inns*, which figure so often in the story. They are not Spanish inns or bodegas, but real old-fashioned English roadside inns, with a boisterous English landlord, who has English beds and bedrooms, and supplies his guests with the good old standard English dish of eggs and Bacon! Just think of that! Not your Spanish bread and oil and dried goat's flesh and fruit. Oh, no! There was wine, of course, instead of beer, the writer could hardly make a mistake there, but, running on to other things, in his enthusiasm, he sometimes forgets himself.

But take another example. The author at one inn tosses poor Sancho in a blanket! Was this ever done out of England? Certainly not to my knowledge, and I believe there is evidence—ample evidence—to show that this boisterous and humorous method of punishment was as purely a British institution, as that of the "Privy Council," which you will find in one part of the story spoken of, doubtlessly from a similar mode of slip, as existing in the kingdom of Spain!

But what are we to say of an author who talks to his audience of such a matter—such a purely local matter—as "Lemster wool?" and compares some noises he hears around him to the "cries of the wild Irish!" and who, when he hears music at night under his window, turns round, and, as it were, in "an aside," whispers to his hearers, "just like *our* waits"—what, I ask, are we to say of a writer who talks like this? Is he a Spaniard talking to Spaniards? What did Spaniards know about "Lemster wool?" Had *they* ever heard of its excellence, or read of its superior texture in Drayton's "Polyolbion," the author of which, by-the-by, was "a great friend of Francis

Bacon?" Then again, had the "cries of the wild Irish," loud as they were, and well known in England, ever penetrated to the wilds of La Mancha or troubled the ears of Cervantes? I trow *not*, nor do I think it was *he* who uttered the aside, "like *our* waits," for that would have meant *Spanish* waits—the waits to whom they were listening! "Which is absurd," as Euclid says.

But there is no end to this kind of tell-tale slips (purposeful or purposeless, I will not now stop to enquire) on the part of the author. They may be small things in themselves, but it is small things that best show how the wind blows! But let me proceed from the enumeration of such "trifles," as they might be called, to a matter of some more importance, the delineation, namely, of the characters or chief actors in this wonderful prose comedy. Are they—or the two principal of them—*particularly Spanish*? In name, of course, they are so (though "Quixote" has a remarkable likeness in sound to the good old English name of "Cockshot"), and perhaps in costume; though Sancho in his "Sunday best" very closely resembles the pictures of English peasants in the reign of Good Queen Bess. But, I repeat, are not these two characters, each in his way, as essentially English "as you make 'em"? Take the Don to begin with. Were there not dozens of his sort living in every county of England, whose "Halls" (like his) were "piled up with old lances, halberds, morions, and such other armours and weapons," and who were masters, besides, of "an ancient target (shield), a lean stallion and a swift greyhound," and who were "great friends of hunting"? Yes, many, I guess there were, and who lived, as became Englishmen, "somewhat more on beef than mutton" (which the Spaniards did not) and who kept up an establishment in proportion to their means.

And, amongst these, I do not doubt that there were some (more literary than the rest), who "in the spurts that they were idle (which was the longer part of the year) did apply themselves wholly to the reading of books on Knighthood" (then issuing by dozens from the Press in England), "and that with such guests and delights, as they almost wholly neglected the exercise of hunting, yea, and the administration of their own affairs" ? (See all this in Chapter I.)

Don Quixote, I maintain, may be taken as the picture of many an old English country gentleman of the Tudor times, gone off his head on the subject of Knight Errantry. As for Panzas, they were plentiful as blackberries in every English village—at once as simple and shrewd—as the renowned Sancho. Likewise as garrulous and as full of Proverbs—Proverbs, let it be "read, marked and inwardly digested," a large part of which were—*not Spanish, but ENGLISH!!*

And now, having said so much to show that, in my opinion, the author of this renowned book was not a Spaniard but an Englishman, and certainly not the grave, not to say, dull Cervantes ("more famous for his misfortunes than anything else," as we are told in the story), let me go on to say, in more detail than I have yet done, why I think that Englishman to be Francis Bacon.

And the first of my reasons for believing this I have already alluded to. It is because (as I read it) we are told so in the story, though, as far as I know, no one hitherto has noticed it. So cunningly, indeed, is the fact wrapped up in the fiction.

But let me recall the story, as related in Part II., at the end of Chapter II. and the beginning of Chapter III. Don Quixote had always been impressing upon Panza the fact that no Knight Errant, worthy of the name, had been without his Bard or Troubadour,

as the Recorder, either in Prose or Verse, of his wonderful adventures, and that in the course of time he hoped to have *his*. Sancho sympathised with his master, and one day (you may find it all in Chapter II., Part II., in any perfect copy) came running in to tell him that he had just seen his friend and townsman, Simon Carrasco, Bachelor, of Salamanca (otherwise B.A. Cambridge?), who had informed him that "his History was all in print under the title of 'The History of the most Ingenious Gentleman, Don Quixote de la Mancha,'" and that he (Sancho) "was in it too, and also Dulcinea, and that, if he wanted to know all about it, he would run and fetch Carrasco, who would tell him!" This he did, and Don Quixote learned from the Bachelor that what Sancho had told him was quite true, and that the author's name was *Cid Hamet Benengeli* (though Sancho had called it Beregena) ! &c., &c.

At first Don Quixote could not believe that such a story was true, but Samson assured him that not only was it true, but that "more than 12,000 copies had been printed and distributed in Portugal, Barcelona and Valentia," and that an edition was being issued in Antwerp (then under the dominion of Spain), which was indeed just what had happened in the case of the Spanish edition of 1605.

All this Don Quixote hears from the Bachelor Samson Carrasco, who winds up with a blessing on the head of Cid Hamet Benengeli, "the author," who "had written the work and *caused it to be translated into the Spanish language*" ("our vulgar Castilian," as he calls it) "for the general entertainment of all men." [A favourite Baconian phrase.]

Now, so amusingly is all this told, that the general reader, forgetful of the shrewd question of Horace,

" Ridentem dicere verum
Quid vetat ? "

or of the common saying, "there's much truth often spoken in jest," never stops to consider whether under this pleasant fiction, the real facts of the case, may not be hid. He reads of the Cid Hamet Benengeli, and probably laughs at the oddity of the name, never dreaming that it conceals the real name of the author. For what is "Cid" but "Lord" or "Sir" (as the writer is careful to remind us), and what is "Hamet" but a jocular diminution for Bacon? And, as for "Benengeli," what is it but the Moorish form of "Englishman" (Ben—son of, and Engeli or Angli, an Angle—the whole forming "Lord Bacon, the Englishman")? It is true that he is represented as writing in Arabic, but that could deceive no one, while adding to "the fun of the thing." Moreover, it was but a deduction on the part of the learned Sancho, who, doubtless, is represented as making it to call special attention to the matter, to give emphasis to the fact, just as he is made to mistake the name of Benengeli, and to call it Beregena (a sort of nut) in order to draw extra attention to its real derivation.

The whole story is, indeed, *singular*—a bit of real history woven into the fiction, and just in Bacon's manner. Also in accordance with his principles of literary lying, which he justified in his Essay on "Simulation and Dissimulation," and it is odd, to say the least, that he summed it up in what he calls a wise *Spanish* proverb—translated roughly, "Tell a lie and find the truth."

But now let me proceed to give you the subsequent history of the book, on the assumption that some of your readers may not be aware of it. It was published, as I have said, in Spanish, at Madrid, in the year 1605, though some people think there was an earlier edition at Barcelona, a suggestion which, for reasons I shall mention, is not improbably correct.

It soon became known throughout the Spanish Empire, as the Bachelor Simon Carrasco reported, and in the year 1612 a version appeared of it in England, known as "Shelton's Translation," with a second edition, containing a continuation, or "Second Part," in 1620, supposed also to be by the same "Translator."

Now, what I propose to contend for here is that this so-called "Shelton's Translation," is no "translation" at all, but the *real original of the work*—the original by the author, "Cid Hamet Benengeli," *alias* "Francis Bacon, the Englishman."

This may appear a bold assertion, but please let your readers wait until they have heard my reasons for making it before rejecting it. In the first place, it has troubled the minds of all editors and critics of the book. They one and all declare it to be, far and away, the very best version of the story that has ever appeared in any language, but at the same time verbally the most incorrect from a translator's point of view. Many ingenious hypotheses have been evolved to explain this curious fact, but none of them in the least satisfactory. The Editor of the Edition I have* confesses, naively, that there is a "racy and untrammelled" catch and spirit in the Shelton version which the more learned and painstaking of his successors (and there have been many) can only envy! Poor, dear, innocent Editor! Neither he nor any of his "learned and painstaking" confreres has told us why; and there is no satisfactory "why" but the one I have above given, the simple and satisfactory reason that the "Shelton (so-called) Translation" is no "translation" at all, but the real English (or Arabic, as Sancho facetiously termed it) original of Cid Hamet Benengeli—Lord Bacon, the Englishman!

No "translation" can ever have the "catch and

*Macmillan, 1900.

spirit," the "raciness" and "untrammelled freedom" of the original. Witness Homer—the nearer you get to the text the farther you get from the spirit of the author. Nothing but the original ever satisfies, and what is true of Homer is even truer of Don Quixote, which, in its Spanish dress, was a translation, and a translation from a translation must have all the defects of that translation as well as its own. But, once admit that "Shelton's Translation" is the original of the work, and all difficulties which now trouble both editors of the work and its now puzzled readers disappear. It removes in the first place the difficulty of answering the question *who Shelton was*—a difficulty never yet surmounted by the most exemplary of inquiries or the most ingenious of guessers. Fancy the man who is said to have translated Don Quixote into English, and that *the finest English*, perhaps, *ever written*, not being known *My Editor* (if I may so call him) *thinks* he may have been "of the Stock of the Norfolk Sheltons," and Mr. Alexander Wright says there was a "Shelton" once in Ireland "who *presumably* knew Spanish," because he was mixed with some treasonable correspondence with the King of Spain! And this is all the most industrious explorers of musty documents can tell you about Thomas Shelton, whose name stands on the title page of the first English copy of Don Quixote! Truly a marvel!

Let me now ask your readers to turn to the book itself—Shelton's Translation I mean. Turn to its title page with the inscription, "Translated by Thomas Shelton" on it, also to the Dedication to "My Lord of Walden," and signed, "Your Honour's Most Affectionate Servitor, Thomas Shelton," and then say if we have not here a most ingenious way of passing off the original as a translation

(Lord Howard de Walden, Bacon's friend, and his "affectionate Servitor," being "in the swim"). Do this in the light of what has been said of Bacon's mania for concealment, and then turn to the book itself and *read* there, and if you do not see there plainly the hand of Bacon himself—Bacon in his Essays, Bacon in his New Atlantis, Bacon in his Advancement of Learning, not to speak of Bacon as Shakespeare, as humorist in his Prose, and as Poet, "with eye in fine frenzy rolling" in his Verse, then I have no more to say. To me, indeed, the reading of one chapter of Don Quixote in "Shelton's Translation" is sufficient to convince me that I am reading *Bacon*—the language is the same, the style is the same, and, what is more, the sentiments, the philosophy (for the Don and his squire were both of the Baconian faith as to everything) is the same. Nay, more, some of the incidental stories, which are generally skipped, are stories, or variants of stories, upon which some of the Shakespearian (that is to say, the Baconian) Plays are based, and here and there are parts which may be considered Biographical, as referring to Bacon.

But I have not time, or rather energy to go fully into these interesting particulars now. So I must let them stand over for a future occasion, if such should ever come, by which time my readers will, I hope, have studied well and thoroughly their Shelton's "Translation"!

JOHN HUTCHINSON.

PHILIPS' DON QUIXOTE. FOLIO 1687.

FROM time to time, in past years, there has been speculation as to the authorship of "Don Quixote."

In 1605, the First Part of the Book was published at Madrid—this being the same year that is assigned to the publication of the first perfect edition of "Hamlet."

A spurious Second Part of "Don Quixote" was published nine years later, in 1614, by one who wrote under the name of Alonzo Fernandez de Avellaneda, a native of Tordesillas, near Madrid. And in 1615, the genuine Second Part of "Don Quixote" appeared in print.

Now I propose to examine any declarations of authorship that Philips' Book may give us, because I think a declaration on that subject in such a place, and dating from 1687, is of more value than surmise and argument, dating from the 20th century. It should, perhaps, be said here that the book under consideration is too free in style to be called a mere translation; it is vastly amusing, in spite of its vulgarity, and it generally follows the original story pretty closely; but it occasionally leaves out large pieces, and inserts new ones. It partakes, therefore, of the nature of a commentary, and from that point of view its comments are likely to be of value.

On pages 304 and 305, we find Sancho saying to Don Quixote: "Here's Bartholomew Carrasco's son— and he tells me your Life is already in Print under the name of the "Most Ingenious Gentleman, Don Quixote de la Mancha.—Assuredly, replied Don Quixote, it "must be a Necromancer who has writ this story— How "should it be a Necromancer quo' Sancho—he writes his

" name *Cid Hamet Hen-en-baken*. That's an Arabian name, replied Don Quixote. That may well be quo' Sancho, your Arabians are great Admirers of Hen and Bacon." Don Quixote then says that the name is *Benengeli*, not *Hen-an-baken*, and informs Sancho that *Cid* signifies " Lord."

Again, on page 601, the spurious Second Part is referred to, and its author pointed at in the following words :—

" Look, look, what Book is that? to whom the other made answer, 'tis the Second Part of ' Don Quixote,' not that which was composed by *Cid Hamet*, but by a certain Arragonian that goes by the name of " *Tordesillas*.' "

Don Quixote then makes the remark that he knows the spurious story is printed, and that it is " *already sentenced to bottom of pyes or to the grocer for waste paper*, for had it been a true and faithful history 'twould ha' lasted to eternity." [Compare this statement with Shakespear's opinion as to the lasting character of his works.]

Other pages where *Cid Hamet* is proclaimed the author are 132, 325, 594, 599, 610, and others.

Now who is meant by *Cid Hamet Hen-en-baken* (the author), otherwise known as *Cid Hamet Benengeli*?

Baken is explained by Sancho as " Bacon," and *Cid* by Don Quixote as " Lord."

" Henen " is changed by Don Quixote into " Henan," and this appears to be important, and we will take this latter spelling afterwards.

Does " Hamet " stand for " Hamlet " or a diminutive of " Ham " ?

" Henan " in anagram = " Henna " which means " Here is " in Arabic.

" Ben " in anagram = " Ebn," which means " a son " in Arabic.

"Engeli" = "Inglee" in anagram. So far as I can ascertain "Inglees" is "English" in Arabic, but it is spelt in several ways in my dictionaries. In any case "Inglee" is very near the mark.

I believe the missing letter S may be found in the reference to *Cid Ruydias* (page 449).

In anagram Ruydias = Idyura = "The Abbey" in Arabic; with the missing S left over.

Cid Idyura = the Lord of the Abbey = [St. Albans Abbey had precedence over all the abbeys in England.]

Placing our results together we get "Here is Hamet (Hamlet?) Lord Bacon, a son of England": and this person is proclaimed by the author of our volume as the writer of the History of Don Quixote.

The learned author of the article on Cervantes (embracing eighteen full columns in the great Times Encyclopædia) speaking of the first appearing of Part. I of Don Quixote says:

"The author himself was probably amazed at his own success: like his great contemporary Shakespeare, while careful of his lesser works he seems to have abandoned his masterpiece to the printers," elsewhere the same writer says: "there was more than one coincidence between the lives of these two great contemporaries" (Shakespeare and Cervantes). Unfortunately, this writer does not explain what he means by this last cryptic remark.

Now it is a curious coincidence that "Cervantes" (so far as I can ascertain) never claimed to be the author of Don Quixote: on the contrary, he disclaimed such authorship: for both in the Spanish and in "Shelton's" faithful translation "Cervantes" says in his preface, "Though I show as a father, I am in truth but a step-father to Don Quixote." And in like manner I am not aware that Shakespear ever claimed to be the author of the immortal plays. Philips in the

book under our consideration alludes to Cervantes (on page 25) as the author of "Galatea," but it is not suggested that he wrote Don Quixote.

On a dozen different occasions, on the contrary, Philips asserts the author to be Cid Hamet Henanbaken. And on page 36 he tells us that the book was *translated* into Spanish and that it took six weeks to translate it.

I recently quoted a long word given by Philips in Don Quixote, very similar to the long word given in Love's Labour Lost. Philip's word was (on page 213)

SORBONICOFICABILITVDINISTALLY.

and the anagram message enclosed was

O IN ITALICS.

IT IS BY OLD FR. BACON, L.V.I.

It was by searching in the italic letters that I found the message which is the subject of this article.

BEN. HAWORTH-BOOTH.

"ROMEUS AND JULIET."

IN the article "Notes on *Romeo and Juliet*" (BACONIANA, July, 1915), the year 1562, as the date of the poem "Romeus and Juliet," is questioned, and because of similarities of expression and incident, between it and Shakespeare, and the fact that the poem contains much beautiful imagery, the suggestion is made that Francis Bacon was the author. But with all its merits, is it worthy to be compared with "Venus and Adonis," or "Lucrece"? To read a page of "Romeus and Juliet," and then some verses of either of the Shakespeare poems, must surely be enough to convince anybody that they did not proceed from the same learned brain.

The parallelism between the line—

In nothing Fortune constant save in inconstancie
and in Bacon's translation of Psalm 104, (1625)—

The moon so constant in unconstancy,
seems to me quite worthless, for on page 260 of "The Shakespeare Symphony" that expression is quoted from Peele (1594), Lodge (1590), Greene (1587), Marston (1604), and Anon (*Fair Maid of Bristow*—1605). It also occurs in "Euphues" (1578-9), and in Barnfield's Poems.

The lines "To the Reader" about "the mountain beare" licking her young into shape, is derived from Pliny, Book VIII. True, the fable is borrowed by Shakespeare in 3 Henry VI., III.—2, and mentioned by Bacon in *Sylva Sylvarum*, but Bacon's and Shakespeare's indebtedness to Pliny is notorious.

Even allowing for the frequent false dating of books,

the date and authorship of the Poem are surely above suspicion. It is stated to be—

"Imprinted at London in Fleete Streete within Temple bar at the signe of the hand and starre, by Richard Tottill, the XIX day of November. An. do. 1562."

From the following lines in "An Epitaph on the death of Maister Arthur Brooke drownde in passing to New-Haven," by George Tuberville, [*Epitaphes, Epigrammes, &c.* 1567], we learn that the former was the author of this poem—

"Apollo lent him lute, for solace sake,
 To sound his verse by touch of stately string,
 And of the never-fading baye did make
 A lawrell crowne, about his browes to cling.
 In proufe that he for myter did excell,
 As may be judge by *Julvet and her mate* ;
 For there he shewde his cunning passing well,
 When he the tale to English did translate.
 But what ? as he to forraigne realm was bound,
 With others moe his soveraigne queene to serve,
 Amid the seas unluckic youth was drown'd,
 More speedie death than such one did deserve.

Of the many parallelisms between the poem and the play, one of the most interesting is the following—

"'Ere long the townish dames together will resort ;
 Some one of beauty, favour, shape, and of so lovely
 port,
 With so fast-fixed eye perhaps thou may'st behold,
 That thou shalt quite forget thy love and passions
 past of old:
 And as out a plank a nail a nail doth drive,
 So novel love out of the mind the ancient love doth
 rive.

In the corresponding lines in the play (Act. I. Sc. 2) is written—

Ben. Tut, man! one fire burns out another's burning,
One pain is lessened by another's anguish;
Take thou some new infection to thy eye,
And the rank poison of the old will die.

In "Coriolanus" we find—

One fire drives out one fire; one nail one nail.

In Lily's "Euphues" (1580)—

"a fire divided in twain burneth slower;—one love expelleth another, and the remembrance of the latter quencheth the concupiscence of the first."

In Reed's "Bacon and Shakespeare Parallelisms," these extracts from Bacon's writings are cited—

"When two heats differ much in degree, one destroys the other. (*De Principiis atque Originibus*).

To drive out a nail with a nail. ("Clavum clavo pellere") (*Promus*, 1594-6).

This parallel finds its origin in Erasmus—

Clavus clavo pellitur, consuetudo consuetudine vincitur.

(A nail is driven out by another, habit is overcome by habit).

That fire is put out by flames is a Latin proverb (*Incendium ignibus extinguitur*), and is quoted by Montaigne (Bk. 3, chap. 5).

Undoubtedly, many parallels between the writings of Bacon and Shakespeare are merely extractions from ancient writers, and, therefore, of little significance as evidence of identical authorship, but they confound the absurd theory of the "unlettered genius."

However, hundreds of parallelisms have been collected which can only be explained one way, viz., the philosophical poet and the poetical philosopher were one and the same.

R. EAGLE.

JOTTINGS ON LORD BACON.

TO be judged a great man among great men is surely a triumph, and one is desirous of knowing in what way the great man rose above his compeers. How is it that his name has come down to posterity, to be quoted and referred to, while that of a contemporary who apparently worked harder, and published more in the way of learned works, is overlooked, and his books are left on one side as of no real importance. In this way the contrast between Francis Bacon and Dr. John Dee is striking.

Both were studious, learned, and endeavoured to probe nature's secrets, and harness them for man's use.

They tried to advance knowledge by every means in their power (and their powers in this way were not small), yet Bacon's name and fame towers above that of Dee.

On looking into the life of the Doctor, one finds that he was an astronomer as well as astrologer, a mathematician and philosopher, a geographer and mineralogist, an assayer and alchemist, a bibliographer and writer upon navigation, and also a reformer of the calendar, and an authority upon the ebb and flow of tides, but above all, his chief fame rests on his physical research and occult secrets, and he must have been the author of at least 50 books and treatises. To balance this outpour of literature Bacon's name only appears on about half-a-dozen title pages.

Who reads Dee nowadays ?

When his name is mentioned, the opprobrious title of "conjurer" or "necromancer" is generally added.

Yet it is quite certain that if Dee could return to earth now, he could make a handsome income from the credulous, who would flock to his studio to "crystal gaze," just as they did over 300 years ago. Not as a projector of physical phenomena did Dee wish to be remembered in the world, but all his science has sunk under the waters of "magical arts."

Bacon no doubt was also eager to consult the unknown, and learn new secrets, but he was heavily weighed down to earth by the study of the law, and this ponderous chain prevented our great philosopher from soaring, as Dee did, into the cloudy realms, or dabbling openly in physical research and "skrying."

To study the ways of fairies and airy spirits was a fascinating occupation, but where the one man tried to make them his close companions, till his brain reeled, the other used them for a very different purpose; which was to enhance his dramatic art. And this has made the younger student famous.

It is strange to think that during Elizabeth and James' reigns, the most stringent laws were passed directing that all persons should suffer death who practised sorcery or who conjured up evil spirits. Yet we hear of Elizabeth constantly consulting Dr. Dee about the future, and gazing into his crystal, also encouraging him in his efforts to get the "Spirits" to assist him in his efforts to transmute baser metals into gold.

Bacon's dream was also of the philosopher stone, but while he patiently plodded on with chemicals and compounds, his more impatient neighbour called the spirits to his aid through a medium, and demanded the information from *them* as to where buried treasure was to be found, and what chemicals to lay upon copper to transmute it into gold.

Dee and Bacon were friends and neighbours, and

both were known in the Royal palaces. The doctor died in 1608, at the age of 85, while Bacon at that date was only about 46.

Their residences were almost within sight, on the banks of the Thames, Dee residing at Mortlake and his younger friend at Twickenham, opposite Richmond Palace.

Both were suitors to the Queen for "place" and both had a reputation among the learned wise men in foreign countries far beyond their contemporaries in their own line.

They each held correspondence with the greatest living authorities on science at home and abroad. They both were admitted to the friendship of kings and princes, and their published works were valued.

That Dee was of a very credulous nature is seen in the way he allowed the quack medium, Ed. Kelley, to induce him to believe that many spirits were attending to his wants. Notwithstanding the fascinating presence of his fairy spirit, called "Madini," in her gown of "Sey," and another projection from the astral plain called "Uriel," no answer to vital questions was vouchsafed, and only religious homilies were expounded.

Still Dee had the greatest faith in Kelly's occult powers; and the séances went on year after year, but everything failed, and all came to nothing, except that Dee ended his life under the suspicions of being a necromancer.

In an interview with the Emperor Rudolf in Prague, Dee told him that the fairy who was most useful to him was called "Uriel." This spirit had "finished his books for him and had brought him a store of more value than any earthly thing." The name "Uriel" forcibly reminds one of light "Ariel," who proved such a beneficent spirit in *The Tempest*. Did

Bacon get the idea from his elderly friend, Dr. Dee ?

Again, Bacon has written of the " Vital Spirits of Nature," and he also made scientific enquiries into " Witchcraft." His works on the ebb and flow of the sea, upon tides, and upon winds, are well known. Dr. Dee also brought out treatise upon all these studies, and the two men were evidently working on the same lines ; yet one is read and the other neglected. They are so alike in some ways, and so different in others, but both might quote as Othello did :—

" In nature's infinite book of secrecy
A little I can see."

A. CHAMBERS BUNTEN.

REVIEWS.

" A Life of William Shakespeare." By Sir Sidney Lee, Hon. D.Lit. Oxford, etc. 8vo. Smith, Elder & Co., London. 8s. 6d. net.

Sir Sidney Lee has brought his Life of Shakespeare up to date in a volume which is about twice the size of the former edition. If it is regarded from the orthodox point of view it must be welcomed as the most complete and comprehensive work which has appeared on the subject. It is far more than a biography. It embraces information on every subject which can be associated with the Stratford man and it includes a most valuable *resumé* of the history of the plays from the date of their first publication to recent times. As a piece of workmanship it is deserving of the highest praise. The author has the faculty of compressing into a limited space a vast quantity of details and dates without inflicting upon the reader a sense of boredom. Whether Sir Sidney is summarizing the little facts which patient and persistent research has unearthed with reference to the members of the Shakspeare family, or discoursing upon the actors and theatres of the period or tracing the gradual development of the dramatist's mind and skill or treating

of the growth of appreciation in this, and other countries of the incomparable value of the plays he is always interesting and enlightening. The clever manner in which the sparse and trivial incidents which have been recorded of Shakespeare's life are supplemented by inferences and conjectures so deftly woven into the story that they bear all the semblance of historical facts demands high encomiums of the author's literary powers.

Of the new matter, the chapters on the Editors of the Eighteenth century and after, *Posthumous reputation in England and America*, and *Shakespeare's foreign vogue*, may be cited as of exceptional merit. But everywhere evidence of the skill of the craftsman is revealed and the volume must go far in enhancing the high reputation which the author already enjoys.

The reviewers have striven to outdo each other in their peans of praise. Criticism is by common consent ruled out of place in any review or notice of this book. But in perusing these productions an observing reader will notice that there is in the minds of most of the writers a subconscious unrest. *The Times* Reviewer says:—"The essential Shakespeare the while, wily as ever, conspicuously eludes the revelation of the lens. The Sphinx remains as Sphinx-like as ever."

Mr. Thomas Secombe, who on more than one occasion has said with Agrippa, "Almost thou persuadest me to become, &c.," in his article in the *Observer* writes:—"Sir Sidney is an orthodox Agnostic on the subject of the real Shakespeare."

The Daily Telegraph writer says: "There is so little to say about Shakespeare the man. It would all go into one or two chapters of direct narrative and it is all a record of external events." . . . "These things however interesting, however in their own branch of knowledge important, are not the exhibition of a human soul, not biography, not Shakespeare." Charles Dickens gave voice to these misgivings in a franker manner, when he said:—"The life of Shakespeare is a fine mystery, and I tremble every day lest something should turn up."

These rifts in the lute are of significance. The reviewers have at the back of their minds a recollection of the doubts that have been raised as to whether the Stratford man *was* the author of the works attributed to him and they lay down Sir Sidney Lee's great work with a consciousness that "things are not what they seem." In effect, they are in accord in giving an affirmative answer, however much they

may desire to avoid doing so, to Mr. G. Greenwood's question "Is there a Shakespeare problem?" But there is a still more illuminating circumstance. From the chapter on the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy in an Appendix Sir Sidney Lee has in this edition omitted the last paragraph. He no longer affirms that "The abundance of the contemporary evidence attesting Shakespeare's responsibility for the works published under his name gives the Baconian theory no rational right to a hearing." What does Mr. Thomas Secombe mean when he writes:—"Sir Sidney is an orthodox agnostic on the subject of the real Shakespeare?" Is it becoming obvious that the time is not far distant when an attempt must be made to find a solution to the problem?

Having done but bare justice to the excellence of the author's work from the orthodox point of view it may be permissible to offer a few criticisms from the Baconian standpoint. It is impracticable to travel over the whole scope of the book but the few instances which will be cited are only examples of the scores of similar misleading statements which occur. The first statement to which attention may be directed is outside of any controversy as to the authorship of the plays, but its accuracy has an important bearing upon a consideration of the causes which led up to the English Renaissance in literature. Sir Sidney says:—

"An unprecedented zeal for education was a prominent characteristic of Tudor England, and there was scarcely an English town which did not witness the establishment in the sixteenth century of a well-equipped public school. Stratford shared with the rest of the country the general respect for literary study. Secular literature as well as theology found its way into the parsonages, and libraries adorned the great houses of the neighbourhood. The townsmen of Stratford gave many proofs of pride in the municipal school which offered them a taste of academic culture. There John Shakespeare's eldest son William probably made his entry in 1571, where Walter Roche, B.A., was retiring from the mastership in favour of Simon Hunt, B.A. . . . As was customary in provincial schools the poet learned to write the "Old English" character which resembles that still in vogue in Germany. He was never taught the Italian script, which was winning its way in cultured society and is now universal among Englishmen. Until his death Shakespeare's 'Old English' writing testified to his provincial education."

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A footnote gives the information that before the reign of Henry VII. there were only sixteen public schools unconnected with the Monasteries. Sixteen were established during Henry's reign, 63 during that of Henry VIII., 50 during that of Edward VI., 19 during that of Queen Mary, 138 during Elizabeth's, and 83 during that of James I. It would be interesting to see the full particulars of these schools and know where they were established and what was the number of students provided for at each and the general scope of the education given. How far was there founded an interest in literary study? Even the establishment of 349 schools over a period of 140 years during which the country enjoyed exceptional prosperity is not a very momentous fact, nor does it justify the statement that there was an unprecedented zeal for education.

Mrs. Stopes's discovery of the inventory of a library of 179 books belonging to a curate, of which six were secular works, five written in Latin, one in English, does not support the idea that there was a general appreciation of and a yearning after literary culture. Nor does Sir George Carew's possession of a copy of John Florio's "Worlde of Wordes." If an inventory of that statesman's books could be found it would be very illuminating, but even that library, rich in modern books as it would be, would not support the idea, that there was any widespread interest in the production of the great literature of the period, a production which is without a parallel during a similar period in the literary history in any other country. A catalogue of the library of Sir Thomas Smith, who was, first, Greek Reader, then University orator at Cambridge, and subsequently Principal Secretary of State in the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, is extant. The library contained upwards of a thousand volumes, but not more than five are written in the English language, and three of these are legal works. The catalogue of the Bodlean library in 1620 contains only a very small proportion of books written in the English tongue. Many works previously published in English which one would expect to find there are absent. There was no demand for English books at this period, and yet there was a phenomenal production of them. Sir Sidney Lee would have his readers believe that the works of Shakespeare were a natural product of the period. They were not. They were thrust on it and were at least 100 years if not 200 years before their time.

Where is there any evidence that the people of Stratford

took any interest in literary study or that they gave "many proofs of pride in the municipal school"? They neither established nor provided for its maintenance. "John Shakspeare's son, William, probably entered the school in 1571," says Sir Sidney, and in order to make the assertion appear more authentic the change of mastership is advanced. But there is not a shadow of evidence in existence to prove that he ever set foot within its portals. It is a piece of pure assumption to say even that he *probably* did. But the next statement is definite without any saving "probably" or doubtless—"The poet learned to write the 'Old English' character."—"He was never taught the Italian Script." Two statements in support of which no evidence exists.

The remainder of the chapter is written in the same manner and is intended to lead the reader to believe that there exists most circumstantial particulars of the course of education followed by John Shakspeare's eldest son, whereas the truth is that there is no evidence that he ever received any education at Stratford or elsewhere.

Can there be any more grotesque example of writing history than is contained in this sentence referring to the revels at Kenilworth on the Queen's visit in 1575—"It is reasonable to assume that some of the spectators were from Stratford and that they included the elder Shakespeare and his son." The son was a boy of eleven years of age. This is fiction, not biography. Was he eleven in 1575? Was he three years Anne Hathaway's minor? Was he born in 1564? There is no record remaining made in 1564 of either his birth or baptism. The register of Holy Trinity Church at that date does not exist. In 1600 the present register was started, but certain entries were written up in it dating back from the accession of Queen Elizabeth. What if there were a little dissimulation which was once described as "a compendious wisdom" practised in the writing up of this register? The chapters on "The Farewell to Stratford" and "The Migration to London" are worthy of Harrison Ainsworth. The route which the young man of 22, who it has been said carried with him the manuscript of *Venus and Adonis*, might have taken is described, the inns at which he might have stayed are enumerated. All very pretty, but pure fiction, not biography. The histories of the printers, Vautrollier and Field, are brought in to do service to the versimilitude of this story of fiction. It is, however, satisfactory to find Sir Sidney Lee describing the theory that Field found work for John Shakspeare's

eldest son in Vautrollier's printing office as "an airy fancy which needs no refutation." But there are just as substantial grounds for this theory as there are for ninety per cent. of the incidents set forth in the life which are equally "airy fancies which need no refutation."

The chapter on "Shakespeare and the Actors" is built up on the same plan—a quantity of very interesting historical facts are given, and then there are sandwiched in such sentences as this:—

"Shakespeare's earliest reputation was made as an actor, and, although his work as a dramatist soon eclipsed his histrionic fame, he remained a prominent member of the actor's profession, till near the end of his life."

There is no "probably" or "doubtless" here. The assertions are emphatic. Shakespeare's earliest reputation made as an actor! Why, even the belated tradition of Rowe states that his earliest reputation was made as a holder of horses outside the theatre. His work as a dramatist soon eclipsed his histrionic fame! "Histrionic fame" is very good. There is not a vestige of a scrap of contemporary evidence that he ever had a vestige of a scrap of histrionic fame. He remained a prominent member of the actors profession until near the end of his life! Why was Sir Sidney Lee satisfied with such moderate statements when his imagination might have soared to much higher altitudes. Why not have said that he organized the actors into a society, and, supporting Mr. J. M. Robertson's assertion, that the actors discussed word values in the green room, that John Shakspeare's eldest son exhibited such a power for subtle distinctions that his reputation as a coiner of words eclipsed that of Ben Jonson and on many occasions the actors adjourned to the Mermaid Inn and appealed to that literary notability to support their contentions against those of the horseholder. That these wit combats were the sensation of the day. That so enthusiastic was this said horseholder in raising the reputation of the stage, as he had already raised that of horseholding, that he established, anticipating Sir Herbert Tree, a school for actors over which he presided and earned large sums for tuition in elocution and stage deportment, and that so it came about that in Hamlet he gave the public, free, gratis, for nothing, the valuable advice as to how to become an actor. There would be just as much foundation for such "an airy fancy" as there is for the statement

in the sentence which has just been quoted from "A Life of William Shakespeare." The only contemporary evidence that there was a Shakspere, not necessarily John Shakspeare's eldest son, an actor, is (1) the entry in 1594 in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Royal Chamber for the payment of xx. li; to Kempe, Shakspeare and Burbage for the performance of two comedies at Greenwich*; (2) the name William Shakespeare is found in the list of players to whom in 1603 James granted a license to enact comedies; (3) in the first edition, 1614, of Jonson's plays the name appears on the list of the actors who took part in them; (4) in the first folio edition, 1623, of the Shakespeare plays the name stands first in a similar list. The reference to our fellow Shakespeare in "The Return from Parnassus" may possibly be cited as a fifth. Where is the "reputation," "histrionic fame"?

If theories are permissible, the following has as much right to a rational hearing as any other. Supposing Bacon had adopted as a *nom-de-plume* the name of William Shakespeare and had discovered a man, John Shakspeare's eldest son, bearing a somewhat similar name whom he desired to send down to posterity as the author of certain poems and plays: written by himself, having first with Southampton's financial assistance packed this expert horseholder off to Stratford and started him there as a gentleman, there is no obstacle in the way of Bacon if he were the real author causing all these entries to be made to give colour to the great illusion.

Sir Sidney Lee holds no Royal license for the exclusive right to employ the imagination when writing biography.

Here is one more quotation from the chapter on "Shakespeare and the Actors":—"There is little doubt that at an early period Shakespeare joined this eminent company of actors which in due time won the favour of King James. From 1592, some six years after the dramatists arrived in London, until the close of his professional career, more than twenty years later, such an association is well attested.

* In a footnote on page 87, Sir Sidney Lee says that in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Royal Chamber, "Mention is sometimes made of the plays produced, but the parts assumed by professional actors at Court are never stated. It is very rare, as in the present instance, to find the actors in the royal presence mentioned individually. No name is usually found save that of the manager or assistant-manager to whom the royal fee was paid." A very curious entry is this to be made in the year after the publication of *Venus and Adonis*, when the name *William Shakespeare* for the first time appeared in print.

But the precise date and circumstance of his enrolment and his initial promotions are matters of conjecture. Most of his colleagues of later life opened their histrionic careers in Lord Leicester's professional service, and there is plausible ground for inferring that Shakespeare from the first trod in their footsteps. But direct information is lacking."

It begins with "There is little doubt. It proceeds to "matters of conjecture," and "plausible grounds for inferring" and appropriately ends with "but direct information is lacking."

In the chapter, "On the London Stage," is a statement of special interest:—"In the reign of King James the scenic machinery at Court rapidly developed at the hands of Inigo Jones, the great architect, and separate set scenes with devices for their rapid change came to replace the old methods of simultaneous multiplicity."

The footnote does not give the desired information as to the authority for this statement. It is recorded that Inigo Jones co-operated with Ben Jonson on the production of masques, but that he revolutionised theatrical stage scenery was not previously known to the writer. What a field for "matters for conjecture" and "plausible grounds for inferring" is opened up to a Baconian as to who enlisted the services of Inigo Jones in the form of stage scenery. Thomas Bodley's words obtrude themselves on one's mind, written when commending Bacon for his course of study which led to the *Cogitata et Visa*:—"Which course would to God (to whisper as much in your ear) you had followed at first, when you fell to the study of such a thing as was not worthy of such a student."

It is to be regretted that in this new edition the assertion should be repeated that "The publisher Chettle wrote in 1592 that Shakespeare was 'excellent in the qualitie he professes,' and again that reproaching himself with failing to soften Green's phraseology before committing it to the press in "Kind Heartes Dreame," Chettle said, "I am as sorry as if the original fault had beene my fault because myselfe have seene his (*i.e.*, Shakespeare's) demeanour no less civill than he excelent in the quality he professes, besides divers of worship have reported his uprightnes of dealing which argues his honesty and his facetious grace in writing that approves his art," and again:—"Meanwhile Shakespeare was gaining esteem in a circle more exclusive than that of actors, men of letters, or the general reading public. His genius and 'civil demeanour' of which Chettle wrote in 1592

arrested the notice not only of the brilliant Earl of Southampton, but of other exalted patrons of literature and the drama."

It is beyond argument or doubt that Chettle was not referring to Shakespeare when he offered the apology referred to. That eminent Shakespearean scholar, the late Mr. F. G. Fleay, after examining the passages in question, shows that it was to Marlow the apology was offered, and says:—

"To Peele he makes no apology nor was any required. Shakespeare was not one of those who took offence; they are expressly stated to have been two of the authors addressed by Greene; the third, Lodge, was not in England."

As to the growing fame of John Shakspeare's eldest son, or even the fame of the poet as such, the testimony of Mr. C. M. Ingleby, than whom there is no higher authority, is conclusive. In the preface to the "Century of Praise," he writes, "It is clear that the bard of our admiration was unknown to the men of his time."

Why even Cuthbert Burbage and his sister in 1633 had only heard of Shakspeare as one of a crowd of deserving men employed by their father! When they were seeking to impress the Earl of Pembroke, who was one of the two incomparable pair of brethren to whom the "First Folio" was dedicated, and advancing every argument they could in order to retain their shares in the Globe, they did not consider it worth while to mention that it was at the Globe that Shakespeare's plays were produced.

And yet in what purports to be a serious and authentic life of John Shakspeare's eldest son, without "probably" or "doubtless" or any other saving word the author can affirm that the brilliant horseholder, having gained the esteem of the actors, men of letters, and the general reading public, his genius and civil demeanour arrested the attention not only of the brilliant Earl of Southampton, but of other exalted patrons of literature and the drama!

What is biography coming to? Such methods are beyond criticism. One can only gaze in astonishment at the superb enthusiasm of the writer whose every word deservedly enjoys a rational hearing from distinguished reviewers and men of letters. How insane Baconians are to imagine that their serious theories, founded on actual facts and historical evidence could be worthy of consideration by such a brilliant array of literary pundits who can indulge in rapturous and ecstatic praise for such a stupendous work of fiction as is the life of John Shakspeare's eldest son.

But this notice has already exceeded the space allotted to the subject, and only 152 out of the 720 pages of the book have been reviewed. It would be an easy matter to fill quire after quire of paper with statements running through the volume as glaringly inaccurate as those already cited. Enough, however, has been said to put readers of "The Life" on their guard, if a caution be indeed necessary, against accepting as true history this brilliant work of Sir Sidney Lee. For a brilliant work it is, in spite of any assaults upon it which may be made by half educated Baconians and one which is worthy of the high encomiums passed upon it by the distinguished reviewers. The battle array and equipment of the army of orthodox Shakespeareans has been in preparation not for one generation, but for centuries, every artifice which could be enlisted in support of the Stratford man's title has been employed, facts and historical evidence have been ruthlessly manipulated and distorted. When arguments failed to silence the heretics, the supporters of the myth have resorted to "frightfulness" and have heaped denunciations on the searchers after truth; sarcasm, irony, scorn, misrepresentation, and vituperation have been squandered on them. But the extracts from the reviews which have recently appeared on this work given on page 40. clearly demonstrate that there is a perceptible diminution in the quantity and quality of the munitions of the orthodox. Meanwhile steadily, but surely, the strength of the heretics is increasing. Time is on their side. The more the authorship of the Shakespeare poems and plays is debated, the more the weakness of the orthodox army is made apparent. Patience, persistence, and perseverance are all that are necessary to ensure eventual victory, be it long or short in coming. The heretics are armed with truth, it is their first line of defence and their last. Truth will eventually prevail.

And the age is not far distant, if it is not at hand, when the finishing touch shall be given to the fame of the greatest Englishman, if not the greatest man the world has ever known, the fame of which Rawley claimed to have laid the foundation in the Manes Verulamiani.

"Is there a Shakespeare Problem?" With a reply to Mr. J. M. Robertson and Mr. Andrew Lang. By G. G. Greenwood, M.P. John Lane, London.

Mr. George Greenwood's contributions to the Shakespeare controversy are assuming considerable proportions. His first work was published in 1908, under the title of *The Shakespeare Problem re-stated*. This was followed by *In re-Shakespeare, Beeching v. Greenwood. Rejoinder on behalf of the defendant*. Then came *The Vindicators of Shakespeare, a reply to critics*; and now he has published *Is there a Shakespeare Problem?* which is in the main a reply to Mr. Andrew Lang's *Shakespeare, Bacon and the Great Unknown*; and Mr. J. M. Robertson's *The Baconian Heresy*.

It was a perusal of the so-called "Biographies" of Shakespeare, "full of the 'fanciful might-have-beens stating bare possibilities and sometimes extreme in probabilities, as actual biographical facts; works of imagination and not of history; fond things vainly invented," that induced Mr. Greenwood to enter the arena, and he modestly claims that he has, at least, done something useful if he has "helped to clear away some of these finely-spun delusive cobwebs, to prick some of these preposterous bubbles of uncritical and not too scrupulous imagination." This, and much more, has Mr. Greenwood accomplished, for his quartet will stand out as books to which the literary students can turn for reliable information on practically every subject which has been discussed in connection with "John Shakspeare's eldest son," or the author of the Shakespeare poems and plays, if they be not one and the same. It is no idle boast that Mr. Greenwood makes when he says: "I am conscious of only one desire in this connection, which is to ascertain the truth." The books contain the result of the labour

of years spent in study and careful research. No fanciful theories are elaborated. No sensational assertions are made. Patiently, step by step, Mr. Greenwood traverses the statements, arguments and conclusions of his opponents, and with merciless logical acumen analyses them and lays bare their fallacies and weaknesses.

His method of writing, clear, if full, even in some cases to repletion, is so fair that the impartial reader cannot but be impressed with the force of his conclusions. He takes nothing for granted, frankly puts before the reader his opponent's case, and then proceeds exhaustively to combat it. If a criticism might be offered it would be that he does his work too effectively ; having slain his opponent in fair fight, with one weapon, he returns to the dead body, and slays him again with another. In controversy he is in his element, and Beeching, Sullivan, Lang and Robertson are again and again hung, drawn and quartered. The unbiassed reader cannot fail to recognise that the triumphs of the fray are carried off by the assailant of the title of author claimed for, but never claimed by, John Shakspeare's eldest son.

Is there a Shakespeare Problem ? is written in a fine, breezy, conversational style, which enables the reader, without weariness, to wade through a mass of facts, quotations, dates and arguments which, treated with less skill, might prove undigestible.

Mr. Greenwood is not a Baconian. This is to be regretted, for, after all, the fullest investigation discovers the strongest position. It is not that John Shakspeare's eldest son did not write the poems and plays, but that Francis Bacon was the only man who has ever lived who possessed the qualifications indispensable for their production, therefore he must have been their author. If he was, the Stratford man

could not have been the author. Mr. Greenwood refuses to express a definite opinion as to the authorship, but he favours the theory of collaboration. His views are fully set out in the chapter on *Many Pens and one master mind*. Exception may be taken to many of the arguments advanced in support of this theory.

Mr. Greenwood opens the battle with a fierce, not one whit too fierce, attack on Mr. J. M. Robertson's controversial methods. The chapter on *Shakespeare's Legal Knowledge* is very strong and appears to place beyond doubt the fact that the author of the plays had not merely a passing acquaintance with legal terms, but that he was deeply versed in the intricacies and technicalities of the law as practised in England, and even in other countries. The chapter on *The Learning of Shakespeare* is equally forcible. It is impossible to get away from Mr. Greenwood's conclusions. Under the heading of *The Real Shakespeare Problem*, occupying 102 pages, the reader has laid before him the kernel of the discussion. How any fair-minded person can read this chapter and still maintain that there is no Shakespeare Problem, it is difficult to realise! It would be of great value if this portion of the volume could be reprinted and circulated as a pamphlet. The main grounds for devoting the conventional belief have never been more explicitly stated.

In considering the argument of genius under the title of *Professor Dryasdust and Genius*, is given Professor Tyndall's description of "scientific imagination," which enables a man, even after the lapse of many generations, to put himself in the place of another, and to realise the conditions and the possibilities of the environment in which that other lived, moved, and had his being. That is the indispensable condition, without which no investigator can hope to arrive at a

reliable conclusion as to the point at issue in this controversy. A very much wider field must be covered than has hitherto been attempted before the conditions and possibilities of the environment of the author of the Shakespeare poems and plays can be realised. The enquiry must go back to the conditions surrounding the production of literature in England, at any rate to the time of Sir Thomas Elyot. It must especially be directed to that remarkable production of works in the English tongue, many of which were translations from other languages on every conceivable subject, which commenced about the year 1576 and had ceased by 1633. It must embrace a similar knowledge of French literature from the publication of Du Bellay's *La defence et illustration de la Langue Francoyse* in 1549, to the year 1626, and should include, at any rate, a general survey of the products of the Dutch and Belgian printers during the latter part of that period. So far as both English and French literatures are concerned, no facilities exist for such an investigation. The greater portion of the books published during that period have never been reprinted. Copies of them are scarce and they are known only to second-hand booksellers and a few book collectors, who have made a speciality of that period. It is essential that the investigator should have such a knowledge of the Latin tongue as would enable him to read books written in it with the same ease as he would if they were written in his own language. That he should possess that scientific imagination upon which Mr. Greenwood has laid stress is a *sine qua non*, as is also that he should enter into the enquiry with an unbiassed and impartial frame of mind. Given such a man—possessing a keen critical intellect and a power for comprehensive grasp who would apply all his faculties to an investigation of what is known as the Renais-

sance of English literature—for the first time effective conditions would have been created for a solution of the problem the existence of which has been demonstrated by Mr. Greenwood. There would be many problems which might be solved and amongst these would be whether the Shakespeare plays were a normal product of the period, or whether they were born out of due season and in anticipation of a condition of culture which did not arise until nearly three centuries later. A genius such as the world has never known before or since was he who gave birth to those inimitable poems and plays, but the idea that they could have been the offspring, to adopt Coleridge's words, of "the anomalous wild, the irregular genius of our daily criticism" is outside the pale of possibility. Dr. C. M. Ingleby wrote in 1874 :—" We are at length slowly rounding to a just estimate of his (Shakespeare's) works ; and the time seems to be at hand when men of culture will attribute to the object of their admiration a much higher range of powers than were requisite for the production of the most popular and successful dramas in the world."

In Allibon's *Dictionary of Authors*, it is written : " Let it be accepted as a truth past all debate, that among the great ones of the earth Shakespeare stands alone, in unapproachable majesty. What was the secret of his power ; from whence derived this marvellous insight into human nature under all circumstances, ages and climes, this accurate knowledge of sciences, arts, governments, morals, manners, philosophies, and codes, this exquisite command of language, never wielded with such skill before or since, by which each character, event, or thought is drawn in lines of living light ? This, the greatest of all human mysteries which we have received from our fathers, we must transmit, deepened and heightened rather

than lessened by our labours, to our children." It will be a disgrace to the men and women who speak the language of Shakespeare who consciously and unconsciously are daily using his phrases to express their thoughts, if some definite and organised attempt be not made to find a solution to the Shakespeare problem.

Shakespeare's writing is fully discussed and there is a chapter on the name *Shakespeare*, in which Mr. Greenwood brings under his lash "the uninstructed pen of Mr. E. H. Sothern." The arguments in favour of the importance of the exact spelling—William Shakespeare—are ably advanced, but Mr. Greenwood asserts that he does not rest his case "on the spelling of the name." The writer of this notice would be prepared to stake all on the spelling. With the help of Mr. E. V. Tanner he would prove not merely its importance, but that from that spelling and the date of the folio may be deduced with the certainty of a mathematical demonstration the name of the author. But the time has yet to come when a scientific examination of the evidence in favour of this contention will be undertaken, Come that time will and when it does the Shakespeare controversy will be a matter of the past. The spirit of truth will breathe on the dry bones and a fame surpassing all other fames will be born—Rawley's "finishing touch" will be the product of that age.

In *Jonsonian Utterances and the First Folio*, Mr. Greenwood bravely faces what appear to be the strongest arguments of the orthodox. He adopts the explanation that the true interpretation of the words "and though thou hadst small Latin and less Greek" is "even if thou hadst small Latin and less Greek than thou hast." It is satisfactory to note that at least two of the orthodox reviewers of *Is there a Shakespeare Problem?* agree with this view. Certainly the words bear

this construction. What is perhaps the most suggestive sentence in the panegyric has escaped comment. What is the explanation of these words :—

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

Jonson knew the difference between a group of stars, a constellation and a star. He was not throwing words at the reader's head. Every syllable in that poem has been placed there with care and premeditation. The Pleiade was a group of poets, Shakespeare was to shine forth as the star of Poets, but who was that man who so overshadowed all others that in future years were to be attributed to him, the dignity and grandeur of a constellation, in which the star of Poets would be the Alpha ?

There are chapters on *The book of the Revels at Court*, *Shakespeare a groom of the Chamber*, and *The Portrait of Shakespere*, and the volume concludes with “Shakespeare and Nature,” full of interest and information. There are copious and enlightening notes at the end of most of the chapters and three appendices, an envoy, a postscript, and an excellent index, a perusal of which will reveal the wide extent of the author's reading. Mr. Greenwood appears determined that his readers shall not lack enlightenment in side issues.

“ Well ! it is now publique and you will stand to your priviledges wee know ; to read and censure. Do so, but buy it first. That does best commend a Booke, the stationer saies.”

“ The Greatest of Literary Problems—The Authorship of the Shakespeare Works,” an exposition of all points at issue from their inception to this present moment. By James Phinney Baxter, with illustrations. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York.

When reviews were plentiful on Mr. J. M. Robertson's

The Baconian heresy it was a favourite expression of the writers that the volume constituted the last word on the authorship of the Shakespeare plays and that thenceforth the Baconian Heretics were silenced for ever. Some ill-informed reviewers went so far as to say that with the late Sir Edwin Dunning Lawrence the advocacy of the theory of Bacon's authorship died. But orthodox reviewers are not infallible, and if Mr. Robertson's book was the last word it must have been on the Stratfordian side only, for the publication of works on the heretical side appears to be increasing rather than subsiding.

"The Greatest of Literary Problems" is the latest item in the bibliography of the subject. It contains 686 pages, 8-vo Royal, and is profusely illustrated. The object of the author is to enable his readers to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the subject without an incursion into fields of forbidding extent. In a simple volume he endeavours, with success, to present a critical study of the controversy with a review of the work of the students who have preceded him.

A full notice of the book will appear in the next number of *BACONIANA*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE "SAFEGUARDING" THEORIES.

To the Editor of BACONIANA.

A final word or two before quitting this subject.

1. Lady Ann had not parted with Markes to Francis in 1589. Her complaint in that year was of Anthony alone. 10s. sterling could revoke the 1584 deed. In 1592 she parted with Markes to the limit of £1,300 and interest. Hence remark of 17th April, 1593. Even then she had her mortmain of £200 per annum and rentals. She kept many servants and lived in comfort, her main complaint was of Anthony. He "have undone me and nobody else but he" (Spencer's

letter, July, 1594.) "Specially you have spent me quick" (Lady Ann to Anthony, August, 1595).

That Francis was never "safeguarded" indicates that the 1584 deed was not for that purpose. There were certainly two and probably six occasions when it could have been operated, but was not.

2. That the condition of the Queen's purchase of the reversion to Gorhambury was a provision for safeguarding Francis will not hold. It was purely a stipulation in the interests of the eldest son by the Lord Kceper's first wife. Nor was it ever operated to "safeguard" Francis. There is only one interpretation of the Queen being mixed up in the business, viz., that her son Francis had succeeded to his estate in tail.

3. Spedding shows (Vol. 1, p. 10, f. note) that he thought Rawley likely to have inferred from the letter of 18th October, 1580 ("preventing any desert of mine with her princely liberality"). How could Spedding say "without any emolument appertaining" in face of F. B.'s letter to the Queen, of 20th July, 1594, "nothing . . . could have detained me from earning so gracious a vail as it pleased your Majesty to give me."—Yours faithfully,

PARKER WOODWARD.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—I have lately come across two deliberate Latinisms in the Plays, which I think have escaped observation.

And in such forms which here were *presupposed*.

Upon thee in this letter.—*Twelfth Night*, Act. 2, Sc. 1., 338.

This is said by Olivia to Malvolio. The Cambridge Editor's note is *presupposed*, imposed or suggested beforehand as being what you were likely to adopt?

But the Latin *suppono* often means to forge or counterfeit. Shakespeare uses the word *suppose* of false surmise. So "counterfeit supposes" T.S. v. 1. Presupposed, then, is a coined word, meaning "previously put by fraud or guile," the exact meaning required.

Another passage well-known to us all has never, I believe, been correctly understood.

"Be thou *familiar* but by no means vulgar."

—*Hamlet* I. 3.

This is universally understood to mean that a man should be affable, without making himself common.

Half-a-dozen literary men to whom I put this point explained it so. But the meaning is just the opposite. There is no

suggestion of courtesy sown broadcast. Have a few *intimates* (familiaries), but don't be hail-fellow-well-met with everyone."

To prevent misunderstanding the poet adds—

"The friends thou hast and their adoption tried,
Grapple them to thy soul with hooks of steel,
But do not dull thy palm with entertainment
Of each new hatched unfledged comrade."

In this sense we have "familiar spirits," "familiar as his garter," "familiar sin," "familiar as my dog," and twenty other passages with exactly the same connotation.

A. L. FRANCIS.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

The Sons of "Johannes" are so often alluded to in Baconian literature that it is interesting to learn from the *Bookman* [Part I., Caxton, p. 5] that Saint John was the Patron Saint of Scribes, and that the members of the Guild of St. John of Bruges were "*Freres de la Plume*." Headquarters, Brussels. Scriveners, bookbinders, engravers, illuminators carried out the work of MS. reproduction by division of labour in an "amazingly rapid, accurate systematic manner."

A STAUNCH BACONIAN.

NEW DATE FOR BACON'S DEATH.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

DEAR EDITOR,—In James Howell's letter to Dr. Pritchard ii. Vol., Familiar Letters, dated January 6th, 1625, you will find the following:

"... My Lord Chancellor Bacon is lately dead of a long languishing weakness; he died so poor that he scarce left money to bury him, which though he had a great wit, did argue no great wisdom; it being one of the essential properties of a wise man to provide for the main chance. I have read that it had been the misfortunes of all poets commonly to die beggars, but for an orator, a lawyer and philosopher as he was, to die so, 'tis rare. It seems the same fate befel him that attended Demosthenes, Seneca, and Cicero (all great men) of whom the two first fell by corruption. The fairest diamond may have a flaw in it, but I believe he died poor out of a contempt of the pelf of fortune, as also out of an excess of generosity, which appeared, as in divers other passages, so once when the king has sent him a stag, he sent up for the underkeeper, and having drunk the king's health to him in a great silver gilt bowl, he gave it him for his fee."

Besides the extraordinary fact that his death is antedated by four months this letter contains no small tribute to Francis Bacon's memory "died poor out of a contempt for the pelf of fortune."

Yours faithfully,

A. A. LEITH.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

DEAR SIR,—The approaching tercentenary of the death of the Stratford "Johannes Factotum," seems to be a good occasion on which to spread the interest in the Shakespeare authorship. We should approach Shakespearians, and gently give them some food for reflection, sufficient, if they be of enquiring minds, and not afraid of the truth, to turn their attention to the personality of the poet they propose to honour.

As an illustration of the astounding ignorance about the facts known of the life of the accredited author, an official of The British Empire Shakespeare Society once wrote to me:—

"There is one point on which I wish to join issue with you, because it is vitally important: The Stratford-on-Avon records show conclusively that Shakespeare was far from being illiterate. Undoubtedly, the celebrated school which he attended was one of the best in the kingdom, and he had the advantage of being a scholar there, certainly until he reached his 'teens.'"

He ought to have known that those records throw no light upon the acquirements of Shakespeare. Nor do we know that the school offered any better "education" than the very elementary curriculum of other country grammar-schools. There is, of course, no evidence whatever that he attended it. Among the "objects and methods" of this society is the organizing of "lectures upon his life"!

One despairs of further correspondence in the face of such sublime oblivion as to facts and fictions, but it would be very useful if the Bacon Society issued a small pamphlet of, say, eight pages, giving ten or twelve incontrovertible reasons why the Stratford fellow could not have written the Shakespeare works, and a similar number stating arguments for Francis Bacon.

There is such a vast amount of important evidence available that it would be somewhat difficult to decide what to place before the "quite convinced" Stratfordian. Passages from the plays might be quoted condemning the various immoral and mean actions with which the player is associated. His indifference to fame by allowing his first plays published

(*Romeo and Juliet*, *Richard II.*, and *Richard III.*), to appear anonymously. But we know from the *Arte of English Poesie* that it was held discreditable for a gentleman to be a poet, and that courtiers, if they published their writings, suppressed their own names. Shakespeare's knowledge of the courts, customs, laws, topography, &c., of France and Italy can only be explained if the poet visited those parts. Everybody knows Bacon resided in France and Navarre and, according to his earliest biographer, he visited Italy and Spain. Then the fact that he borrows the plot of *Twelfth Night* from an untranslated Italian comedy (*Gl'Ingannati*), where he found Fabio and Malevoti, which suggested Fabian and Malvolio, is a severe injury to the Stratford Idol.

The apparent ignorance of Cuthbert Burbadge, in petitioning Lord Pembroke in 1637, that Shakespeare was anything more than a "man-player" and "deserving man" is also a severe blow to the orthodox creed. Another point which is overlooked is that the plays are mostly far too lengthy for dramatic representation. The duration of the performances was only two hours. About half of *Hamlet* can be read in that time. Yet, according to the commentators, Shakespeare wrote with no other purpose than to provide his patrons with an attractive play, always with his mind on the "box office." Plays were altered and augmented, and new works were published, after the death of the player. These new plays, *Henry VIII.*, and *Timon of Athens*, reflecting Bacon's own bitter experiences, just as we find in the *Sonnets*. Shakespeare and Bacon both passed through a "vulgar scandal," their names libelled, and their lives threatened. All this was sustained by Bacon after the latter had reluctantly performed the Queen's command, and his duty, at the trial of the Earl of Essex.

With regard to the evidence for Bacon, the delusion as to his time and occupations should be, once again, exploded. No play represents more than a week's work. Contemporary allusions to Bacon as a poet, and extracts from the *Manes Verulamiani* could hardly be spared. If space permitted, it would be a pity to omit Bacon's own explanation of the purpose of the plays, and their place in the *Instauratio Magna*. A few examples of the 800 parallelisms collected by Edwin Reed would also be valuable.

These leaflets could be supplied to Baconians at a reasonable price for distribution among Shakespeareans; and I think the result would be very beneficial.—I am, Sir, yours truly,

R. L. EAGLE.

APRIL, 1916.

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.

VOL. XIV. *Third Series.* APRIL, 1916.

No. 54.

ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX.

A THOUGHTFUL and informing article in the July number of *BACONIANA* for the year 1915 brings before us again the tragedy and the mystery of Robert, Earl of Essex. Many feel that the story of his death has been only half understood, that much of the truth concerning his tragic end has been suppressed, the circumstances of it distorted, and the facts concealed. It is a long time since those moving days in February, 1601, and to reconstruct the scenes that actually occurred no easy matter, while to realize the motives and the springs of action—the true “*causae causantes*”—still more difficult. That he was the Queen's son, and not her lover, is one of the first corrections that we must make in order to reach a proper standpoint from which to view the scenes; and that he was a legitimate son, born some years after her marriage with Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, is another correction that will help us to understand how things were viewed by Essex himself from his standpoint.

When Essex was 25 in 1592, the Queen was 59, and the bare statement of their respective ages should be sufficient to negative the idea of his being her lover. He was born, as is commonly asserted, and as the fact has come down to us, in 1567, though no record or registration of his birth or christening has ever been found.⁽¹⁾ The other children of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, were born at Chartley: not so Robert: he is said to have been born at Netherwood, a seat of the Baskerville family, connected by marriage with the Devereux family; but as the historian of the Devereux, from whom I quote, remarks, this “is more than doubtful” for the parish register makes no mention of the fact.

It is recorded that Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, had

(1) *Lives and Letters of the Devereux Earls of Essex*, Walter Burchier Devereux. London, 1853. Vol. 1, p. 8 note.

but slight affection for his eldest "son" Robert. Sir Henry Wotton says in the "Paralell" (1): "And here I must not smother what I have received by constant information that his own father dyed with a very cold conceit of him, some say through the affection to his second son Walter." At the time of the death of Walter, Earl of Essex, at Dublin on the 22nd September, 1576, Robert was barely nine years of age, while the younger son Walter was only 7(2); it certainly is significant that the bearing of the father to his eldest son, only nine years of age, should have been so markedly cold that a man like Sir Henry Wotton, of no connection with the family, should have received "constant information" about it, and gives colour of truth to the tale that Robert was in fact *not* the son of Walter Devereux, but only passed as such.

Sir Henry Wotton says further in his "Paralell" (3): "The beginning of the Earl of Essex I must attribute wholly or in great part to my Lord of Leicester": a cunning sort of remark, which may mean more than one would think at first reading, in accordance with the significance to be attributed to the word "beginning": and this feeling, that we are reading in Sir Henry Wotton's account something with double and hidden meaning in it, is increased when we find him saying a little further on: (4) "Yet I am not ignorant that there was some good while a verie stiff aversation in my Lord of Essex from applying himselfe to the Earle of Leicester, for what secret conceite(5) I know not: but howsoever that humour was mollified by time, *and by his mother,*(6) and to the Court he came, under his Lord."

Here, too, I would recall a remark of Sir Robert Naunton, in his "Fragmenta Regalia" (7) (edn. 1642), p. 30, when writing of Robert, Earl of Essex. He introduces the subject thus:

"My Lord of Essex (as Sir Henry Wotton a Gentleman of great parts, and partly of his times, and retinue observes) had his introduction by my Lord of Leicester, *who had married his mother, a tye of Affinity: which besides a more urgent*

(1) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, London, 1651, p. 19.

(2) Lives and Letters of the Devereux, pp. 8 and 9.

(3) Rel. Wot., p. 3.

(4) Rel. Wot., p. 4.

(5) At one time I possessed a MS. of Sir Henry Wotton's "Paralell," and in this the word "conceit" was plainly "caveat."

(6) My italics.

(7) Wotton's "Paralell" was first published in London, in 1641—two years after his death.

obligation might have invited his care to advance him."

Again we meet with this sly allusion to "his mother" which may easily bear a different meaning than one would at first imagine.

Lloyd, too, in his "Statesmen and Favourites." London, 1665, p. 449, writes in the same cunning fashion :

"It is observed that the Earl of Essex had his introduction to favour by the Lord of Leicester, who married his mother ; a tie of affinity. This young Lord was a most goodly person, in whom was a kind of Urbanity, or innate Courtesie, which both won the Queen, and too much took upon the people, to gaze upon the newly adopted Son of her favour."

That there was some important secret connected with Robert, Earl of Essex, Wotton gives us very distinctly to understand, though he refrains from saying *what* the secret was. I quote the passage from the "Paralell" (8) : which incidentally throws an ugly light on Anthony Bacon, a man whose appearances upon the stage in the world Drama of that age have often been puzzling.

"The Earl of Essex had accommodated Master Anthony Bacon in partition of his house, and had assigned him a noble entertainment : This was a Gentleman of impotent feet, but a nimble head, and through his hand ran all the intelligences with Scotland : who being of a provident nature (contrary to his brother the Lord Viscount Saint Albans) and well knowing the advantage of a dangerous Secret, would many times cunningly let fall some words, as if he could amend his Fortunes under the Cecillians (to whom he was near of alliance in blood also) and who had made (as he was not unwilling should be believed) some great profers to win him away ; which once or twice he pressed so far, and with such signs and tokens of apparent discontent to my Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton (who was of the party, and stood himself in much Umbrage with the Queen) that he flies presently to my Lord of Essex (with whom he was commonly *prima admissionis*, by his bed side in the morning), and tells him that unless that Gentleman was presently satisfied with some round sum, all would be vented."

"This took the Earl at that time ill provided (as indeed oftentimes his Coffers were low) whereupon he was fain suddenly to give him Essex House : which the good old Lady Walsingham did afterwards dis-engage out of her own store with 2,500 pound : and before he had distilled 1,500

(8) Rel. Wot., p. 11.

pound at another time by the same skill. So as we rate this one secret, as it was finely carried, at 4,000 pounds in present money, besides at the least 1,000 pound of annual pension to a private and bed-ridden Gentleman: What would he have gotten if he could have gone about his own business?"

Certainly a very ugly story, and very much to the shame of Anthony Bacon: coming, too, as it does from Sir Henry Wotton we cannot put it aside as mere gossip. The fact that Sir Henry relates it shows that he knew and believed there was some important and grave secret connected with the Earl of Essex, though at the same time, in accordance with the peculiar standard of honour of that age relating to money, he may not have thought Anthony Bacon as base as we would now consider him for having "distilled" so much money from it. The important fact in the consideration of Essex's Life is that there was a great Secret, and that men knew about it in a more or less precise fashion.

"The good old Lady Walsingham" mentioned above would be the mother of Essex's wife. Essex had married Francis, the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, and daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and Sir Francis was a man of much importance about the Court of Queen Elizabeth and had been Ambassador to France. Sir Philip Sidney resided with him in Paris for a couple of years, 1570-72. The marriage of Essex with Sidney's widow took place probably about the time of Sir Francis Walsingham's death (6th April, 1590), but no record of it has been found. "Their first child, Robert, was christened on the 22nd January, 1591, which gives us an approximate date for the marriage. It appears to have been kept secret from the Queen, until Lady Essex's pregnancy betrayed itself: then her anger knew no bounds against Essex, not merely because he took a wife without asking her consent, but for marrying, as she said, below his degree. One would have thought the daughter of so distinguished and upright a public servant as Sir Francis Walsingham might have been esteemed a fair match even for Lord Essex. He soon made his peace⁽⁹⁾ with the Queen, and one cannot but think that her anger against him was perhaps more at the promptings of "his mother"—as Naunton or Lloyd might have been expected to say—than the true feelings of the Queen.

In 1590 Essex was only 23, and Sir Francis Walsingham's daughter Frances whom he then married was just the same

(9) Lives and Letters, Vol. I., p. 210.

age, having been born in 1567, the same year as Essex. She had been married at the age of 16 in 1583 to Sir Philip Sidney, and became a widow in October, 1586. It is curious to note that Elizabeth had also objected to Sidney's marriage, and it had "been delayed at least two or three months by the Queen's objection to it."⁽¹⁰⁾ However, though Her Majesty "misliked of it" she "passed over the offence" and "Two and a half years afterwards, one day on November, 1585, her Majesty rode up from Richmond to London on purpose to be godmother at the Christening of Sir Philip's daughter, who was named Elizabeth after her, and on this occasion she made a present of a hundred shillings to the nurse and midwife."

It is curious that both the marriages of Sir Francis Walsingham's daughter should have been the cause of irritation and anger to Elizabeth, and makes one wonder if the Secret for whose preservation the good old Lady Walsingham "distilled" so much money may not have had to do with them in some mysterious fashion⁽¹¹⁾: or whether it was connected with the husbands by some tie of affinity: or whether it had to do with some question of birth.

But it is to the trial and execution of Essex that the article I have under notice draws special attention, and it is on this that I specially wish to make a few remarks and add a few facts.

The true position of Essex to the Queen was one of those secrets of State that was very carefully guarded, though occasionally it peeped out through "revealing crannies," and people were punished for being too outspoken about the Queen and her marriage with Leicester. This marriage was spoken about and written about in various ways more or less veiled, and the issue of the Queen was discussed. This may be seen in a book that made a great stir when it first came out in 1584, published somewhere on the Continent under the title "Copie of a letter wryten by a Master of Arts of Cambridge to his Friend in London," and afterwards brought out in London in 1641 under the title "Leicester's Common-Wealth." In this, references to the connection between the Queen and Leicester are very plain and outspoken.⁽¹²⁾ Then we have the very curious incident of

(10) "Sir Philip Sidney," by Fox Bourne, London 1899, p. 288.

(11) "Sir Philip Sidney," by Fox Bourne, p. 288 note. Fox Bourne shows that Frances Walsingham, before marrying Sir Philip, had contracted herself to another lover.

(12) See the reproduction of this book by Frank J. Burgoyne, Librarian of the Lambeth Libraries, Longman Green & Co., London, 1904.

the Act of Parliament passed in 1571 in regard to the Queen's Successor on the Throne. Camden reports this in his "Annals of Queen Elizabeth" (Edn. 1635, p. 143) where, under the year 1571, he says:

"The iniquity of these times and the love of the Estates of England . . . extorted a law for preventing the practices of seditious persons: whereby it was enacted and provided out of the warrant of ancient Laws; That if any man should attempt the destruction or bodily harm of the Queen, etc. . . . That if any man during the Queen's life, should by any Booke Written or Priuted, expressly affirme, that any person is, or ought to be heire or Successor to the Queene, except the same be the *Natural* issue of her Body or should willfully publish, Print or Utter, any Books or Scrowls to that effect, he and his abettors should, for the first offence, suffer imprisonment for one whole Yeare, and forfeite the one half of his Goods: and if any should offend herein a second time, he should incurre the penalty of a Raemunire, that is loss of all his goods and perpetual imprisonment."

Certainly punishments sufficiently heavy, to make men be careful as to what they uttered. On this Camden comments:

"To some this seemed heavy, who were of opinion that the tranquillitic of the Realme was to be established by designing an Heyre apparant. But incredible it is what jests lewd catchers of words made amongst themselves by occasion of that clause; Except the same bee the *Natural* issue of her body; forasmuch as the Lawyers term those Children *Natural* which are gotten out of Wedlocke, whom Nature alone, and not the honesty of Wedlock hath begotten, and those they call lawful according to the ordinary forme of the Common Law of England which are lawfully procreated of the body. Inasmuch as I myselfe being then a young man⁽¹³⁾, have heard them oftentimes say, that that word was inserted into the Act of purpose by Leicester, that he might one day obtrude upon the English some bastard son of his, for the Queen's natural issue."

These "Annals" of Camden we must remember were first published in Latin, in 1615, bringing the History of Queen Elizabeth down to the end of 1588: he would, we may readily believe, not have ventured to print the above during Elizabeth's life time, but under James any aspersions he might cast upon Queen Elizabeth's "Natural" Issue or supposed

(13) He was born in 1551.

Natural Issue would not be displeasing to the Sovereign : and the suggestion that other bastards of Leicester, might be palmed off as the Queen's Natural Issue, is cunningly devised. And though Camden reports he had "heard them oftentimes say" that that word had been inserted by Leicester to enable him to "obtrude" some bastard son of his as the Queen's natural issue, we cannot for a moment believe that Elizabeth herself had agreed to the insertion of that word in order to abet that purpose. She must have had some other reason in her mind : and a reason that may some day be surmised by careful and patient study of the facts of her life. I do not hint that the word "Natural" applied to Essex, who I think was born in wedlock ; but to another.

A light is thrown on the dark and concealed places of those times by that strange book, Barclay's "Argenis" : a book that has been almost totally neglected by those who have turned their inquiries to this age. The "Argenis" first appeared in Latin in Paris in 1621. John Barclay who wrote it while he resided in Rome, died there immediately on its completion, and before its publication. It was brought out by his friend, Peireskius. It is a curious medley of tales of the doings of kings, princes and peoples under fanciful names, living in countries equally fanciful : the whole thing like a ponderous fairy tale ; the fairies in steel mail, gambolling about on heavy war horses. An English translation appeared in London in 1625 by Kingsmill Long, but the strange and fanciful names remained to puzzle the readers. In 1627, however, there was published at Leyden in Latin a small 12mo. Edition, to which was added a list of the names, with the names of those who were pointed at by the "feigned names." This shed some light upon the meaning of the tale. In 1629 another English translation by Sir Robert le Grys appeared in London, upon "His Majesty's command," and to this the key was added with a disquisition upon it by the translator.

The Key gave people to understand for the first time that the fanciful names stood for persons of the very first importance in the world, and for persons whose doings were of the very highest interest to people then living. Under feigned names we have Queen Elizabeth and her son ; Henry the Third, and Henry the Fourth of France ; Marguerite, daughter to Henry the Third and wife to Henry the Fourth ; the King of Spain ; Catherine de Medici, mother of Henry the Third, and many others.

Now when we read the book with the Key, we find it stated that Queen Elizabeth was married to a man of the most eminent quality, next the Kings, of the English; that she had by him a son: that this son travelled abroad and lived in France: that he fell in love with and wished to marry Marguerite, daughter of the King of France, she who afterwards married Henry the Fourth.⁽¹⁴⁾

The "Argenis" was frequently re-published, and came out in Latin, French, Italian, Spanish and English. With such information as the above disseminated among the reading people of Europe, can we doubt but that there was and had been much talking and whispering in England about the Queen and her family?⁽¹⁵⁾

And we know that talking of this sort went on about Essex. There was a book by Dr. John Hayward (afterwards Sir John), published in England in 1599, about the deposing of Richard the Second and the coming in of Henry the Fourth, which had a most suspiciously laudatory dedication to Essex, that much incensed the Queen and was the cause of Hayward's being sent to the Tower. This book is referred to by Camden⁽¹⁶⁾ as having "been written as an example and incitement to the deposing of the Queene, an unfortunate thing for the Author, who was punished by long imprisonment for his untimely setting forth thereof, and for these words in his Preface to the Earl: 'Great thou art in hope, greater in the expectation of future time.'⁽¹⁷⁾

Bacon, too, has some account of this in one of his Apothegms (No. 22), set out in the "Resuscitatio," 1671, at p. 226.

"The book of deposing King Richard the Second, and the coming in of Henry the Fourth, 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 Council learned, whether there were any treason in it? who intending to do him a pleasure, and to take off the Queen's bitterness with a merry conceit, answered: 'No, Madam, for Treason I cannot deliver opinion that there is

⁽¹⁴⁾ See BACONIANA, July, 1911; and "Bacon's Secret Disclosed." Gay and Bird, London, 1911, p. 161.

⁽¹⁵⁾ In a 12mo. edition of the work, published in Leyden, in 1630 (Latin), the following delightful notice appears on a fly leaf. "Aedes si quis recte et ordine ingredi vult, clavem prius habeat oportet." "If one wishes to enter a house in an orderly and proper manner, it is necessary first of all to get the key."

⁽¹⁶⁾ "Annals," 1635, p. 555.

⁽¹⁷⁾ The words are "Magnus siquidem es et presenti judico, et futuri temporis expectatione." "Great art thou both in the opinion of the present time and in the expectation of the future."

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.'"

Bacon helped his friend Hayward—or at least tried to—but did not save him from the Tower, by his jest on this occasion, and point is added to his "merry conceit"—a point that the Queen, without doubt, missed—when we learn that careful students have failed to find in Hayward's book any sentences stolen from Tacitus. It was a bold "bluff" on Bacon's part, this jest of his, and it was well for him that the Queen did not see through it.

There is no doubt that Essex had considerable help in his undertaking, and that there was a body of men of high standing who were supporting him. Camden says (p. 538): "Hereupon resorted unto him betimes in the morning of Sunday, the 8th of February (1601), the Earles of Rutland and Southampton, the Lord Sands, Parker, Lord Monteaagle, and about 300 Gentlemen of prime note." These men were no doubt among those who looked upon Essex as "greater in the expectation of future time," and hoped to benefit in the future when these expectations were realised. What it was exactly that they intended to do, we are nowhere definitely told, but rather left to infer. Camden says that on this fateful Sunday Essex had resolved to enter the City with 200 Gentlemen, "a little before the end of the sermon at Paul's, there to inform the Aldermen and people of the causes of his coming, and to crave their aid against his adversaries." All somewhat vague, for we know nothing of "the causes of his coming," nor why the citizens were expected to interest themselves against his adversaries. If the Citizens were hard to be drawn, then he would depart to some other part of the country; but if they were easy, "then to make himself a way unto the Queene, with their helpe."

But the whole affair seems to have been very poorly planned and organised and does not show well for the foresight of the "300 Gentlemen of prime note." The Queen acted swiftly and firmly. She sent the Lord Keeper and other of the Council to confer with Essex. "The Lord Keeper turning to Essex gave him to understand that he and the rest were sent from the Queene to know the cause of so great an assembly: and if any injurie were done unto them by any man, he promised indifferent justice. Essex answered him with a loud voice: 'There is a plot laid against my life: some are

suborned to stab me in my bed : we are treacherously dealt withall : Letters are counterfeited under my name and hand : We are met together to defend ourselves and save our lives, seeing neither my patience, nor misery can assuage the malice of my adversaries, unless they suck also my blood.' Popham spake unto him to the same effect that the Lord Keeper did, promising that if he would tell him plainly what had been attempted against him he would report it truly to the Queene, and he should be justly and lawfully heard. Southampton made mention, that the Lord Grey had drawne his sword upon him. But he (said Popham) was imprisoned for it." (Camden : Annals : 1635, p. 539.)

It is plain from the above that when Essex and his followers were put to it to say why they were gathered in this threatening manner, they were unwilling to speak out and state plainly what they were about. We have no mention that Essex intended to "make himselfe a way unto the Queene" with the citizens' help—if he could get it. Instead the answers given, and the complaints put forward, are mere endeavours to put off the gentlemen of the Council. After a little further parley Essex managed to draw them into the inner rooms, and there locked them up!—a most school boy trick to play—while he hurried off to the City to try to rouse the Citizens. In this he quite failed : the whole thing was a fiasco : there was a little scrimmage at St. Paul's, where men had been stationed by means of the Bishop of London, some few were killed, and Essex, "with his hat shot through," and very many escaping from him, made his way to the River, and getting boats, returned to Essex House.

Here he was much offended to find that they of the Council had been let forth. The greatest feat of the day had been his locking up the Lord Keeper, The Earl of Worcester, Sir William Knolles and Lord Chief Justice Popham, though it is difficult to see what he had hoped to do with them. However, Essex House was placed in a state of siege, and the ladies were allowed to depart, with all the punctilious courtesy of chivalrous warfare (so unlike the foul German way!), and everything settled down to a fight to the death. "But Essex, wavering in minde, began presently to think of yielding, and signified that upon certain conditions he would yield." The result being that by ten o'clock at night they had all surrendered. "Thus in 12 hours was this commotion suppressed." Essex and Southampton were first taken to Lambeth Palace and afterwards to the Tower, while the others were dealt with in

less considerate fashion. So ended that fateful Sunday, the 8th February.⁽¹⁸⁾

It was evidently an ill planned and badly organised adventure, conceived by a rash, impetuous and unstable man: a conception quite in keeping with other things that we know of Essex; and we can only be astonished that Peers of high standing and assured position, besides 300 gentlemen of prime note, could have been found willing and ready to assist in such a mad affair. I think the legitimate inference to be drawn is; that they thought and knew that Essex had very sound reason to expect success in what he was aiming at: and if so his success could only be looked for by his right of birth, as there does not seem to have been anything in Essex personally that marked him out as a great commander or an inspired leader of men. After a very few hours of his "commotion" he "began presently to think of yielding," a Camden says: it is not of such stuff that successful leaders are made. And it is quite impossible to believe that the reasons put forward by Essex for the great gathering at Essex house—that a plot had been laid against his life; that some were suborned to stab him in his bed—were the real reasons, or could have influenced such men as formed the gathering, to come together. They must have been influenced by considerations much more weighty than these.

The trial of Essex and Southampton took place in Westminster Hall on Thursday, the 19th February. They were tried before 26 peers, who had as their assistants 6 of the Judges. They were "arrigned of Treason," that they had "plotted to deprive the Queen of her Crown and life, having entered into counsell to surprise the Queene in the Court."

Coke, the Queen's Attorney, opened in a strong speech, in which he marshalled against the prisoners all the law and the facts bearing upon their case: and "ended his speech with this sharp Conclusion: It were to be wished that this Robert might be the last of this name Earle of Essex, who affected to be the first of that name King of England."⁽¹⁹⁾

In this sentence we have for the first time a clear statement of what it was that Essex had been endeavouring. And again, when Southampton, "in a very modest spech," attempted to explain away the part that he had taken in the rising, and to make it appear as something of little importance, praying "the cause might be decided according to equity and

(18) This account I have condensed from Camden's Annals, 1635.

(19) Camden, p. 544.

indifferency and not by rigour and quirks of the law," Coke turned upon him with fierceness, and with no mincing of words, "asking whether to seize with armed power upon the court gate, the Court, the Privy-Chamber, etc., thereby to bring the Queene into their power were not treason? Southampton asked him, what hee thought, in his conscience, they would have done against the Queene? The same (said hee) which Henry of Lancaster did against Richard the Second. He went to the King and fell on his kneec, under pretext of removing corrupt Councillors: but having once gotten the King into his power, hee deprived him both of Crown and life."⁽²⁰⁾

Bacon also, with pitiless eloquence, "proved that those fictions of a plot came to nothing even by the variety of them, forasmuch as Essex, wavering in his tales, cryed first that hee was to be stabbed in his bed, then slain in a boat, and lastly by the Jesuites."

It is quite evident that the gravamen of the charge was that Essex "affected to be King of England." Both he and Southampton were found Guilty of Treason, and both were sentenced to death: but before sentence was pronounced, Essex, with fine magnanimity, "besought the Peeres that they would make intercession to the Queene for Southampton, who might deserve well,"⁽²¹⁾ while for himself he was ready to suffer "whatsoever the interpretation of the Law be against me, yet would I not that any man should give the Queene to understand that I contemne her mercy, which notwithstanding I believe I shall not fawningly begge."

Essex was rash, impetuous, wrong-headed, no doubt, and at times violent and unreasonable; but there was nothing of the craven hearted fellow, or cunning politician about him; even when sentence of death was about to be pronounced he would plead for his friend: for himself he could only say that he would not "fawningly beg" for her Majesty's mercy.

Camden tells us that he was present at the trial, and I think we may accept his account of it as true. Perhaps one of the most painful, and—to those who "knew things"—one might almost say revolting, and certainly startling, episodes of the trial, was when, as Camden relates (p. 548), "Bacon

(20) Camden, p. 545.

(21) Southampton was imprisoned in the Tower for a short time. He was released by a letter of James, dated 5th April, 1603; but before this, on the 26th March, 1603, two days after the Queen's death, the attainders of both Essex and Southampton were removed by the House of Peers ("Life and Letters," Vol. II., p. 221).

afterward rehearsed the opinions of the Judges, whereby the Earles were pronounced guilty of treason : and hee proved that they could not excuse this crime, 'who being commanded by the Lord Keeper, and warned by a Herald, had not laid down armes. Essex said, ' I saw no Herald but that branded fellow whom I tooke not for an Herald. If I had meant any other thing than mine own defence against my private adversaries, I would not have gone forth with so small a company and so slightly armed ' (for they had only their swords, daggers and pistols). To whom Bacon replied, ' This was cunningly done of you, who fixed all your hope in the Citizens Armes, that they would arme both you and yours, and take Armes for you. . . . And that Herald, though a wicked man, is nevertheless a Herald.' "

Bacon and Essex arguing over the result, when Essex had been so hopelessly beaten, was indeed a pitiful sight, which the World might well have been spared.

Essex and Southampton were conveyed to the Tower, and Wednesday, the 25th February, was the day set for the Execution of Essex : only a few days more than a fortnight from the day of the " rising," and not a week from the date of his trial. Short though the time was, there was time enough for the Queen to " waver in her minde " in regard to his execution. " Shee sent command to Sir Ed. Cary that hee should not be executed," Camden tells us (p.551) : but then on the other side, influences were at work that reminded her of " his perverse contumacie, who scorned to crave pardon . . . did so sharpen her to severity, that shortly after she sent commandement againe by Darcie, that he should be put to death."

I do not think there can be the least doubt that had Essex humbled himself to the Queen at this juncture and craved her mercy, he would have got it ; and the sadness of it all is that he *did* so humble himself, but the trickery of his enemies, of the Cecil faction, prevented his appeal from reaching her. Her mother's heart was yearning to forgive him, but her pride as a Queen demanded that he should first ask forgiveness.

I am well aware that the " serious historian " rather plumes himself upon setting aside such a romantic story as that connected with Essex and the Ring ; but nevertheless the serious historian is often wrong in such matters, and the story of the ring has been vouched for by contemporaries who were in a position to have heard the accounts of it at the time. Besides it is quite in accord with the spirit and practice of

that age that a ring should have been given by Elizabeth for the purpose, and in the manner told. Nowadays that such an occurrence should take place, between people of the social position of the Queen and Essex, would be difficult to believe; not so at the beginning of the 17th Century. A good instance in point is related by Sir Robert Cary in his "Memoirs" (22). This Sir Robert was a distant cousin through the Boleyn family, of Queen Elizabeth, and was much favoured by Her Majesty. At the time of the Queen's death he had arranged to ride post-haste to Scotland so as to be the first to hail James as King of England, and thus establish a claim on the new Sovereign. He carried out his purpose; leaving London early on Thursday morning, the day on which the Queen died, he rode hard and continuously, with changes of horses, and reached Edinburgh late on Saturday night. The King had retired, but he was quickly let in, and carried up to the King's chamber where he "saluted him by his title of England, Scotland, France and Ireland." The King bade him welcome, and gave him his hand to kiss. The Memoirs then continue: "After he had long discoursed of the manner of the Queen's sickness, and of her death, he asked what letters I had from the Council? I told him, none; and acquainted him how narrowly I escaped from them. And yet I had brought him a blue ring from a fair lady, that I hoped would give him assurance of the truth that I had reported. He took it and looked upon it, and said: 'It is enough; I know by this you are a true messenger.'" (23).

By this we see that a ring was taken as a vouching for the truth and reliability of a messenger in so important a matter as the succession to the Kingdom of England. And it was evidently relied upon by Sir Robert Cary as establishing his *bona-fides* beyond a peradventure. It was on the certain belief that this ring would so establish him with the King, that he had undertaken his great ride from London to Edinburgh, and it is evident that the ring had also been given by James for the purpose of identifying a messenger that might come to him on some great occasion—perhaps with this very occasion in view?—as a true man.

Seeing that a ring was relied upon on such an occasion as this, I see no sufficient reason to side with the serious historian in rejecting Osborn's account of the Queen's having given a

(22) "Memoirs of Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth," Alexr. Moring, Ltd., London, 1905

(23) Memoirs, p. 78.

ring to Essex which should protect him from all malice and danger from his enemies. Osborn tells us ⁽²⁴⁾ that it was "during the critical minute of the Queen's strongest affection, which was upon Essex's return from Calais," that he importuned her for some signal token that might assure him in his absence that his enemies should not through their malice or subtlety distress him.

Curiously enough too at this very period which Osborn describes at the "Critical minute of the Queen's strongest affection," I have pointed out in the article, "Churchwardens' Accounts" (*BACONIANA*, July, 1915, p. 141) that on the Earl's going to Calais a special prayer was appointed to be read in the church of S. Martin-in-the-Field, and on his return the bells were rung "by command of the Council" for his good success. The Queen was very solicitous about Essex at this time, and showed her affection in these public ways, and it is quite congruous with this that, when Essex importuned for some token, "she presented a ring to him"; as Osborn tells us (p. 92)—"which after she had by oathes indued with power of freeing him from any danger or distresse his future miscarriage, her Anger or Enemies malice would cast him into, she gave it him, with a promise, that at the first sight of it all this, and more, if possible, should be granted."

The foregoing is confirmed by M. Aubery de Maurier in his "Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire d'Hollande" (Paris, 1688), where he says that Prince Maurice was informed by M. Carleton (Lord Dorchester), Ambassador from England to Holland that Queen Elizabeth gave a ring to the Earl of Essex, in the great warmth of her love for him, telling him to guard it carefully, and that whatsoever he might do, on giving back to her that token, that she would pardon him (*et quoiqu'il put faire, en lui rendant ce depot, qu'elle lui pardonneroit*).⁽²⁵⁾

Now Osborn tells us (p. 93) that: "After his commitment to the Tower he sent this Jewell to Her Majesty, by the then Countesse of Nottingham, whom Sir Robert Cecil kept from delivering it; This made the Queene think herself scorned, a treason against Her Honour."

M. Aubrey de Maurier, tells us (*Lives and Letters*, p. 179), that the Queen, "had made him stand his trial, and during the time he lay under sentence, waited always expecting

(24) "Historical Memoirs on the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James," London, 1658, p. 92. (Osborn).

(25) Quoted "Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Vol. 2, p. 178.

" that he would send that ring for her to pardon him, according to her word. The Earl in his last extremity had recourse to the wife of Admiral Howard " (the Countess of Nottingham) " his relation, and begged her through a confidential person to deliver that ring into the Queen's very hand ; but her husband, one of the chief enemies of the Earl, whom she had imprudently told of it, having prevented her from executing the commission, she consented to his death, " indignant against a nature so proud and so puffed up, that " he preferred to die rather than yield to her Mercy." ⁽²⁶⁾

All stories agree that it was in the Countess of Nottingham's hands that the ring was stopped on its way to the Queen, but it is not clear how in the first instance it reached the Countess. It seems unlikely that Essex would choose her as his messenger to the Queen seeing that her husband, the Earl of Nottingham (Admiral Howard) was one of his chief enemies, and a strong upholder of the Cecil faction. It seems to me that the story that has come down to us from Lady Elizabeth Spelman clears away the uncertainty, and has every appearance of being a true explanation. Lady Elizabeth's parents were married in 1667 so that she was not very far from the time when all this was taking place.

Her story was : ⁽²⁷⁾ " that 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, but desired her to retain the ring. Lady Nottingham, having made this confession, entreated the Queen's forgiveness ;

(26) The story of the ring is also related in a little book called " Secret History of Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex," by a " Person of Quality." Printed at Cologne, 1695, and in London without date. See " Lives and Letters," p. 181 note. I have not seen this book.—G. C. C.

(27) *Lives and Letters*, p. 180.

but Elizabeth explaining, ' God may forgive you : 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."

Osborn has a similar account of the Queen's visit to Lady Nottingham.⁽²⁸⁾ " But the Lady Nottingham coming to her death-bed, and finding by the daily sorrow the Queene expressed for the losse of Essex, herselfe a principal agent in his destruction could not be at rest till she had discovered all, and humbly implored mercy from God and forgiveness from her earthly Sovereign ; who did not only refuse to give it, but having shook her as she lay in bed, sent her accompanied by most fearful curses to an higher Tribunal."

Aubery de Maurier also tells us of the Queen's grief for the loss of Essex, and her rage against the Countess of Nottingham upon understanding how she had been tricked into allowing Essex to go to his death. The Countess gave up to her at last " hors de temps," " out of thime," as Aubrey says, the ring that she and Essex had hoped so much from. It was no long after this that the Queen herself died stricken with mortal affliction.⁽²⁹⁾

We must remember that the time between Essex's sentence and execution was very short, barely a week, and that delay, that might seem reasonable in ordinary circumstances, were likely to be fatal for him. It is noteworthy too that he seems to have been kept a close prisoner. There is no record that he was visited by even his wife or children ; or by any of his friends : which would account for his difficulty in finding a messenger to carry his ring, as Lady E. Spelman relates. There is a pitiful letter from his wife to Robert Cecil⁽³⁰⁾ begging him to present her humble supplication to the Queen, and she mentions in her letter that she suffers from so violent a sickness that she is not able to stir out of her bed—all of which would help to play the game of the Cecil party and keep him isolated from friends. Was it possible that Essex was relying on the efficacy of the ring to get him out of his terrible predicament ? Indeed he had little else to rely upon. The " divine " who was sent to give him spiritual comfort (Ashton) is described in a letter to Anthony Bacon, dated 30th May, 1601⁽³¹⁾ as " a man base, fearful and mercenary, but such

(28) Osborn's " Historical Memoirs," 1658, p. 94.

(29) It was early in March, 1603 (the month in which the Queen died) that Lady Nottingham died. " Lives and Letters," p. 205.

(30) " Lives and Letters," p. 173.

(31) BACONIANA, July, 1915, p. 125.

a one as by a formal show of zeal had gotten a good opinion of the Earl." No doubt a willing tool in the hands of the Cecil party, and, however much the Earl may have relied on him for "spiritual comfort," he did not trust him sufficiently to make him the bearer of the Ring, but rather trusted a strange boy whose "appearance pleased him." In any case I imagine that the Cecil faction would have outwitted him.

But how comes it that no other friends visited him? I imagine that he was kept very "close" during the last few days of his life; "for it is a remarkable fact, that he never saw his wife or son, nor took a last farewell of them, or any of his friends nor had expressed a wish to see any of them."⁽³²⁾ And further he made no will nor did he leave any testamentary paper behind him after his condemnation. At least if he did it was not preserved. His will was proved by his son in 1616, and was dated in 1591.⁽³³⁾

Attention is directed in the BACONIANA article I have mentioned to silent memorials left by prisoners in the Tower, among which "is one presumably made by Essex, which is pregnant 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 Robert Tider.'" (p. 131).

The letters of the name are cut with a peculiar foliated device, and had been done with much care. The hand-book of the Tower has a notice of this name as above stated with a remark that they are unable to give any account of the person. Robert, Earl of Essex, I believe it was who cut this name, and in doing so he adopted the Royal name "Tudor," of his mother, though he spelt it in an archaic way. I well remember that when the deciphering of the "New Atlantis" came out and the statement there made by Bacon, "My name is Tidder, yet men speak of me as Bacon" was disclosed, a savant writing on this disclosure was pungently sarcastic on the fact that Bacon should be represented as spelling the well-known name "Tudor" as "Tidder," and quoted this as proof that the cipher information could not have been enciphered by Bacon. But this savant, though pungent, and sarcastic, and jeering, was not very well read; or he would have known that Bacon in his published writings, viz.: "History of Henry the Seventh," 1622, constantly spells the name "Tudor," "Tidder," (pp. 151, 154, 155, Hist. Henry the Seventh.) I suspect that in Elizabethan days the "u" in Tudor had the

(32) "Lives and Letters," p. 178, Vol. 2.

(33) "Ibid," p. 178, note.

value that we give it in "bud," so that "Tudor" and "Tidder" were, phonetically, not far apart.

In the "Baconiana" I have been dealing with, much is made of the efforts of the Cecil party to have the execution as private as possible; and it may readily be supposed that they were anxious that Essex should have no opportunity of addressing so large a crowd as would undoubtedly have gathered had he been executed on Tower Hill. Essex was extremely popular; and this was one of the dangers of his position against which Bacon warned him in his letters; that he might become too popular and thus excite the jealousy and alarm of the Queen. The keynote of Bacon's oft repeated advice to Essex was, "Win the Queen"; not the sort of advice to give to a lover with a ridiculous disparity of years between himself and the old lady he would make love to, but exactly the kind of advice needed to curb a hot-headed, rash and not "rulable" son who might by his wrong-headed ways alienate his mother's affection. There is a very remarkable letter of Bacon to Essex, dated October 4th, 1596⁽³⁴⁾ in which he points out to him how by various tricks and "dodges" (we can call them nothing else) he should keep the Queen smooth and satisfied, and pleased with him. And especially he warns him about "popular reputation," and how he may best re-assure the Queen about this: it must be done, Bacon cunningly says, by words and not by acts; that is, he should not do anything actually to impair his popularity with the people, because "well governed" it "is one of the best flowers of your Greatness, both present and to come"⁽³⁵⁾; it would be tenderly handled"; but he should *speak* vehemently to the Queen against popularity and popular courses. But perhaps the most significant advice contained in this letter is at the end where Bacon advises that Essex should give way to some other Favourite, provided this new one is well affected towards him. "For otherwise," he concludes, "whosoever shall tell me that you may not have singular use of a Favourite at your devotion: I will say he understandeth not the Queen's affection, nor your Lordship's condition."

That is to say, as I read between the lines: "The Queen's affection" that of a mother for her Son: "your Lordship's condition" that of a son, and not merely a Court Favourite.

(34) "Resuscitatio," 1657. "Several Letters," etc., p. 206. Essex was then 29, and the Queen 63.

(35) A very significant phrase; and exactly the idea set out in the preface to Hayward's book, and for which he went to prison (ante. p. 48). The letter above was written some three years before Hayward's book. It was published for the first time in the "Resuscitatio," 1657.

We can, therefore, understanding all this, the more readily understand that the Cecil faction dreaded any appeal that Essex might make to the populace, and therefore manœuvred to have the execution in a private place.

It took place on Tower Green within the precincts of the Tower, and we can believe that the Queen would easily be persuaded to sanction the execution here—not in order that it should be removed from the multitude—but because it was the place reserved for very special personages, and that this deference and respect should be paid to her son, wayward and unruled though he had been.

In the Hand Book to the Tower⁽³⁶⁾ this place is described, "The following persons are known to have been executed on this spot:—

- " 1. Lord Hastings, by order of the Duke of Gloucester, in 1483.
- " 2. Queen Anne Boleyn, second wife of Henry VIIIth, 19th May, 1536.
- " 3. Margaret Countess of Salisbury, the last of the old Angevin or Plantagenet family, 27th May, 1541.
- " 4. Queen Katharine Howard, fifth wife of Henry VIIIth, 13th February, 1542.
- " 5. Jane, Viscountess Rochford, 13th February, 1542.
- " 6. Lady Jane (Grey), wife of Lord Guildford Dudley, 12th February, 1554.
- " 7. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, 25th February, 1601."

Though Lady Jane Grey was executed here, being of the Royal line, her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley, the brother of Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, was executed on Tower Hill.

The execution of the Earl of Essex was witnessed by a few chosen spectators. Certain divines were appointed to attend him. The prayers and devotions on the scaffold were much protracted, so much so that Camden reports (p. 551) that, "Marshall Biron, of France, and other profane men, derided this, his piety, as more befitting a silly Minister than a stout Warrior." Is it possible that Essex was "spinning out the time" by these devotions in the expectation that "in the just point of time" a reprieve would come in answer to the Ring-message that he had sent? If such were his hope the Cecil faction, gathered round the block, could easily allow him time to pray, well knowing that his hope was futile.

(36) "Authorized Guide to the Tower of London," 1914.

Thus he ended. Of him Lloyd says,⁽³⁷⁾ "If his eye had been as open upon his Enemies, as his ear to his Friends, he had been cautious: if he had been as happy in his constant converse, as he was obliging in his first address, he had been a Prince; if he had had either less Fortune, or a greater Soul; either less of the Dove, or more of the Serpent, he had bid fair for a Crown; or at least have saved his head. The People wished him well, but they are unconstant; the Queen loved him, but she is jealous: his Followers are numerous, but giddy; affectionate, but ill advise; his Enemies are few, but watchful on all occasions. . . . His Army was great, but that meeting with a great design, precipitated him; his title to the Crown was defended, but that lost him his head. He had exact advices from friends, especially from Sir Francis Bacon; and great directions from his Prince, but he followed his own; when he should have fought the main body of his Enemy, he skirmished with their forlorns when he should have returned with a noble conquest, & stole home after a suspicious Treaty; the Royal Check that should have instructed, incensed him; and what was designed as a chastisement he turns to a ruin."

To this I will add what Sir John Harrington says of him in his "Notes and Remembrances"⁽³⁸⁾ and Sir John was an intimate friend of Essex and, as godson of the Queen, was intimate about the Court.

"It resteth with me in opynion that ambition thwarted in its career, doth speedilie leade on to madnesse; herein I am strengthened by what I learn in my Lord of Essex; who shifteth from sorrow and repentance to rage and rebellion so suddenlie, as well proveth him devoide of good reason or right minde; in my laste discourse he uttered such strange wordes, bordering on such strange desyignes that made me hasten forthe, and leave his presence, thank heaven I am safilie at home, and if I go in suche troubles againe, I deserve the gallowes for a meddlynge foole: His speches of the Queene becomethe no man who hathe *mens sana in corpore sano*. He hathe ill advisers, and much evyll hathe sprung from this course. The Queene well knoweth how to humble the haughtie spirit, the haughtie spirit knoweth not how to yield, and the man's soul seemeth tossede to and fro, like the waves of a troubled sea."

(37) "Statesmen and Favourites," 1665, p. 451.

(38) "Nugæ Antiquæ," from the original papers of Sir John Harrington, selected by the Rev. H. Harrington, 1779, Vol. II., p. 225.

I think the key to all the proceedings in regard to Essex is to be found in the fact that he was the Queen's son; he was eager for recognition and acknowledgment as such, and rash and headstrong in the measures he took to obtain them. The fact that he could gather so strong a party as he did to aid him in his ill conceived and foolishly carried out rising, is, I think, evidence that those who supported him conceived that he had strong grounds on which to base his claims to the throne, for it is impossible, seeing what manner of man he was, that he could have gathered these men by confidence in him as a great leader of men. *That* he was not. Rather is the explanation to be found in a remark of Osborn's:⁽³⁹⁾

"This I may safely attest that the smallest chip of that incomparable instrument of honour (*i.e.*, Queen Elizabeth), Peace and Safety to this now unhappy Nation, would have been then valued by the people of England above the loftiest branch of the Calydonian grove."

This, no doubt, was what Essex' supporters thought, and had he been possessed "of more of the Serpent" and more of Machiavellian craft, he might have "won the Queen," as Bacon advised, and outwitted his enemies. But he was "dry for power," and by nature too rash to scheme, and plot, and contrive—and wait. Even when he had reached the scaffold the Mother love in the Queen would have saved him, if he had humbled himself to her and craved for her mercy; but if he continued proud and unyielding and rebellious against her—as she thought—her safety required that the law should take its course; while Essex, even on the scaffold, to the last, trusted and believed that his message of submission would bring reprieve and pardon. Only his enemies standing around at the death scene knew that both Mother and Son had been outwitted. Small wonder that when the Queen herself learned the ghastly truth from Lady Nottingham she succumbed, crushed by grief and horror, and died a prey to her unavailing remorse.

"O! Eloquent, Just, and Mightie Death, whom none could advise, thou hast persuaded: what none have dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world have flattered, thou only hast cast out into the world and despised; thou hast drawn together all the far fetched greatness, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, HIC JACET."⁽⁴⁰⁾

(39) "Historical Memoirs," 1658, p. 62.

(40) "History of the World," Sir Walter Raleigh Folio, 1614-28, p. 669.

It is a pitiful tale, and the plain and unvarnished truth can, after the long lapse of years, scarcely be expected to appear anywhere, unless it be in the enfolding of some cipher message.

In the foregoing account of Essex I have made much use of Camden's "Annals of Elizabeth," and if readers have been interested in my account, I think it would interest them further to know something about these Annals, and the peculiarities with which their production is surrounded.

The First Part of the "Annals" was first published in Latin folio in the year 1615, under the title "*Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum, Regnante Elizabetha, ad annum Salutis MDLXXXIX*" (Annals of English and Irish affairs under Queen Elizabeth to the year of Salvation 1589) bringing the History of Elizabeth's Reign down to the end of 1588. This work was, apparently, never published in English. Camden's impartiality was impugned, particularly in certain contradictions that appeared in regard to Mary Queen of Scots, with information that he was said to have given on the same subject to De Thou in France.* To this Part I added a concluding part, which he styles "*Tomus Alter*," which brought the Annals down to the end of Elizabeth's reign, and it is this last part that consequently contains all the account I have been extracting in regard to Essex. He finished this in 1617, but he was desirous that it should not appear in his lifetime, and he therefore sent the complete work to his friend, Pierre Dupuy, the historian, who undertook to publish it after the Author's death.* Camden died in 1623, and in accordance with the undertaking, the full and complete "*Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum*" were brought out in Leyden 8vo, in Latin, in 1625. This was, therefore, the first occasion when Camden's account of the proceedings in the matter of Essex was made public, and so far as I am aware, the first account of the affair that the world had seen. The concluding part of the "*Annales*," the "*Tomus Alter*" before mentioned, was, in the year 1627; brought out in Latin, in London; so that in this year the account of the Essex affair was for the first time published in England, though not yet in English.

In the meantime, however, the French had been more enterprising, or perhaps had less restraint of caution laid upon them.

A French translation of the First Part, down to 1588, was

* Dic. : Nat. : Biog. : Art. : "Camden."

issued by Paul de Bellegent, in London, 4to, 1624; and of the complete work in Paris, in 1627. Paul de Bellegent's French of the First Part was turned into English by Abraham Darcy and published in London, 4to, in 1625.

The concluding part, the "Essex part," was translated from the Latin by Thomas Browne and published in London, 4to, in 1629; under the title, "Tomus alter et Idem, or the Historic of the Life and Reigne of that Famous Princesse Elizabeth Containing a briefe Memorial of the Chiefest Affaires of State, that have passed in these Kingdoms of England, Scotland, France, or Ireland since the year of the fatal Spanish Invasion to that of her sad and ever-to-be-deplored dissolution. . . . London: Printed by Thomas Harper, and are to be sold by William Web, Book-seller, in Oxford. Anno Dom. 1629."

Neither the name of Camden nor of the Translator Browne appears on the title page; and reading that, and no more, there is not the smallest hint that this is a translation of Camden's "Annals"; at least the only hint is contained in the words "Tomus alter et idem" at the head of the Title page: the "Tomus alter" being the title set to the last part of the Annals in the 1625 edition, though why Browne adds "et idem," I fail to understand. As a matter of fact, I possessed this book of Browne's for some years before I noticed that it was a translation of part of Camden's Annals.

Thomas Browne's name appears as signing the flamboyant dedication to King Charles, written in the style that was usual in those days, combining abject servility, with more than a flavour of learned superiority. And an unusual pungency is added to the flavour when we learn that at this time, Thomas Browne was only 25 years of age!

In 1629, therefore the people in this country got for the first time an account in English of the moving scenes of the trial and execution of Essex.

In 1635 there appeared for the first time, an English translation of the complete "Annals"; but even at that date, so far from the conclusion of the work, the translator seems to shirk responsibility for what he has done, as he styles himself simply "R. N. Gent"; and these letters have subsequently been translated "Robert Norton."

These few facts will show the peculiarities of the bringing out of Camden's "Annals."

GRANVILLE C. CUNINGHAM.

THE DEDICATION OF THE A.V. AND THE AUTHOR OF THE PLAYS.

The whole tone of the Dedication reminds us of fulsome flattery used by Bacon in addressing King James in the *De Augmentis*, and of his habitual style in the letters. He tells us, too, that he does not "tax morigeration," and commends Cicero and Pliny for praising Cæsar and Trajan to their faces. Examples of the same courtiership are found in Virgil and Horace, and notably in Lucan, but this "license of grandiloquence," as he calls it, is outdone by Bacon himself.

That Bacon had a minute knowledge of the Bible is obvious from his works.

IT has been shown by Mr. W. T. Smedley that there is good reason to believe that the final revision of the Authorized Version of the Bible was directed by Francis Bacon.

The Dedication is marked by his exuberance of metaphor, and it may be of interest to compare it in detail with the language of the "Shakespeare" Plays. The coincidences are striking. Considerations of space prevent the printing of the Dedication in full, but any reader will have it within reach.

The apostrophic opening is suggestive.

"Great and manifold" reminds us of the fondness of Shakespeare for beginning with "great." "Great is the rumour," *1 H.*, vi., ii., 3. "Great the slaughter," *Cymb.* v., 3. And the double adjective suggests "How manifold and strong a bond," *Lear* ii., 1.

"Most dread sovereign," is very Shakespearian.

"O, my dread lord," M. for M., v., 1. "Dread prince," L.L.L., iii., 1.

"Go, my dread lord," H., v., 1, 2. "Therefore, dread king," id., iii., 1.

"Dread Lord" comes twice in H., vi., and also in R., iii. "Dread liege" in H., viii., v., 1. "Dread sovereign" twice, id., v., 2. "Sovereign" is a favourite word in the plays, and "God's mercy" common. With "Your Majesty's Royal Person" we may compare "will guard your person," Temp. ii., 1; "the prince's own person," Much Ado, iii., 3; "duke's own person," L.L.L., i., 1; "his most royal person," R., ii., iii., 3; and in six other places. "Rule and reign" occur together in 3 H., vi., v., 2, "What is pomp, rule, reign?"

In the next sentence one is struck by "the setting of that bright *Occidental Star*, Queen Elizabeth," recalling the "fair vestal throned in the west," of M.N.D., and the curious parallel near the opening of the Advancement of Learning, "two so learned princes, Queen Elizabeth and your Majesty, being as Castor and Pollux, *lucida sidera*, stars of excellent light and most benign influence." Sp., Vol. III., p. 274. At the beginning of the second book we find, "Since we have so bright and benign a star as your Majesty to conduct and prosper us." Sp., Vol. III., p. 321.

In the same page we have, "Queen Elizabeth . . . besides her happy memory." We have also

All of us have cause
To wail the dimming of our shining star.

—R. iii. ii. 2.

We now come to "some thick and palpable clouds of darkness," a reminder of:

These lies are like the father that begets them;
gross as a mountain, open, palpable, I.H., iv., ii., 4.

The phrase "grossly and palpably," Nov. Org. LXVI., is the translator's elegant and exact rendering of the Latin *quum motus ille rem crasso modo sensui exhibeat*. Sp., Vol. I., 177.

We have also "this palpable-gross play," M.N.D., v., 1. "Which way they were to walk" is perhaps common. But cf. "Hear not my steps, which way they walk," Macbeth, ii., 1; and "or walk in thievish ways," R.J., iv., 1.

"The appearance of Your Majesty, as of the Sun in his strength, instantly dispelled those supposed and surmised mists." This recalls:—

Yet herein will I imitate the sun ;
Who doth permit the base contagious clouds,
To smother up his beauty from the world,
That when he please again to be himself,
Being wanted, he may be more wondered at,
By breaking through the foul and ugly mists
Of vapours, that did seem to strangle him.

—I.H.; iv., i., 2.

The same idea occurs metaphorically in the familiar speech, "Discomfortable cousin," Richard II., iii., 2, where "murder, treasons and detested sins" stand bare and naked when the King, like the sun in his majesty, "darts his light through every guilty hole."

Again, "supposed" and "surmised" are both commonly used in Shakespeare of an *untrue* assumption.

"If you suppose, as fearing you," I.H., iv., iii., 1.

"Condemned upon surmises," W.T., iii., 2.

"Affected" is Shakespearian, "exceeding" as an adjective is used with puppet, miracles, trouble, honesty and other words. "Comfort" occurs 200 times in his plays. With "hopeful seed" we may compare:—

His hopeful son's, his babe's, W.T., ii., 3.

The mother to a hopeful prince, id. iii., 2.

No hopeful branch, 3 H., vi., iii., 2.

Compare too, "the seed of Banquo" "great Priam's seed," in Macbeth and T. and C.

"Undoubted title," has a parallel in "undoubted hope of France," 1 H., vi., iii., 3.

"At home and abroad," is not remarkable, but we have "at home, abroad, alone, in company," R.J., iii., 5.

"All joy" is common in Shakespeare. "Fills their hearts" comes in R. ii., ii., 2; "fill my heart" in 3 H., vi., iii., 3.

"Inestimable" stones occurs in R., iii., 14; "inestimable" value in Per. ii., 4. "Riches of the earth" is like "not all the riches under heaven," H., viii., 2, 3; and "my riches to the earth from whence they came." Per. i., 1.

For "eternal happiness" compare

Promised me eternal happiness. H., viii., iv., 2. And for "above in heaven," "heaven is above all yet," H., viii., iii., 1.

For "fall to the ground," cf., "and fall upon the ground as I do now," R.J., iii., 3.

"Predecessor" is not remarkable, but may be compared with "your great predecessor, King Edward, H., v., i., 2, and other passages.

"Go forward" is common in the plays; "confidence and resolution" is like "certainty and confidence." All's Well, ii., 1; the emphatic "of a man," is like "this was a man," J.C., v., 5, and many other passages; "propagate" is used metaphorically "to propagate their status," in T.A., i., 1.

In the Advancement of Learning Bacon speaks of the propagation of learning and knowledge. Ip.; Vol. III., p. 263.

"Bound and firmly knit the hearts," is a common metaphor in the Plays. We have "Knit my soul," M.A., iv., 1.

"My heart unto yours is knit," M.N.D., ii., 3 ; "Knit your hearts," A. and C., ii., 2 ; "Knit their souls," Cymb. ii., 3 ; "Knit and joined," R., iii., ii., 2 ; "Loyal and religious" in rhythm is like "holy and religious," Hamlet, iii., 3. "Precious" is very common ; "Can the son's eye behold his father," occurs in Tit. And., v., 3 ; "comfort" is used some 200 times ; for spirit *sanctified* see Oth. iii., 4 ; we have "shall prove the *immediate author*," in A and C., ii., 6 ; also "immediate" with jewel, heir, and other words ; "sicken and decay" in J.C., iv., 2 ; "full of decay and failing," Tim., A., iv., 3 ; like "dwindle, peak and pine" in Macbeth ; "slack" and "go backward" come in T. and C., iii., 3 ; and All's Well, i., 1, and elsewhere ; "soon kindled and soon burnt," in H., iv iii., 2 ; and "kindle your dislike," in H., viii., ii., 4.

"Tender and loving nursing father," is like "my mother and my nurse," R., ii., i., 3 ; "a loving nurse, a mother," T. And., i., 2 ; and "to which natural history is as a nursing-mother," Bacon's Parascève, Sp. Vol. IV., p. 255.

"Infinite" is used by "Shakespeare" with instances, considerations, conclusions, and other words ; "right christian" we have in "thy devotion and right christian zeal," R., iii., iii., 7 ; and "most christian care" in 2 H., iv., iv., 2 ; "affection" is very common in this sense in the plays ; "reasons strong and forcible," in 3 H., vi., i., 2 ; "any strong or *vehement* importunity," in Othello, iii., 3 ; "all humility," in 2 H., vi., v., 1, and H., viii., iv., 2 ; "deep" is ubiquitous, with such words as shames, experiments, prophecy, intent ; *judgment*, and *worthy* favourite words ; "English tongue" comes in M.W., ii., 3 ; "French tongue" in H., viii., i., 4 ; there is "putting it straight in expedition" in H., v., ii., 2 ; and "the expedition of my violent love," M., ii., 3. In the De Augustis, Sp. Vol. V., p. 48, Bacon says.

that "the minds of kings are hasty and impatient of delay," and commends expedition and despatch in their service as acceptable. Reaping good fruit is, of course, a common metaphor in the plays, as elsewhere. "I held my duty" comes in A.W., i., 3, and Hamlet, ii., 1. For "mover" cf. "the movers of a languishing death" Cymb., i., 6; for "humbly craving," cf., "humbly on my knee I crave your blessing," R., iii., ii., 2; "most humbly on my knee I beg," H.V., iv., 3, so with beseech, pray, sue, etc.; "of this quality" is Shakesperian; "censure" is very common; "ill-meaning and discontented" is like "moody discontented" which comes twice; "learned and judicious," like "grave and learned," "just and earned," "gravity and learning;" "allowance" like "under the allowance of your grand aspect," Lear, ii., 2, and other passages. "Traducing and calumniating" come together in the De Augustis, Sp. Vol. V., p. 43. "Interpretations" in a bad sense is found in "interpretation will misquote," I.H., iv., v., 2; and "interpretation should abuse," W.T., iv., 3, a regular Latin use. "Poor instruments" suggests "how poor an instrument may do," A. and C., v., 2; "Holy truth," "holy pity, duty, strength, etc.," and "holy writ," Oth., iii., 3. The association of "ignorance and darkness" and superstition is as old as Lucretius, whom Bacon quotes. So in Shakespeare, "There is no darkness but ignorance," T.N., iv., 2; "as dark as ignorance," id.; "his own way," "thine own way," come in the plays; "framed" metaphorically is common; "hammered of this design" occurs in W.T., ii., 2; "hammering treachery," 2 H., vi., i., 2; the metaphor of a forge is common; "truth and innocency" coupled, are like "truth's simplicity," "integrity and truth," "uprightness and integrity"; "grace and favour" suggests "princely favour," R., ii., v. 6; "leave and favour,"

3 H., vi., iii., 3 ; " his highness's favour," H., viii., iii., 3 ; " voice and favour," " leave and favour," Hamlet ; " grace and favour," Othello and Lear ; " give countenance," " gave his countenance," I.H., iv., iii., 2 ; and, commonly ; " bitter," is, of course, common with mock, taunts, words, scoffs, etc.

" The Lord of heaven and earth bless Your Majesty," brings back " The Lord in heaven bless thee, noble Harry ! " H., v., iv., 1 ; " now God in heaven forbid," " save to the God of heaven," " great God of heaven," " God in heaven bless her," " many and happy days " is like " many years of happy days," R., ii., i., 1 ; and send him many years of sunshine days, R., ii. iv. 1, " singular and extraordinary graces " like " singular integrity and learning," H., viii., ii., 4. It is a favourite word with Bacon—" my singular good lord." " Wonder of the world " is found in T.G., v., i., 1, " the wonders of the world abroad " ; " happiness and true felicity " combined are not unlike " glory, joy and happiness," K.J., iii., 4 ; " happiness, honour and fortunes," Tim. A., i., 2.

On the whole, and making full allowance for literary commonplaces, these coincidences of thought and style should convince an impartial critic that the Dedication and the Plays are written by one and the same hand, the hand of Francis Bacon.

If it be objected that all this is common form in the writers of the period, I may mention that a friend of mine has kindly read through most of Ben Jonson's Plays without finding *one* of the expressions here noted.

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BACON AND TOBIE MATTHEW.

Tobie Matthew, born 1577, was son of the Archbishop of York.

At the age of 18 he took the part of the Squire in the *Device* which Francis wrote for the Earl of Essex.

At 22 he was a student at Grays Inn.

At 26 Francis sent him to Scotland in connection with the business of the James I. accession.

In 1604 he was licensed to travel abroad and while there became a Roman Catholic. He returned for a short while, but was banished the country on account of his recusancy.

Bacon corresponded with him regularly. In 1605 he sent him a copy of the *Adv. of Learning*, in 1609 advanced parts of the *Novum Organum*, and in 1610 a print of "*Wisdom of the Ancients*."

In the letter with *Ad. of Learning* Bacon remarked, "I have now at last taught that child to go at the swaddling whereof you were," which I take to mean that he had then acquired some ascendancy of influence with King James.

In 1617 Matthew was allowed to come back to England, and at once went to Bacon at Gorhambury. In 1618 he translated Bacon's "*Essays*" into Italian. A second edition of that work printed in 1619 contains a new *Essay* not included in the English edition until 1625.

In 1619 Matthew was again required to leave England, and did not finally return until December, 1621, which was after Bacon's fall from the Lord Chancellorship.

In 1622 Matthew was busy with Count Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, in obtaining further

concessions of clemency to Bacon. Next year, in sending a letter to Gondomar in Spain by Matthew who went to help Charles' Spanish marriage proposals, Bacon alluded to the "great endeavours which your Lordship (Gondomar) used both with the King (James), and the Marquis (Buckingham) for my fortune."

In June, 1622, Bacon wrote of the *De Augmentis* as a work already in the hands of translators, and likely to be finished by end of that summer.

From April to October, 1623, Matthew was away in Spain over the Spanish marriage negotiations. He returned with Prince Charles and at once received the honour of knighthood. Meantime as Francis wrote to the Prince's Secretary Collington (March, 1623), he Francis, "for quiet and the better to hold out am retired to Gray's Inn for when my chief friends were gone so far off it was time for me to go to a cell."

A copy of the *De Augmentis* was given by Francis to Buckingham, on 22nd October, 1623, and in December, other copies were presented by him to Prince Charles, and to the Oxford University.

Sir Sidney Lee recently (see *Observer*, 6th February), told his hearers at the Royal Institution, that Gondomar bought a copy of the 1623 Shakespeare Folio on its publication in 1623 and *carried it back* to Spain. All that the lecturer could correctly say was, that Gondomar (who was a collector and lover of books) possessed a copy of the Folio. The Folio was not entered S.R. until 8th November, 1623, was not likely to have been printed until registered and Gondomar was not in England after May, 1622.

I venture the suggestion that Gondomar obtained his Folio in the same way as Matthew obtained his, namely, by gift from Francis Bacon.

The Folio required such wonderful care in preparation, and containing such a mass of biliteral, word,

letter, and figure ciphers that it could not have been prepared for and passed through the press in less than twelve or more months after the entry upon S.R.

In 1624 nothing is recorded to have been published by Bacon.

This brings one to the true significance of Tobie Matthew's letter to Lord Viscount St. Alban, the date of which has been removed, but which mentions a letter from Bacon of April 9th, accompanying some "great and noble token of your Lordship's favour." This letter has frequently been discussed because of its postscript:—

"The most prodigious wit that ever I knew of my nation, and of this side of the sea is of your Lordship's name, though he is known by another."

From his jocularities in Spain we know that Matthew had a merry nature. After October, 1623, until Bacon's death he remained in England. I take the date of Bacon's gift to Matthew of the "great and noble token" to have been 9th April, 1624-5, and the token to have consisted of a print of the Shakespeare Folio, which, of course, had not to be owned as of Bacon's authorship, as it was an experiment in a scheme of future education which could only be tested by time and by silence as to its real author.

Sir Sidney Lee and others dispute the suggestion that the postscript referred to Francis Bacon.

They say the remark concerned a Jesuit father, named Thomas Southwell, who lived abroad, but whose real name was Thomas Bacon, born in Norfolk.

Southwell was born in 1592, and thus was fifteen years younger than Matthew. He was a student at Rome in 1610, admitted as Jesuit in 1613 at the age of 21. He did not complete his four vows until 1626. After this he was Professor of Theology at Liege, and published two works on ecclesiastical controversial

subjects, viz., one at Liege, in 1631, and another at Antwerp in 1638.

It was very natural for Sir Henry Wootton to tell a friend that the book of controversies title-paged to F. Baconus came from the Jesuit Southwell, or he might have been misled into believing it to be a posthumous work of Francis Bacon's.

There is not the slightest evidence that Matthew ever met Southwell—their ways led apart—nor the slightest justification for saying Southwell at any period of his career was even a prodigy of wit. Nor as the late Judge Webb said was it likely that in acknowledging a great and noble token, Matthew would have insulted his old and intimate friend and mentor by suggesting that another man named Bacon was the most prodigious wit in England.

For, bear in mind, Matthew was writing in England and expressly mentions this side of the sea. Southwell was abroad. The most prodigious wit that ever Matthew knew of the English nation and upon English soil was the Lord Viscount St. Alban, though certain people (the Rosy Cross fraternity for instance) knew him as "Shakespeare." A print of the Folio, printed (according to Prynne) on better paper than most English bibles and beautifully bound in best leather, was the "great and noble token."

Gondomar must have been about the same year the gratified recipient of another copy which he is said to have annotated extensively.

PARKER WOODWARD.

CERTAIN MSS.

THERE is no record that Francis Bacon ever went to school.

But there is a faint indication that he was the child who played and sang to the lute to Queen Elizabeth and Earl Leicester in privacy when the Court was at Guildford, in August, 1569. He had, if so, made progress in music.

Some careful tutoring in other branches of knowledge must have taken place to render him fit for the University. Sir Anthony Cooke, Roger Ascham, and other well qualified tutors associated with the Royal family were available.

From April, 1573, to December, 1575, he was intermittently at Trinity, a new college founded at Cambridge by Henry VIII.

The Master was Whitgift, one of the Queen's chaplains, who soon became Archbishop of Canterbury.

Francis, at Cambridge, came under the influence and surely under the personal tuition of young Gabriel Harvey, the most popular professor at Cambridge.

Harvey taught poetry and rhetoric and was the enthusiastic pioneer of a movement for the reformation and revival of the art of English poetry. It will be seen by the Harvey-Immerito letters that Francis became one of Harvey's most energetic workers in the movement.

Up to September, 1576, Francis was a frequenter of the English Court, where the youth was believed to be a bastard of the Queen and Leicester. The authority for this last statement is the story deciphered by two separate workers uncoding independent ciphers. They relate that in a fit of anger the Queen

told Francis he was her son, but that she would never recognise him as such. Further, that he was sent abroad with Pawlet. History records that he was thus packed off in September, 1576.

So unless the story explains the enigma, preserved letters show that a youth of sixteen not on service, not on grand tour, lodged with his tutor with the English Ambassador and his wife, and spent four months in 1576, the whole of 1577, most of 1578, and another three months in 1579 in France under most pleasant circumstances, visiting the French Court, whether at Paris, Tours, Blois, Bordeaux, Poitiers, or elsewhere. There he would meet the French poets and publicists engaged in renovating French and improving their literature.

Francis Bacon's great intellectual powers at the age of 18 are testified to by Hilliard, the Queen's limner. In 1579 he had no hesitation in printing his opinions and verses, but necessarily concealed his authorship under other names. Continuing his literary work in 1580, he was very much chagrined when required to leave it to study law at Gray's Inn, and protested strongly to Lord Burleigh in a letter which has been preserved.

In 1581 he made the grand tour of Europe, visiting France, Italy and Spain and probably other countries. During his visit he was particularly directed to study the arts of Government and the political and economic conditions of the states visited by him. When he returned to England, in 1582, he was more than ever conscious of his own great abilities and importance.

This rather long preamble has been a necessary introduction to the subject of this article.

Francis Bacon's mind only developed humility under many grievous trials and disappointments after he had passed the meridian of his earthly pilgrimage

and had found that all was vanity and vexation of spirit.

"The time (wrote he, as Hamlet) is out of joint. Oh, cursed spite! That ever I was born to set it right." But he did try to set it right, and in his work in that direction and in the organisation of secretly operating forces to carry on his great improvement scheme lies the true explanation of the mystery of Francis Bacon.

Incidentally he prepared for the justification of his life and labours before the tribunal of a more enlightened age in some then far off day. This accounts for the scrupulous care which he directed to be taken concerning the manuscripts and letters he left behind him. Rawley says he aimed at their preservation in some *private shrine or library*.

That Lyly, Watson, Peele, Greene, Marlowe, Kyd, Nashe, Spenser, Burton and Shakespeare were only so many "masks" under whose names Francis printed numerous works whether literary or dramatic, is almost sufficiently evidenced by the absence of manuscripts or letters ascribed to those names.

Searched (as the manuscript collections of England and elsewhere have been), none have come to light except four. These, however, turn out to be wholly or partly in Francis Bacon's handwriting and really only concern him. An excellent reason for their preservation.

For Francis was the great secret glory of his followers and co-workers and their successors for many, many years after his decease, and their loyalty to his memory was magnificent.

The four manuscripts above referred to are :—

I. THE LYLY LETTER.

It is dated July, 1582, and signed John Lyly. The

letter is addressed to Lord Burleigh, and is preserved in the Lansdowne M.S., 36, Art, 76. Read aright, it is an apology by Francis to the Queen, through Burleigh, for some piece of self-assertiveness, which brought down her displeasure. Francis had just returned from his tour and indicated by using the pen-name under which he had written the Euphues books and Court Comedies that he still lacked a proper cognomen. The letter is on all fours, with a similar apology by Francis, signed B. Fra, written to Burleigh in 1580.

2. THE PEELE LETTER.

This letter is endorsed 17th January, 1595-6, and purports to have been written by George Peele to Lord Burleigh.

It is amongst the Lansdowne MSS., marked XCIX No. 54.

A facsimile is given in Vol. II., of Bullen's edition of "Peele."

Under the name of George Peele, Francis had published a spirited farewell to Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake on their departure on an expedition. The "Farewell" was printed in 1589, and along with it to pad out the volume, he printed a poem, called "A Tale of Troy."

In January, 1595-6, Francis was again on excellent terms with the Queen. It was therefore very natural that when his revised version of the "Tale of Troy" was completed, he should have had it printed as a "biblio," and presented it to his kindly old friend, Lord Burleigh. It was equally natural that the letter which accompanied the gift should humorously purport to come from George Peele, and bear that signature. Knowing what we do as to Peele's drunkenness and debauchery it is impossible to believe that the beautiful cursive hand of the letter—the hand of an

expert and rapid writer—could have been Peele's. The "Tale of Troy" was reprinted in biblio form in 1604, some six years after Burleigh's death. It resembles in size Bacon's Apophthegmes, 1625, and both little volumes were evidently printed as gift books for Bacon's friends.

The title-page of the 1604 version bears one of Bacon's private marks of identification.

3. THE "KYD" LETTER.

4. THE MARLOWE FRAGMENTS.

These are both circa., May, 1593. No. 3 is an apologetic letter concerning a certain lord's association with one Marlowe. It is signed Tho. Kydde, and is addressed to Lord Keeper Puckering, the head of the Star Chamber.

No. 4 are fragments of a letter ascribed to Marlowe.

Complaint had been made by the Fleming's to the authorities about a threatening letter, posted on the church wall of their quarter in London.

Seeking the writer of the "libel," the Star Chamber's people raided the lodgings where Kyd and Marlowe had for some two or three years been copying writings for a certain lord (no doubt meaning Francis).

Marlowe appears to have got away, but the searchers found a letter, evidently given to Kyd or Marlowe, to copy, in which Francis had been restating in writing to a certain Bishop, some theological arguments he had previously used to him in a private discussion. Shocked at its breadth of view, the Star Chamber had called upon Kyd, or someone, for an explanation of the fragmentary epistle.

The papers were found in Harleian MSS. 6,848 and 6,849, folio 218. They are given in facsimile in "Life and Works of Kyd," by Professor Boas.

The fragments are in Court hand, nicely written

by Francis Bacon and must have been given out to be copied before the letter was forwarded to the Bishop concerned.

The Kyd letter was evidently written out by Kyd from a draft prepared by Francis as the letter is virtually in exoneration of "my lord" from the imputation of atheism and of unwise association with Marlowe.

Kyd wrote in German script and left blanks for Latin quotations and two or three words he could not make out. Time being important, the blanks are filled out in another hand. The curious thing is that the handwriting of the Latin quotations is identical with the Court hand of the Marlowe fragments, while that of the odd words resemble very closely the cursive clever hand of the George Peele letter of 1596.

The language of the "Marlowe" fragments is reverent and entirely different from certain coarse secularist assertions which the Rev. Barnes subsequently charged Marlowe with having made.

Fortunately for Francis, Marlowe was killed in a brawl at Deptford the following month, while he was out on bail. Francis, with his usual ingenuity, smothered up his own escape like the squid with a cloud of inky fluid.

He published a ballad signed Ignoto, and called "The Atheist's Tragedie."

It is reprinted in Dyce's Marlowe and is remarkable for its unusual ease and quality.

When Francis the following month (July) fixed up another mask, viz., one of the Queen's players named Shakespere under whose name he printed "Venus and Adonis," old friend Gabriel Harvey burst into verse. His verse was entitled "A Sonnet of the Wonderful Year 1593."

He was not sorry at the finish of the Marlowe trouble in the way it did, for his last line is :—

“ Weep Powls thy Tambourlaine *voutsafes* to die.”

But the real burden of his sonnet was in the postscript :

“ The hugest miracle remains behinde.”

A second Shakerley Rashe-Swashe to binde.”

Harvey foretold mischief and trouble with the deserving man of Stratford-on-Avon, but he lived long enough to assure himself that the William Shakspeare experiment came to no harm in his time.

The trouble to-day may be traceable to a lack of creative perception since Harvey's death.

PARKER WOODWARD.

“ OLD JEPHTAH. ”

IT has been suggested before now that Polonius in Hamlet was drawn, or partly so, from William Cecil, Lord Burleigh. I have seen him made up on the stage to match Burleigh's well-known portrait. Their respective advices to their sons are a good parallel. Lodge, in his Illustrations of British History, p. 53, presents another by quoting a letter from Burleigh to George sixth Earl of Shrewsbury. It is written from Hampton Court, and dated 24th December, 1575. Its contents are a refusal to marry his daughter, Elizabeth, to Edward Talbot fourth son of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

“ My daughter is but young in years, and upon some reasonable respect I have delivered (not withstanding I have been very honorably offered matche not to treat of marrying of her, if I may live so lon until she shall be above fifteen or sixteen, and if were of more likelihood myself to live longer than I look to do, she should not with my liking be married before she were near eighteen or twenty.”

Considering the very early marriages of that time this last remark well entitles him to the title of “ Old Jephthah,” given Polonius by Hamlet, Act II., Sc. I. Elizabeth Cecil married the eldest son of Lord Wentworth, one of Francis' staunch friends, and died before her father. Edmund Lodge, who I strongly believe to have been one of the Bacon Masks, comments on the “ extreme caution and sagacity displayed in this letter,” adding “ that the singular opinion of human learning with which it concludes renders this letter a most curious and interesting relic,” which opinion I cordially endorse. Cecil concludes by wishing his “ Lordship's son without any curiosity of human learning, which without the fear of God, I see, doeth great hurt to all youths in this time and age.”

ALICIA AMY LEITH.

THE PHOENIX AND TURTLE.

THIS curious poem was printed in a book called "Love's Martyr or Rosalin's Complaint, allegorically shadowing the constant Fate of the Phoenix and Turtle." The second part is devoted to "Diverse poeticall essaies," on the subject of "Robert Chester's" work, "done by the best and chiefest of our modern writers with their names subscribed to their particular workes." The date is 1601. The emblematical poem signed "William Shakespeare" has been brushed aside by the eminent moulders of public opinion in Shakespearean lore. "Happily, Shakespeare wrote nothing else like it," says Sir Sidney Lee. Other men of letters have dismissed it without comment which throws any light upon its meaning, or else ignored it entirely. Shakespeare did not write anything that is not meant to be construed. But having committed themselves to a wretched tradition, which will not bear investigation, the truth is not allowed to come to light. Shakespeare has been blamed by his so-called commentators because his lines in the *Sonnets*, the *Lover's Complaint* and the *Phoenix and Turtle* being only studied superficially and criticised accordingly, have only led to "disputations and contentions." Webbe in his *Discourse of English Poesie* rebukes such critics thus: "It is their foolish construction, not his writing that is blameable. We must prescribe to no writers (much less to poets) in what sort they should utter their conceits."

: Bacon recognized two methods of handing on knowledge to posterity, *viz.*, an open way of delivery, and a "reserved and secret" way. The object of the

latter method being that " by the intricate envelopings of delivery, the Prophane Vulgar may be removed from the secrets of Sciences ; and they only admitted which had either acquired the interpretation of *parables* by tradition from their teachers ; or, by the sharpness and subtlety of their own wits, could pierce the veil."

In the *Apologie for Poetrie*, Sidney observes that " there are many mysteries contained in Poetry, which of purpose were written darkly lest, by Prophane wits, it should be abused.

Emerson scented the parabolical odour of the *Phoenix and Turtle* and in the Preface to *Parnassus* (1875) wrote, " I should like to have the Academy of Letters propose a prize for an essay on Shakespeare's poem, *Let the bird of loudes! lay*, and the *Threnos* with which it closes, the aim of the essay being to explain by a historical research into the poetic myths and tendencies of the age, the frame and allusions of the poem." With his usual keen penetration Emerson continues, " I consider this piece a good example of the rule that there is a poetry for bards proper, as well as a poetry for the world of readers. This poem, if published without a *known* author's name, would find no general reception."

Why indeed should the Stratford player waste his time writing poetry of an exclusive order. Was he not depending upon the applause of the "vulgar" to re-establish his family's financial position? Are we not told that Pope had just warrant for writing that the author of *Hamlet*, *Lear* and the *Tempest*—

" For gain, not glory, winged his roving flight
And grew immortal in his own despite " ?

This may be true enough of the Stratford player, but it is not applicable to Shake-speare who laid

"great bases for eternity." Of an extraordinary nature is the love of the Phoenix and Turtle. In no less than seven consecutive verses of this little poem is it explained that though these birds loved as two, they "had the essence but in one" :—

"Two distincts, division none."

"Hearts remote, yet not asunder
Distance, and no space was seen
'Twixt this turtle and his queen."

"Either was the other's mine."

"Reason, in itself confounded,
Saw division grow together,
To themselves yet either neither,
Simple were as well compounded."

"That it (*i.e.*, *Reason*) cried, How true a twain
Seemeth this concordant one !"

"Whereupon it made this threne
To the phoenix and the dove,
Co-supremes and stars of love."

Where else, but in the Shake-speare Sonnets do we find such lovers who, "simple were so well compounded."

"Let me confess that we too must be twain,
Although *our undivided loves are one.*"—*Sonnet 36.*

The poet makes an imaginary division for the purpose of defining his own worth :

"O, how thy worth with manners may I sing,
When thou art all the better part of me ?
What can mine own praise to *mine own self* bring ?
And what is it but *mine own* when I praise *thee* ?
Even for this let us *divided* live,
And our dear love lose *name of single one.*

And that thou teachest how to *make one twain*,
By praising him here who doth hence remain."

Sonnet 39.

But division grows together ; thus confounding Reason :—

“ My friend and I are one.”—*Sonnet 42.*

“ 'Tis *thee* (*myself*) that for myself I praise.”—*Sonnet 62.*

The line “ Either was the other's mine ” finds its echo in *Sonnet 36* :—

“ I love thee in such sort,
As, thou being *mine*, *mine* is thy good report.”

and *22* :—

“ For all that beauty that doth cover *thee*
Is but the seemly raiment of *my* heart,
Which in *thy* breast doth live, as *thine* in *me*.”

The five stanzas forming the *Threnos* are equally interesting and productive. The first is :—

“ Beauty, truth and rarity,
Grace in all simplicity,
Here enclosed in cinders lie.”

“ Beauty and truth ” apply to the Turtle-dove, and “ rarity ” to the Phoenix—the mythical bird of gorgeous plumage, fabled to be the only one of its kind, and to live five hundred years in the Arabian desert, after which it burnt itself to ashes on a funeral pile of aromatic twigs ignited by the sun and fanned by its own wings, but only to emerge from its ashes with renewed youth, to live through another cycle of years.

The Phoenix has been supposed to allude to Queen Elizabeth. Certainly it is mentioned as the turtle's “ queen,” but this is the only prop available for

supporting the theory. In that delightful allegory *A Lover's Complaint*, the poet is represented by a female—the Shepherdess or "Lover" who makes the complaint of her seduction by the spirit of Poetry depicted in the beautiful youth. And in Sonnet 20, the author says that "for a woman" was he "first created."

By the *Phœnix* I take to be shadowed the unique poet Shake-speare, and by the *Turtle* his poetic Muse. In setting forth to praise his Master-Mistress, Shake-speare disclaims the conventional method of poets who "stirred by a painted beauty" make the usual comparisons with "Sun and Moon, with earth and sea's rich gems, with April's first-born flowers, and all things rare." (*Sonnet 21*).

Beauty and truth are the attributes of the Turtle. In Sonnet 14, the poet looking into his own eyes (the "beauteous and lovely youth" does not appear until the 20th Sonnet) remarks:—

" in them I read such art,
As truth and beauty shall together thrive,
If from thyself to store thou wouldst convert ;
Or else of thee this I prognosticate,
Thy end is truth's and beauty's doom and date."

So indeed it was, in the fate of the Phœnix, for his end was the Turtle's doom and date:—

" Death is now the phœnix nest ;
And the turtle's loyal breast,
To *eternity* doth rest."

The following lines from Sonnet 105 might have been placed at the head of poem, *The Phœnix and Turtle*, as an introductory "argument":—

“ Fair, kind, and true, is all my argument,—
 Fair, kind and true, varying to other words ;
 And in this change is my invention spent,
Three themes in one, which wondrous scope affords.
 Fair, kind and true, have often lived alone,
 Which three till now never kept seat in one.”

Is it a coincidence that Fair (beauty), Kind (constancy), and True (truth) here keep seat together, and are also the three attributes of the Turtle? I am certain that this strange poem is one of those changes in which the poet admits that he spends his invention “varying to other words” when his “argument” has the wondrous scope afforded by the subject “three themes in one.”

The death of the phoenix, and the turtle's “loyal breast” resting to eternity is the subject of Sonnet 81 :—

“ Your name from hence immortal life shall have,
 Thou I, once gone, to all the world must die.”

In the Sonnets, too, we frequently find allusions to Truth and Beauty buried and, though entombed, living; that “'gainst death” shall the poet's constant friend “pace forth” :—

“ Thou art the *grave* where *buried love* doth *live*.”

—*Sonnet 31.*

In the death of the Turtle, it is said :—

“ Truth and beauty *buried* be.”

Shakespeare evidently knew himself to be the Phoenix of his age. Sonnet 59 suggests that the poet believed in the theory of re-incarnation, and to find another of his species one would have to search among the writings of five hundred years backward for opinions of his mind and art :—

“ If there be nothing new, but that which is
 Hath been before, how are our brains beguiled,
 Which, labouring for invention, bear amiss
 The *second burden* of a *former* child !
 O, that record could with a backward look,
 Even of *five hundred courses* of the Sun,
 Show me you image in some antique book,
 Since mind at first in character was done !
 That I might see what the old world could say
 To this composed wonder of your frame. ”

Writing of Lord Verulam, Archbishop Tenison observed, “ I affirm with good assurance that Nature gives the world that individual species but *once* in *five hundred years*.”

R. EAGLE.

P.S.—In the New Edition of his “Life of Shakespeare,” Sir Sidney Lee admits that “the abstruse symbolism of sixteenth-century emblem books are thought to be echoed in Shakespeare’s lines The internal evidence scarcely justifies the conclusion that Shakespeare’s poem, which is an exercise in allegorical elegy in untried metre, was penned for Chester’s book.”

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—I have lately come across some letters in the Verney collection with reference to a loan of money that Lord Bacon received from Ann Blakensy, in March, 1617, and which had not been repaid even in 1632.

Can any reader throw more light on the subject ?

Ann Blakensy writes to her Aunt, Lady Verney, describing the efforts she is making to get back the sum which is "all her poore estate," but she has to take her plea to the House of Lords, and she seems to despair of ever getting it back from the trustees of the late Lord Chancellor, namely Sir Robt: Rich, Sir Richard Young and Mr. Thomas Meautys.

There are three other letters at Claydon upon this subject, dated 4th September, 1628; 7th November, 1628; and 7th June, 1629. The writer held a bond for £200, dated March 18th, 1617, given by Lord Chancellor Bacon to Thomas Sugar, Esq., and she had been applying for years to the administrators of the estate for a return of her money. Did the creditors all have to take their debts to the House of Lords before the trustees could pay their claims ?

It seems strange that in the year 1617 Bacon should have still been borrowing money all round. He became Lord Keeper of the Great Seal on March 7th, that year.

Yours truly,

A. C. BUNTEN.

One of the letters is as follows, dated Nov. 12th, 1632:—

"MY GOOD LADIE AND AUNT,—

"I received your letter of the 7th of Julie last, wherebie I do understand that I must appoint one to follow mie (my) business to the Lords that have the sale of the late Lord Chauncellor's landes. I heare the landes are now sould or presentlie will be, so that if I should neglect the time, my hope of getting weare (were) at an ende; and Mr. Gottes hath promised me to further it with his own person unto the Lordes; and though the Bond be not taken in mie name, yet Mr. Gottes will ascertain the Lordes the dett is absolutely myne, and that upon composition with me, the bond shall be delivered out unto their Lordships. So mie worthy aunt I do humblie entreat you to deliver the Bond to this bearer, Mr. Neave."

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

DEAR SIR,—In the lower panel of the title page of "Das Schach oder Koenigspiel," by Augustus D., of Brunswick-Lunenbourg-Gustavus Silenus, reproduced in Mr. Bowditch's "Connection of Fra Bacon with the First Folio of Shakespeare's Plays, &c.," there is a picture of a dining room with nine people. Six seated at table and three standing.

There is a peculiarity about the hands of three figures in that the hands are atrociously drawn and look to have been drawn by a different engraver to the one responsible for the faces.

Each man is ostentatiously showing a certain number of fingers. Taking it from left to right No. 1 shows none, No. 2 one, No. 3 one and three, No. 4 one and two, No. 5 two, No. 6 one and four, No. 7 five, No. 8 three, No. 9 three.

Making 0, 1, 13, 12, 2, 14, 5, 3, 3. I have tried if these fit in with anything in Gustavus Silenus with no better result than the obvious A, N, M, B, O, E, C, C.

Perhaps one of your readers may be able to suggest something.

Yours, &c.,

W. MURPHY GRIMSHAW.

Eastry House, Eastry, Kent.

March 11th, 1916.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

THE 25TH CHAPTER OF MONTAIGNE AND L.L.L.

SIR,—I do not think anyone has noticed in print the points of similarity between the Chapter "On the Education of Youth" in Florio's Montaigne and L.L.L.

I append one or two points in hopes that they may induce someone to delve further into the matter than I can.

FLORIO'S MONTAIGNE 3RD ED.

Page 67.—About 11th line this idea is suggested.

Page 75.—What is it to know, and not to know (which ought to be the scope of study)?

Page 80.—Banquet of letters.

Page 81.—Two Masters of Arts travelling toward Bordeaux about fifty paces one

L.L.L.

Small have continuall plodders ever won, &c.—Page 122.

What is the end of study? Why that to know which else wee should not know.—Page 122.

Feast of words.—Page 136.

Arts-man preambulat.—Page 136.

from another, &c. He is no gentleman, but a Gramarian.

Page 83.—Chrisippas said : Use such juggling tricks to play with children and direct not the serious thought of an aged man to such idle matters.

Page 83.—Winde up a wittie notable sentence that so I may sew it upon me, than unwinde my thread to go and fetch it.

These two last are on the page on which "Bacon" occurs twice.

We will be singled from the barbarous.

Offered by a child to an old man.—Page 136.

He draweth out the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument.—Page 136.

"Do you not educate youth at the charge house on the top of the Mountaine or Mons the hill.

Mons Montaigne ?

At your sweet pleasure for the Mountaine.

Here are two Bacons and two Montaines mixed up with educating youth.

Incidentally can the curious word Puericia be a subtle hint for (Blaize de) Vigenere which anagrammatically suggests Viergene or Virgenée ? Yours, &c.,

Eastry House, Eastry, Kent.

W. MURPHY GRIMSHAW.

March 11th, 1916.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

BACON AS AN ACTOR.

SIR,—The late Sir Henry Irving writing on Shakespeare and Bacon stated that "the hand of the Actor is visible in all Shakespeare's dramatic work, and that there is irresistible evidence that Shakespeare was a great dramatic constructor, who knew the Stage as intimately as a watchmaker knows the mechanism of a watch. And, as a clincher, asks : "*How could Bacon acquire this experience ?*" He admits that Bacon wrote Masques for the Court, and arranged for their production, and that "his contemporaries had relations with the theatre—men like Southampton and Herbert, and the officials of the Court—who were brought into *Constant and Close Contact with the players.*" He overlooks the natural inference that Bacon being in Close friendship with these men, would be with them, and would also be in "*Constant and Close contact with the players*" as we know he was, to his mother's sorrow. But

Bacon, himself, was a consummate actor. D. Mallet, in his "Life of Bacon," 1740 edition, speaking of Bacon, states:—
 "In conversation he could assume the most differing characters, and speak the language proper to each, with a facility that was perfectly natural; or the dexterity of the habit concealed every appearance of art; a happy versatility of genius, which all men wish to arrive at, and one or two, once in an age, are seen to possess. In public, he commanded the attention of his hearers, and had their affections wholly in his power. As he accompanied what he spoke, *with all the expression and grace of action*, his pleadings, that are now perhaps read without emotion, never failed to awaken in his audience the several passions he intended they should feel."

How naturally we think of Bacon, in this respect, when we read Hamlet's advice to the Players. What an enjoyable companion he would be; "of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy." How he would "Set the table on a roar," depicting Falstaff or other characters in real life whom he had met:

G. REWCASTLE.

A
 TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—With reference to the articles on Don Quixote, in your January number, the following extract from a letter from a friend of mine, long resident in Spain, may be of interest to your readers:—

"The Molino de Viento (windmill) in La Mancha is precisely the same as in Cervantes' time; it has four 'aspas' like elongated fans, made of poles covered with coarse canvas.

"Tossing in a blanket is quite a favourite custom still in the sierra of this part of Spain (Andalucia). In La Mancha it is still quite a common occurrence. The process is called here 'mantear,' from 'manta,' a rug or blanket."

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN GLAS. SANDEMAN.

Whin-Hurst, Hayling Island, Havant.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—The most strenuous and influential upholders of the theory that Shakespeare the Actor was also the Author of the Plays and Sonnets are Sir Sidney Lee and the *Times*. United, they have been fairly, or unfairly, successful in preventing the easy going British public from examining the question of authorship, and have probably augmented the demonstration of the Tercentenary on May 2nd next to

make the nation publicly multiply itself, on the chance of recovering some ground which, notwithstanding their vigorous efforts, is now lost. For the result of those efforts seems only to be that a considerable number of persons in ordinary Society, but yet not Baconians, have begun to entertain grave doubts whether, after all, the Actor *did* write the plays, and to have arrived at the conclusion that despite Sir Sidney's revised and exhausting work on Shakespeare, nothing is known of him as an author. Is his chief champion losing followers as well as ground? There are signs of it. The diligent Mrs. Stopes has ceased to be in due obedience. The writer of the leading article in the Literary Supplement of *The Times*, on April 20th instant, begins his essay on Shakespeare with the statement that nothing is known about him, and in the same supplement, after a letter in small type reviling "the unbelieving herd of doubters," and accusing the Baconians of "German-like stupidity"—which seems ambiguous abuse—is a letter, two columns long, and in large type, from Mr. Robert Palk who, from his address in the Temple, may be presumed to understand the value of evidence. He handles "The puzzle of 'The Sonnets,'" and suggests "A Solution." After a skilful cross-examination of the Sonnets, and application of phrases in them to events in the life of Sir Walter Raleigh, he ends his labour of research "perhaps enough may be here to demonstrate that should the Stratford miracle be, as many believe, a myth, there is some case for Sir Walter Raleigh."

So the Actor is, at least, to be deprived of the credit for the Sonnets! The "unbelieving herd of doubters" is getting on towards the wall of truth.

Yours truly,

J. R., OF GRAY'S INN.

NOTES.

Under the title of "Secret Shakesperean Seals," Mr. H. Jenkins, of 7, St. James Street, Nottingham, is publishing a remarkable work by Fratres Reseae Crucis. The work is excellently printed and contains a large number of plates, reproducing title-pages of celebrated works. The price is 8s. 9d., which is under the cost price. The volume may be obtained from the offices of the Society, 11, Hart Street, W.C.

Messrs. John Long, Ltd., are publishing "New Light on the Enigmas of the Sonnets," by Mr. R. L. Eagle. The book contains about 100 pages, price 2/6 net, cloth.

The course of winter lectures to members of the Society which have been arranged by Mrs. Bunten have been most successful. They were brought to a conclusion by a most interesting address, delivered by Mr. H. Crouch Batchelor in his drawing room, Kensington. There was a large attendance, and the address was followed by an animated discussion.

There is evidence on all sides that a less confident tone prevails amongst the Shakespearians. The serious reviews of recent publications connected with the Tercentenary functions usually contain some sort of qualification when the author is referred to. The Baconians are attacked and ridiculed with as much freedom and as little reason as ever, but between the lines can be read the effects of a fear similar to that which Charles Dickens stated he felt as to what might turn up any day. If some eminent advocate of the claims of John Shakespere's eldest son could be provoked to meet a Baconian in a debate to be continued from day to day, so that the whole ground might be covered, public opinion would undergo a great change. The only weapon which the Baconians have to meet is ridicule—reason is never employed against them. Truth was never yet killed by ridicule, so the Baconian theory is quite safe.

The celebrations in connection with the Tercentenary of Shakespere's death bid fair to be on a considerable scale. Baconians can join in them wholeheartedly, for it is the great author who is being honoured. The more his praises are sung the greater the glory of and fame accruing to Francis Bacon. It is at his feet that the homage is laid when it is addressed to "William Shakespere."

JULY, 1916.

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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No. 55.

DID BACON DIE IN 1626 ?

IN Basil Montagu's *Life and Works of Bacon** (1830), Vol. XII., p. 492, there is a letter, partially dated, from Thomas Meautys to Lord St. Alban. This Meautys was he who was Secretary to Lord St. Alban (Bacon); who was one of the two men appointed by the Court as administrator of Bacon's Will, when the six executors named in the will all refused to act : who put up to Bacon the beautiful Monument in St. Michael's Church, St. Albans : and who was himself buried in the same little church close to his great master's monument.

I give the letter in its entirety : it is headed in Montagu's page : " T. Meautys to Lord St. Alban," and in a footnote the reference is given : MS. Gibson, Lambeth Lib : 936, fol. 252.

T. Meautys to Lord St. Alban.**

" My all honoured Lord,

Upon the first reading of your lordship's, received this day, I had almost put pen to paper to ask your pardon for having (as I supposed) too rudely broken open a letter intended to another, some more deserving friend or servant of yours

* The works of Francis Bacon. By Basil Montagu, Esq., London : William Pickering, 1830.

** These words do not occur in the MS.

(for, by the infinite disproportion between the noble favours therein expressed, and my disability any way to merit, I could not otherwise conjecture) ; but upon second cogitations, remembering it to be incident to heroic natures and spirits to measure out and confer their graces and favours, according to the latitude and dimensions of their own noble and capacious hearts, and not according to the narrower span and scantling of others merits : and calling to mind that this is not the first time by many, that your lordship hath pointed me out as an instance hereof, by your singular and accumulate favours, I come now, instead of asking pardon for a supposed error of my own, to render unto your lordship all humble acknowledgment for a wilful, or rather, willing error of yours in so overprizing the poor endeavours of your unprofitable servant.

Next I take leave to say somewhat of what we say here, arising as well from abroad as at home ; viz., that, upon later and more certain advertisement out of Germany, it is found the blow given to the imperialists was far greater, both for numbers, being at least 20,000, and for quality of the persons, than was first reported. Tilly himself being mortally wounded, and escaping to a town called Holverstat, some miles distant, was pursued by the King of Sweden, who being advertised that he was dead, and that his body was newly taken thence, to be conveyed by a guard of 1,500 horse to the Duke of Bavier's Court, instantly went after them, and in a few hours overtook them, defeated the whole troops, and brought back the corpse to Holverstat, where it remains in the town house, a spectacle of the divine revenge and justice, for the bloody execution at Mackdeburg.

On Sunday, at Hampton Court, the States' Ambassador here resident, at a solemn and public audience in the presence, sang us in effect an old song to a new tune, for his errand was only a formal relation of the passages of that achievement and defeat in the Low Countries (wherein by the way, I heard not any mention at all of My Lord Craven's prowess, though some say he expects a room in the next Gazette). The ambassador in magnifying of the victory, when he had said as we thought enough, concluded with that which was more than all he had said before; namely, in resembling it, both for the extent of the design, the greatness and expense in the preparation and manner of the deliverance, to that of the invasion of eighty-eight. At home we say Mr. Attorney General is past hope of being Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, for he is assured of it; and, by the like reason, my Lord Richardson is past all fear of being removed to the King's Bench. The attorney's place is now in competition only between Noye and Banks, for Sir John Finch is out at all, and Banks is the likeliest to carry it. St. George was less beholden this year than ever, either to the lords of the order or to the other lords, there being only present those in the margin.* So praying your lordship to believe that I have more room in my heart than in my paper for my devotion and service to your lordship, my most honoured lord and lady, and all my noble ladies and especial friends, I rest.

Your lordships' to serve you,

T. M.

October 11th.

Your commands to Mr. Maxwell I performed at Windsor on Monday was seven-night. Pardon

this scribble for my candle winks upon me to hasten to an end, and my maid Mary is a bed and in her first sleep, and very wayward if she be waked."

*Lord Chamberlain.	Lord Treasurer.
Lord Marshal.	Lord Lindsey.
Lord Salisbury.	Lord Roxborough.
Lord Carlisle.	Lord Monmouth.
Lord Holland.	Lord Goring.
Lord Dorset.	Lord Doncaster.
Lord Andover.	Lord Dunluce.

Indorsed—For your noble self, my most honoured Lord.

(Note.—The indorsation is very clearly "for your noblest self," though Montagu reports it as given above.)

It will be noticed that the letter is dated only "October 11th," but the items of news contained in it show the year to have been 1631. The importance of this is enormous as confirming that Bacon did not die in 1626. But in order to proceed regularly I will first say something about the document itself, and how it comes to be in the Lambeth Library.

This letter is preserved in the Lambeth Library among the Gibson MSS., and can there be seen by all. The history of the Gibson MSS. is that they were originally gathered by Archbishop Tenison (1636-1715): they are MSS. entirely dealing with Bacon's Life and Writings, being the MS. of some of his writings, or speeches, or notes upon the same, drafts of letters from Bacon to various persons, and from various persons to him. In some instances there are drafts of letters by Bacon that were not sent. Archbishop Tenison collected these documents, and he had special facilities to aid him in this work, for he had for some time as his secretary the son of William Rawley, D.D., and as every one knows, Rawley was for many years secretary

and chaplain to Bacon, and was entrusted with the bringing out of some of his most important works, and with the care of his MSS. William Rawley died in 1667*, and his son, who was Tenison's secretary, predeceased him by about a year. But the connection between Tenison and the Rawleys would establish a means for the gathering of Bacon MSS., and, at the same time would give him an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge at first hand of the characteristics of these documents. Tenison is also well known as the author of "Baconiana," brought out by him in 1679, wherein Bacon's writings are succinctly reviewed, and much information about him given.

Tenison was created Archbishop of Canterbury in 1695 and while he was at Lambeth Palace, Edmund Gibson (1669-1748, Bishop of Lincoln 1716, and Bishop of London 1720) was the Librarian. Tenison gave all his Bacon MSS. to the care of Gibson for the Lambeth Library. It is said that Gibson received the documents in an unarranged condition, and it is to him that their arrangement is due. These documents have always been known to be of the most unimpeachable authenticity.

In the collection there are some three or four letters from Thomas Meautys to Lord St. Alban, addressed to him by name and plainly signed by Meautys, and these are of value as showing Meautys' handwriting and the style of address to Lord St. Alban. The latest date of these letters is in 1622.

The first thing to be noted about the letter I have given supra is that it is not addressed to anyone by name, and that the endorsation of it is "For your Noblest selfe my most honrd. Lord";** again avoiding

* Aged 79.

** Montagu, Vol. XII., p. 493, has "For your Noble self," but on the letter the word is "Noblest."

any name ; while the signature is merely by the letters " T.M." From the opening paragraph of the letter it is also apparent that the letter to which Meautys was replying, had not been addressed to anyone by name, for it was only upon consideration of the contents of the letter that he came to the conclusion that it was meant for himself. Unfortunately this letter, Bacon to Meautys, is not extant, for I do not know that anyone has preserved the Meautys papers. But among the Bacon papers naturally we find a letter addressed to Bacon. That it is in Meautys' handwriting there can be no doubt, and that the initials " T.M." are those of Thomas Meautys, Bacon's quondam secretary, is equally beyond doubt. That the letter is to Bacon (Lord St. Alban) rests mainly upon the fact that it was found among Bacon's papers that had been handed down by Archbishop Tenison ; that it is exactly in the style or manner of address that Meautys used to Lord St. Alban ; that the contents are precisely those that one would expect to be interesting to Bacon and such as Meautys would embody in his letter ; that it has been catalogued in the Lambeth Library as being from Meautys to Bacon, and so catalogued by those who were in the best position to identify it ; and that it has been accepted without cavil by Montague as being addressed to Bacon. The curious thing about the letter is the air of concealment that envelops it ; the entire absence of name or anything that on the face of it would show for whom it was meant. Even the address on the back, " For your Noblest selfe, my most honrd. Lord," carefully avoids any mention of name ; and similarly the letter to which this one of Meautys was a reply had apparently been conveyed to Meautys in spite of the lack of any definite address. But this is exactly what one would expect to find if Bacon, in hiding, wrote to Meautys ; and Meautys replied, taking

every precaution to avoid making known to anyone who might chance to see the letter the name of him for whom it was intended. The exchange of letters would no doubt be effected by some trusted hand. And it would be effected in such a manner as to cause the smallest possible risk of disclosing the fact that he who was dead was yet alive.

The interest of the letter lies in the pieces of news that it conveys as these fix the date with certainty.

The sack of Magdebourg and the defeat of Tilly by Gustavus Adolphus, with his subsequent death, are well-known events. Magdebourg was sacked by Tilly on the 20th May, 1631, and on the 17th September, 1631, Gustavus Adolphus routed Tilly at the famous battle of Breitenfeld, north of Leipzig, where Tilly received his mortal wound. Therefore, Meautys writing on the 11th October, was conveying news that—as news travelled in those days—must have been fairly fresh: assuming that Meautys was writing from somewhere in England.

The other pieces of news that Meautys conveys are equally valuable as fixing the date of the letter, and they are just the bits of news that would be of supreme interest to Bacon in his retirement. Meautys says:—

“At home we say, Mr. Attorney General is past hope of being Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, for he is assured of it: and by the like reason, My Lord Richardson is past all fear of being removed to the King's Bench.”

The Dictionary of National Biography tells us that Sir Robert Heath (1575-1649) was appointed Attorney General on the 31st October, 1625, and that on the 26th October, 1631, he was raised to the Bench as Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas: and the same authority tells us that “Richardson, Sir Thomas

(1569-1635)," was advanced to the Chief Justiceship of the King's Bench on the 24th October, 1631, just some 13 days after the date of Meautys' letter.

Again Meautys says: "The Attorney's place is now in competition only between Noye and Banks, for Sir John Finch is out at all, and Banks is the likeliest to carry it."

Again the Dictionary of National Biography informs us *sub* "Noye or Noy, William, (1577-1634)" that "It excited no little surprise when on the 27th October, 1631, Noye was appointed Attorney General," thus disappointing Meautys' expectation that Banks would be appointed. But Banks ultimately got the position for, on Noye's death, in August, 1634, he was appointed Attorney General.

Bacon would be particularly interested to hear of Noye's advancement: the "Dictionary" gives us this information about him:—

"He gradually acquired a knowledge, both intimate and extensive, of the abstruser branches of the law. He thus attracted the notice of Bacon, by whom he was recommended in 1614 for the post of official law reporter, as one 'not overwrought with practice and yet learned, and diligent, and conversant in reports and records.'"

It is quite evident from the dates of these items of news that the date, "October 11th," of Meautys' letter referred to the year 1631.

The postscript to the letter, "Your commands to Mr. Maxwell I performed at Windsor on Monday was sevensight"—is very interesting, for it shows that Meautys had received some communication from Bacon—probably by verbal message—before the receipt of the letter we have been considering:

unless the reading of the postscript is, and it is quite a possible reading: "Your commands received through Mr. Maxwell I performed, etc.": in which case the implication would be that Bacon had been in communication with Mr. Maxwell, who had transmitted a message to Meautys. But in either case this postscript goes to show that in this year 1631, Bacon was holding communication with his friends: and probably was in the habit of communicating by verbal messages, borne by a trusted person, rather than by letter: for the receipt of a letter by Meautys seems to have been both unusual and unexpected, whereas, "Your commands to Mr. Maxwell," seem to have been but little out of the ordinary, and are acknowledged in quite an ordinary way. I may say that the 11th October, 1631, was a Tuesday, so that "Monday was sevensnight," was just over the week from the day on which Meautys was writing.

It would be useful to be able to identify "Mr. Maxwell." Evidently he was someone who was deep in Bacon's confidence, for the fact of "commands" to him would imply that he was in possession of the secret that Bacon was still living. There is a letter given by Birch, and quoted by Montagu (Vol. XII., p. 457) Bacon to the Duke of Buckingham that refers to a Mr. James Maxwell, who is possibly the Mr. Maxwell above spoken of. The letter to the Duke is not dated, but from the contents must be in 1624. It is as follows:—

"To the Duke of Buckingham.

"My Lord;

"I am now full three years old in misery: neither hath there been anything done for me, whereby I might either die out of ignominy, or live out of want. But now that your grace (God's name be praised for it) hath recovered

your health, and are come to the court, and the parliament business hath also intermission, I firmly hope your grace will deal with his majesty, that as I have tasted of his mercy I may also taste of his bounty. Your grace I know for a business of a private man, cannot win yourself more honour; and I hope I shall yet live to do you service. For my fortune hath (I thank God) made no alteration in my mind, but to the better, I ever rest humbly.

“Your Grace’s most obliged

“and faithful Servant,

“FR. ST. ALBAN.

“If I may know by two or three words from your grace, that you will set in for me, I will propound somewhat that shall be modest, and leave it to your grace, whether you will move his majesty yourself, or recommend it by some of your lordship’s friends, that wish me well; as my Lord of Arundel or Secretary Conway, or Mr. James Maxwell.”*

Montagu adds that the last clause, with the names, has a line drawn through it. The MS. of this letter was a draft retained by Bacon, and I presume, on second thoughts, he did not suggest any names: but the letter is valuable as showing those upon whom Bacon relied as wishing him well. Lord Arundel is no doubt the peer in whose house Bacon “died” in 1626, and I suggest that Mr. James Maxwell is the same Mr. Maxwell as is alluded to by Meautys in his letter. Maxwell was probably some Scottish gentleman in a position of trust or responsibility about King

* This letter is also given by Spedding L. & L., Vol. VII., p. 516; and he has a note: “Gibson papers, Vol. VIII., fol. 200, Rough draft in Bacon’s hand. No fly-leaf. Indorsed ‘To D. Buck, 19th June, 1624.’”

James' person, a position that would give him access to the King, and he had been continued by King Charles in some position about the Court, that would cause him to be at Windsor.

The letter itself is a pitiful example of Bacon's abjectness and of the "policy" and scheming he resorted to, to get something out of the King.

The Dic. Nat. Biog. has a James Maxwell, who was appointed on 1st November, 1629, gentleman usher of the black rod and custodian of Windsor Little Park. He held those offices until 1644.

The Dictionary also has a James Maxwell of Innerwick, son of John Maxwell, of Kirkhouse, who was in 1646 created Earl of Dirletown. He was a gentleman of the King's bedchamber under James I. and Charles I.

It is questionable whether these two Maxwells may not be one and the same.

The last reference that I shall give to "Mr. Maxwell" is in a letter from Bacon to The Prince (Spedding L. and L., Vol. VII., p. 299; Gibson Papers, Vol. VIII., fol. 237). The MS. among the Gibson papers is a copy, corrected by Meautys, and docketed "1621, a copy of 3 lres, one to his Majesty: one to the Prince, and one to my Lo Marq of Buck." On the back, in Meautys' hand, are notes written no doubt to dictation, and meant for his own direction. *Inter alia*, occurs the following note:—

"Mr. Maxwell. That I am sorry that so soon as I came to know him and to be beholding to him, I wanted power to be of use to him."

From all these references it is clear from Bacon's letters that there was a Mr. Maxwell about the Court who was a friend to Bacon and upon whom he relied: it is also clear from historical records that a Mr. Maxwell was about the Court in positions of influence and responsibility during part of James and Charles

reigns, up to, at any rate, 1644 : and I think the inference is legitimate that the Mr. Maxwell to whom, or from whom, Meautys gave, or received, Bacon's commands in October, 1631, at Windsor, was one and the same with the Mr. Maxwell otherwise described as Bacon's friend, and employed by King James and King Charles. The mention of this Maxwell in Meautys' letter is, taken with the facts that I have shewn, a very strong piece of evidence that Meautys' letter is written to Bacon.

The meaning of the allusion to St. George and his being "less beholden this year than ever, either to the lords of the order, or to the other lords," should be easy to trace, as it evidently refers to some ceremony, and no doubt the records of the ceremony, and the names of those present can be had, and checked with the list given in the margin ; while at the same time the date of the ceremony would be disclosed. I suggest that it was something done at Windsor about the time "Monday was seven-night" (the 3rd October) when Meautys was there.

It would be interesting to know where Meautys was residing when he wrote this letter ; possibly he was living at Gorhambury, formerly Lord St. Alban's home, near St. Albans. To show the line of argument that leads to this belief, it is necessary to go back to Bacon's will, as it is recorded in Spedding's "Letters and Life," Vol. VII., p. 545. There, in a clause added to the Will, Bacon says : " I desire my executors to have special care to discharge a debt by bond (now made in my sickness to Mr. Thomas Meautys) he discharging me fully towards Sir Robert Douglas, and to procure Sir Robert Douglas, his patent to be delivered to him."

Believing, as I do, and as this letter we have been considering, shows, that Bacon lived after 1626,

and that his disappearance then from the world's stage, was only a retirement into hiding, it is quite certain that his Will, though it was implemented as though he had died, must have been drawn and planned largely as a "blind" and to enable him to use his property after his death. This giving of a bond, during his sickness, to Meautys, though ostensibly for the purpose of reimbursing Meautys for discharging Bacon fully towards Sir Robert Douglas, had also the secondary effect of making Meautys an important creditor against Bacon's estate, and Bacon desires his executors to have special care to discharge this debt to Meautys. Now what actually happened under the Will was that the six friends whom Bacon appointed as executors all neglected or refused to serve, and 15 months after Bacon's "death," in 1626, letters of administration were granted (18th July, 1627) appointing two of his creditors, Sir Robert Rich and Sir Thomas Meautys, administrators of the Will (Spedding L. and L. Vol. VII., p. 551). So that the scheme thought out "in my sickness" of giving a bond to Meautys had resulted fairly well when we find Meautys established as one of the executors of the will; and still better when we find by a footnote of Spedding's (p. 551) that "Gorhambury was conveyed to trustees for the use of Sir Thomas Meautys himself, who had married the only surviving daughter of Bacon's half brother Nathaniel*,"

*This Nathaniel Bacon was the son of Bacon's half brother, Sir Nicholas. He was a Knight and a well known painter of plants.

I have given Spedding's footnote as in the text, though he was evidently in error as to Nathaniel Bacon, and also in error, as will be seen below, in regard to the identity of Meautys' himself.

There has been much confusion in regard to Thomas Meautys. There were three or four men of that name at

and after his death was purchased by Sir Harbottle Grimstone, who married his widow." Spedding's note is not quite correct, as I shew in my note, but nevertheless at some time Meautys was in occupation of Gorhambury and in that position could be of much use to his old and greatly

and about the period dealt with in the text. Dr. Birch, who was secretary to the Royal Society, and brought out in 1763 a volume of Bacon's Letters, has a footnote (at p. 288 of the volume) which deals with Thomas Meautys' Bacon's secretary. He says of him :—

" He had been secretary to the Lord Viscount St. Alban, while his Lordship had the great seal, and was afterwards clerk to the Council, and knighted. He succeeded his patron in the manor of Gorhambury, which, after the death of Sir Thomas, came to his cousin and heir, Sir Thomas Meautys; who married Anne, daughter of Sir Nathaniel Bacon, of Culford Hall, in Suffolk, knight; which lady married a second husband, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, Baronet, and Master of the Rolls; who purchased the reversion of Gorhambury from Sir Hercules Meautys, nephew of the second Sir Thomas."

Dr. Birch's account is very clear and precise and he certainly was in a position to be able to gather all the facts of the case. He seems to have been at pains in this note of his to set the confusion right; and it needed setting right for erroneous and loosely gathered accounts of Sir Thomas Meautys were passing.

The great cause of the confusion seems to have been that there were two Sir Thomas Meautys seated at Gorhambury; the first Bacon's former Secretary, who died some time before 1640, and who seemingly was unmarried; the second, he who married Anne, the daughter of Sir Nathaniel Bacon, and whose wife as a widow married Sir Harbottle Grimstone. Dr. Birch, by his very careful note, was apparently desirous of warning his readers against the pitfall they might fall into by confusing the two men of the same name. But the pitfall still claims its victims. Apparently Thomas Meautys, Bacon's Secretary, was not knighted until the latter part of his life, perhaps when he was Clerk to the Council, as Birch's note would seem to imply. Birch, in giving Meautys' letters; always speaks of him as "Mr. Meautys," or "Thomas Meautys, Esq.," never as "Sir Thomas Meautys."

loved master. At Meautys' death, which occurred some time before 1640, the property came to his cousin and heir, Sir Thomas Meautys, who married Anne, daughter of Sir Nathaniel Bacon, of Culford Hall, which lady married a second husband, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, Bart., who purchased the reversion of Gorhambury from Sir Hercules Meautys, nephew of the second Sir Thomas. Can the date of this sale be determined? It would be interesting if we could establish that Meautys was at Gorhambury in 1631, when he wrote this letter to Bacon. But at any rate, I think it is not an unreasonable suggestion that it was part of a scheme to bring about Meautys' occupancy of Bacon's old home, that he was constituted, by bond "now made in my sickness," a creditor of Bacon's estate, and specially recommended to the care of the executors under the will. With Meautys resident at Gorhambury, it is not unlikely that Bacon visited his old home on several occasions, and may even have inspected the beautiful monument that Meautys set up to him in the little church of St. Michael, St. Albans! Bacon, as we know, could never pass by a jest, and he would keenly enjoy the jest of drawing up his own epitaph, with its curious and unusual Latin phrases, aided by his staunch friends, Sir Henry Wotton and Sir Thomas Meautys; Sir Henry has been credited with the composition of this epitaph, cut in the monument that Meautys erected, but in this great jest that Bacon has "contrived for posterity" is it not likely that the epitaph is the result of the joint effort of the three friends? How they must have laughed over it!

The conclusion of the letter where Meautys commends himself "to your lordship, my most honoured lord and lady, and all my noble ladies and especial

friends," calls for explanation, implying, as it does, that Bacon and his wife were living together.

The allusions to Bacon's wife are extremely rare, and slight in the great mass of letters that Bacon has left behind him. I know of only one other in any letter of Meautys, and that occurs in a letter of his to Bacon, written some time early in 1622, when Bacon was about to be set entirely at liberty and permitted to "come within the verge," and with this in view, had taken a house at Chiswick. Meautys writes* "My lady hath seen the house at Chiswick and they make a shift to like it; only she means to come to your lordship thither, and not to go first."

From this it would appear that at that period (March, 1622)—and perhaps during Bacon's period of restraint—Bacon and his wife were not living together, but she was ready to join him in the house at Chiswick. Their relations seem at that time to have been amicable; but the undoubted fact remains that by the year 1626 something had occurred to change—or at least to *appear* to change—Bacon's feeling to his wife, and made him alter his will so as to debar her from the bequests and provisions he had made. At the end of the will he adds a clause** :

"Whatsoever I have given granted confirmed, or appointed to my wife in the former part of this my Will I do now for just and great causes utterly revoke and make void, and leave her to her right only."

There is no hint given that will throw any light on the "just and great causes."

Upon this Spedding comments :

"His wife with whom he lived for twenty years without any reproach, that we know of, on either

*Montagu, Vol. XII., p. 429.

** Spedding "Letters and Life," Vol. VII., p. 539.

side gave him some grave offence. The nature of it is not known, and Dr. Rawley, in his biography, makes no mention of any domestic difference, but speaks of their married life in terms which almost exclude the supposition of any. But that she had in some way incurred his serious displeasure is a fact not to be disputed being recorded by himself in his Will as a reason for revoking dispositions previously made in her favour. The expressions used by the historian Wilson, in speaking of their later relations, seem to reflect upon her fidelity; and her subsequent marriage with her gentlemen usher, taken along with the comments of contemporary satirists, give some countenance to the scandal. If it was so Bacon's conduct would be accounted for. But as nothing specific was laid to her charge, either by himself or any one with whom he had authority or interest, we are not entitled to say more than that she had done something which rendered her unworthy in his eyes, of the benefits he had intended for her."

The position of Bacon's "widow" is by these extracts made perfectly plain and intelligible TO THE WORLD. She had been discredited and thrust on one side by her husband's Will, and Spedding's summing up of the talk about her and her scandalous marriage with her gentleman usher, is moderate, and restrained. All these circumstances must have been well known to Rawley, no one could have known them better than he, intimately acquainted as he was with all his great master's affairs, and trusted as he was by him in his most important matters. When Rawley brought out his *Life of Bacon* in the "Resuscitatio," which he published in 1657, 31 years after Bacon's "death" in 1626, and some 10 years after Lady Bacon's death; how does he deal with Bacon's wife? There is no reason why he should say much

about her, for, as I have said before, Bacon's wife is scarcely noticeable at all in his life: we never hear of her, and so far as one can judge, she did not influence him or his affairs in the smallest degree. Therefore Rawley, without at all affecting the facts of the life he was producing, might quite easily have passed her by and satisfied all the requirements of the life by a mere mention. In dealing with Bacon's Fall, that which was the saddest tragedy of his life, and must always remain one of the most distinctive and arresting facts of his career, a fact, too, that will always stand as a challenge to any biographer of Bacon; demanding explanation; in dealing with this, what line does Rawley take? He simply says nothing at all about it. One would read his Life of Bacon without getting the smallest hint that his wonderful career in the public life of England had ended in shame and disgrace. Rawley says not a word about this, but entirely ignores it.

When we find Rawley adopting this "*suppressio veri*" with regard to Bacon's Fall, much stronger we should imagine would be the temptation to follow similar tactics with regard to Bacon's wife. Her relations with him seem always to have been so shadowy, that her existence was in no way identified with his life. Therefore, if Rawley had merely given the date of marriage with the name of his wife, and some slight details, all the requirements of the Life would have been satisfied. His omission to speak of the scandal that enveloped the Lady St. Alban, and had been a cause of just indignation to her husband,—as all the world knew—would be overlooked, just as his omission to speak of the Fall would be overlooked.

Rawley, however, does not adopt this detached attitude, but instead rushes into the subject, and

says something quite unexpected and quite at variance with the facts as the World knew them. What he says is as follows* "Neither did the want of children detract from his good usage of his consort, during the intermarriage: whom he prosecuted with much conjugall love and Respect: with many Rich Gifts and Endowments: Besides a Roab of Honour, which he invested her withall: which she wore, untill her dying day: being twenty years and more after his death."

Now how are we to account for these extraordinary statements? It is surely not sufficient, and will not satisfy any one, to say that Rawley was speaking falsely. Such an explanation seems quite inadequate. For as I have pointed out before it was not necessary for Rawley to say anything at all: he might have ignored the subject. Why, therefore, should he take the trouble to make such statements about Lady Bacon, statements that very little enquiry must have shown to be at variance with the facts as the World knew them. Why should Rawley desire to show himself as a false witness, especially when this action on his part was quite uncalled for, and was of no value to anyone? Is there not some other explanation that will square Rawley's statement with the truth? The more one reflects upon this extraordinary circumstance, the more, I think, one is driven to the conclusion that it is impossible to believe that Rawley would utter such a falsehood as is conveyed in his words given above, if the facts of Lady Bacon's life were as the World understood them. But if Rawley's statement is true when he speaks in such respectful praise of Lady Bacon, it can only be true if the supposed facts of her

* Life of Bacon, "Resuscitatio," 1657.

life are false: that is, if a condition of things was made to appear to the public that was at variance with the true facts of the case. And here we have to go back to Bacon's Will and to remember that if Bacon continued to live after 1626 and had planned for so living, his Will must have been largely a "blind." The clause cutting Lady Bacon out of his Will "for just and great causes" was, I suggest, a blind for the purpose of retaining in Bacon's hands through executors or trustees the funds that would have gone to his widow by his bequest. It will be noticed that all that which he had bequeathed to his wife in the body of his Will, he takes from her by the codicil, *but he does not re-dispose of it*. It would therefore fall to his executors or such trustees as were established under the Will, for lack of a residuary legatee, and these by arrangement being friendly to Bacon, the property could be devoted to his service again. Bacon was a past master in all matter of policy and devices, and his Will is an excellent example of what he could do in the way of blinding people. By making elaborate arrangements for his wife's comfort and maintenance, he set aside a considerable amount of his estate: and by the simple expedient of a codicil, this property was withheld from her., and she did not obtain anything under these arrangements: but so much of the estate was still set aside, and could not go to anyone there being no residuary legatee, but came into the hands of his executors, and through them flowed back again to Bacon. Notice, too, that he says it is for "just and great causes" that he adds the codicil, taking from his wife all that he had previously given her. He gives no hint as to what are the "just and great causes" moving him to this. Everyone has jumped to the conclusion that they were his wife's misbehaviours, but Bacon

does not say so: and Rawley's statement excludes such a supposition.

And so in regard to Lady St. Alban marrying her gentleman usher. This marriage, I suggest, was simply a fiction, palmed off upon the public. For the success of Bacon's scheme of living in hiding after he had "died" in 1626, it was necessary that everyone (who was not in the secret) should be convinced, and able to prove, that he actually was dead. What stronger proof could the World have of his death than that his widow married again? Therefore a fictitious marriage with her gentleman usher was enacted. But it was only a fiction: and Lady St. Alban endured the sneers of the World in order that she might help her husband to carry out his great work: a work that was, in his eyes, the greatest thing in the World, and of the greatest benefit to humanity. Well might Bacon invest her with a "Roab of Honour," which she wore until her "dying day:" she had done her most to help him, and deserved all honour for it.

It is only by such an understanding of the facts that Rawley's statement can be seen as the truth, and I submit that Rawley's strong and striking language—so much at variance with what appeared to the world to be the facts of the case,—was actually true, and was made for the purpose of opening a pathway for the truth. Rawley did not dare to tell the whole tale plainly—he probably has told it somewhere in cipher—but he has left scattered about in his writings, pebbles of truth, which may be gathered by those who look for them, and used, by the inductive method, to build up Bacon's life history.*

So when we return, now, to the message at the end of Meautys' letter . . . "my devotion and service

* When Rawley speaks of Bacon having "died," I suggest that his explanation would be that he "died to the World."

to your lordship, my most honoured lord and lady, and all my noble ladies and especial friends," I feel justified in saying that this was a message to Bacon and his wife who were living together somewhere in secrecy with friends at hand. *Where* they were living in 1631 there is no indication; and it would serve no useful purpose to embark on a mere scheme of guessing. I do not doubt, however, but that by patient searching, and careful observing of hints scattered in various books, this may be disclosed. And I think we may be certain of this that the wit of Bacon and his friends that had carried him safely through "death" and "resurrection," would be able to devise a scheme by which he could live in safety and comfort and carry on his work.

I should add that Spedding takes no notice of this letter of Meautys' that I have been considering, and, so far as I am aware, the only place where it is published is in Basil Montague's work, though the MS. of it is to be seen in the Lambeth Library, as I have pointed out, among the Bacon papers.

GRANVILLE C. CUNINGHAM.

MR. SPEDDING AS "SIR ORACLE."

THE strenuous services by the late Mr. James Spedding to the memory of his hero philosopher, Francis Bacon, entitle him to full admiration.

Yet it is likely that had he never undertaken so extensively the study of Bacon's revealed career, and the philosophical and acknowledged writings produced towards the close of it, some keener intellect would have essayed the subject.

In this busy world people with no time for other than their own interests are disposed to rely as to a special subject-matter upon the *ipse dixit* of such person or persons as have come to be counted expert in it by reason of long study of it.

Infallibility was, however, never claimed by Mr. Spedding. Indeed, knowing his own shortcomings, he was alarmed at the position of authority in Francis Bacon affairs which had been credited to him.

The result of making Mr. Spedding a "Sir Oracle" in these matters has been a great disaster to Bacon's memory.

Mr. Spedding having pronounced that Bacon did not write and could not have written the Shakespeare Plays, his opinion is quoted time after time as a final judgment. "Let no dog bark."

Upon the same authority Bacon has been denied credit of the authorship of one of the finest treatises upon a branch of English history and law ever compiled, viz., "An Account of the Office of Compositions for Alienation."

It is included in the 1730 Blackburn edition of Bacon's Works. The Ronicrosse men who prepared that edition knew it was his. Mr. Montagu also included it in his edition.

Mr. Spedding, however, excluded the treatise as not Bacon's work. His reasons, given in Vol. II., of "Letters and Life of Bacon," are that another M.S., with a similar title, is subscribed Wm. Lambarde, and that in a small commonplace book of Lambarde's there is a sort of first draft on the subject, dated 1590, with a footnote, "Look the enlarged copy hereof in quarto, which was done in November, 1595."

The "Account," rejected by Mr. Spedding, was written after Burleigh's death in 1598, and is a complete and spirited review of the working of a new State

Department over the period of eight years, 1590 to 1598, it had then been established.

Anyone who can appreciate with me the real relationship between the Queen and Francis Bacon can readily see how naturally he was interested in the new office of control and receipt of an important branch of the sovereign's revenue.

This branch of revenue had for a period of fourteen years been leased to the Earl of Leicester. When he died in 1588 the Queen bought out the remainder of the lease, which would expire in 1590. It was then, 1590, that the special office or state department, was established to deal with the revenue. The system of business was improved, though for the moment it was deemed expedient not to break entirely with the old method of collection.

The revenue was leased for five years to a farmer (or farmer), whose three deputies were lodged in the office, with its chief a Master in Chancery, and the Receiver and his staff. Lamparde was a lawyer and antiquarian, who had written a history of Kent, and upon the office of Justices of the Peace. He was the sort of man to have been employed to collect facts about the Alienation business, and again, facts in 1595, of the experience of the five years working of the lease.

The "Account" which Mr. Spedding rejected was a review of the working of the office in 1598, after eight years' experience.

Whether Bacon wrote it in his own name, or put Lamparde's to it, is not very material, but it was a most complete review, ending in the recommendation that the revenue involved should be collected direct by the Department, without the intervention of a farmer. At that time there was a seven years' lease running.

Bacon's style is unmistakable throughout the

treatise in which his light poetic imagery frequently breaks out. It is the product of a powerful brain of great mastery. In his dedication to Queen Elizabeth in his "Elements of Common Law," Bacon writes:— "Edward I., your majesties famous progenitor and the principal law giver of our nation."

The writer of the "Account of the Alienation Office" also refers to Edward I. in like terms, thus "King Edward I., who may therefore worthily be called our English Solon or Lycurgus." In his address to the Society of Gray's Inn, upon Case Law, Bacon assured them of the extraordinary diligence he took to master any legal study.

The "Account" is just such a work of extraordinary diligence. Being a monograph of advice to the Queen, it was a State document which Bacon could not have published as a law tract.

A writer quoted by Montagu, comments that the account "shows such a diversity of learning and so clear a conception of all the different points of law, history, antiquities and policy as is really amazing." Further, "There is not any treatise of the same comprehension extant in our language which manifests so comprehensive a genius and so accurate a knowledge, both with respect to theory and practice as this."

It has been the sad fate of Mr. Spedding as a "Sir Oracle" (though he disclaimed being one) to have confuted and delayed Bacon's title to authorship of the great Shakespeare dramatic works, and of the finest extant treatise upon a branch of English State Law.

PARKER WOODWARD.

"SHAKESPEAR."

WHILE we write "all one ever the same," that Francis Bacon was the author of the Shakespeare Plays and Poems, the orthodox biographers delightfully differ. The late Mr. Hazlitt, in 1912, at the age of 78, published a very expansive 4th edition of his book, under the above title. As an authority on "Shakespeare," Sir Sidney Lee is unmentioned. While in twenty-four pages of impertinent rubbish about the Baconian hoax, there is no indication of Mr. Hazlitt having ever read Spedding's *Life of Bacon*. He cannot make up his mind as to the "W.H." of the Sonnets, but is against the Southampton theory. The well-known references in "Return from Parnassus," 1601, "They purchase lands and new esquires are made," are not, he thinks, to Shakespeare, but to Alleyn. The "W.S." of "Willobie his Avisas," 1594, referred, he thought, to William Smith and not to Shakespeare. Mr. Hazlitt's sheet anchor is the assuredness that Greene's "Gwatsworth of Wit," and Chettle's "Kind Hart's Dream," both referred to Shakespeare, and he does not seem to be aware that several other writers differ from this assumption.

It is hard lines on Bacon's memory that such a comedy of errors about him as is contained in Mr. Hazlitt's Chapter 14 should go down to posterity. Francis was first sent to Cambridge in April, 1573, not in October, 1574. He was sent to Paris in September, 1576, not in 1577. His visit to England in 1578 is not mentioned by Mr. Hazlitt. He was not "recalled" by the death of Sir Nicholas Bacon. He

returned with despatches in March, 1578-9. He did not go to Paris to study statistics and diplomacy. He was sent to be out of the way, and continued his studies under a tutor. Mr. Hazlitt omits all mention that Francis went on his grand tour in Europe in 1581 and was then exhorted by Sir Thomas Bodley to study the conditions of the States he visited. Mr. Hazlitt calls the period 1580-5 a very obscure epoch in the life of Francis. The statement is incorrect. Francis showed little interest in legal study, wrote notes on the States of Christendom and some very different literature also during that period. Mr. Hazlitt does not seem to have known that Francis was M.P. in 1584, and again for another constituency in 1585.

He mentions the “Misfortunes of Arthur” performed in 1587, but does not tell his readers that it was a play, and his assertion, that Bacon only prepared the dumb shows in it, has no real basis of fact. The internal evidence is that Bacon wrote the play. He gives the authorship of *Gesta Grayrorum* to a youth named Davison, who had not come of age. Twickenham Park was not given by Essex to Bacon in 1594, though he did give a piece of land in its neighbourhood in 1595. Mr. Hazlitt affirms that Bacon’s *Essays* were first written in Latin. Is there authority for this? He placed Bacon’s marriage as between 1601 and 1603. It did not occur until May, 1606. He said that Bacon was not a man of business. Was ever a man of his period more methodical and businesslike? Spedding affirmed that Bacon had the practicality of a Clerk of Works. Spedding seems to have been unaware of Bacon’s association with the mathematicians Briggs and Napier. Yet Mr. Hazlitt was. Probably “*Letters from the Dead to the Dead*,” published through Quaritch, was the source of Mr. Hazlitt’s

statement. Notwithstanding the known primitive limitations of the Elizabethan stage, Mr. Hazlitt affirms that Bacon, although having written some English History plays, could not have staged them without the practical actor artist, Shakespear

Knowing the difficulty a reverential man would have in versifying Psalms, he considers the only redeeming feature of Bacon's translation was the "interesting inscription in an extant copy to the pious George Herbert." And thus the great self-appointed critic of the Baconians rambles on!

He writes: "The testimony of Aubrey then and the visible fruit of the Baconian muse combine with the estimate of poetry presumed from the appreciation of Herbert, to discourage us from imagining that the author of 'The Life of Henry VII.' ever rose to higher flights in metre and fancy." I think the good gentleman did not know what testimony is. Aubrey was not a contemporary of Bacon, and could testify to nothing. The testimony is Bacon's MS. draft of a letter to Davis. Mr. Hazlitt could have proved from Milton's translations of Psalms that the latter did not write "Paradise Lost." This literary critic mentions the Northumberland MS., containing upon it a list of contents, including certain MS. writings admittedly by Bacon, but omits to mention the titles "Richard II." and "Richard III." as also being upon the cover.

One tires to death of these errors and assertions passed off as proofs.

But in these pages of desultory ramblings by a man who must have spent many years of his life among old books there are a few things which turn on light where light is useful. It is interesting to find that Pope who borrowed from Bacon without acknowledgment and was caustic about him in print had once the fairness to tell Spence that Bacon was the greatest

genius that England, or perhaps any country, ever produced. Yet this genius, in the opinion of Mr. Hazlitt, must have been in difficulties as to the entrances of his characters upon and their exits from *the Elizabethan stage*

It is useful to be reminded that the "Venus and Adonis" poem was by Bacon's old master and friend, Dr. Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, specially allowed to be published.

Mr. Hazlitt claims as having been written by *Shakespear* some anonymous lines "Concerning the Honor of Bookes," in the 1613 edition of Florio's translation of Montaigne.

Mr. Hazlitt is aware (page 206) that lines attached to Florio's "Second Fruits," 1591, headed "Phaeton to his friend Florio," have been accepted as being from the same hand as that who wrote the "Honor of Bookes" verse. Although he admitted the internal resemblances he thought his Shakespear was hardly ready for the 1591 composition. That is true. My Shakespeare, however, viz., Francis Bacon, was quite sufficiently matured.

If anyone will count the words in the "Honor of Bookes" verse he will find they total 100 which is the numerical equivalent of the name Francis Bacon.

Or he may try another test. Let him take the first F., the next R., the next A, after the R, and he will spell "Francis Bacon, Author," downwards.

The quotation from Gosson, 1581, at page 317, "When the soul of your plays is either mere trifles or Italian bawdry or wooing of gentlewomen, what are we taught?" is most useful. Gosson was one of Francis Bacon's early vizards—so I am convinced—and the passage shows that Francis, at an early age, thought the stage should be used for educational purposes.

The note about Sir Lewis Lewkenor is also valuable. That he was Master of the Ceremonies explains his close friendship with Francis, who, under the mask of Spenser (then dead) in the year 1599 congratulated Lewkenor upon his translation of "The Commonwealth of Venice."

Yet Mr. Hazlitt's fourth edition will triumph.

For one who reads this comment, hundreds in all parts of the world will glory in his chapter on "The Baconian Hoax." The Shakespear hoax still holds the ignorant multitude.

PARKER WOODWARD.

POETRY AND DREAMS.

IT is a great misfortune that what is perhaps the most important revelation in "Shake-speare's Sonnets" should depend upon the right interpretation of a somewhat unusual and obscure word. In the 20th Sonnet (which opens the 2nd Series), the poet describes "the Master-Mistress" of his "passion" as having an eye:—

Gilding the object where-upon it gazeth;
A man in hew, all *Hews* in his controlling,
Which steals men's eyes and women's souls amazeth.

As was customary, the chief substantive of the sentence is printed in the original with a capital letter and, for some unknown reason, the word appears in italics. For the most part the words italicised in the Sonnets (1609) are names:

Adonis, Helen's (53); Mars (55); Eve's (93);

Saturn (98); Philomel (102); Will (135-6); Cupid, Dian's (153).

Other words so printed are :

Rose (1); Audit (4); Hews (20); Grecian (53); Statues (53); Interim (56); Alien (78); Satire (100); Autumn (104); Abyss (112); Alchemy (114); Syren (119); Heretic (124); Informer (125); Audit, Quietus (126).

Some critics have been led to believe that *Hews* means Hughes, and have invented a rival for the "dark lady"—one of those wills in overplus, and the Mr. W. H. of the dedication—William Hughes. The line is now printed :—

A man in hue, all hues in his controlling

which nonsense induced Judge Stotzenburg to guess that the beautiful youth of the Sonnets is Sir Edmund Dyer, because a dyer has all colours in his controlling !

A time must come when the main enigmas of the Sonnets will cease being subjects of controversy. The William Herbert—Mary Fitton theory seems to have finished its "run," and though he still thinks *some* of the early sonnets are addressed to Southampton, Sir Sidney Lee no longer believes in the existence of a dark lady of flesh and bones.

When it is recognised that the "man right fair" and "the woman coloured ill" are both shadows or shapes of the poet's brain ("both *from me*"—as he says in Sonnet 144) it will be necessary to entirely reconstruct commentary upon the Sonnets, and, until a fresh start be made, there can be no hope of unity, or advancement of our knowledge about this wonderful book. This creation having the face of a woman, and the hew (or form) of a man, and who has all hews, or forms, in his controlling is,

beyond doubt, the personification of the poet's own mind, or the spirit of Poetry. Shakespeare himself undertook to eulogize the beauty of his mind because he alone was equipped for the task :

And for myself mine own worth do define,
As I all other in all worths surmount.

—*Sonnet 62.*

Like Drayton (*Idea*, Sonnet 44), Shakespeare addresses "the true image" of his mind as his "better part" (Sonnet 39).

In the "Arraignment of Paris" (1584), Pallas declares that her beauty is "the beauty of the mind." She continues :

And look how much the mind, the better part,
Doth overpass the body in desert.

Pallas was depicted with a spear which she seems to brandish in readiness, no doubt, to attack the deformed "monster ignorance." She was, therefore, a spear-shaker or shake-speare and, like the Shake-speare of the Sonnets, discourses upon the beauty of the mind both naming the mind as "the better part." The poets probably imitated Horace who, in the famous Ode to *The Poet's Immortal Fame*, names his immortal genius as his better part. There are two magnificent passages where Shakespeare tells us the secret of the poet's art of craft. The first is in the poem, "A Lover's Complaint" (Verses 18-19). We are there told how the beautiful youth, who seduced the shepherdess, came like a poet enticing his hearers "with a tale which holdeth children from play and old men from the chimney-corner" (Sidney, "Apologie for Poetrie") :

So on the tip of his subduing tongue
 All kind of arguments and question deep,
 All replication prompt and reason strong,
 For his advantage still did wake and sleep ;
 To make the weeper laugh, the laugher weep,
 He had the dialect and different skill,
 Catching all passions in his craft of will.

That he did in the general bosom reign
 Of young, of old, and sexes both enchanted.

The early critic Stevens observed that in these lines "our Poet has accidentally (*sic*) delineated his own character as a dramatist."

It may be unnecessary to call attention to the resemblances between the seducer of the *Complaint*, and the "Master-Mistress" of the Sonnets. The former *reigns* in the bosoms of young and old of both sexes, and the latter is a man—

Which steals *men's* eyes and *women's* souls amazeth.

and reigns over hearts :

Thy bosom is endeared with all hearts

Thou art the grave where buried love doth live,
 Hung with the *trophies* of my lover's gone.

—*Sonnet* 31.

If we turn to stanzas 28-34 of the poem, we find a story of how the passionate wooer, "kept hearts in liveries,"

And reigned commanding in his monarchy.

He shows "what tributes wounded fancies sent," which he declares to be—

. . . *trphies* of affections hot,
Of pensiv'd and subdued desires the tender.

Stanza 32.

In the "Apologie," Sir Philip Sidney proclaims the poet "of all sciences the Monarch," and alludes to poetry as "that heart-ravishing knowledge."

In "Love's Labour Lost," the courtier, philosopher, and poet Biron (in whom, as Professor Dowden remarked, we do not infrequently catch the accent of Shakespeare himself) is thus described by Rosaline :

. . . a merrier man,
Within the limit of becoming mirth.
I never spent an hour's talk withal.
His *eye* begets occasion for his wit,
For every *object* that the one doth catch.
The other turns to a mirth-moving jest ;
Which his *fair tongue*, conceit's expositor,
Delivers in such apt and gracious words,
That *aged* ears play truant at his tales,
And *younger* hearings are quite ravished ;
So sweet and voluble is his discourse.

No finer tribute to the poet's genius was ever penned. Like the "Master-Mistress" Biron has an eye "gilding the object whereupon it gazeth." He conquers all hearts by his "subduing tongue," and reigns in the bosoms of young and old of both sexes. If a brief summary of Biron's character were desired, I can imagine no happier observation upon this merry man than those words which Ben Jonson applied to Francis Bacon.

"His language was nobly censorious, where he could spare or pass by a jest."

It would be interesting to hear how a Southamptonite would defend his faith if asked by what hypo-

thesis Sonnet 53 can be addressed to any human being. It begins :

What is your substance, whereof are you made,
 What millions of strange shadows on you tend ?
 Since every one hath, every one, one shade,
 And you but one, can every shadow lend.

It is with dreams that Shakespeare associates Shadows ; especially "strange" forms or shadows. Like poetry, dreams are the work of the imagination, and the brain is at work turning to shapes "the forms of things unknown." For this reason Bacon described poetry as "a dream of learning," and in passing from poetry to other kinds of knowledge says, "it is time for me to awake." (1). There is an admirably illustrative passage in "Anthony and Cleopatra" (V.—1) :

But if there be, or ever were, one such
 It's past the size of dreaming. Nature wants stuff
 To vie *strange forms* with fancy, yet to imagine
 An Antony were Nature's piece 'gainst fancy,
 Condemning *shadows* quite.

The "actors" who attend on Prospero are said to be "several *strange shapes*." They are a "vanity" of Prospero's art, and perform the masques of his fancy. The "insubstantial Pageant" is but a "vision" of "baseless fabric"—"such stuff as dreams are made on." Most critics agree with Dr.

1. In "Love's Labour Lost" (IV. 2), Holofernes excuses his flight into "the golden cadence of poesy" in these words :

This is a gift that I have, simple, simple ; a foolish extravagant spirit, full of *forms, figures, shapes, objects*, ideas, apprehensions, motions, revolutions : these are begot in the ventricle of memory, nourished in the womb of *pia mater*, and delivered upon the mellowing of occasion.

Brandes' assertion that Shakespeare speaks through the mouth of Prospero and "tells, through the medium of Prospero's marvellous eloquence, of all that he has accomplished." But, diverting for a moment from the subject of this paper, is it not carrying credulity too far to picture "the Stratford rustic" as the Duke of Milan "absorbed in scientific study, and finding his real dukedom in his library"? It was more likely to be that "sorcerer" who produced the "Comedy of Errors" in Gray's Inn Hall on December 28th, 1594.

In the Masque "A Conference of Pleasure" (1595), Bacon refers to Poetry as an insubstantial vision of shadows, as this extract from the speech, put into the mouth of the Esquire, shows :

"Attend you beadsman of the Muses! You take you pleasure in a wilderness of variety; but it is but of shadows. . . . Your mind is of water which taketh all forms and impressions, but is weak of substance."

In Sonnet 43 there is ingenious word play on the subject of "forms" and "shadows":—

But when I sleep in dreams they look on thee,
And darkly bright, are bright in dark directed;
Then thou whose shadow shadows doth make bright
How would thy shadow's form form happy show
To the clear day with thy much clearer light
When to unseeing eyes thy shade shines so?

This Apollo-like shape is a thing of dreams, and when the poet "sleeps" giving full rein to his imagination and its creative faculties, he is—

In sleep a King; but waking no such matter.

Sonnet 87.

Dressed in his magical garment—"the masking

raiment of Poesie" (as Sidney terms it)—the King Shake-speare reigns in his unapproachable majesty; he is the monarch of his island of strange shapes and sweet music, and all "the sacred mysteries of Poetrie." By the magic of his secret book Prospero protects his offspring from the abuse of the profane vulgar. (Caliban.) Sidney writes that "there are many mysteries contained in Poetrie which of purpose were written darkly lest by prophane wits it should be abused." Caliban and Stephano (who would be King of the Island) may well figure the rhymers and poet-apes who violated "sweet poesy," and dragged it down to that contempt so much deplored by the author of "The Arte of English Poesie," and by Sidney, in his "Apologie," who alludes to them as "base men with servile wits."

The complaints which are murmured from the pages of these books are versified in "The Tears of the Muses" (1591):—

Whilom in ages past none might professe
But Princes and high Priests that secret skill.

But now nor Prince nor Priest doth her maintain,
But suffer her prophaned for to bee
Of the base vulgar, that with hands uncleane
Dares to pollute her hidden mysteric.

R. L. EAGLE.

NEW LIGHT ON OTHELLO.

CHARLES KNIGHT, in his Stratford edition of Shake-Speare, says Thomas Walkley entered the Tragedie of *Othello, the Moor of Venice*, at Stationers' Hall, 6th October, 1621, and that he published it in quarto in 1622. Then he makes the statement that the folio edition of the Plays which appeared 1623, "contains 163 lines not found in the quarto, and these some of the most striking in the play," Knight holds the folio to be the genuine authority, though it was published seven years after the supposed author was dead, one who left no MSS. apparently behind him.

Othello is held by Dr. Delius to have been played before King James in November, 1604.

The Italian translation of the Plays by Guilio Carcana contains a splendid tribute to the Poet, who, he says: "Appreciated the spirited and splendid form of Italian fancy, 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. If ever an intellect knew how to descend into the depths of the human heart and examine its most subtle fibres and study its every hiding-place, its every throb and reflex action, it was Shakespeare. He saw with his mind's eye the mystery of the individual, clothing with light almost divine the greatest passions that sway the inner life of Man. But among all the other affections of Humanity the one which perhaps is foremost in every poem, the most beautiful love, appears in the best work of this great poet like a ray of truth celestial and sweet, like the promise of a good not to be fulfilled on earth, an inspiring belief in the best. He who created Cordelia, Imogen, Desdemona . . . placed love in the

centre of the fatal and furious war of the passions of life like a spirit of Peace and Hope." The Italian Introduction to Othello says: "This play owes its first inspiration to the Pecorone of Giovanni Fioritino, but there is much distance between the fantastic and bizarre novelist and the Poet of the gloomy and profound intellect."

"It is more than necessary," says Victor Hugo, another eulogist of Shakespeare, "to show Man the Ideal, that mirror that reflects the face of God."

"In Shakespeare," says Hugo, "all the rays of light converge."

"Scattered rays of light," says Francis Bacon, "unless they converge impart none of their benefit," and he speaks of "A man, who in a fair room, sets up one great light or branching candlestick of lights that converge on an ill soul or a holy one for benefit." "But," says Bacon, "a sincere and polished area is wanting . . . to admit the true beams of things."

In his *Novum Organum* he says the true object of Philosophy is God, Nature and Man, that there are three rays, the direct, the refracted, the reflected. That God by reason of the unequal medium of his creatures strikes the understanding of Man with the refracted ray, Nature strikes with the direct ray, and Man as shown and exhibited to himself with the reflected ray.

Brutus : The eye sees not itself

But by reflection by some other thing.

Cassius : "Tis just

And it is very much lamented, Brutus,

That you have no such mirror as will turn

Your hidden worthiness to your eye

That you may see your shadow,

And as you cannot see your self

So well by reflection, I, your glass

Will modestly discover to you

That of yourself which yet you know not of.

Hamlet, not contented with saying to his Mother:

“ I set you up a glass where you may see the inmost part of you,”

provided the *reflected ray* to strike the understanding of both the King and Queen in the shape of a dramatic play of his own fashioning. This is just what Francis Bacon did for the world at large, the world of all time.

From the fair room of his own inventive soul he set up a great light that converged on ill souls and on holy souls, among whom stand Othello and Desdemona, for your and my benefit.

Finding the stage of his day not the “ sincere and polished area ” he as a philosopher wanted, he educated it, and produced not only plays, but the finished actors, who shortly after his return from foreign shores began to appear, to the delight of England.

In Thomas Lodge's *The Alarum for Usurers*, we read more of Bacon's “ reflected ray.”

“ My good friends that are hereafter to enter this world, look on this glass : it will show you no counterfeit but the true image . . . and the reward. Account yourselves happy to learn by others experience and not to be partakers of the actual sorrow.”

Our Shake-Speare was an expert in the use of the reflected ray for reforming purposes. Robert Browning echoes the idea in his *Filippo Lippi*, when he says :—

“ Art was given for that,
God uses us to help each other so,
Lending our minds out.”

“ The Play's the thing,” said Shake-Speare, “ wherein I'll catch the conscience.” And the Play-House became, as he wished it, the Theatre of the Judgments of God.

The discussions that arise with regard to the Play of

Othello as a rule centre round the complexion of the principal character, and the meaning of the sentence in Act V., Sc. 2 :—

“ Put out the light, and then put out the light.”

Let us take the darkness of Othello first. The effect he makes upon his audience is essentially “complexional.” Othello depends for his right representation upon his complexion, or, as Johnson explains the word in his Dictionary, “temperature.”

Temperature, that Lexicographer explains, means “degree of qualities.” “Most goodly temperature,” he says, means Freedom from predominant passion.

Here we have the secret of Othello’s colour made clear.

The qualities of his mind and understanding lacked light—the light of reason—which Bacon writes so much about, hence, to drive home his shaft more surely the Playwright paints him as a Moor. “From the light invisible the light visible hath its original,” says Plato. “Holy Writ,” says Bacon, “sets down plainly the mass of Heaven and earth to be a dark chaos before the creation of light.” In Othello’s veins runs *collied* or begrimed blood because his better judgment is obscured. He admits this himself—Act II., Scene II.

“ Now, by heaven,
My blood begins my safer guides to rule ;
And passion, having my best judgment collied,
Assays to lead the way.”

As the reverse of the medal we have “the divine Desdemona,” “the most exquisite lady,” “indeed perfection,” painted with “skin whiter than snow, and smooth as monumental alabaster.”

The quality of her beautiful soul finds its expression

with the philosophic pen of the writer in her complexion, as Othello's ill-soul has its true colour in his.

One might enlarge upon this theme, but I have another point to bring forward born of the same idea of light and darkness, and showing how typical they are in Bacon and Shake-Speare's mind.

What did the writer mean when he wrote: "Put out the light, and then put out the light" ?

Othello dares not look upon the heaven of Desdemona's brow, so when he extinguishes the light of God in his soul, he puts out the light in the bedroom. Then he is in the dark indeed, he is black within and without, as the King in "Love's Labour Lost" says:—

" Black is the badge of hell, the scowl of night."

Othello has caught sight of Desdemona's pure and lustrous beauty only to deliberately extinguish God's light, then bending over his white "rose" he smells its fragrance still fresh upon the tree of life he is about to kill. As he kisses it he puts into action Biron's lines, Act IV., Scene III., "L.L.L."

" Who sees the lovely 'Rosaline'
That like a rude and savage man of Inde
At the first opening of the gorgeous East
Bows not his vassal head, and stricken blind
Kisses the base ground with obedient breast?
What peremptory eagle-sighted eye
Dare look upon the heaven of that brow
That is not blinded by her Majesty?"

Jaundiced with jealousy, black with melancholy and spleen, and passion of pride (falsely called honour), so covetous of this that he is impervious to any touch of pity, his blood is collidied indeed! Othello blinds himself to the Ideal "that mirror that reflects the face of God."

" In the most happiest man that ever was, whether philosopher or otherwise, I find that only one blemish in his actions hath made them to be noted for an error ; now if these men (Usurers) should in their enterprises be gazed into, I fear me as in the black jet is seen no white, so in these men the mischief would be so manifest that the shew of virtue would be extinguished, so that I can necessarily conclude this, that these sort of men are . . . convenient for nothing but to present to the painter with the true image of covetousness." It may be objected that this quotation from Lodge and his *Alarum to Usurers*, hardly fits Othello's case, and that his " jet black " has no part and parcel with the passion of Usurie that Lodge condemns, but let my objector remember Friar Lawrence's speech to Romeo, the passionate, would-be murderer.

Fie, thou sham'st thy shape, thy love, thy wit, which
like an Usurer aboundst in all, and usest none in that
true use indeed which should bedeck thy shape, thy
love, thy wit.

. . . Thy dear love sworn but hollow perjury
Killing that love which thou hast vowed to cherish.

Romeo (and if Romeo, how much more Othello ?) is likened by Shake-Speare to an Usurer whose " wild acts denote the unreasonable fury of a beast." Had the jet black of Othello in Shakespeare's mind its parallel in Thomas Lodge's mind ? Were the two minds one ? That Lodge was a Bacon Mask I have long thought probable, and I shall hope to bring a pretty piece of evidence forward for this view ere long.

In the meantime let me quote again from Lodge a passage which might make a good little preface to the Play of Othello, as well as to many another, *The Merchant of Venice*, for choice.

"Consider . . . harden not your heart but be converted, turn unto the Lord, I beseech you, lest you perish in your abominations . . . hapless are you if not won with these warnings you have more occasion to be written on . . . for this cause, my good friends, I wish you to consider this man's fall, read his misfortune, the one, that not being yet nipped you may prevent, the other, that being a little galled you would hold back."

Lodge quotes Cicero and Cato to show that they accounted usurers as homicides, and Ansonius the poet who saith "Usurie killeth suddenly."

There is one little point akin to Bacon's philosophy in Othello's tears of melancholy and cruelty after he has put out the candle. "Light," says Bacon, "above all things excelleth in comforting the spirits of men," and again "Darkness and blackness are privities . . . sometimes they do *contristate*." An old word signifying sadness and melancholy. Othello in his perverseness and passion deliberately shut himself out of all that made for light* and comfort.

Bacon the Philosopher wrote :

"It is for no purpose you polish the glass if images are wanting,"

In Othello he presented to us the image needed to put us on our illuminative and concentrative path. He was one who knew that in the *contemplative state or state of beholding* reason is turned into light, and will to love. We must have within to see without. As Madam de Guyon says : "There is spiritual gravitation and the soul obeys it."

One more quotation, this time from Victor Hugo on Othello.

"What is Othello? Night, enormous and fateful figure. Night is amorous of the Day, darkness loves Aurore. The African adores the white woman; Desdemona is both his illumination and his folly. How easy a prey he falls to jealousy! He is great,

* "There is no Vision without Light."—*De Aug.*

august, majestic, colossal ; in his train follow courage, glory of twenty victories, he is covered with stars, he is Othello, but he is black. Once jealous he becomes the brute, the Moor is changed into the negro. How quickly Night has signalled Death ! By the side of Othello is Iago—evil, another form of shadow. Night is the world's night, evil is the night of the soul ; darkness of perfidy and lies. To have one's veins running ink or treachery is one and the same thing. Drown day-break in hypocrisy and you put out the sun. . . . Othello is night. What weapon does he use to kill with—poison, an hatchet ? No, the pillow. The wife of the man Night dies suffocated by a pillow which received the first kiss and the last sigh."

Bacon had sad experience of "Night-work." In alluding to his disgrace he said with pathos, and no malignity :—"This is a piece of Night Work." His work in the world was that of Light kindler, Light bearer. With Odin the Spear-thrower "the spear trembled and the battle began." Our Shake-Spear did battle against the powers of darkness, and on his medal struck by the Royal Society has been aptly pictured as Aurore.

ALICIA A. LEITH.

"A HIT—A VERY PALPABLE HIT."

HOW frequently has the desire been expressed that the evidence which has been collected for and against the contention that Francis Bacon was the author of the immortal works which were published under the name of *William Shakespeare* might be submitted to investigation by an impartial

tribunal and a decision arrived at as to on which side the weight of evidence rested. The difficulty has been to provide the impartial tribunal. A trial before a judge of the High Court, in which the strict rules of evidence would be observed, would be the most efficacious method of bringing the problem to a test. But what action could be brought about in which the point at issue for the consideration of the Court would be the determining of the real author? It was clear that it would not be permitted that the time of a judge and the officials of the High Court should be devoted to the trial of a bogus action, however interesting might be the literary point which it was intended to elucidate.

By a curious concatenation of circumstances a *bona-fide* trial has recently occurred in the United States, in which the sole issue was the authorship of the Shakespeare plays. It is to the Cinema that this interesting event is attributable. The films of the Selig Polyscope Company, of Chicago, are well known to all frequenters of Moving Picture Exhibitions. This Company had prepared a series of films illustrating the life of the Stratford Shakspeare, and others presenting some of the principal Shakespeare plays. The Riverbank Company, of which Colonel George Fabyan is President, were advertising the forthcoming publication of a book, the object of which was to prove that the Stratford Shakspeare was not the author of the Shakespeare poems and plays, and that it was no other than Francis Bacon. Mr. William N. Selig, the President of the Selig Polyscope Company, therefore commenced an action in the Courts of the State of Illinois, against Colonel Fabyan and the Riverbank Company, to restrain them from publishing the book, on the ground that the contents were false and were calculated prejudicially to affect the sale of the films, that Mr. Selig's business would be impaired, and "the fame

of Shakespeare as author of all said works would be shattered.” The bill of the plaintiff contained the following prayer:—“Your orator prays that he may have an adjudication that William Shakespeare is the author of all the tragedies, comedies, plays and sonnets which heretofore have been attributed to him; that the publication of the secret story discovered in said works by the application of secret ciphers found in the works of Francis Bacon be declared illegal and improper, and that the doing of each and all of said illegal and improper acts may be enjoined.”

Upon the issue of the writ Mr. Selig applied for and obtained a temporary injunction restraining the publication of the books, pending the hearing. The effect of the granting of this temporary injunction was that in case it was dissolved on the hearing the defendants would be entitled to such damages as the Court might award for interference with the conduct of their business. Judge Richard S. Tuthill, when granting the injunction, stated that he considered this an action which should be decided without delay, and fixed an early date for the hearing.

The plaintiff is a man of great wealth, and his case was prepared regardless of expense, the ablest Shakespearean experts being called in support of it.

The Court was occupied for three weeks in taking the evidence which was most voluminous, and fills six huge volumes. One of the principal witnesses for the defence was the Honourable James Finney Baxter, and his work, “The Greatest of Literary Problems,” was put in evidence. By a curious coincidence the judgment was given on the 21st of April, two days before the tercentenary anniversary. It was held that Francis Bacon was the real author, and that he used the name of “William Shakespeare” as a mask. Then arose the question of the damages sustained

by the defendants from the granting of the temporary injunction restraining the publication of their book. Their counsel asked for substantial damages, and the Court awarded a sum of 5,000 dollars and directed the plaintiff to pay the costs of the suit. This stage of the action gives increased importance to the decision. The damages and costs will probably amount to upwards of £1,500. Mr. Selig, it is stated, will appeal the case even to the Supreme Court of the United States. The reputation of Judge Tuthill as a lawyer stands high, and he has great capacity for marshalling facts and analysing and weighing evidence. It is therefore probable that if the case be carried on appeal to the Supreme Court, the judgment will stand, for after all it presents truth, and truth must prevail.

It would be idle to contend that this decision, even if confirmed on appeal, would end the Bacon Shakespeare controversy. The Stratfordians will be of the same opinion still. They refuse to meet the fundamental arguments in support of the authorship of Francis Bacon. The two most notable books published in recent years attacking that position are Mr. Andrew Lang's *Shakespeare Bacon and the Great Unknown*, and Mr. J. M. Robertson's *The Baconian Heresy*. Neither of these authors fairly and squarely meets the main arguments upon which the Baconian thesis rests. Each of them postulates arguments which are of comparative trivial importance in the controversy, and then proceeds to demolish them to his satisfaction, and to heap ridicule and scorn on the advocates of what is, obviously, to any impartial investigator, the truth. The decision of Judge Tuthill must have at least this effect, that it can no longer be claimed that the proposition is not entitled to a hearing by reasonable men.

The following is a full text of the decision of the Court :—

“ That William Shakespeare was born April 23rd, 1564 ; that he went to London about 1586 or 1587 ; that for a time thereafter he made his living working for Burbage ; that he later became an actor in Burbage's Theatre and in travelling theatrical companies ; that he retired about 1609, or 1610, to live in Stratford-on-Avon, where he engaged in business to the time of his death, on April 23rd, 1616, and that Shakespeare was not an educated man, are allegations which the Court finds true.

“ The Court further finds that Francis Bacon was born January 22nd, 1560-1. That he was educated not only in English, but in French, Latin, Italian, German, and had a general education equal to or superior to any one of his age. That he was a compiler of a book of 1,560 axioms and phrases selected from the greatest authors and books of all time. That in his youth literary people were frowned upon in England, but in Paris literary people were in favour of the reigning powers and literature was having a renaissance. Bacon went to Paris in his early youth, and spent several years in this atmosphere.

“ The Court takes judicial notice of historical facts and facts well known, and finds that there has been for 60 years a controversy over the authorship of certain works which were published shortly after the death of Shakespeare and attributed to Shakespeare ; that the question among scholars of equal authority and standing in the world of letters, literature, and knowledge as to the authorship of the above-mentioned works, and that a vast bibliography, estimated by those who are in a position to know, at 20,000 volumes, has been written in discussion of the vexed question.

“ The Court further finds that by the published and acknowledged works of Francis Bacon there is given a cipher which Bacon devised in his early youth in Paris, called the Biliteral cipher ; that the witness, Elizabeth Wells Gallup, has applied the cipher according to the directions left by Francis Bacon, and has found that the name and character of Shakespeare were used as a mask by Francis Bacon to publish philosophical facts, stories, and statements contributing to the literary renaissance in England which has been the glory of the world.

“ The Court further finds that the claim of the friends of Francis Bacon that he is the author of said works of Shakespeare, and the facts and circumstances in the real bibliography

of the controversy over the question of authority and the proofs submitted herein convinced the Court that Francis Bacon is the author."

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—In the statement of winding-up of Bacon's estate, 1633, Thomas Sugar's claim stood at £178 on which was paid about 10s. in the £1. See Blackbourne's *Life and Works of "Bacon,"* Vol. II.

So Mrs. Blackensby had only another year to wait.

PARKER WOODWARD.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

DEAR SIR,—Your correspondent in the April number, Mrs. W. Murphy Grimshaw, of Eastry, Kent, calls attention to the singular drawing and possible significance of the hands in the *Gustavus-Silenus* picture of the group of nine persons represented in a dining-room. By counting the fingers as held up to the observer as corresponding with the numbered letters of the alphabet, Mr. Grimshaw arrives at the following: 0, 1, 13, 12, 2, 17, 5, 3, 3, the equivalent of A, N, M, B, O, E, C, C. I worked at the same puzzle when I first saw the *Bowditch's* book, and went one step further than your correspondent. Using the letters as an anagram, one finds *Bacone*—with two letters M. and C. left over—which might mean 1100. I have long noticed 11, 101, 111, 1100 as having some mysterious connection with Francis Bacon, especially in pagination of books of his period. That his name was often written *Bacone* is shown 17 times in the *Manes Verularniani*, and by Sir John Davies in his famous anagram *Bacone and Beacon*.

In *BACONIANA*, for July, 1913, p. 166, was published my interpretation of the word "Will" in the 136 sonnet as meaning *Bacone* and I there cited the authorities for thus spelling Sir Francis Bacon's name.

LUCY DERBY FULLER.

405, Beacon Hill, Boston, Mass, June 29th, 1916.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

CHAUCER AND THE SONNETS.

DEAR SIR,—On the 20th April last, in the Literary Supplement of *The Times*, an ingenious writer ventured to enquire suggestively whether Sir Walter Raleigh may not have written the Sonnets of "Shakespeare." There was some taint of heresy about this, which I pointed out, with amusement, in the last number of BACONIANA. But *The Times* has returned to orthodoxy, and in its supplement of the 22nd June inst. prints a letter from Mr. Hubert Ord, assuming that the actor "Shakespeare" did, indeed, compose the Sonnets, but advancing the new theory that he borrowed his material from Chaucer's Romance of the Rose, "a long allegorical work by one Guillaume Lorris, in French, which was afterwards continued and completed, and its character altered by Jean de Meung. Shakespeare probably did not read it in the original tongue, but was familiar with it in the translation by Chaucer."

The word "probably," by the way, seems almost consecrated to the memory of the Actor by his upholders, but is deriving a new signification thereby. Mr. Ord's theory is well worked out, and as semi-plausible as the Raleigh one, or more so. But let me, following a practice which I have pursued for many years in the pages of BACONIANA, add a few more facts, for your readers to use as they please.

In the Library of the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn, is a valuable MS. of the "Roman de la Rose" and "Testament de Jean de Meun." On the fly leaf at the beginning are the words, "Radus Egerton ar. est verus proprietarius hujus libri," in writing of the end of the 16th or beginning of the 17th century. Sir Francis Bacon was a Bencher of the Inn at that period. He knew the French language, and was acquainted with the Egerton family. A dispute about a will amongst them was once referred to his arbitration. Sir Thomas Egerton, afterwards Lord Ellesmere, gave him his first promotion. The play "Othello," was performed at Lord Ellesmere's house by the Burbadge Company, in August, 1602. Ralph Egerton, the former owner of the M.S. "Roman de la Rose," could be identified by a little research. There is also in Gray's Inn Library a second edition, dated 1602, of the Chaucer edited by Speght, with an address to him by Francis Beaumont, which I have previously cited in an article on the "Boar Initial" B. (Vol. XII. No. 47 (Third Series), p. 149, but must repeat as appropriate to the subject of Chaucer. Beaumont was at Cambridge

with Speght, and in the address to him writes of those ancient learned men of their time there whose diligence in reading the works of Chaucer themselves and "commending them to others of the younger sort did first bring you and me in love with him; and one of them at that time and all his life after, was (as you know) one of the rarest men for learning in the whole world."

Now Bacon also was at Cambridge, and in 1573 when there was "of the younger sort."

Yours faithfully,

28th June, 1916.

J. R., OF GRAY'S INN.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

"THE POETASTER" AND "TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA."

DEAR EDITOR,—Mr. Eagle's letter in *The Nation* on *The Poetaster* and *Shakespeare* is excellent. I saw Mr. Poel's production of that play at the Albert Hall Theatre, on April 27th, and a better or more charming impersonation of young Francis Bacon, at sixteen, I should not wish to see than that given by Miss Gladys Rees (Ovid Junior). Curiously enough, Mr. Poel puts young Ovid first on the programme, and placed him seated in the centre of the stage as the curtain rose. As the play was produced in honour of the Shakespeare tercentenary, I naturally supposed Ovid was meant to be young Shakespeare. Not at all, that person appeared later as Virgil, with a face made up to look like a mask more than a man.

Who then was young Ovid? Echo answers *Who?*

During Ovid's impassioned speech to Julia, Proteus and his Julia in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* came forcibly to memory. On comparing the two plays, I found the authors of *The Poetaster* and *The Two Gentlemen* to be one and the same.

What have our critics been thinking of to miss this fact? Originally Proteus and Ovid were one, that is to say, their speeches in MS. were one and divided to suit the author of both plays, Francis Bacon, whose auto-biography they in measure are.

Yours faithfully,

ALICIA A. LEITH.

[NOTE.—The suggestion that Ovid Junior was a caricature of Francis Bacon was very fully worked out by Mr. E. M. Smithson in that admirable little book, *Shakespeare-Bacon*, published by Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., 1899.—ED. BACONIANA.]

OBITUARY.

Death continues to exact its toll from the members of the Bacon Society. Mr. John Hutchinson, of Hereford, passed away on the 4th of April, in his 87th year.

Mr. Hutchinson was a son of Mr. George Hutchinson, a brother-in-law of the poet Wordsworth. He was educated at St. Mark's College, Chelsea, and afterwards at Paris. The early portion of his career was devoted to scholastic work, for a time at Hereford, and also at Harrow, under Dr. Vaughan, Doncaster, and elsewhere. He became a Fellow of the Educational Institute of Scotland and of the College of Preceptors. Eventually migrating to London, he became librarian to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, a position which he occupied for thirty years; retiring in 1909.

Here Mr. Hutchinson found his true vocation. His duties were his pleasures, and zealously and lovingly did he devote himself to them. He was proud of the library, and never was more in his element than when making its rich stores of learning available to students. Thus he endeared himself to all its *habitués*. His article on *The Temple Fountain*, in the long defunct *London Society*, and on *The Temple Gardens*, in the *Anglo-Saxon Review*, will be remembered. He compiled a volume on *Notable Middle Templars*, and edited *The Middle Temple Records*, an enquiry into the origin and early history of the Inn.

Mr. Hutchinson was no mean poet. On the occasion of the Eisteddfod, held at Brecon, in 1894, he sent in for mere amusement a poem, "Giraldus Cambrensis." To this was awarded the first prize—the Chair and a sum of money. The money he returned to the committee, and a few years later presented the Chair to the Middle Temple library. His contributions to general literature were numerous and on varied subjects. He wrote biographies of famous men of Herefordshire and of Kent. His pen was also engaged on *The Llandrindod Legends and Lyrics*, and three years ago he published a most erudite essay on *Literary Legends*. He was also a contributor to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Under the pseudonym of *Ladylist*, Mr. Hutchinson was a voluminous contributor to the *Hereford Times*. His wide range of reading and knowledge of books and men; his brilliant memory, added to a facile pen, with a vigorous and incisive style, enabled him to enter into a newspaper

controversy with glee, and it was rarely, if ever, that he was worsted.

But there was no subject in which Mr. Hutchinson took a deeper interest than the mystery which surrounds the name of Francis Bacon. His articles on the subject contributed under the pen name of *Ladylist* to the *Hereford Times*, if collected in book form, would constitute one of the most powerful works published in support of the Bacon authorship of the Shakespeare plays and poems. It would appear that to any impartial reader they must carry conviction, or at least justify a serious consideration of the claims put forth.

Readers of BACONIANA are familiar with Mr. Hutchinson's views on this question. His article on *The Sonnets*, subsequently published in pamphlet form, is a valuable contribution to this much-discussed problem. An article from his pen on Don Quixote, which appeared in the January number, is the first reasoned essay which has been put forth in support of the suggestion, which was first made by the late Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, that what is known as the Shelton translation was the original work, and that the author was Francis Bacon. Mr. Hutchinson had projected another article on the subject, in which he would have advanced further substantial arguments in favour of the contention.

The writer of this notice enjoyed for many years the privilege of a constant correspondence with Mr. Hutchinson, and it is with deep regret that he realises that the familiar handwriting will be seen no more. The readers of BACONIANA will miss one of the most valued and scholarly contributors to its pages.

REVIEW,

SECRET SHAKESPEAREAN SEALS. Revelations of Rosicrucian Arcana. Discoveries in the Shakespeare Plays, Sonnets and Works printed circa 1586-1740 of "Secreti Sigilli," concealed author's marks and signs. By Fratres Roseæ Crucis. Illustrated by Photo-Facsimiles. Folio. Nottingham: H. Jenkins; 7, St. James Street. 1916. 8s. 9d. net.

This is one of the most remarkable books which has been issued from the press. Apart altogether from the

merits of the work or the value of the discoveries which it sets forth, the volume contains 73 plates of photo-facsimiles of title pages and other portions of books published during the period 1586 to 1740. These are beautifully executed and reproduced on thick art paper. They are of great interest not only to the bibliophile, but to all who are studying the literature of the period. The volume is sold at the ridiculously low price of eight shillings and ninepence, and it is obvious that it could not have been produced to sell at such a figure. The edition which is not a large one, should be rapidly sold out. It is impossible to conceive that the bookshelf of any Baconian should be without a copy of this book on it.

It is difficult to know how to approach the object of the authors in a notice necessarily as brief as this must be. In a preface so short that it may be set out *in extenso*, the authors introduce the fruits of their labours. It reads:—

“Primarily this book is addressed to arithmeticians, yet its claims are open to the test of all who can do the simplest sums in addition and subtraction. They take you to the threshold of further discovery of interesting but astutely hidden arcana only to be disclosed by close and careful research, collection of facts and correct deductions—in a word by inductive methods.”

The case of the authors is this—young Francis Bacon soon after his return from his travels in Europe, set about the formation of a literary society, which became the English secret Fraternity of the Rosy Cross. It is suggested that Sir Philip Sidney, Dyer, and Gabriel Harvey would be amongst its earliest members. The Fraternity only showed its head when a serious attempt was made to extend its beneficent activities on the Continent of Europe. Its manifesto appears to have been sent abroad in 1610. It was in manuscript in Germany in that year and was published in Venice in 1612, as a chapter of a book by Boccacini, an Italian architect, entitled:—*I. Ragguagli di Parnasso*. This was published in English by Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth, in 1656, and again newly translated by *N. N., Esq.*, in 1704. In the latter, in a chapter concerning the “Universal Reformation of the Whole Wide World,” the name of Sir Francis Bacon is substituted for Boccacini’s “Mazzoni,” as the secretary and adviser of the learned men assembled in conference.

And so it came about that the name of Francis Bacon

was definitely associated with the Fraternity of the Rosy Cross as its moving spirit. The reader is referred to Chapter V. of *Secret Shakespearean Seals* for fuller information on this subject, the defect of the chapter is that it does not cover forty pages instead of four, so absorbing in interest becomes the subject.

The term "seal" as used by *Fratres Roseæ Crucis* does not refer to the instrument but to a mark-seal or signature by which a book or document may be identified as proceeding from a certain person or society. This mark or seal may be set out in various ways. The authors of the work now under review claim to have discovered one method of marking or sealing or signing books which emanated from the Rosicrucian Society. It is a well-established fact that numbers were used as the equivalent of letters and *vice versa*. There is a curious little book, called *Mathematical Recreations*, dated 1633, having 287 pages. On page 187 is a table showing the transmutation numbers up to 24. Against each number is the equivalent letter, thus 1 = a, b = 2 and so on to z = 24, the number of letters of which the English alphabet was then composed. This is designated in *Secret Shakespearean Seals*, the Simple Cypher. An example of this and of the Kaye cypher is given on Plate xxxiv.

The principal number used as a sign is 287, next in importance is 157. The *Fratres Roseæ Crucis* have examined title pages and other portions of books published during the period 1586 to 1740, and now set forth the results of their labours. And what labours theirs must have been! The patience, care, and persistence which are exhibited in obtaining the overwhelming evidence of the truth of their discoveries is amazing. By the aid of the photo-facsimiles which are marked clearly, depicting how the seal is identified, the reader may follow the evidence and judge for himself of its sufficiency. To give examples would occupy too much space. The volume will amply repay a careful and critical examination. To trace out these signatures becomes a most fascinating pursuit. Everyone interested in what is termed *The Golden Age of Literature* in England should possess a copy of this book. The 73 photo-facsimiles are worth more than the price asked for the volume. The *Fratres Roseæ Crucis* are to be congratulated on a wonderful piece of work.

OCTOBER, 1916.

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 Journals.

BACONIANA.

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No. 56.

"DON QUIXOTE."

THAT Shakespeare the actor was only mask for Bacon, the dramatic author, is, to those who will look carefully into the evidence, about as well proved as any fact three hundred years old can be proved.

Should we be wrong the actor, if author, had only to thank his unintelligible want of care.

We may say as much about Cervantes, the actual or more probably only nominal author of "Don Quixote."

When a man says of his best book that *he is not its father but its stepfather*, and that it was written by one Cid Hamete Ben-Engeli in Arabic, he raises doubt and invites enquiry. Still more when he publicly lays by far his greatest store upon other writings which no one now wants and few then wanted to read. Our Spanish friends must accordingly pardon a peep into the title of one of their literary heroes. If this title fails they will be in no worse case than Englishmen are in with regard to the Stratford actor.

Here is an abstract of the main facts concerning Cervantes: Cervantes born 1547; died 1616; burial place unknown. No authentic portrait. Clever scholar, wrote poetry of a kind. From 1569 to 1574 a soldier. Wounded and left hand maimed for life at naval battle of Lepanto.

From *circa* 1574 to 1580 a slave or prisoner of the Moors at Algiers.

1580 to 1584 variously employed. Tried writing plays for the theatre.

1584 published a prose poem, "Galatea," 1st part. Also married a young woman who had a little property. Sold "Galatea" for £34.

1585 to 1604. Employed in various jobs, mostly for Government. Salary about £2 per week. Failed to account for Government money collected; was twice imprisoned.

1604. Cervantes at Valladolid, the Spanish Capital and seat of Spanish Court. Gondomar collecting his library there. "Don Quixote" 1st part in hands of printers in May, 1604 (see "Life of Cervantes," by A. F. Calvert). "Don Quixote" sold to a book-seller named Robles; price unknown. Badly printed in 1605. Revised and corrected edition in 1608. Large sale and many piracies.

1605. Cervantes, his sister, niece, and daughter living in two rooms of tenement at Valladolid; arrested in connection with a murder. Evidence given at the trial of poverty of Cervantes and immorality of several of his female relatives.

1612. Published poem, "Viage del Parnaso."

1613. Sold "Novelas Exemplares" to Robles for £40.

1615. Published "Ocho Comedias," November.

1615. "Don Quixote," 2nd part, published December.

1616. Engaged writing prose romance of Persiles and Sigismunda at time of his death. Aged 69.

Two descriptions of Cervantes are all that have come down to us. The Marquess Torres, the official licenser, wrote that Cervantes was an old soldier, a gentleman, and poor. He does not seem to have had any close acquaintance with Cervantes. The person who under the pen-name of "Avellanda" wrote a

spurious second part of “Don Quixote” (and who may have been Lope de Vega) described Cervantes as a chatterer; his attitude aggressive and bumptious, old in years, a fop in airs and graces; cantankerous, quarrelsome, soured and envious and that he had no friends.

Making due allowances, we should picture Cervantes as a poor unsuccessful man of letters and odd jobs, open, for sufficient reward, to put forth as his own the work of another man.

It is remarkable that we learn nothing of money matters in respect of either part of “Don Quixote.” Here Cervantes should have secured a substantial sum, but there is no evidence of his getting anything. Yet he certainly needed money. What he got, and how, he seems to have kept to himself. The intermediary between the author and Cervantes could well have been Robles, who was bookseller to the King. Cervantes’ publication of his own books between 1612 and 1616 raises the inference that he was rushing to take advantage pecuniarily of the credit the first part “Don Quixote” and the expected second part had gained for him. The “Don Quixote,” second part, seems to have been kept back until Cervantes “8 Comedies” had been sold to another publisher, Villarrod, for a price unrecorded.

The probable explanation of the mystery is that Francis Bacon, a young man of great importance at the English Court, and a writer of similar nouvelles which he put forth under the vizards of Lyly, Greene and Nashe, read the “Galatea,” first part, published by Cervantes in 1584, and sought his acquaintance by means of mutual friends or correspondence. He would thus learn what Cervantes had produced and contemplated producing and would generally ascertain how Cervantes was situated before he (Francis Bacon)

opened up the question of publication in Spanish of a novel ridiculing the Duello, Knight Errantry, Tourneys and other dangerous and foolish practices of the period.

Indeed, we are told this in "Don Quixote," first part, in which the curate is made to say:—"What book is that next to it?" "The 'Galatea' of Miguel de Cervantes" said the barber. "*That Cervantes has been a great friend of mine these many years, and I know he is better acquainted with misfortune than with poetry.* His book hath somewhat of a good invention in it, he proposes something, but concludes nothing: We must wait for the second part which he promises; *perhaps in his amendment he may obtain that entire pardon which is now denied him.*" This is all in the masterly way in which Bacon used to pronounce upon the work of other contemporary writers. Incidentally he tried to do a good turn for Cervantes with the Spanish Government. Bacon seems to have used in "Don Quixote," first part, a tale of the "Grecne" class, viz.: "Curious Impertinent," and dressed up another called the "Captive's tale," from gossip heard about Cervantes' earlier career. Mrs. Oliphant says truly, that the "Captive" is not Cervantes' personal history.

The reference to the story of Raconnette and Cortadillo (which was afterwards printed by Cervantes as an example story) was a mere bit of dust for the public eye. Bacon would have known that Cervantes had the Raconette story in MS.

It is curious that a play (now lost) was performed before the English Court in 1613 entitled and based upon the story of Cardenio which also runs in "Don Quixote," first part. When Moseley described the play in 1653 he stated that its authors were *Shakespeare* and Fletcher.

To go back to Cervantes. Louis Viardôt, the eminent French critic, could not understand why Cervantes extravagantly praised his “8 Comedies.” Most critics pass them by without reverence. Viardôt considered the fulsome claim about them to be a curious instance of the incapacity of a man of superior genius to form a just estimate of his own works. Read what Cervantes says in his Prologue to “Viage del Parnaso :”

“I am he from whose genius sprang the lovely ‘Galatea.’ I produced the ‘Confusa’ which held its place among the best and other comedies that had acceptance at the time. I have given in ‘Don Quixote’ pastime to many a melancholy bosom. I have opened in my novels a road by which the Castilian tongue can show all its powers.”

Of “Don Quixote,” as Viardôt noted, Cervantes “speaks with modesty almost with embarrassment.” It certainly looks as if Cervantes did not understand “Don Quixote”; that he did not comprehend the great lessons that were in it being taught to the world through the words of a daft intellectual visionary, and those of a dull clown. To Cervantes the book was only something for pastime!

Reformers could not speak openly in those days. But a Court Fool had license to say what he pleased. What did Bacon say as Shakespeare?

“Invest me in my motley. Give me leave to speak my mind, and I will through and through cleanse the foul body of the infected world, if they will patiently receive my medicine.”

As You Like It. 2. VII.

This great world lecture, “Don Quixote,” replete with wisdom and humour, was to Cervantes, only something for pastime! The case for Cervantes,

authorship breaks down over this point alone. Surely had he been the father and not as said in the prologue, the stepfather of the book, he would have understood its true inwardness. "Don Quixote" is a most humorous book, yet I venture to allege that taken as a whole the other works, viz., those of which Cervantes was the true author, do not show that he was a humorous man. If he had no humour (and how could an aggressive, bumptious, cantankerous and jealous person such as Cervantes was said to have been, have possessed humour), then we must strongly suspect that Sir Francis Bacon, who in the words of Ben Jonson could rarely spare or pass by a jest; this "merry wit" (that Campion the poet called him in 1619) was the real author of "Don Quixote."

In "Novelas Exemplares," 1614, Cervantes gave a faint intimation that a second part of "Don Quixote" was in preparation, but in his "Eight Comedies" which also appeared before the "Don Quixote" second part he said nothing. But he did get the printer of the "Don Quixote" second part to add a few words to the end of the Prologue that the reader might expect from him, "Persiles" and the second part of "Galatea."

For "Persiles" "he reserved his warmest eulogium and fondest predilections." What are we to make of a man who habitually and extravagantly praised his worst work and said nothing about his best? The true inferences are that he was jealous of the works which were not his, and that he was honest.

He was honest in that he craved a reputation on the faith of the merits of his own children and conversely did not desire it because of the merits of the children of which he was only the step-father. Moreover, poor Cervantes had to live, and live by his writings. His wife was dead and had not provided

for him. This should account for his feverish pressure. He did not know at the time the second “Don Quixote” was printed that he was diabetic (a condition which occasions great restlessness and desire to work) and that death was near upon him. His had been a hard life and his was a peculiar position as step-father for another’s literary offspring. Yet let us hear the truth. It can be truly said that neither Cervantes nor Shakespeare sought in any way unduly to take advantage of the greatness respectively thrust upon them.

“BACON THE AUTHOR OF ‘DON QUIXOTE.’”

At this distance of time it would have been most unfair to question Cervantes authorship of “Don Quixote” had there not been many half concealed intimations that Bacon was the real author and that he had thus set another problem for solution by inductive reasoning.

So far as discovery has progressed, no claim to this authorship has been found ciphered by Bacon; but the Rosy Cross men seem to have known that he wrote the book. They paraded this knowledge in their usual interesting way.

Thus a book from the hand of a brother of the secret society of the Rosicrosse is usually indicated by a certain numerical sigil or signal, namely, the number 287 or the number 157. The latter signal is the total in figures of the words, “Fra Rosicrosse.” Thus F. 6, r. 17, a. 1, R. 17, e. 14, s. 18, i. 9, c. 3, r. 17, o. 14, s. 18, s. 18, e. 5, total 157. The former signal is the same word reached by the Kaye method of count. In this K. to Z. run 10 to 24; while A. to I. run 27 to 35.

“Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixot” (*sic*), 1654, by Gayton (adopted son of poet, Ben Jonson), exhibits the sigil.

Total words on the two pages of the Address to

Reader 287. (Turnover words not counted.) At end of notes on book 3, at page 168, there is a large printer's ornament. Adding the Roman words and italic letters on the page, viz., III, plus 8, and the page number 168, gives 287. The work ends on page 287.

Deduct from the 341 Roman words on that page (not in brackets) the 54 italic words and you obtain 287. Being thus satisfied that the book has been published by a member of the Rosicrosse secret society, established by Bacon for the continuance of his scheme for the improvement of learning manners, morals, art and religion, let us note carefully what Gayton tells us about Don Quixot (*sic*).

On the title-page, under the words "Don Quixot," are exactly III letters, which do not express numerals. These III letters indicate in Kaye count B.28, A. 27, C. 29, O. 14, N. 13, total III—Bacon. In simple count Quixot is 100, Francis 67, Bacon 33. The name of Cervantes is nowhere mentioned throughout the book. The author is always alluded to as Cyde Hamete Benengeli, which, the late Mr. Hutchinson suggested, is a fair indication of Sir — Bacon of England.

Beneath the first reference to the author Cyde Hamet, Hilliard (who painted Bacon's miniature) is mentioned.

"A hand or eye

By Hyliard drawne is worth a history."

The first complimentary verses end thus:—

"Your Clavis makes this History to be
The unveiled Cabala of Chivalrie."

At page 95 there are the lines:—

Look on thy Don,

The Shakespeare of the Mancha.

John Phillips, another Rosicrucian (who was a nephew of John Milton, the poet), issued in 1687 a new and very free translation of "Don Quixote."

No author's name is given on the title page of the translation, but in its first square (as bounded by printer's rules) are exactly 33 Roman words. 33 is the simple count of the name "Bacon."

The second page of the epistle to the reader gives the 287 sign, so does the last page. On page 211 the 111th word down is "Bacon"; the 111th word up is also "Bacon." On page 384 the 111th word down is "Bacon." In Kaye cipher 287 as explained, is "Fra Rosicrosse," 111 is "Bacon," 384 is "Michael Cervantes," and 211 is "Rosicrosse."

This led to an examination of the "Shelton" translation of the 1620 "Don Quixote." Shelton has been identified as an Englishman who spoke Spanish, and was employed as messenger from Lady Suffolk (the wife of James the First's Lord Chamberlain) to the King of Spain, who paid her £1,000 per annum as correspondent. To her eldest son, Lord Howard de Walden, "Shelton" dedicated the so-called English translation of "Don Quixote," first part, or as it has been called, "the reproduction in robust phraseology of the spirit of the original."

Not to waste time upon the "Shelton" illusion, I think we may safely conclude that the "translation" was really Bacon's original of his "Don Quixote," afterwards translated into Spanish in a reduced form (the English edition appears to be about twice the length of the Spanish) and was not a translation.

Mr. Haworth Booth tells us that Phillips said "Don Quixote" was translated into Spanish.

The "Shelton" dedication is Bacon's work. It contains 239 Roman words, but three words in the heading (the only ones in small Roman type) are drawn attention to by three asterisks. Add 3 to 239 = 242. Then add the 45 italic letters = 287.

The author's preface (including the heading), con-

tains a total of 157 words in Roman type. 287 is "Fra Rosicrosse" in Kaye cipher. The simple count of "Fra Rosicrosse" is 157. The letters on the frontispiece of the second part total 56, which is the count of Fr. Bacon. This may or may not be accidental. But it is curious that the two specially shortened lines containing the last printed words in the second part, total in Roman letters 33, which is "Bacon." Bacon thus signed the book at its finis. The last page of the first part has 82 Roman words, 179 italic letters, 25 Roman letters in the epitaph; total 286. Adding 1 for Finis gives 287.

One should be very grateful to Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Haworth Booth for opening up this enquiry. As is frequent in preliminary speculations, we may often go too far. The Spanish windmills may or may not have been like English ones, and tossing in a blanket may or may not have been a much older custom in Spain than 1604, the date of "Don Quixote." I incline to the belief that Sir Francis Bacon, who had travelled in Spain in 1581-2 would not have made the Don tilt at Spanish windmills had there not have been windmills of the kind described. But the authorship question will have to be settled, if worth while, both by external and internal evidence. Fortunately the latter class of evidence appears to be very strong.

"Don Quixote" was the sort of book that Bacon might have had schemed and partly finished in Queen Elizabeth's lifetime. But he could not without offence to the Queen have attacked the Duello and Knight Errantry very boldly in her day. The book appeared within two years of her death, and at a time when England and Spain had been for that period at peace.

Francis, never an idle man, had at that date plenty

of time in which to write it and arrange for its publication. The first part is more of the type of the “Greene” novels which Francis wrote.

The frequent use of the term “unfortunate,” which Gabriel Harvey used to joke “Greene” about, is noticeable in “Don Quixote” also. The reference to Fortune, Fortune’s Wheel, and the Labyrinth cause suspicion, but too much stress must not be laid on these terms. Each 17th century writer had the same range of classics in which to delve. But the construction of sentences and phrases is a matter of style dependent upon the individual writer. When we read sentences like:—“Be they never so idle fabulous and prophane,” “honour and profit in this our age,” “minister occasion,” “I myself (although unworthy) am one and the least of all,” we know it is in Bacon’s style of writing.

I should judge “Don Quixote” first part to have been in MS. in the last decade of the 16th century. It reminds one continually of “Greene” and “Nashe,” who were other masks of Bacon. The introduction of other tales, such as “Curious Impertinent,” “Cardenio,” and “the Captive,” was characteristic of the Greene and Nashe novels. These digressions from the main story aroused comment at the time, as in “Don Quixote,” second part, the author (like Bacon) replied to the criticisms; but he profited by them, as the second part preserves the proper sequence of the main adventures.

Again the author, like Bacon and his masks, refers to spending his “idle times” in writing verses in “Camila’s praise that he might *eternize her name and make it famous in insuing ages.*” It was an obsession with Bacon to cause his friends to be remembered in future ages. When from his “Spenser” sonnets to the Court gallants and ladies, which he added

to the "Faerie Queene," in 1590, he accidentally omitted one to the Earl of Derby, he supplied the omission in the "Nashe" Piers Penilesse, of 1592. He also omitted his good friend, Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, eldest son of Lord Burleigh. Thomas Cecil's name seems to have been restored to the eternizing list by its introduction in "Don Quixote" as "Thomas CECIAL." Remember that Bacon very much wanted to marry Lady Elizabeth Hatton, who was Thomas Cecil's widowed daughter.

Quixote is the Spanish name for a piece of armour to protect the thigh. Bacon jested in the name which in its first two parts Don Qui (pronounced as French) suggests that "Dapple" was not the only "Ass." Pança means paunch. Sancha Panca like Nashe's "Jack Wilton" and Shakespeare's "Christopher Sly" would not pay one denier." Pança said, "Let the world wagge." Sly said, "Let the world slide." Pança uses the expression, "My deare Sir." Shakespeare in King John says, "My deare Sir, Thus leaning on mine elbow I begin." Jack Wilton has, "When I sate leaning on my elbow." In "Don Quixote" we have in the preface, "My pen in mine eare, mine elbow on the table, and my hand on my cheeke," and in the text, "Lay his elbow on the arme of his chair and his hand on his cheeke." Note the pose of the Bacon statue at Gorhambury, and of the Shakespeare statue at Westminster Abbey.

It is a suspicious circumstance that about the date of the latter statue, when the Rosicrosse fraternity seem to have ended their labours:—1725—40 two four volume reprints of the "Shelton" Don Quixote were published.

The Canon's argument as to the importance of good plays strongly reminds one of "Nashe," in "Piers Pennilesse." The Canon remarked, "For

the auditor having heard an artificial and well ordered Comedie would come away delighted with the jests and instructed by the truths thereof, wondering at the successes, grow discreeter by the reasons, warned by the deceits, become wise by other's example, incensed against vice, and enamoured of virtue." He explains that defects in plays in this direction were really due to the players who would only buy those of the accustomed kind. The author had a remarkably extensive knowledge of the classics, and used dozens of law terms such as only an English lawyer could have used correctly.

Don Quixote was not absolutely intended to have a second part, although the possibility of one was hinted at. It had served its purpose as "an invective against books of Knighthood," and other good educational purposes which were not put in the forefront. It ended with epitaphs on Don Quixote and the Lady Dulcinea.

The appearance of spurious copies and a forged second part rather suggests that "Don Quixote" was believed in Spain to be the product of some unknown person. The forgery may have caused the second part to be written, but the author declared his second part to be absolutely the final one. Its adventures are continuous, the humour is still there, but is more subtle. The educational intent is more pronounced. The author discourses on Bacon's favourite subjects, viz., Poetry, Duels, Liberty, Office, Great Place, Clothes, Address, Laws, Love, Marriage, and Death.

In 1614 Bacon had been married eight years. His marriage to a young wife had not been a success. His comments are to be found in his "Essay of Love," 1612, and in some of the Shakespeare Sonnets, 1609.

Tell me thou lov'st me not. But in my sight
 Dear heart forbear to glance thine eye aside."

Sonnet 139.

In "Don Quixote," second part, is the comment about a wife:—"If you bring her honest to your house 'tis easy keeping her so, and to better her in that goodness, but if you bring her dishonest 'tis hard mending her." Bacon revoked all gifts to his wife, who, after his death, married her secretary (gentleman-usher).

"The best fortune of all is to die" said the author of Don Quixote. Compare Bacon, "I have often thought upon death and count it the least of all evils," and Bacon's Will, "The day of death is better than the day of birth."

Said Don Quixote, second part, in Chapter 12, "Hast not thou seen a play acted where Kings, Emperors, Bishops, Knights, Dames, and other personages are introduced? One plays a ruffian, another the cheater, this a merchant, t'other a soldier, one a crafty fool, another a foolish lover: And the Comedy ended and the apparrell taken away all the rehearsers are the same they were."

"Yes. Marry have I," quoth Sancha. "Why the same thing (said Don Quixote) happens in the Comedy and Theatre of this world, where some play the Emperors, others the Bishops; and lastly all the parts that may be in a Comedy; but in the end, that is the end of our life, Death takes away all the robes that made them differ, and at their burial they are equal." I have not given a tithe of the internal evidence which supports the case for Bacon's authorship of Don Quixote. The subject is worth further careful examination.

PARKER WOODWARD.

NEW LIGHT ON OTHELLO.

II.

Since putting together the notes which appeared in the last number of *BACONIANA*, there has been brought to my notice *An Allegory of Othello*, by Charles Creighton, M.D. (Arthur and Humphries, 1915). An important work explaining why the play was written and acted on All Saints Day, 1604, and carefully interpreting its hidden meaning.

Dr. Creighton believes Desdemona stands for the Holy Mysteries of the English Church, at that moment in danger from attacks within and without. He refers much to Dr. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, the most of which, I believe, we have to thank Francis Bacon for.

Dr. Creighton is illuminated, and we should be deeply grateful to him for his most useful and interesting study. At the same time his vision is limited. Bacon in his opinion is the model of the villain of the piece, and while he quotes from his *Wisdom of the Ancients* in support of Allegory as a means of teaching high truths, he denies him the authorship of Othello. His woeful misconception of Bacon's character is of less moment than his being led to think him Iago by the close parallel he finds between Iago's blank verse and Bacon's prose; Iago's song, which he learnt in England, and Bacon's poem: "Man's life's a bubble!"

According to Dr. Creighton, Brabantio is pictured from Archbishop Whitgift, not unlikely, seeing how close was young Bacon's intercourse with the Master of Trinity, and how great was Bacon's friendship always with the "great and good" Bishops of the realm.

Dr. Creighton considers Othello to have been of Lollard origin, which does credit to his insight, for

though Othello is not drawn, as he suggests, from Robert Essex, he is the portrait of a Huguenot warrior of even more martial fame, King Henri of Navarre. This at least is my view of that inconsistent and contradictory character.

That Othello's name is coined from Otho the Great is quite a good notion, especially as "The Great" was Henri IV. of France's title. Born at the foot of the Pyrenees in the castle of Pau, his eyrie was "rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heaven." If ever a valiant son of Mars encountered "moving accidents and hairbreadth 'scapes" even to becoming a Catholic to save his life on the fatal night of Saint Bartholomew—it was the hero of Ivry. Since "his arms had seven years pith" he, like his friend and betrayer, Duc de Biron, Charles Marquis de Gontaut, bore arms. Henri's coal black hair, olive skin, keen black eye, and southern nature, are all in keeping with Othello, who most people connect with the Arab rather than with the negro. Henri was not handsome, but his countenance was agreeable and his bearing frank and dauntless, and his address, though not polished, was winning.

A character of rare virtues and extraordinary vices, a General of whom it has been said that not one of his Huguenot followers but would have considered it a privilege to lay down his life for him. Fickle in his love to man and woman, this redoubtable Béarnais was profoundly licentious, not incapable of acts of selfish cruelty to the woman he had loved, and the mother of his child, for he allowed her to die within a stone's throw of his palace of want and neglect.

This idol of conquering hosts is known as the "relapsed heretic," and for his "recreancy to the faith in which he was brought up and which he had insincerely abjured." At the same time we are told that

of all the Kings of France he is the most deserving of the grateful remembrance of posterity. We may well believe this foremost Prince of Europe owed much of his wise policy, and the regard of both Catholics and Huguenots in his well-regulated Kingdom to the counsels of Francis Bacon, and perhaps to the timely warning of that wonderful allegory of Othello, termed "the most wonderful work in the English language."

I quote a very suggestive passage in Bacon's *Of an Holy War*. "What Christian soldier is there that will not be touched with a religious emulation to see an order . . . of Saint Iago . . . only to robe, feast, and perform rites and observances?" Again, "For the pearl of the Kingdom of Heaven . . . or the spices of the Spouse's garden not a mast hath been set up."

He also says that "numbers of Moors are true Christians in all points save for their thirst of revenge."

Bacon, the "meanest" man that ever was, because endowed with the rare and precious gift of "*Golden Mediocrity*," and because living for the establishment of the "*Golden Mean*" in all kingdoms and all peoples, weighed in his just balance Religion and Superstition, Light and Darkness, Truth and Error, Tradition and Scripture, and struck the happy medium. He fought for the Church and her rites, but also for freedom "of *Knowledge and love*." It will be remembered that Francis Bacon being a sojourner in France from 1577 to 1579, had ample opportunity to study the characters of both Henri, and Duc de Biron, that perfidious monster, who, with no manner of doubt, was his model for Iago. Biron was high in the esteem of Henri the Great, who in appreciation of his great feats as warrior, and of all the risks he ran in his happy enterprises and grave adventures, made him first Lord High Admiral of France, and then *Maréchal*. But this man's immea-

surable ambition was only equalled by his vanity, and nothing satisfied them. A General of ability and experience, he was often in the right when his private interests were not concerned, but Queen Margot when she first caught sight at Lyons of the evil look that lurked in the eyes of this "black-visaged" man (as an old contemporary writer describes him) rightly judged him a traitor. We cease to wonder why Iago should allude to money and its getting no less than twelve times in quite a short scene, when we know how Henri spoke of his insatiable avarice, and of the large sums he managed to mulct him of. The "conjuration and mighty magic" that Othello was charged with were freely used by Biron in his dealings with the evil one, by means of sorcerers and necromancers. Conferences and "*conjurations*" (which is by the way the French word used at that time for such acts), eventually led him to the scaffold, where his wicked plots to poison the king and the young Dauphin, and to exterminate the entire Royal Family, met with the punishment they deserved. This mocking, satirical villain exclaimed in true Iago fashion when facing his executioner in the Bastille.

"Not in public! A beautiful reward, this, for my services! To die ignominiously in the eyes of the world!"

Biron said a strange thing at his death, speaking of the King:—

"Si n'a't'il pas su tout mon secret et ne le saura jamais de par moi."

Iago's last words were these enigmatical ones to Othello:—

"Demand me nothing!

What you know you know:

From this time forth I never will speak word."

"Servant of the devil, murderer and liar from the beginning," is Charles de Gontaut's epitaph, while King

Henri the Great used to say playing his game of *la Paume*, "That's as true as that Biron was a traitor!"

After the anagrammatic manner of his day Bacon drew the name of Iago from the letters *Eago* buried in the name De Gontaut. While discoursing with him in England, September, 1601, Elizabeth "sharply accused Essex of ingratitude, rash counsels, and obstinate disdain to ask pardon; and wished that the most Christian King would rather use a mild severity than an unwise and destructive clemency by cutting off the heads of treacherous and disloyal persons in time, who sought nothing, but innovations, and the disturbance of the public quiet and tranquility, which might have terrified Biron from those wicked designs which he was at this very time plotting against the King, he not his mind been besotted." (Campden, p. 634.)

In his arrogant and vain-glorious manner De Gontaut refers to this in his last moments: "Ha!" he cried apostrophising the King, "Ingrate! Unthankful! sans pity! sans mercy! Queen Elizabeth would have pardoned Essex had he asked her to, and I have *sued* to you for pardon in vain!" so died Biron, "Catholic by design, and so little Christian that he trusted the devil more than God," really quite indifferent to the great struggles of Religion so long as he gained his own ends.

With regard to that so sweet wonder, Disdémona—the meaning of her name is *Unfortunate*—Bacon says "The Church of God hath been in all ages subject to contentions and schisms. Ever under trials, persecution, scandal and contention. When the one ceaseth the other succeedeth." "Protestant Churches," he says also "in foreign States . . . have sought indiscreetly and undutifully to bring in an alteration in the external rites and policy of the Church, rather offensive than dangerous to the Church." The colour of Othello's

face may, who knows, have its rise in the Brown of History whom he condemns. "Brownists," he says, "affirm that the Protestantical Church of England is not gathered in the name of Christ, but of Anti-Christ," which is to call (as Othello did) good—evil.

Bacon assuredly gathered his materials everywhere as he tells us ; and destroyed his note-books like the ancients did, after procuring a large stock of examples. "Thinking it needless to publish their notes, memoirs (what an interesting word !) and common-place books, following the example of builders who, after they have erected an edifice take down the ladders and scaffolding and remove them out of sight."

Abraham Cowley tells us symbolically that Bacon painted from the life.

"This," Ball says in his *Introduction to Bacon's Works*, "he accomplished by a system of mental absorption which takes in all, makes use of all, to which everything is alimnt by virtue of a vigour that tires not, a charity that fails not, a humility for which nothing is too low, and a comprehension for which humanely speaking, nothing is too high or too minute." What he, Francis Bacon, noted as Types he used, he says himself, "as an Inventory of all Natures in the Universe . . . making them subservent to human uses."

"The power and compass of his mind," says Playfair, "must be an object of admiration to all unending ages."

ALICIA AMY LEITH.

“‘SHAKESPEARE’S’ ENGLAND.”

(LAW).

MORE than 120 years ago the most industrious of many commentators on the plays of “Shakespeare,” wrote in a preface to his valuable edition of them :—“ I scarcely remember ever to have looked into a book of the age of Queen Elizabeth, in which I did not find somewhat that tended to throw a light on these plays.” Whether prompted by this hint or not, a number of writers have since looked into innumerable books, and found much which has thrown light on the plays. The most recent collection of rays has been focussed in the two volumes of “Shakespeare’s England,” which has just issued from the press. If the effect of them is to increase the popular knowledge of the period covered by that revived title, the literary venture may be commended, irrespective of its object, which was, we suspect, less educational than covertly polemical. Our readers will not unreasonably surmise that the work was designed to allay the present widespread doubts about William Shakespeare’s capacity for authorship, by showing that the times in which he lived could supply him with materials and facilities to write the supreme Plays published under his name, or attributed to him.

The impossibility, or, at least, the unlikelihood of his having composed them, has been demonstrated by the Bacon Society, therefore proof of the possibility is now attempted by a band of *savants* each skilled in his particular subject, and associated under the leadership of Shakespeare’s most active upholder. Sir Sydney Lee did his best for Shakespeare in a bulky “Life,” the keynote of which was on the word “probably,” and the present work may be regarded as a

huge Supplement, the key-note lowered to the words "might have." The Biographer gave us all that he could unearth about the Actor; the Supplement adds abundant facts as to the social life, manners, circumstances, and literature of the time. Some of such information has been already published by BACONIANA, as its readers will at once perceive. But that the compilers of "Shakespeare's England" are unaware of our periodical should, perhaps, be charitably presumed from the absence of any reference to it by them. With fearful unanimity they ignore the Bacon controversy, although they do not quite venture to ignore Francis Bacon himself when they are dealing with a period in which he was more eminent than the Stratford Actor, and, indeed, the fine portrait of Bacon, engraved by Marshall, is given in the Chapter on Law. The miscellany consists of 30 Essays, each one by a competent authority, and of 100 excellent illustrations, many of which are reproduced from rare books. The Chapters perhaps most relevant to the subject matter of our special interests are three, of which two are on "Education" and "Scholarship," by Sir John E. Sandys, the Public Orator at Cambridge, who with knowledge and pains expands, as it were, Dr. Farmer's short essay on the learning of Shakespeare, and Steeven's list of translations of the Classics. I propose, however, at present to deal only with the third of the said Chapters, viz., that on "Law," by "Mr. Arthur Underhill, one of the Conveyancing Counsel to the High Court of Justice." Although he must be acknowledged as an authority also upon other branches of our jurisprudence than that to which he has specially devoted himself, it may be doubted whether he is competent to contradict such a learned and cautious Judge as Lord Campbell about "Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements," by pronouncing at the outset of this Essay that

“Despite Shakespeare’s frequent use of legal phrases and allusions his knowledge of law was neither profound nor accurate, and it is unnecessary to explain such knowledge as he had by assuming that he enjoyed even a legal education as clerk in a lawyer’s office.” As a great number of passages from the Plays have been cited by Lord Campbell, Mr. W. L. Rushton, Mr. Watt, and others, to prove the contrary, one would have expected Mr. Underhill to support his judgment also by effective citations. This he quite fails to do, and it is worthy of observation that although he quotes no less than 32 passages from the Plays, there are but two which he ventures to charge with inaccuracy. The point made against one of them would have been deemed fine even by the old lawyers whom he disparages. The lines criticised are taken from some light badinage between *Maria* and *Boyet*, in “Love’s Labour Lost”—says “*Boyet*. So you grant pasture for me ?

“*Maria*. Not so gentle beast,

“My lips are no common, though several they be.”

To this lady’s merry quip, the learned Conveyancing Counsel gravely makes the legal objection that “the allusion is not technically accurate, for it attributes the ‘several’ and ‘common’ to the lips rather than to the right to kiss them, and uses the word ‘though’ incorrectly, in place of ‘but,’ which rather suggests that he, ‘Shakespeare,’ considered common rights to be in some way connected with, instead of opposed to, several ones” ! So the Author, whoever he was, that could “never spare a jest,” is to be convicted of inaccurate law because he puts it, most appropriately, into the mouth of a bantering girl. By way of leading up to the second accusation, the hypercritical lawyer describes the Court of Wards and Liveries created in England by Statute to deal with the estates of infant

wards of the King—and an admirable picture of the Court in Session about 1585 is reproduced, containing more than a dozen figures, whose exquisite miniature faces are evidently likenesses of the members.

"During infancy," explains Mr. Underhill, "the guardian had the right of marrying the ward to any one he pleased of equal rank. . . . There is no specific mention of this Court in Shakespeare's works, but he alludes (although incorrectly) to the right of the Lord as guardian in 'All's Well that Ends Well,' where the King of France insists upon his high-born ward, Bertram, marrying Helena, a poor physician's daughter of inferior rank to him. The King parades all his male wards and says:—

'Fair maid, send forth thine eyes : this youthful parcel
Of noble bachelors stand at my bestowing ; (II., III.,
53-9).'

"and when Bertram, whom Helena chooses, protests, the King informs him peremptorily that:—

"'It is in us to plant thine honour where
We please to have it grow. Check thy contempt :
Obey our will, which travails in thy good (*Ibid*;
163-5).'

Then a passage from Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* is cited, making "an allusion to the condition that the spouse must be of equal rank with the ward, which Shakespeare ignored." But if ignored at all, it is only by an arbitrary French King, the creation of "Shakespeare." That "Shakespeare" himself did not ignore it is clear from subsequent lines unquoted, by Mr. Underhill, in which, answering Bertram's indignant:—

"A poor physician's daughter my wife? Disdain.
"Rather corrupt me ever!"

The King replies, "'Tis only title thou disdains't in her the which 'I can build up,'" meaning that he

can fulfil the condition of the feudal law by ennobling her. The accuracy of none of the other thirty quotations is impeached. On the contrary, the proposition with which the essay starts seems abandoned, and indeed the writer fairly admits that the effect of even the writ of *proemunire*, no every day process of law, “ is correctly described in Henry VIII. (iii., ii. 338-45).” Comparison of the passage cited with the Anglo-Norman French text of the Statute will show, however, that the correctness of the reference to it, is incontrovertible. But if Mr. Underhill’s theory of inaccuracy breaks down, on what other does he base his initial suggestion that the playwright was not a lawyer? He resorts to the idea that the legal phrases abounding in the Plays were but the common property of playwrights at the period, or even had passed into the popular language. Edmund Malone, also a lawyer, and writing before the recondite difficulties of Real Property Law had been removed by Acts of Parliament, wrote of “ Shakespeare,” that “ His knowledge of legal terms is not merely such as might be acquired by the casual observation of even his all-comprehending mind; it has the appearance of technical skill.” But the modern lawyer, relieved from the encumbrance of the ancient lore, ventures to suppose that even the special doctrine of Fines and Recoveries so often touched on by “ Shakespeare ” could have been picked up by anyone strolling into the Courts. “ Fines and Recoveries,” writes Mr. Underhill, “ seem to have specially appealed to Shakespeare, who doubtless witnessed the process at Westminster Hall,” and the well-known speech of the gravedigger in “ Hamlet ” is then cited, with a footnote showing half a mind to find a charge of inaccuracy against the poor man because he has spoken of “ statutes and recognizances ” in connexion with the transfer of land. “ What

'statutes and recognizances' had to do with the buying of land is not evident to a lawyer," writes Mr. Underhill, fearless of the ghosts of famous old conveyancers rising to enlighten him, "and may suggest that Shakespeare's knowledge of the law of property was neither accurate nor extensive, but it must be remembered that the words are spoken by a gravedigger." This reminder, although rather belated, is, at least, candid, even if unnecessary. Mr. Underhill, warned or aware of the danger of an admission that the author of the plays was "learned in the law," hints that such legal terms as he used might have been caught up during a lounge in Westminster Hall! A similar attempt is made to show that although versed in nautical matters he need never have made a voyage, for although Mr. L. G. Carr Laughton begins a Chapter on "The Navy: Ships and Sailors," by granting that "It has been very generally conceded that Shakespeare's references to the sea and to sea-life are almost without exception accurate" the writer tries to persuade us that such sea-faring proficiency "might have" been got by frequenting the London Docks and tarry taverns! Other contributors to this really interesting collection of treatises would account for the supernatural knowledge of the Author of the Plays by fancying that he "might have" been here or there, seen, heard, or read this thing or that. One of the less cautious even goes the length of saying, after a statement of the different breeds of horses known in England, that "Of all these, the Barbary horse or barb was undoubtedly Shakespeare's favourite. With such affection and intimacy does he dwell upon its merits that it is probable that the poet at one time possessed a roan barb," and the familiar lines from Richard II., vv. 78-84 are cited, although the tradition that the Actor began by holding horses at stage doors

would just as well have supported the novel hypothesis. It is right, however, to conclude by adding that several of the most eminent contributors bring their Chapters within the ambit of the Title by mere use of the phrase “ in Shakespeare’s time,” and apposite quotations from the Plays, which are certainly illuminated by the Articles. While proving nothing new about the Actor, they go far to establish that the Author of the Plays had indeed taken all knowledge to be his province.

J. R. (of Gray’s Inn.)

SIR HERBERT TREE AND THE BACONIANS.

IN my little book, “ New Light on the Enigmas of Shakespeare’s Sonnets ” (John Long), I took the opportunity to reply briefly to a “ poser,” which Sir Herbert Tree went out of his way to introduce in a lecture entitled “ Humour in Tragedy.” This was printed in *The English Review* for November, 1915, but criticism was, as I expected, ruled out of order. The press is still determined to maintain the vested interests and literary reputations now wobbling above the under-mined foundations of the Stratford tradition.

The famous actor quotes these lines from *Love’s Labour’s Lost* (I.—1), where Biron says :

Study is like the heaven’s glorious sun
That will not be deep-searched with saucy looks :
Small have continual plodders ever won
Save base authority from others’ books.
These earthly godfathers of heaven’s lights,
That give a name to every fixed star,
Have no more profit in their shining nights
Than those that walk and wot not what they are.
Too much to know is to know nought but fame ;
And every godfather can give a name.

The King replies :

How well he's read, to reason against reading.

"Could Bacon, who took all knowledge for his province, have thus ridiculed book-learning?" asks Sir Herbert, and answers for himself, "Of course not!" Book-learning is not ridiculed but, as Shakespeare makes quite clear, continual *plodding* upon other's books. How is learning to be advanced while men's knowledge is confined to what others have already written? That, as I read it, is the drift of Biron's speech. It is a pity that before endeavouring to refute the Baconians, the actor-manager did not pause a little. No doubt there is, in his library, a copy of Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* and, if he can lay hands on this neglected volume, he will read how Bacon contested the pedantic follies of his age :

"There are three distempers of learning ; effeminate learning ; contentious learning and fantastical learning . . .

"This same unprofitable subtlety or curiosity is of two sorts, either in the subject itself which they handle, when it is fruitless speculations or controversy, whereof there are no small number in Divinity and Philosophy. . . . For were it not better for a man in a fair room to set up one great light than to go about with a small watchcandle into every corner? And such is their method that rests not so much upon evidence of truth . . . as upon particular confutations and solutions of every scruple, cavillation and objection; breeding for the most part one question as fast as it solveth another, even as in the former semblance when you carry the light into one corner, you darken the rest."

Bacon confessed his aim was to purge Learning of "frivolous disputations, confutations and verbosities," and the other sort of rovers who, "with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils." This being done, he

hoped it would be possible to bring in "industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries."

In *The Tears of Peace* (1609), George Chapman—the learned translator of Homer—writes of the end of knowledge, agreeing in every detail with what the "unlearned" Shakespeare had written in his youth :

Skill that doth produce
 But terms, and tongues, and paroting of art
 Without the power to rule the errant part,
 Is that which some call learned ignorance ;
 A serious trifle, error in a trance.
 And let a scholar all earth's volumes carry.
 He will be but a walking dictionary.
 A mere articulate clock that doth but speak
 By other's arts ; when wheels wear, or springs break,
 Or any fault is in him, he can mend
 No more than clocks ; but at set hours must spend
 His month as clocks do : if too fast speech go,
 He cannot stay it, nor haste if too slow.
 So that as travellers seek their peace through storms,
 In passing many seas for many forms
 Of foreign government ; endure the pain
 Of many faces seeing, and the gain
 That strangers make of their strange-loving humours ;
 Learn tongues ; keep note-books ; all to feed the tumours
 Of vain discourse at home, or serve the course
 Of state-employment, never having force
 T'employ themselves
 So covetous readers, setting many ends
 To their much skill to talk ; studiers of phrase ;
 Shifters in art, to flutter in the blaze
 Of ignorant countenance ; to obtain degrees
 And lie in learning's bottom, like the lees ;
 To be accounted deep by shallow men, &c.

All these follies and distempers of learning had been exposed by Shakespeare nearly twenty years before. In the King of Navarre's little Academe, which was to be "still and contemplative in living art," he lays

open the shallowness of Learning hampered with what Bacon describes as "blind experiments and auricular traditions," and in the other group of characters, Holofernes, Nathaniel, and Armado, gives a purge to "frivolous disputations, confutations and verbosities."

"The wit and mind of man," writes Bacon, "if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh its web, then it is endless and brings forth indeed cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of *thread* and work, but of no substance or profit."

Shakespeare adopts this metaphor in the play :

He draweth out the *thread* of his verbosity
Finer than the staple of his argument.

In *The Duchess of Malfi*, Webster alludes to "a fantastical scholar like such who study to know how many knots were in Hercules' club ; of what colour Achilles' beard was, or whether Hector was not troubled with the toothache." Shakespeare similarly makes merry at the barren labours of the schoolmen :

Dull. You two are book-men : can you tell me by your art
What was a month old at Cain's birth that's not
Five week's old as yet ?

Holofernes. Dictynna, goodman Dull ; Dictynna, goodman
Dull.

Dull. What is Dictynna ?

Nathaniel. A title to Phœbe, to Luna, to the moon.

In the Court Comedy *Sapho and Phao*, Lyly writes :

In universities, virtues and vices are but shadowed in colours, white and black ; in courts shewed to life, good or bad. . . . Simple are you that think to see more at the candle snuff than the sun beams ; to sail further in a little brook than the main ocean. . . . Cease then to lead thy life in a study pinned with a few boards.

The scholar Pandion and his servant Molus are, on the latter's confession, "only *plodders* at *ergo*, whose wits are clasped up with our books . . . burning out one candle in seeking for another, raw worldlings in matters of substance, passing wranglers about shadows."

The old play of *Timon of Athens* (reprinted at the end of Shakespeare's play in Cassell's *National Library* edition) contains an amusing scene in which two "Philosophers" *Stilpo* and *Speusippus*, appearing in their university gowns, indulge in "witty disputations, while one *Hermogenes* marvels at their verbosity. They resemble Shakespeare's two book-men having evidently "lived long on the alms-basket of words." Wha' Lyly meant by "plodders at *ergo*" seems to find its explanation in this portion of the dialogue :

Stil. The moone may bee taken four manner of waies ; either specifically, or quiddiatively, or superficially, or catapodially.

Her. Tomorrow, if Jove please, I'll buy those termes !

Stil. The man in the moone is not in the moone superficially, although he bee in the moone (as the Greekes will have it) catapodially, specifically, and quidditatively.

Speus. I prove the contrary to thee thus. Whatsoever is moved to the motion of the moone, is in the moone superficially ; but the man in the moone is moved to the motion of the moone ; *ergo* the man in the moone really exists in the moone superficially.

No doubt this is an exaggerated illustration, but it was against such pedantic folly that Shakespeare employed his pen in *Love's Labour's Lost*. It would be interesting to know if Sir Herbert Tree has made the acquaintance of any Baconian books. Far from being an argument against Bacon's authorship of the Shakespeare literature, the contrary is the fact. A perusal of Edwin Reed's *Francis Bacon our Shake-*

spcare would have prevented his unfortunate mistake, for the lines which Sir Herbert thinks so unlike Bacon are the subject of a striking "coincidence." Beginning at the bottom of page 41, Reed observes :

" But it is in the *motif* or *raison d'être* of the comedy that we find the strongest roof of its Baconian authorship. *Love's Labour's Lost* stands, indeed, as one of Bacon's earliest protests against the barren philosophy of his time.

According to the play, the King of Navarre and his nobles pledge themselves under oath to retire from the world for three years and give their whole attention during that time to study. They are to lay aside all the cares, obligations, and pleasures of life for this purpose. The comedy "turns upon the utter futility of such a scheme. It is a travesty on the kind of learning, and particularly on the methods of acquiring learning, then in vogue. For ages men had sought knowledge by turning their backs upon nature and upon human life. All that they had wanted was Aristotle and the Fathers ; all that they acquired was, in the language of Hamlet, ' words, words, words.' "

In the *Advancement of Learning*, Bacon attributes to this method of study what he calls "the first distemper of learning." He says :—

Men have withdrawn themselves too much from the contemplation of Nature, and the observations of experience, and have tumbled up and down in their own reasons and conceits.

As many substances in Nature which are solid do putrefy and corrupt into worms, so it is the property of good and sound knowledge to putrefy into a number of subtle, idle, unwholesome and (as I may term them) vermiculate questions, which have indeed a kind of quickness and life of spirit, but no soundness of matter or goodness of quality. This kind of degenerate learning did chiefly reign amongst the schoolmen ; who had sharp and strong wits, abundance of leisure, and small variety of reading ; but their wits being shut up in the

cells of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle, their dictator), as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries and colleges ; and knowing little history, either of Nature or time, did, out of no great quantity of matter and infinite agitation of wit, spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books. For the wit and mind of man, if it work upon matter, which is the contemplation of the creatures of God, worketh according to the stuff, and is limited thereby ; but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless, and brings forth cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit.—Book I.

Here, then, is the key to the drama of *Love's Labour's Lost*. It was Bacon's first indictment against the Aristotelian philosophy as it had been studied by the schoolmen, and as it was still studied and taught in his own time."

Bacon left Cambridge in this sixteenth year without taking a degree as a protest against the Aristotelian, or contemplative, method of study prevailing there which, according to his chaplain, Dr. Rawley, he considered "barren of the production of works for the benefit of the life of man." Shakespeare aptly terms it "leaden contemplation."

Dr. Rawley wrote of Bacon that "his lordship had not his knowledge from books, but from some grounds or notions from within himself, he was *no plodder upon books*."

The other obstacle to the Baconian theory is, in the opinion of Sir Herbert Tree, Bacon's lack of humour. What does Sir Herbert know about Bacon *the man*, that was not known to Spedding? But, says the biographer, "Bacon never admits us to his fireside." The popular opinion is based solely upon Bacon as the author of the *Novum Organum*, *De Augmentis*, and philosophical works written late in life when (if the author of the famous plays) he had most probably awakened from the dreams of poetry, and abjured that

"rough magic." Bacon was thirty-seven years of age before any work was published bearing his name, and that little book only contained ten short essays. It is impossible to account for his time during what should have been the most productive years of his life, and yet it was said of him that "at twelve years of age his *industry* was above the capacity, and his mind beyond the reach of his contemporaries." Bacon only appears to the world after his best years were spent, and it consequently seems to be overlooked by orthodox men of letters that he ever was a boy, or young man. It is recorded how the Queen delighted in the witty remarks of little Francis. Bacon did not dull his palm with entertainment of each new-hatched, unfledged comrade; but the few friends he did grapple to his soul bear testimony to Bacon's humour. Ben Jonson, in the course of his noble tribute to the man whose performance in the English language could be compared and even preferred to insolent Greece or haughty Rome, so that he stood as the *ne plus ultra* of our literature, observes that "his language was nobly censorious where he could spare or pass by a jest."

Sir Herbert Tree should make himself acquainted with the problem before he advances any more arguments against a case that becomes even stronger after every attempt to assail it.

Although Shakespeare ridiculed the confining of one's knowledge to what has already been written and studied by others, he was emphatic in his praise of true knowledge—"that angel knowledge." Sir Herbert will recall how in *Henry VI.*, Part II., ignorance is called the "curse of god," and "Knowledge the wing wherewith we fly to Heaven." Bacon (letter to Rutland, 1596) observes that where knowledge is wanting, "the man is void of all good; without it, there can be no fortitude; no liberality; no justice; no constancy

or patience ; no temperance ; nay, without it, no true religion."

The distinguished actor quotes from Bacon's letter to Burleigh (1592), but surely he admits that Shakespeare also took all knowledge to be his province. In Furness's *Variorum Shakespeare* the editor says :—

" Shakespeare so devoted himself to the study of every trade, profession, pursuit and accomplishment that he became master of them all, which his plays clearly show him to have been."

" Myriad-minded indeed he was ! " exclaims Coleridge.

W. S. Landor writes of Francis Bacon :—

" Few have spent more time over his writings than I have, and nobody can have estimated him more highly as a philosopher. In *intellect* I always thought him *next to Shakespeare* ; great as a philosopher. as a poet, and incomparably the most universal genius that ever existed."

We are slowly approaching the time when the world will become struck with amazement at the industry, wisdom, and ingenuity of Francis Bacon. The most elaborate of his jokes is the folio of Mr. William Shakespeare's plays. There are to-day signs that baffled authority is beginning to be uneasy, and to perceive, like the fat knight, Sir Herbert so ably impersonates, that it has " been made an ass."

R. EAGLE.

FOR "SHAKESPEARE" READ "BACON."

The Shakespearean Tercentenary was the occasion for columns of "gush" being published in the daily and weekly Press. Without exception the writers stood firmly by the Stratford man's title. Most of the articles were saturated with commonplace thoughts. Many were written by men who having a passing acquaintance with the Shakespeare plays, were ignorant of the contemporary literature. Gibes and scoffs at Baconians were freely scattered about. An article, of course, from the orthodox point of view, which appeared in *The Daily Telegraph*, contains a disquisition on the genius of the great poet which may fitly be reproduced in these columns. How much more truly, than he knew, wrote the journalist when he said, "We are but skirting the edge of Shakespeare's colossal genius!" How mistaken he was when he said, "and his secret has died with him." To those who know the truth, to whom the great author is a familiar friend, who recognise the purpose for which the plays were written, these lines have a special significance. "Reverence and awe"; "mystical and divine!" Frances Osborne, who knew Francis Bacon, wrote, "He struck all men with an awful reverence," and Rawley wrote, "I have been induced to think that, if ever there were a beam of knowledge derived from God upon any man in these modern times it was upon him."

If, with the exception of the references to Stratford, for "Shakespeare" we substitute "Bacon" how illuminating the following article becomes!

SHAKESPEARE.

"A rarer spirit never did steer humanity." Only in Shakespeare's own words can we attempt to define what Shakespeare was. The three hundredth anniversary of the poet's death, which it was our intention to honour in company with other countries as an international tribute to a master spirit in literature, has, unfortunately, been docked of some of its far-reaching influence because it has happened in the midst of a European war. Yet there are compensations, even though the glories of such an anniversary may be diminished. If the Elizabethan poet is, above all, the pride and honour of the land which gave him birth, then at least we can do him reverence as one entirely of ourselves—Britain's great prodigy in the history of the ages. Other nations might have co-operated with us had the times been more propitious, but they could not have added to the honourable pride with which we regard an Englishman who, coming out of the ranks of the yeomen of the Midlands, grew to be in the short course of his busy and industrious life a supreme poet, our greatest dramatist, and among the deepest of our thinkers. Nor, indeed, is it otherwise than fitting that the Ter-centenary of Shakespeare should be held at a time when the chief preoccupation of the country is the business of war. For the atmosphere in which many of the Shakespearean plays are set is one of warfare, and the poet himself, when first he came to London from his Warwickshire home, must have heard much of those rumours of invasion and desperate attempts of a foreign despot to conquer the country which were rife at the period. The generally accepted date of his departure from Stratford is 1587. Exciting news had come in the preceding year of the preparation of the King of Spain for the great "Enterprise of England," and in January, 1587, the false report had gained general currency that Philip had already landed at Milford Haven. On February 8th, the Queen of Scots was executed—which added an energetic stimulus to Spanish designs—and trained bands were being raised in Herefordshire, Monmouth, Worcestershire, and Shropshire to meet the ever-growing danger from abroad. Then, only a month afterwards, Drake cleared out of Plymouth, perhaps with all the more haste because he had heard that Philip had made peace overtures to the Queen. Before the Royal commands had arrived not to injure any of Philip's ships, Drake, who had a clearer prescience of the future, had gone on his way to Cadiz, had entered the mouth of the Tagus, sunk,

burned, or captured a number of the enemy vessels, and "sing'd the King of Spain's beard" with such remarkable success and efficiency that the sailing of the Armada was deferred for a twelvemonth. As a matter of fact, the great Armada did not leave Spain until July 12th, 1588.

It is difficult to realise the strained excitement in England three hundred years ago, while our ancestors were waiting for the dreaded invasion. There were no Allies to help England, the people of the Netherlands were too hardly pressed to give us aid. The Spanish fleet was three times as great as ours, and, according to the doctrine of probabilities, there ought to have been no disputing its command of the sea. Liberty was at stake, the very existence of our country menaced by a danger far greater than that which threatens us nowadays, because the national services had been starved, and the balance of strength was so decidedly against us. We know what the issue was. "Jehovah blew, and his enemies were scattered"—such was the proud inscription on the medal which signalled the safety of the Netherlands. And through all this stormy period, tense with fear and anticipation of a gigantic peril, Shakespeare was in London, twenty-four years old, and, if we judge him aright, he must have had a ready ear for every rumour of victory or defeat, while his patriotic spirit must have urged him, with no uncertain voice, to take a share in the defence of his country. An ingenious suggestion had recently been brought forward by Mrs. Stopes that Shakespeare joined the fleet, because he is so accurate in his use of sea terms, showing a knowledge far beyond that of any landsman. Whether this be the case or not, there is no doubt, at all events, of Shakespeare's sturdy patriotism. In passage after passage of his plays he proves how near at his heart lay the love of his country, and how keenly he adjured his countrymen to preserve for themselves and their descendants "this precious stone set in the silver sea." There is a great deal about war, as we have said, in all his plays. He filled his historians with it, and his tragedies and comedies alike have a constant background of the operations of war. Most of his heroes are soldiers—Benedick had "done good service in the wars," and Henry V. was, above all, a national hero. Iago is, perhaps, the one soldier in the whole course of his plays who is essentially a bad man. Hamlet, despite the fact that he was a metaphysician and a scholar of Wittenberg, had "a soldier's funeral." War, as the poet knew, was a ruinous process, destroying the industries and wasting the lives

of his countrymen. Yet he knew, too, that it had a strange power of bringing out all that was best in a nation, and that when a spirit of war overspreads a country menaced by foreign aggression, brave men become braver, smaller souls catch the contagion of virility and strength, and even cowards learn to put away their fears and seek to train themselves in the school of heroism.

It is not, however, on grounds like these that we base our admiration for our great Elizabethan. Admiration itself is hardly the right word, because that is a tribute which we pay to cleverness more than ordinary, or to talents freely exercised and wisely controlled. Our attitude to Shakespeare is different. He was not only a man of prodigious talent—though that, too, may be ascribed to him—but a genius, which is profoundly different matter. A genius may be erratic or careless, or inaccurate; he may make serious mistakes, or sometimes—like Wordsworth—write things which are perilously near to nonsense. But in his high moments his peculiar excellence is not a matter of degree, it is an absolute difference of kind. We explain him as best we can to ourselves by saying that he is inspired, and the feeling with which we regard him is akin to reverence and awe. There are lines of Shakespeare, passages of unforgettable beauty, thoughts lying deeper than the level of our ordinary consciousness, which amaze us with their sweetness, or their tenderness, or their truth, in the presence of which we instinctively bare our heads and take the shoes off our feet. We have an uncanny feeling of something mystical and divine, something which touches our spirits from afar, some breath of purer ether, an atmosphere which never was on sea or land. No poet has ever thrilled us—except, possibly, Keats, and then only once or twice—like Shakespeare when he wrote about the early daffodils that "take the winds of March with beauty," or violets "sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes or Cytherea's breath." No one has ever penned a line more masterly in its union of simplicity and music than the description of Duncan in his grave—"After life's fitful fever he sleeps well." Or shall we take Lear's tribute to Cordelia, "her voice was ever soft, gentle, and low"; or Macbeth's invocation to sleep, "Sleep that knits up the ravell's sleeve of care"; or Othello's heart-broken cry to Desdemona, "O thou weed, Who art so lovely fair, and smell'st so sweet, That the sense aches at thee"; or Hamlet, in the presence of Ophelia, "Nymph, in thy prisons be all my sins remembered." Such lines are so

familiar that we might imagine that their first impression was dulled, but it is not so: "age cannot wither nor custom stale" their perennial charm. And even so, we are but skirting the edges of Shakespeare's colossal genius. Each time we read him, the more keenly we appreciate the range of his power: each time we see his creations on the stage, the more are we overwhelmed by his insight, his knowledge of humanity, his creative energy. For this is the magician who has called up spirits from the vasty deep, and they have answered his call: the master of dramatic sorcery who has drawn for us figures with a complexity and truth we are never tired of exploring. And his secret has died with him. No one can pluck out the heart of his mystery or diminish by so much as a hair's breadth his proud title to immortality.

THE GREATEST OF LITERARY PROBLEMS.

MR. PHINNY BAXTER'S book is a great reinforcement of the Baconian case. It will endure, I trust, to further editions. With that in view I venture to suggest a few corrections in its text. Page xxii. of Prologue: It should be made clear from Rawley's preface that the worthy chaplain was keeping back much of the real truth about his Lordship. When he wrote that the greatest part of Bacon's books were written in the last five years he did not mean the greatest in quantity. Page 61: Is it correct to say that the parts of the plays of Henry IV. were written before "Love's Labour Lost"?

Nor is there any certainty that Greene ever alluded to the player Shakespeare or painted a verbal portrait of him. Greene himself, in my opinion, never wrote a line. The "Willy" passage in Spenser is more probably Bacon's own allusion to himself as Lyly, a pen-name he was dropping.

Page 248: The woosack in the first Stratford bust was as likely as not a covert indication of the wool-

sack upon which Bacon as Lord Chancellor for a period sat. Page 308: It is not correct to say that Bacon's portrait by Hilliard was painted on the former's return from France, unless Mr. Baxter means the interim visit in 1578. Bacon did not return until 1579. Nor is it correct to say with confidence that Sir Nicholas left anything for the support of young Francis. Rawley's gossip is of no evidential value. It is unsafe to say that Bacon came in contact with any Rosicrucian brotherhood in his youth, nor that any such fraternity then existed. Page 318: There is evidence that Francis Bacon employed a number of good pens but not that Anthony Bacon was associated as employer. Nor can it be affirmed that Hobbes was one of them, if his biography be carefully studied.

Page 398: Maier's reference to Francis as a Rosicrucian is valuable.

Mr. Baxter's reference to the Spenser tomb is very interesting. I hope for an opportunity of reading the original Latin Tablet in the "Reges Reginae Nobiles," of 1606. It seems likely to exhibit a Rosicrucian mark.

The 1620 tomb would seem to have been prepared beforehand for Bacon's remains. He was at the apex of his influence in that year, and must, as a Tudor prince, have desired eventual interment in Westminster Abbey. The Countess of Dorset was a close personal friend of Lord St. Alban. The acrostic signature, "Here lies I expect Francis Bacon," on the Dorset Spenser tomb, rather bears out this view. Page 479: The vicarage was Tollisbury. Page 613: It is not correct to say that Francis was tried and imprisoned in 1592. The incident occurred about 1600 (see Spedding, Vol. II.), and there is no evidence that Anthony came to the rescue.

Page 619: Surely Essex was never "in debt to the Bacons for salary"?

While Mr. Baxter has acknowledged some indebtedness to me, he makes no quotation from my books. I should have liked to have had credit for several facts which I was the first to point out—particularly the "Robert Tider" inscription in the Tower, and my speculation as to the "Quality of Mercy" sonnet being the one written by Bacon to bring about the Queen's forgiveness of Essex. I first offered the explanation as to the Davison blunder in the biliteral decipher which Mr. Baxter adopts. As Mr. Baxter's book may meet with immortality when my "Tudor Problems" is drowned many fathoms deep, I desire to save myself a space by hanging upon the skirts of his publication.

PARKER WOODWARD.

NOTES.

All Baconians will congratulate Mr. George Greenwood upon his receiving the honour of knighthood. No one has written more ably or combated more trenchantly the arguments of the Stratfordians. Mr. Greenwood always flies at high game. He attacks Sir Sidney Lee or Mr. J. M. Robertson with an energy and determination which can only be exhibited by one to whom such a task is a source of enjoyment. The considerable literature which he has produced on the Shakespeare authorship meets and successfully answers every argument which has been advanced in support of John Shakespeare's eldest son being the author of the plays and poems. And yet Mr. Greenwood is still not prepared to accept Bacon as the author. He concluded an interview which was

published a short time ago by saying, "But I am not a Baconian." May he yet enter into the fuller light.

The excellent address which Mr. H. Crouch Batchelor delivered, on the 18th of March last, under the title of "*Bacon and 'Shakespeare.'* *Some Commonsense Reflections,*" will be published in pamphlet form and will prove a valuable synopsis of the Baconian case to put into the hands of any enquirer.

Under the title of "The Universal Advocate," a very illuminating article appears in *The Spectator*, of the 29th of April last. To the question "What is Shakespeare's greatest quality?" the writer says his reply would be: "Advocacy—advocacy passed to the highest possible power, advocacy so sublimated that it rises to a height of almost Divine comprehension. Shakespeare sees all, understands all, and almost, though happily, not quite, pardons all." . . . "That Shakespeare never deliberately sat down to apologise for, or put the case for this or that type of mankind we fully admit, or to elucidate this or that element in human nature, we fully admit." . . . "He set out to tell of the world and all its glory, and of the men and women who move on its face and to tell of them in terms of action. He was a dramatist, a playwright, before he was anything else. But the moment he began to create his characters, the sense of justice which burned in him with such an inextinguishable a flame, his warm love of mankind and his deep knowledge of the human heart made him the supreme advocate." In support of this view the dramatist's treatment of the Jewish character, of Macbeth, of Lady Macbeth, amongst other instances, are given. The analysis by the writer of the article of the treatment of these characters is most able.

It is, however, the last paragraph of the article that is of special significance. It affords another proof that if any able man, having a knowledge of the literature of the period, attempts to fathom the depths of Shakespeare's mind he instinctively turns to Bacon for illustration in support of his conclusions. The paragraph reads thus:—"If we read

Shakespeare as a whole and not in patches, it is absolutely impossible to come to any other conclusion than that he was always in the end on the side of truth, religion, and justice—was in the battle of life, to use his own phrase, "God's Soldier." Bacon in that strangest and most pedantic of all his essays, the essay on "The Regimen of Health," tells us that in the region of the body, we ought to vary and exchange contraries, "fasting and full eating," "watching and sleep," "setting and exercise," but always "with an inclination to the more benign extreme." That seems to use the last word when we try to estimate Shakespeare's own opinions. He shows us life in every possible form, but when it comes to judgment he invariably leans to the benign extreme. He is always in the last resort on the side of what he might have called, nay, did call, "High Heaven."

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

DEAR SIR,—It is interesting to me, who look on Robert Cecil as one of the Royal "blood" to find he was a Poet. In Lodge's *Illustrations* is the following: "Verses composed by Mr. Secretary, who got Hales to frame a ditty unto it. Mr. Secretary keepeth those things very secret. It was told her Majesty that Mr. Secretary had rare music and songs, she would needs hear them, so this ditty was sung."

Robert Cecil struck the Duke of Sully when on an embassy from Henry the Great to James "as a man who was all mystery, for he separated from or united with all parties, according as he judged it most advantageous to his own particular interest; he had borne the principal sway in the late government, and he endeavoured, with the same subtilty to acquire an equal share in the present." (*Memoirs of Sully*).
—Yours faithfully,

A. A. LEITH.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

DID BACON DIE IN 1626?

The letter which Mr. Granville Cuninghame so ably expounds puzzles me still as much as when in *BACONIANA* for January, 1915, I drew attention to it. It seems to have come from the

natural custody of Francis himself. If it was to the Irish peer, Earl Clanricarde, who was Earl of St. Albans from August, 1628 to 1636, and who married Frances, the widow of Robert Earl of Essex, what possible accident could account for it getting amongst the Lambeth MSS., and why was it unaddressed?

If Bacon "died to the world," it is reasonable to think that he [and possibly his wife] went to live abroad under new names. Then, if that letter was to him he was living at some place abroad where there were noble ladies and especial friends of Thomas Meautys. The Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I., was living at a small place in Holland, on the Rhine. Francis and his wife may have been either there or, at the Hague, where his literary executor, Sir William Boswell, was Ambassador. Sir Thomas Meautys, a military man and cousin of the Clerk to the Council, was in attendance upon the Queen of Bohemia. Mrs. Bunter has shown that the military man invited his civilian cousin to visit him in 1628. Between then and 1631 he may have done so. Anyway, there were "especial friends" of the Clerk to the Council at Arnheim, after the date of the 1631 letter, as Mrs. Bunter has also shown (*BACONIANA*, 1914, page 240).

There is still considerable room for doubt whether the terms, "my most honoured lord and lady" following the words, "my devotion and service to your lordship," meant Bacon and his wife, or meant the *Prince Elector Palatine and his Queen*. Bear in mind Meautys was scribbling rapidly by the light of a flickering candle and the Prince and his wife were refugees without a realm.

The Secretary Meautys' statement in April, 1626, that "My Lo. St. Albans is dead and buried" may have been merely to circulate an *agreed and justifiable fiction* about his dear old most honoured Lord Rawley, in 1657, distinctly warned his readers not to accept his statements as treading too near upon the heels of truth. Mallet, in the 1740 Life of Bacon, repeats Rawley for the "inferior reader," but doubtless, rendered the real truth in cipher, as he was a Rosy Cross man. Lady Bacon's death, as recorded at Eyworth, in Bedfordshire, a day's drive from St. Albans, was on 29th June, 1656:

So she outlived twenty years and upwards from the day of his "death to the world." But if as Chamberlain wrote in 1616, of Lady Bacon's terms with her husband, "She

affords him no manner of comfort either by her consort or her company," things could not well have changed in 1626. Besides, consider Bacon's Essay of Love, 1612, some of his Shakespeare Sonnets, 1609, the terms of his Will, the scandal printed about her after his death, the alleged marriage to her gentleman usher, and her burial at Eyworth. I think Bacon was alone in 1631.

PARKER WOODWARD.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—When the first article appeared in BACONIANA under the title, "Did Bacon die in 1626?" it seemed to be a *ballon d'essai*, which must collapse as soon as anyone took the trouble to prick it. But other articles on the subject followed, and now the suggestion that Bacon did not die in 1626 is put forward as a serious proposition, and one of importance to members of the Bacon Society. In the last number of BACONIANA Mr. Granville Cunningham cites a letter which he alleged to be proof that Bacon lived after 1626, and then he proceeds to draw the most astounding inferences from this startling assertion. For instance, in Mr. Cunningham's opinion, Bacon made a bogus will, and Lady St. Alban committed bigamy.

Now let us examine for a moment the value of the evidence put forward by Mr. Cunningham. It is a letter in the handwriting of Thomas Meautys and supposed to have been written to Bacon. From the contents of the letter, which bears no date, it appears to have been written in 1631. If it was written to Bacon, therefore, it would be evidence that Bacon was then alive. But, on the other hand, if the letter was written to anybody else, the evidence is worthless and the whole fabric falls to the ground.

The first question is was the letter written to Bacon? It is a significant fact that the letter is not addressed to anyone by name, nor does Bacon's name appear upon it. The endorsement is, "For your noblest self, my most honoured lord."

It happened, however, that Montagu published the letter with a headline—

"T. MEAUTYS TO LORD ST. ALBAN."

and this description has been entered in the catalogue at Lambeth. Such are the grounds put forward for supposing that the letter was written to Bacon.

But what if Montagu made a mistake? and, after all, such an oversight would not be very extraordinary; because the letter was found among the Bacon MSS. and it was the sort of letter that Meautys might have written to Bacon. Montagu may have assumed, therefore, that it was written by the Secretary to his master, Lord St. Alban. Now, however, the discovery is made, upon closer examination of the contents of the letter, and by fixing the dates of incidents referred to by the writer, that the letter appears to have been written some years after Bacon's death and inadvertently described as a letter to Lord St. Alban.—Yours faithfully,

HAROLD HARDY.

Gray's Inn.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—Since my interest was first enlisted in the subject of the authorship of the Shakespeare plays, I have experienced surprise after surprise. The further I have ventured on the Baconian road, the more exacting have been the demands on my credulity. The byeways on that road are so numerous and the temptation to explore them so strong that one's whole life might be spent in the journey. Each byeway seems to lead to a mystery. Either that or the mind of the traveller gets so bewildered with the various theories and hypothesis that are placed before him that he is inclined to abandon the whole subject in the hope of preserving his sanity. But the climax surely comes when in a serious periodical as is *BACONIANA*, articles appear attempting to justify a negative answer to the question, "Did Bacon Die in 1626?" About that can there be any doubt? Rawley, Mallet, Montague, Macaulay, Hepworth-Dixon, Spedding and in fact all Bacon's biographers are in agreement. Could a wilder theory than that he lived after be hazarded? What shall we be asked to accept next?

Such were my impressions when the suggestion that the 1626 death was a feigned one was first brought to my notice. I scouted it as a wild, unwarranted, and preposterous theory. I remember feeling angry that my time was being wasted in reading such nonsense. I tried to rid myself of the remembrance of the subject, but to no purpose again and again I caught myself repeating the question, "Did Bacon die in 1626?" Of course he did. At last, I determined to investigate the evidence which I concluded would be decisive and

so free my mind from the irritation attending the continual recurrence of the question. Conclusive and decisive it must be, I felt sure. It was only necessary to look it up and settle the matter once and for ever.

I am old-fashioned enough to believe that a definite statement on a man's tombstone that he died on a certain day at a given age is final and unassailable. I am old-fashioned enough to believe that a definite statement on the title page of a book that the author is so and so is final and unassailable. I try and persuade myself that I am foolish to listen to any suggestion that either the one or the other statement can be at fault. Surely the tombstone and the title page cannot lie! What right has any man to go behind them? And now having searched in every direction that I can for corroboration of the accounts of Bacon's death in April, 1626, I am a doubting Thomas. I should have gone on accepting the statement as long as I lived if someone had not suggested otherwise but now I can never again feel sure that the historians and biographers have not been intentionally deceived. Now, to me the account of the circumstances leading up to the death seem hard to believe. The great philosopher goes out for a drive in his carriage, snow has fallen, and lies on the ground. Going up Highgate Hill, he meets a woman with some fowls. He stops his carriage, and obtains a fowl from the woman and proceeds with his own hands to stuff it with snow as an experiment in the conservation of bodies, an experiment which he had already tried and that successfully, as will be found in the *Sylva-sylvarum*. He was then 66 years of age. He is seized with a chill and is taken to the nearest house, and put to bed in a damp bed. Apparently there is only a housekeeper in charge. He discovers that the house belongs to a friend of his, the Earl of Arundel, and he writes whilst in extremis from his bed to apologise for his intrusion. He dies within a week. But there is no record of the funeral ceremony or of the interment at St. Michael's, Gorhambury. Casually his death is afterwards referred to as having recently occurred. The final result of my investigation is that of course I have no justification for doubting the fact which has been accepted by all the great men who have been interested, during the last 300 years, in Francis Bacon, but I shall never again be free from the question, "Did Bacon die in 1626?"

HENRY HATHWAY.





