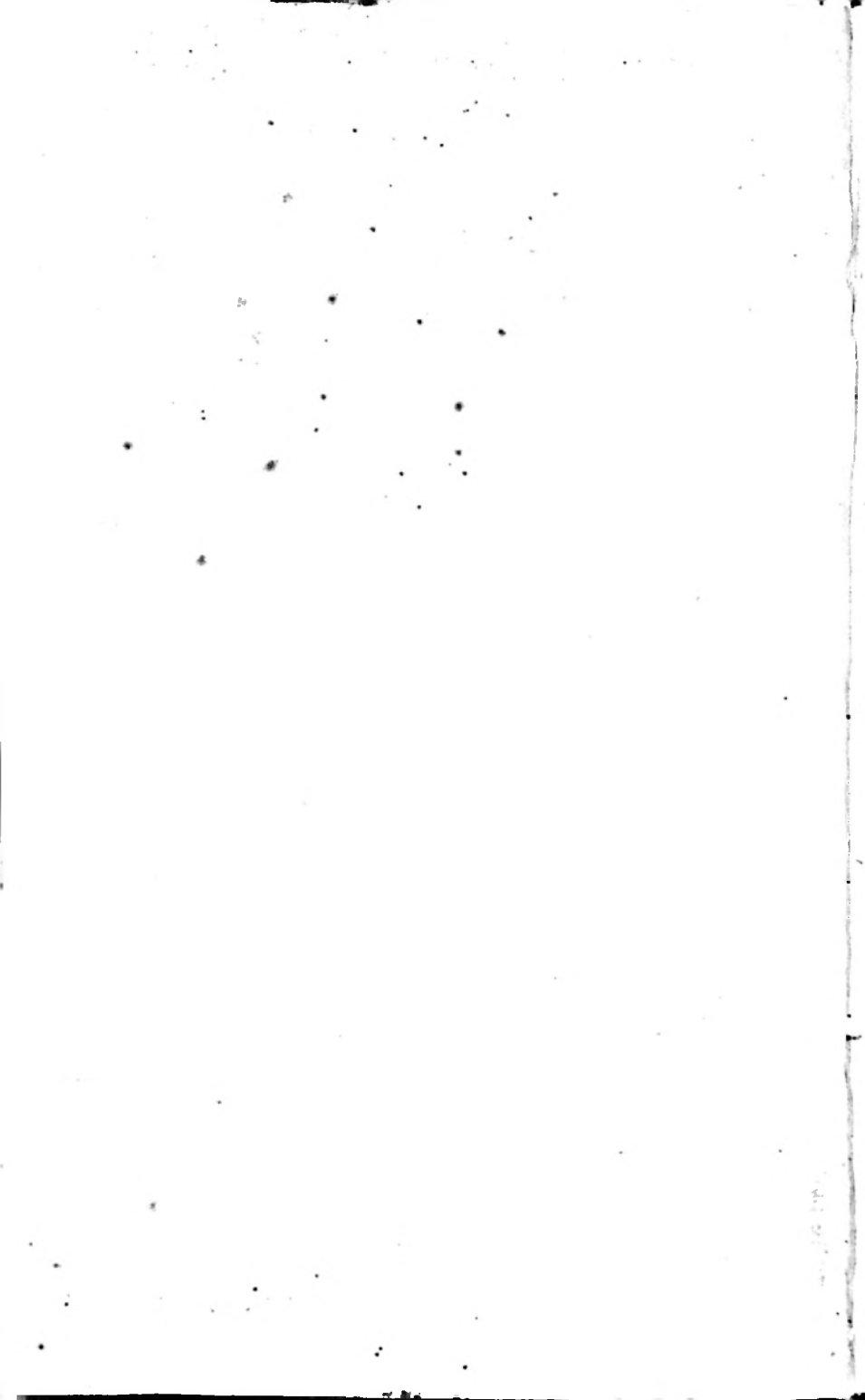


BACONIANA





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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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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. 57.

FOREWORD.

IN the midst of the Great War that has spread throughout the whole World, it is not to be wondered at that so small an undertaking as the publication of BACONIANA should have suffered: rather it is surprising that it has not been wholly crushed. The numbers for January and April that are now presented have been brought out by an Editor who is a small committee appointed by the Council of the Bacon Society. The Society and BACONIANA owe much to Mr. Smedley for his Editorship in the past, and to the knowledge and personal enthusiasm for the subject that he has concentrated upon his work; and the present Editor has pleasure in expressing the gratitude which all members of the Society must feel to him for what has been done so well. Many pages of our back numbers bear testimony to Mr. Smedley's zeal for the cause, and to his keen insight into the numerous obscure problems that the Life and Writings of Francis Bacon present.

The Editor feels that the production and the reading of BACONIANA during this War period may afford to many a well deserved and much needed mental relief from War strain, and that therefore its Quarterly production should rightly be carried on. It is not much, perhaps, but it is something that the mind should be led away for a short time from the ever present War, and induced to interest itself in Literary and Historical

The "Florio" Montaigne.

problems that had their birth and being 300 years ago, and still retain sufficient vitality to stir enthusiasm and active research.

It is the intention to bring out as soon as possible the July number of this Magazine, and members of the Society and all those interested in the subject are requested to send articles or letters to:—

The Editor of BACONIANA,
11, Hart Street,
Bloomsbury, W.C.1.

THE "FLORIO" MONTAIGNE.

MICHAEL DE MONTAIGNE, 1533-1592, was gentleman of the bed-chamber to the French King, Henri III., in 1576, and subsequently held a similar office under Henri of Navarre in 1577.

In 1580 he printed, at Bordeaux, in small octavo, two books of "Essais."

In 1588 he printed in Paris, in quarto, the first two books, with six hundred additions thereto, and a third book of "Essais."

Those in the third book were each fully four times as long as those in the first two books. In 1592 he died, and is said to have left behind him two annotated prints of the edition of 1588. One of these copies is in the Municipal library at Bordeaux.

From the other copy (original of which is lost), Marie de Gournay, with additions by the poet, Pierre de Brach, produced the folio edition of 1595 in Paris.

In 1576 to 1579, Francis Bacon was a visitor at the French Court. In 1579, Anthony Bacon went to

France. When he first went to Bordeaux is uncertain, but from 1583 to 1591 he is said to have been in Bordeaux constantly and to have been an intimate friend of Montaigne. In 1592, at Montaigne's death, the poet, Pierre de Brach, wrote to Anthony Bacon :—

" I am so touched to the quick by a new sorrow by the tidings of the death of M. de Montaigne that I no longer belong to myself. In him I have lost my best friend ; France the mind the most whole and the most vital she ever possessed ; and the world the true pattern and mirror of pure philosophy."

(*A. Bacon's MSS., Lambeth*).

The probabilities are that Francis Bacon knew Montaigne as intimately as did his foster brother, Anthony. In considering the "Florio" Montaigne translation this must be borne in mind. It is equally necessary to consider in what relation Francis stood to Florio. It must be axiomatic that Francis was the unacknowledged elder son of a belated secret marriage of Queen Elizabeth with Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards created Earl of Leicester. Further, that Robert Earl of Essex, was a second son of that secret marriage, born a few years later.

The education of Francis was mainly entrusted to tutors, for he was only at Cambridge from April, 1573, to August, 1574, and possibly from March, 1574-5, to December of 1575, though there would be holiday intervals, and he would seem to have visited Oxford University for a month or two. Amyas Paulet was the son of the Protestant governor of the Isle of Jersey, where French is the written and spoken language. He was French tutor to Francis, and took him to France in the summer of 1574. The evidence is in the letter from Francis to Robert Cecil, dated in January, 1594-5, which says :—" These one and twenty years (for so long it is, that I kissed Her Majesty's hands

upon my journey into France." Also in a letter from Francis to the Earl of Essex:—"These twenty years (for so long it is and more) since I went with Sir Amyas Paulet into France from Her Majesty's royal hand." (Dated the same *month* as the letter to Cecil.)

It will be seen that Francis in his second letter corrects his first, so it cannot be said that he blundered. Twenty years and more would make the date of his first visit with his tutor, Amyas Paulet, to France, a few months before January, 1574-5. It was a likely time, as the plague was raging in England. When it was decided to send him on the Continent for three years in or before June, 1576, Edward Bacon, his foster-brother, ten years his senior, seems to have been first selected as his travelling companion, as a license to travel was made out to the two of them. In the end Amyas Paulet, his French tutor, was knighted, and again sent in charge of Francis and of his English tutor, Mr. Duncombe. They crossed in September, 1576.

Paulet did not go as Ambassador. Dr. Dale was already in Paris in that capacity, and Paulet did not succeed him until February, 1576-7. The 1574 visit to France enabled Francis "Bacon" to be fluent in the language when attending the French Court.

John Florio was Francis' Italian tutor. This son of an Italian Protestant refugee (a dependent on Burleigh) was suitable in age, religion and other qualifications for the post of tutor to this young prince. When Francis had gone to France in 1576, the Earl of Leicester, as Chancellor of Oxford University, seems to have helped Florio to become a servitor and teacher of languages at Oxford. Francis paid a visit to England of unknown duration in 1578. In this year, dedicated to Leicester and with a verse from Francis (masked in the name of Gosson, one of the Chapel Royal choristers), Florio printed a small quarto of Italian and English

sentences, called "Florio, his First Fruites." A reprint of this in 1591, and an Italian-English Dictionary in quarto printed in 1598, and reprinted with many additions as a folio in 1611, constituted Florio's sole original literary output. For proof of this refer to his Will, which only mentions the MSS. of these two books. Francis Bacon evidently helped him over these productions and provided him with translating and copying work at other times. See the petition of Mons. Journall in 1621, on behalf of Florio, affirming that the latter translated books written both by King James and by Lord Bacon.

For an instance of help, Francis contributed a sonnet to the 1591 "Second Fruites" (Florio refers in his Will to this book as "Dialogues"). Francis signed it "Phaeton," and indicated his true name numerically by making the sonnet consist of exactly 100 words. Baconians understand that 67 is the value in figures of the letters in "Francis," and 33 is the figure value of the letters in "Bacon"; total 100.

As an allusive signature, "Phaeton" was aptly chosen. Phaeton in the ancient myths was son of the Sun-God Phœbus. The myth hath it that Phaeton came to grief in driving his father's chariot round the earth. Francis was the son of the English earth Goddess, Queen Elizabeth, and *his* lot was not a happy one. He, too, had come to grief.

Professor Minto and others have claimed the "Phaeton" sonnet to have been written by "Shakespeare." They were right. Florio, in his 1598 dictionary, said it came "from a gentleman, a friend of mine, who loved better to be a poet than to be counted so." Francis asked Davis in 1603 to be "kind to concealed poets." In the words of the late Sir E. Durning-Lawrence, Bacon was Shakespeare.

In 1595, as has already been mentioned, the French

posthumous edition of Montaigne's Essays was published.

By 1597 Bacon had written ten Essays, published the following January, 1597-8. This was his first publication under his own name. In 1599 Edward Blount obtained licence to publish an English translation of Montaigne's Essays.

In 1600 Sir William Cornwallis printed some Essays, and incidentally mentioned having seen the English translation of Montaigne in progress. Francis and Cornwallis were friends. Francis died—or died to the world—in 1626, at Lord Arundel's house at Highgate, which at one time had belonged to Cornwallis.

That the author of the 1603 "Hamlet" must have seen the English translation of Montaigne's Essais in MS. was the firm opinion of Miss Hooker (see Vol. 17 of Publications of the Modern Language Association of America). She affirmed that the play of "Hamlet" is saturated with the philosophy of Montaigne. As it was impossible for the "deserving man" from Stratford to be sufficiently educated in philosophic French, nothing but a presumed early peep at the translation could save the Stratfordian Authorship pretension from logical disaster. Yet the Germans have shown how average minds can be tutored to belief in any falsity.

"Thinkest thou that when all the accesses and motions of all minds are besieged and obstructed by the obscurest idols, deeply rooted and branded in, the smooth and polished areas present themselves in the true and native rays of things?"

(*Bacon's Filium Labyrinthi*).

Queen Elizabeth died 24th March, 1602-3. Then the autobiographical play of "Hamlet" saw the light. So did the belated "Florio" Montaigne. For delay with the latter there was very excellent reason. Six

important French-speaking ladies of the Elizabethan Court were associated with the translation. It was a perfectly natural thing to have entrusted each pair of these ladies with one of the three books into which the French "Montaigne" was divided. Florio, Diodate and Francis Bacon would revise the translations. Dr. Gwinn would work at the Latin quotations and Sir Edward Wotton, a notable statesman and able French scholar, was apparently called in as expert occasionally. His daughter married Sir Edmund Bacon, grandson of Sir Nicholas Bacon. But while the translation was in progress came the trouble between Robert Earl of Essex and his mother the Queen, followed by Robert's subsequent rebellion and death. One has only to name these six ladies in order to appreciate the difficult situation in which the translation was placed. Lady Lucie was sister to Sir John Harrington, the poet, and godson of the Queen (who was Knighted by the Earl of Essex in Ireland and had to stay away to avoid further trouble with the Queen). Lady Lucie Bedford, who had been most actively interested in the work, was wife of the 3rd Earl Bedford, who was charged with association with the Essex rising. Lady Harrington was mother to Lady Lucie and second wife of Harrington, whose first wife was a bastard daughter of Henry VIII.

The Countess of Rutland, granddaughter of Walsingham the French Ambassador, daughter of Sir Philip Sidney, and step-daughter of Robert Earl of Essex, was necessarily in the trouble. So was Lady Penelope Riche, Robert's foster-sister. Earls Bedford and Rutland were heavily fined for alleged participation in the Essex rising, though whether they paid is doubtful.

Lady Grey, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, might have escaped the Queen's displeasure, but Lady Maria Nevill could not have avoided suspicion.

Although she was the daughter of Thomas Sackville, Baron Buckhurst the poet, and then Lord Treasurer, her husband, Sir Henry Nevill (late Ambassador in France) had barely escaped penalties for alleged connection with the Essex conspiracy. Publication of the "Florio" Montaigne until after the Queen's death was therefore out of the question.

Francis wrote the dedications, address to reader, and the "Il Candido" sonnets. Florio (like Meres, who married his sister) was most probably one of Bacon's "good pens," whose name was used as the nominal translator of the Montaigne Essais. Diodate was probably Ælius Diodate, the French advocate, who arranged for the translation into French of Bacon's "Sylva Sylvarum."

Francis may have thought that the incongruity of an Italian being named as the translator of ornate French into English would arouse enquiry some day.

The Rosy Cross secret literary fraternity were the real publishers of the translation, though Blount, one of them, was nominally the publisher.

Their sigil "157" is on the title-page; 133 roman letters plus 24 italic words = 157. The letters in the turnover word "By" are not counted.

The "Il Candido" sonnets are signed with Bacon's numerical signature 100. The figure total in each respective sonnet was produced in divers ways so as to defeat accidental detection. That to Lady Bedford shows 107 small Roman words and 7 small italic letters. Deduct the smaller number. That to Lady Harrington has 102 small Roman words. Deduct the 2 italic words. The "Reply to Florio" gives 100 words, omitting those in italics. The Italian sonnet to Florio has 100 italic words. The Lady Rutland sonnet has 103 Roman words. Deduct the 3 italic words. The Lady Riche sonnet has 114 small Roman words.

Deduct 14 for 8 large Roman words and 6 italic letters. That to Lady Grey has a total of 100 Roman and italic words and that to Lady Nevill has 109 small Roman words. Deduct 9 words in the heading. Il Candido's sonnet to Florio is entitled:—

"Al mio amate Instruttore Mr. Giovanni Florio." To "Il Candido" Florio had been Italian tutor. For Il Candido read Francis "Bacon."

The "Address to the Reader" is not simply signed John Florio, but with the words "the same resolute John Florio." The first three of these words give the figure equivalent (viz., 177) of "William Shakespeare." This name was first used by Francis Bacon in 1593, on "Venus and Adonis." Next on "Lucrece," in 1594, then upon about a dozen plays prior to 1603. He knew that few people could read "between the lines," and fewer care to do so. Other expressions of Francis Bacon betray themselves in the dedications and address: "To my last Birth which I held Masculine." "Put it in English clothes, taught it to talke our tongue." "You that deserve best in doing well by me (the meanest)." "laborinth," "understanding Oedipus," etc. The legal expressions are unusually numerous:—

"Give evidence." "Passe her verdict." "At first I pleaded." "For their freehold." "Is our accuser." "Posterite our judge." "Our studie is our advocate and your readers our jury."

The writer introduces new words:—

"Or are they in some uncouth terms as entraine, conscientious, endeare, tarnish, comporte, efface, facilitate, amusing, debauching, regret, effort, emotion, and such like; if you like them not take others most commonly set by them to expound them since there they were set to make such likely French words familiar with our English which well may beare them."

Sir Edward Wotton is said (in the preface to the second book) to have first suggested the translation. Sir Henry Wotton, his younger half brother, was one of the Earl of Essex's secretaries, a great friend of Francis, and wrote the epitaph on his Gorhambury monument. Sir Henry sought quietude abroad during the Earl of Essex trouble.

The preface referred to says :—

" For Essayes I may say of him (Montaigne) as he in this book did of Homer :—Heere shines in him the greatest wit without exception deserving for his composition to be entituled Sole-Maister of Essayes ; whose Maister-point is this, none was before him whom he might imitate ; none hath come after him who could well imitate or at most equal him, and a wonder it is he therein should be perfectest whereof he is first Authour."

The " Florio " Montaigne was reprinted by Blount in 1613, with a dedication to the then Queen, a sonnet to her by " Il Candido," verses by Daniel, an address to the Reader, and an anonymous sonnet.

The Candido sonnet with the title totals 100 words ; the Address to Reader has 77 Roman words and 23 italic letters ; the anonymous sonnet exactly 100 words.

This last mentioned sonnet, upon internal evidence, has been assigned by the critics to the man who wrote the Shakespeare plays and sonnets. They were right. " Bacon is Shakespeare."

In 1632 Royston, " the bookseller to three Kings," printed in folio a third edition of the Florio Montaigne. Its cryptic frontispiece was engraved by Martin Droeshout, who engraved the " Figure " portrait in the Shakespeare Folio. See as to it Mr. W. H. Mallock's article in *Pall Mall Magazine* for January, 1903. *Florio's name is removed from the title page.* The banneret over the Gate has upon it 204 italic and 47

Roman letters. Deduct the smaller number and the result is 157, a Rosy Cross symbol.

Count carefully with a reading glass as the letters in "Michael" are italic, and one Roman and two italic letters seem to have been purposely put out of place. The verse will, I think, be found to have 287 Roman words, though my count from Vol. 3 of the "Florio" Montaigne, in Dent's Temple Classics, page 377, only makes 286 :—

"And if then you understand not, Give them roome that can."

With the above words the cryptic verse concluded.

The frontispiece would seem to tell us that while the portico (signifying the dedications and sonnets) is an excellent piece of exact architecture, the work of Francis Bacon, the buildings beyond, namely, the translated essays, are more or less faulty and imperfect. Ladies Bedford, Harrington, Rutland, Riche, Grey and Nevill did their best, and Florio, Diodate and Gwinn assisted to the limit of their abilities and opportunities, but the late Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's complaints of ludicrous misrenderings of the original French are doubtlessly entirely justified.

PARKER WOODWARD.

SHAKESPEARE'S "ERRORS."

STRATFORDIANS repeatedly show their ignorance of the works of Bacon by asserting that because there are liberties of time and place taken by the writer of the Shakespeare plays, Francis Bacon cannot be the real Shakespeare. Yet Dr. Abbott testifies that Bacon was "eminently inattentive to details," and declares that "his scientific works are full of inaccuracies." We have become wearied of the "poser" of Hector being made to quote Aristotle; but in the *Essays*, notwithstanding the care with which they were elaborated and published, there is an amazing carelessness of detail. Did Shakespeare do worse than make Themistocles talk to the King of Persia about cloth of Arras?* Such an anachronism is a clear indication that Bacon wrote with the pen of the poet. Were the seeming absurdities absent from Shakespeare's lines, there would be at least one overwhelming argument against Bacon's authorship, for, in the *De Augmentis*, he defines poesy as "a part of learning in measure of words for the most part restrained, but in all other points extremely free and licensed; and therefore (as I said at first) it is referred to the imagination, which may at pleasure make unlawful matches and divorces of things."

Many of Shakespeare's supposed errors have, however, only proved the poet's width of learning as opposed to the ignorance of his critics. I strongly suspect that another instance of this is to be found in *Anthony and Cleopatra* (II.-5), where Cleopatra proposes a game of billiards with her attendant Charmian. In Chapman's play, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* (1598), the Queen of Egypt, Aegiale, says to the princess:

* *Essay of Friendship.*

Go Aspasia,
Send for some ladies to go play with you,
At chess, at billiards, and at other game.

The King of Egypt is Ptolemy.

It is possible that billiards was played by the Egyptians ; but the learned translator of Homer was every bit as careless about detail as Shakespeare. In this play we find mention of pistols and tobacco ; the English plants rosemary, thyme, and rue. Irus has a gown to wear :

In rain, or *snow*, or in the hottest summer.

There walks about Alexandria a sixteenth century type of a Spanish gallant, named Bragadino. Another character, Pego, attires himself in a velvet gown, and puts a patch of buckram cloth over his eye. References to Osiris are followed by such remarks as " God knows," and " Jesu," while Count Irus talks of going to church to be married ! If one hunts for instances of these " unlawful matches and divorces of things," they may be found as plentiful as blackberries. But poetry was never intended to be thus criticised, and certainly the poets are entitled to feign as much as they please. In *Certain Satires* (1598) Marston scourges such critics and detractors of poets :—

For tell me, critic, is not fiction
The soul of poesy's invention ?
Is't not the form the spirit and the essence,
The life and the essential difference,
Which *omni, semper, soli*, doth agree
To heavenly descended poesy ?
Thy wit God comfort, mad chirurgion ;
What, make so dangerous an incision ?
At first dash whip away the instrument
Of poet's procreation ? Fie, ignorant !

R. EAGLE.

BACON, SHAKESPEARE AND THE CRITICS.

AT the time when the Great Folio of the Plays was issued in 1623, literary criticism as we now know it was non-existent in England. When such a volume appeared there were no critics who would write and print in daily or weekly newspapers, or monthly magazines, articles discussing the merits or demerits of its contents, articles pointing out the great achievement—or the reverse—of the author, or articles drawing attention to slipshod or careless editing, supposing that the author were dead and the Volume in question were a posthumous production. If there had been such literary criticism in vogue, and the *media* in which to publish it, one can imagine how much interest would have been evoked by the appearance of the Great 1623 Folio, and how busy the pens of the critics would have been, if we assume that the literary fraternity appreciated the Plays to the same degree that they are now appreciated. The old favourites, that had been in print before, would be discussed anew, and changes that had been introduced in them, in the Folio, would be commented on and praised or blamed. Those that had never before been printed, but were known by reputation as having appeared on the stage, would be hailed with delight; and those that were entirely new, and had never even been heard of, would be acclaimed as a priceless addition to our literary store—that is if the Plays were then valued in anything like the degree in which we now value them.

But in 1623, and for many years after that date, nothing of the sort took place; the great Folio came out, was on sale by various booksellers, and so far as literary

criticism was concerned, that was the end of the matter. True, at the beginning of the Volume, there were inserted laudatory poems by literary men of the day, heaping praise upon the beloved author, Mr. William Shakespeare, who had died in 1616; and Ben Jonson, who stood highest among writers of that time, says of his "beloved the Author":—

"Leave thee alone, for the comparison
 "Of all that insolent Greece or haughtie Rome
 "Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come."

So that all this may be taken, and was with purpose intended that it should be taken, as the well-considered literary criticism of the time. The value of this, however, as a considered pronouncement, is somewhat impaired when we find the same Ben Jonson, in his "Discoveries," published in 1641, writing of Francis Bacon, with whom he had been intimately connected in literary work, in the following way—"But his learned and able (though unfortunate) successor is he" (*i.e.*, Bacon) "who hath filled up all numbers, and performed that in our tongue which may be compar'd or preferr'd either to insolent Greece or haughtie Rome. . . . So that he may be named and stand as the mark and acme of our language"; using the very same words to set up the superiority of Bacon over all his contemporaries (for he was the "acme of our language") that he had used in 1623 in praise of Shakespeare; and we must remember that Bacon retired from this world's stage in 1626, only three years after the Folio came out. So that in Jonson's opinion, as handed down to us, there were two men living at the same time who put "insolent Greece and haughtie Rome" in the shade, and one of them, Bacon, stood as the mark and acme of our language. Certainly a curious puzzle for critics to contemplate.

But besides the laudatory poems at the beginning of the Folio there was a preface attributed to the two men who were put forward as editors for bringing out the Great Plays. These were Heminge and Condell, who had been fellow actors with Shakespeare. They give us to understand, however, that their editing business had not been much trouble to them, for "His mind and hand went together. And what he thought he uttered with that easiness that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers. But it is not our province, who only gather his works, and give them you, to praise him." Here, if there had been a critic with critical faculty, desiring in 1623, to write an article on this Great Folio, there would have been matter for furious thinking. What did Heminge and Condell mean by saying that they "only gather his works?" They must have known all about them, which of them had been published before, and which had not, and which of them were entirely new; but as to this—a matter, one would think, of supreme interest to the literary world—their Preface is quite silent; and their saying that they "only gather his works" would lead one to suppose that they are simply making a collection of, and putting in one Volume, plays that were well known to the public and had been studied before; and that, "where (before) you were abused with diverse stolen, and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealth of injurious imposters, that exposed them; even those are now offered to your view cured, and perfect of their limbs; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceived them."

Our imagined critic, if he knew anything of the bibliography of the subject, would here have something to chew upon. The statement about "surreptitious copies" of "injurious imposters" would account for,

and was no doubt intended to account for, the large additions and emendations that appear in those Plays in the Folio, that had previously come out in Quarto, and with which editions they could be compared. But what about the New Plays that had never appeared on the stage or in print before? Why do Heminge and Condell make no mention of them? For surely it was a most important fact, and one that should not be kept hidden, that these editors had got hold of, and were producing in their Folio, for the first time, six entirely new plays by their beloved Mr. William Shakespeare, who had died seven years before the appearance of the Folio. Our critic would have good reason to be astonished at this: but still more astonished and actually indignant would he be, when on examining this Preface more carefully he found that Heminge and Condell plainly deny that there are any new Plays, when they say in a previous part—"Know, these Plays have had their trial already, and stood out all Appeals." Our critic, if he knew the facts of the case, would know that this statement was distinctly untrue, because he would find among the Plays six that he knew had not "had their trial already"; and not without reason he would begin to cudgel his brains to find the explanation for this fraudulent mis-statement.

But of course at that time there was no literary criticism that could discover or examine into these peculiarities and inconsistencies; and this fact Bacon very well knew, and knew that he had only boldly to bring out his Folio with plays altered and plays added, and boldly to state that all were by the Stratford man to whom he had before attributed them, and though this man had been dead for seven years, there was no one to say him "Nay," and no one but would be blinded and silenced by his bold "bluff." Who cared sufficiently about the authorship to investigate closely

the inconsistencies of the book? When the Quartos with Shakespeare's name to them had been swallowed, by the reading public, without difficulty, was there any stomach so particularly sensitive that it would be upset by the Folio? The device of attributing the differences between the Quartos and the Folio to "diverse stolen and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealths of injurious impostors, that exposed them," was quite sufficient explanation to satisfy any prying or curious minds, especially when this is coupled with the assurance that they are "now offered to your view cured, and perfect of their limbs" and that they have "scarce received from him a blot in his papers." Who could wish for a clearer and franker explanation than this? Or who of the reading public would trouble to notice the equivocation in the statement that they have "scarce received from him a blot in his papers?" It sounds like an asseveration that the plays have been printed from MSS. that were without blot, so clearly were they written, and Bacon was quite satisfied that his public would take it at that and be content; and so they were—and are still for that matter.

Many years were to pass before the reading public began to see the marvellous beauty, the depth and richness of learning, the boundless exuberance of fancy, the wealth and splendour of language in these wonderful works. There is no evidence that they seemed anything much out of the way, to the contemporary public. The laudatory poems were, of course, contributed by Bacon's literary friends who were in the secret, and ready to further his scheme; but the public were not stirred by the plays in any special way. Shakespeare, who was put forward as their author, spent the last 10 or 15 years of his life in obscure Stratford, unnoticed by the world of letters or by any other world, and died as

obscurely as he had lived. John Evelyn, who was a refined and well-educated man, of some literary attainments and good—I might say high—social position, notes in his diary in 1661 that he saw “Hamlet” played; “but” he says “the old plays begin to disgust this refined age,” while Pepys, who may assuredly be taken as a representative man of the upper middle class, in his diary of 30th September 1662, records: “To the King’s Theatre where we saw ‘Midsummer Night’s Dream,’ which I had never seen before, nor ever shall again, for it is the most insipid, ridiculous play that ever I saw in my life.” And on 1st March, 1661-2: “To the opera and there saw ‘Romeo and Juliet.’ . . . It is a play of itself the worst that ever I heard in my life.” Again, on the 1st Nov., 1667: “My wife and myself to the King’s Playhouse, and there saw a silly play and an old one, ‘The Taming of a Shrew.’”

There is not much appreciation shown here of the poetic beauty of the Plays, nor any understanding of the wonderful work that was done in word making and the development of the English language. The age was not yet when these plays would be pored over, studied, criticised, analysed, annotated and dissected.

One of the first to criticise them at all in an enquiring spirit, was Thomas Rymer, and what he says is highly interesting and instructive.

Thomas Rymer was born in 1641 and died in 1713. He was a member of Grey’s Inn, and a strong Royalist, though his father Ralph had been an equally strong Roundhead, and was hanged at York in 1664 for high treason. Rymer’s work, by which no doubt he is best known and remembered, is his “Foedera”; a great production of 17 gigantic Royal Folios, containing historical documents, of every kind and description, copied from the official records of our country, from

the earliest times down to the period in which he lived ; a work showing infinite industry and care, and a work which is still of much value for reference. He made incursions as well into other walks in Literature, and in 1674 brought out through T. H. and N. Herringham (well-known publishers of that day) an octavo volume : " Reflections on Aristotle's Treatise of Poesie." But he also brought out in 1693, through Richard Baldwin, publisher, another octavo volume entitled : " A Short View of Tragedy ; its Original Excellency and Corruption, With Some Reflections on Shakespeare," &c., and it is to this that I would desire to draw attention. It was dedicated to Charles, Earl of Dorset, in language that is much more dignified and sensible than was usual with such writings at that time. One chapter is devoted entirely to an examination and critical study of Shakespeare's " Othello." It is in this that Rymer's extraordinary lack of appreciation and understanding of Shakespeare is shown. At p. 95 he says : " In the neighing of a horse, or in the growling of a mastiff there is a meaning, there is as lively expression, and I may say, more humanity, than many times in the tragical flights of Shakespeare."

And again : " There is not a monkey that understands Nature better : not a pug in Barbary that has not a truer taste of things " (p. 114).

And he concludes his criticism of this splendid tragedy by the sweeping remark that : " There is in this play some burlesk, some humour, and ramble of Comical Wit, some shew and some Mimicry to divert the spectators ; but the tragical parts is plainely none other than a bloody farce, without salt or savour."

This from a learned and educated man is indeed remarkable. The violence of the language, in its absurd ignorance, is worthy of a modern Shakespearian addressing a Baconian.

Yet let it not be thought that these are some chance phrases, let drop in a careless vein. The whole chapter is a patient dissection of the great tragedy. He sneers at Othello's dignified and restrained speech, commencing :—

“Most potent, grave, and reverend seigniors.”

Of Desdemona, he says : “ No woman bred out of a pig sty could talk so meanly (p. 131).

And of Othello's distraught words, after having killed Desdemona :—

“ O heavy hour !
Methinks it should be now a huge eclipse
Of sun and moon, and that the affrighted globe
Should yawn at alteration.”

He remarks, with keen critical insight : “ This is wonderful. Here is poetry to elevate and amuse. Here is sound all sufficient. It would be uncivil to ask Flamstead if the Sun and Moon can both together be so highly eclipsed in any heavy hour whatsoever. Nor must the spectators consult Gresham College whether a body is naturally frightened till he yawn again ” (p. 141).

Here indeed is a ramble of Comical Wit masquerading as shrewd literary criticism. And be it remembered that this comes from one of the leading literary men of the time.

Nor is Rymer confined in this precious little treatise of his, to the tragedy of Othello alone. In his next chapter he descants upon the play of “ Julius Cæsar.” I will not go much into this, but merely give the opening remarks of the chapter.

“ He (Shakespeare) might be familiar with Othello and Iago as his own natural acquaintances ; but Cæsar and Brutus were above his conversation. To put them in fool's coats and make them Jack-puddens

in the Shakespeare dress, is a sacrilege beyond anything in Spelman."

Here indeed are they all numbered, pilloried and catalogued; all the characters in these marvellous Plays; all the men and women who have charmed and amazed the world; who are known, revered and loved; or hated and despised according as the skill of the Master Magician's hand has painted them; whose thoughts, sayings, and deeds are familiar as the all encasing air; here you have them named and set down: "Jack-puddens in the Shakespeare dress!" Could any ramble of Comical Wit go further? No doubt in the opinion of this portentous critic these Jack-puddens should all be consigned to the limbo of forgotten things. Think what the world would have lost if this heavy-footed lumbering animal had trampled out all the Plays in his absurd progress, and crushed the sweet flowers of poetry under the ponderous stupidity of his criticism. It makes one wonder how much, perchance, the world may have lost of truth and literary beauty, by listening too attentively to the words of learned pedants.

But Pope—Alexander Pope—(1688-1744) has something to say about Thomas Rymer and his criticism. And what, think you, did he say? He describes Rymer as "a learned and strict critic" and "on the whole one of the best critics we ever had. . . . He is generally right, though rather too severe in his opinion of the particular Plays he speaks of."* This gives us "a taste" of what Pope thought of the "Jack-puddens in the Shakespeare dress." And Pope was a literary man and a poet, not merely a critic. It amazes one to find that he thinks Rymer was only "rather too severe" in his bludgeon-like treatment of the Plays.

* Dic. Nat. & Biog. Art. Thomas Rymer.

It could not have been that Pope feared that if he rebuked Rymer for his lack of appreciation of the splendid writings, he might have brought on himself a beating from the Rymer bludgeon, for Rymer was then dead. So that I think we may take it that Pope's real opinion of the Plays is reflected in the mild censure he gives to Rymer for his vitriolic outpourings. "He is generally right, though rather too severe."

A little later we come to Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) and by this time the appreciation of the Plays had grown. He wrote that Dryden's criticism had the "Majesty of a Queen; Rymer's the ferocity of a Tyrant."* What seemed to Johnson queenly criticism on Dryden's part, may be judged of in the following extracts: In 1699 Dryden wrote: "It must be allowed to the present age, that the tongue in general is so much refined since Shakespeare's time, that many of his words and more of his phrases, are scarcely intelligible. And of those which we understand, some are ungrammatical, others coarse, and his whole style is so pestered with figurative expressions, that it is affected as it is obscure. . . . How defective Shakespeare and Fletcher have been in all their plots, Mr. Rymer has discovered in his Criticisms."

"Poetry was then, if not in its infancy among us, at least not arrived to its vigour and maturity; witness the lameness of their plots, &c."

"Shakespeare who many times has written better than any poet, in any language, is yet as far from writing wit always, or expressing that wit according to the dignity of the subject, that he writes in many places below the dullest writer of ours, or of any precedent age."†

This is certainly not up to the ferocity of Rymer's

* Dic. Nat. Biog. Art. Thomas Rymer.

† Quoted from Edwards' "Shaksper not Shakespeare."

language, but it is quite without any appreciation of the marvellous beauty of the word-painting in the Plays, and it is significant that though Johnson speaks of Rymer's "ferocity," he still considers his criticism as something in the literary world worthy of serious thought.

The inference which I draw from the foregoing—and which one is, I think, entitled to draw—is that for 150 years after the publication of the Great 1623 Folio there was but little appreciation of the marvellous beauty, the depth and richness of literary splendour, the extraordinary "word-making" that is to be found in these immortal Plays. Critics of the Rymer breed—and he must have had an important following—saw little in them to admire and much to laugh at and despise. Their ears seem to have been deaf to the exquisite music of the language, and their eyes blind to the lovely flowers of rhetoric and imagery with which the pages are so plentifully bestrewn. All this was nothing to them. They could not see it and did not understand it. Johnson saw it, though mildly, and without any whole-hearted or enthusiastic appreciation; but from his time onwards the understanding of the Plays has increased, until now the man who would venture to pour out derision upon them would indeed write his own condemnation. I think there is no doubt that Bacon himself knew and felt that this work of his was far beyond the capacity of his contemporaries to appreciate. He says in his *Advancement of Learning**: "As for my selfe (Excellent King) to speak the truth of my selfe, I have often wittingly and willingly neglected the glory of my own Name and Learning (if any such thing be) both in the works I now publish, and in those I contrive for hereafter; whilst I study to advance the

* Edition 1640, p. 334; first published in Latin in 1623.

good and profit of mankind." It was the contriving for hereafter that Bacon had constantly in mind, and in the Plays (in which he neglected the glory of his own name) published in the same year as his "De Augmentis Scientiarum," there was a long forward look to the hereafter, when they would be read and studied as they should be. Even in his Will, as given in part by Archbishop Tenison in his "Baconiana" (1679) he is mindful of the great work he had, all his life, been doing for the development of the English language and literature, when he says: "For my Name and Memory I leave it to Foreign Nations; and to mine own country men, after some time be passed over."

"Crescit occulto velut Arbor aevo
Fama Baconi."

"The fame of Bacon grows secretly and unseen in the ages like a tree."

But the time when Bacon's fame will be understood, we are, I think, entering upon soon. Just as it took 150 years for the beauty and richness of the plays to be understood, so it has taken 150 years more for people to understand that that beauty and richness, that wonderful inter-weaving of musty learning and classic lore, with the most exquisite poetic fiction, could not have been the product of an uneducated young man from an insignificant English village; a man who after having supposedly done this splendid work, when barely 40 years of age, retired to his village again, and once more resumed the petty life he had previously led, dealing in malt, lending a few shillings here and there, tipping with the yokels of Stratford, oblivious of plays or any other literature, the world forgetting and by the world forgot, and died at 52 years of age from the effects of a drinking bout. Seeing that the Plays are what they are, I venture to think that, with the spread

of the general understanding of them, the time is approaching when there is not a Pug in Barbary (to borrow for a moment the Rymer bludgeon) but will see that they could not have been produced by an uneducated man from a bookless English village, no matter how many learned critics may descant upon that proposition and endeavour to prove it, in the affirmative.

"A man that couldn't write his name, never wrote those Plays."

Even now occasional gleams of light may be seen breaking through the "critical" darkness. I have seen one in the Dictionary of National Biography, Art. "Bacon," where the writer says: "There is something about Bacon's diction, his quaintness of expression, and his power of illustration, which lays hold of the mind, and lodges itself in the memory, in a way which we hardly find paralleled in any other author, except it be Shakespeare." Small wonder that there should be identity of diction and illustration in both writings, when both come from the same brain. "Mente Videbor," as Bacon said of himself.

Another ray of light which is very enlightening is obtained from David Masson. He says, in a passage that has often been quoted:—

"Shakespeare is as astonishing for the exuberance of his genius in abstract notions, and for the depth of his analytic and philosophic insight, as for the scope and minuteness of his poetic imagination. It is as if into a mind poetical in form, there had been poured all the matter that existed in the mind of his contemporary, Bacon. In Shakespeare's Plays, we have thought, history, exposition, philosophy, all within the round of the poet. The only difference between him and Bacon sometimes is, that Bacon writes an essay and calls it his own, whilst Shakespeare writes a similar essay and puts it in the mouth of an Ulysses or a Polonius."

Certainly a very complete summing up of the Bacon-

Shakespeare question in as few and as clear words as could possibly be found, and a summing up with which every Baconian would most thoroughly agree. The only difference between him and Masson being, that whereas the Baconian sees that Bacon and Shakespeare are one and indivisible, Masson believes in the ever recurring performance of a miracle in the pouring of the matter that existed in the mind of Bacon, into the uneducated brain of Shakespeare, there to be digested into poetic form. Which is the more reasonable inference to draw from the summing up? That of the Baconian? or that of Masson? With every confidence, I leave it to the jury of the great reading public to say, after the jury has informed itself of the facts of the case.

GRANVILLE C. CUNINGHAM.

THE SONNETS AGAIN.

IN 1907-8 I sent to BACONIANA three papers, entitled respectively, "A Piece of Tender Air," "Summer's Honey Breath," and "Leontes Heir." The first of these was published in October, 1907, the second in January, 1908, but the last was not published. The purpose of these papers was to show that the Sonnets, generally speaking, were addressed to the author and his writings, and not to any third person or thing, and that the four late plays, "Cymbeline," "Winter's Tale," "Pericles," and "Tempest," carry an allegory of the author and his plays, and that the plays in question are related to the Sonnets and that this relation can be traced.

Not being a Baconian, my mind passed to other things, and I thought no more of the matter until I received the April, 1912, BACONIANA, in which I was surprised to find an article by Mr. John Hutchinson, entitled, "The Sonnets of Shakespeare: A New View." In this article the theory of the Sonnets which in 1907-8 I had treated as a literary commonplace was advanced as novel. In the October (1912) number of BACONIANA (p. 253), I called attention to my earlier papers and expressed surprise that anyone should regard this view as new, especially as I had not so considered it five years before. I quoted the following lines from one of my papers as evidence of this:—

"I suppose there is no person now, no student, at least, who doubts that the Sonnets have reference to the author, and to his genius, his art, and his writings. I speak of the Sonnets generally, but I do not think that all of them have yet yielded their meaning. But taking the first hundred and twenty-six I think there is no doubt."

In January, 1913, Mr. Hutchinson acknowledged this communication in a letter (BACONIANA, p. 61), in which he said that he "believed" his view to be "original," "as the *Athenæum*, indeed has pronounced it." As to the last remark, I am moved to say that if the *Athenæum* knows no more of such matters than most Shakespeareans, its authority does not amount to much. Having recently turned my attention to Baconianism again (without having changed my mind), it is a matter of some curiosity to me why I treated this "new view" as a commonplace. The reading I was doing at the time has passed from me, but it seems to me that the idea in question must have been a commonplace else I would not have so treated it. In my papers I assumed the idea as a

matter of course, and proceeded to examine the plays mentioned in the light of the idea. The purpose of the present paper is not to revive any question of "novelty" between Mr. Hutchinson and myself, but to add something to what was said in my former paper.

It is commonly said by Shakespeareans that the first Sonnet is the key to the series. I think it is, but not the key that Shakespeareans think. If we are able to show that the Sonnets are not addressed to Southampton, or William Herbert, but are addressed to the poet and his writings, we will have made some advance, since the demonstration of this fact would render null all the laboured exegesis of the Sonnets by Shakespearean commentators.

The opening lines of Sonnet I. are familiar, but I quote them :—

" From fairest creatures we desire increase,
That thereby beauty's rose might never die,
But as the ripener should by time decease,
His tender heir might bear his memory."

In my earlier paper I said :—

" The author desires an heir. I think no one is so obtuse as to suppose that this is a physical heir. What he wants is an heir of his ' invention,' a spiritual heir, the offspring of his mind and soul."

As what I have to say now is a continuation of what I said before, I may be permitted to quote a few lines more from my former paper by way of preface :

" The groundwork and philosophy of the Sonnets cannot be said to be very original. They are the intimate record and journal of a man conscious of a great gift and with a literary prescience beyond all parallel, and a full and haunting

sense that life is short and art long. Therefore he urges himself to make use of his talent before the night comes in which no man can work. He speaks of himself, of his genius, of his work; addressing it as his Master, his Mistress, his 'lovely boy.' That these have reference to the author and his work no one can doubt."

This idea of a spiritual heir was one of the common conceits of Shakespeare's time. He used it himself in the dedication of the *Venus and Adonis*, which he called the "first heir" of his "invention." The idea was so common that it is unnecessary to dwell upon it. One or two references, however, may not be amiss. In the dedication of *Love's Martyr* to the "honoured Knight, Sir John Salisburie," it is said: "Everyone thinking his own child to be fairest although an Æthiopian, I am emboldened to put my infant wit to the eye of the world under your protection to the world I put my child to nurse, at the expense of your favour." In Bacon's letter to the University of Cambridge, on sending his *Novum Organum*, he says:—"Seeing I am your son, and your disciple, it would please me to repose in your bosom the issue I have lately brought forth into the world, for otherwise I should look upon it as an exposed child." And in Jonson's lines, prefixed to the "First Folio," it is said:—

". . . . Look how the father's face
Lives in his issue, even so, the race
Of Shakespeare's mind and manners brightly shines
In his well turned and true filed lines."*

*(See generally, Montaigne, "On the Affection of Fathers to Their Children.")

The literary allusion of the Sonnets is so plain that it seems strange anyone could have mistaken it. The

term "Procreation Sonnets," of the Shakespearians, is to my mind as grotesque as anything attributed to Baconians. It is not possible within the scope of a paper to say all that may be said on the subject. But I do not think it is necessary to say everything that might be said. The following, in my opinion, is sufficient to support the argument.

I commence with the expression "that thereby beauty's rose might never die." There is a great deal in Shakespeare about "truth and beauty."† Let

† Cf. Sonnets, "The Phœnix and the Turtle," &c.

us assume that truth stands for philosophy and beauty for poetry. Emerson says that each truth will "square" with every other truth in the universe. In other words, all truth must harmonise. What harmonises is harmonious, therefore, musical. Bacon erected in his grounds at Gorhambury a statue of Orpheus and inscribed it "Philosophy Personified." In the Phædo, Cebes says:—

"By Jupiter, Socrates, you have done well in reminding me : with respect to the poems you made, by putting into verse those Fables of Æsop and the Hymn to Apollo, several other persons asked me, and especially Evenus recently, with what design you made them after you came here, whereas before you had never made any. If, therefore, you care at all that I should be able to answer Evenus, when he asks me again, for I am sure he will do so, tell me what I must say to him ?

" 'Tell him the truth then, Cebes,' he replied, "that I did not make them from a wish to compete with him, or his poems, for I knew that this would be no easy matter : but that I might discover the meaning of certain dreams and discharge my conscience, if this should happen to be the music which they have often ordered me to apply myself to. For they were to the following purport : often, in my past life, the same dreams visited me, appearing at different times in different forms, yet always saying the same things, 'Socrates.'

it said, 'apply yourself to and practice music.' And I formerly supposed that it exhorted and encouraged me to continue the pursuit I was engaged in, as those who cheer on racers, so that the dream encouraged me to continue the pursuit I was engaged in, namely, to apply myself to music, since philosophy is the highest music, and I was devoted to it."

We read in the fable that Love, through harmony, created all things. Harmony is truth, because every truth must harmonise with all truth. The harmony of things is musical, therefore poetical. This is palpably Socrates' meaning in the passage quoted. Now a word as to Orpheus. Jacob Bryant (*Antient Mythology*, Vol. II., p. 410), says :—

"The character of Orpheus is in some respects not unlike that of Zoroaster. He was esteemed both as a priest and a prophet. His skill in harmony is represented as very wonderful. . . . The Orpheans deal particularly in symbols. . . . His character for science was very great. He is reputed to have been skilled in many arts. There is great uncertainty about his parents. He is generally supposed to have been the son of Aegrus and Calliope, others made him the son of Apollo by that goddess. Some say his mother was Polyhymnia. Plato styles him the offspring of the Moon and the Muses. In all places he displayed his superiority in science, for he was not only a poet and skilled in harmony, but a great theologian and prophet; also very knowing in medicine and the history of the heavens. Some go so far as to ascribe to him the invention of letters and deduce all knowledge from him."

The bearing and analogies of these quotations will be obvious without comment. As Keats says :—

"Beauty is truth, truth beauty,
'Tis all ye know, and all ye need to know."†

† This idea may throw some light upon "The Phoenix and the Turtle."

I have digressed a little, but before returning to

the argument I must be allowed a few generalisations, the purpose of which will be apparent.

Mind, spirit, soul, are from roots that signify *air*. Thus spiritus, anima, anemos, psyche, pseuche, ghost, geist, gust, mean air, or wind, and all have a creative significance. God "breathed" into Adam a living *soul*. The Muses "breathed" into Hesiod "divine words" and he sung "a lovely song." The Indian god of Creation was Hurrkan, "a great wind." (Brinton, "Myths of the New World.") Prof. Cornill ("The Prophets of Israel") says that Jahveh was the name of an ancient deity local to Mt. Sinai, the name signifying "the feller" (= wind). The words wind and mind are said to be literally the same, the Sanscrit W being written M in Latin. (Morgan Kavanaugh, "Origin of Language and Myth.") Music and poetry are synonymous. We call a tune an air. Ariel was Prospero's servant, who had been in bondage a long time, but was soon to be released as the magician was about to "break his wand" and "sink his book." Apollo is the Sun God, the god of light (intellect) as opposed to darkness (ignorance). He is the patron of music, poetry, art, and science. The myth has a specially powerful creative significance. That the sun is the source of all life is simply a scientific statement, but it was also the religious tenet of all antiquity. *Heat* is creative. The words, therefore, have a double significance, a literal and a figurative. In Son. 45 Shakespeare speaks of his thought as "slight air." Imogen is "a piece of tender air," that is, a piece of the author's thought. § Spenser employs the same device, his enchanter Archimagoll (Arch-imago; the

§ And she is "last," like Perdita, Marina, and Miranda. Perdita is the last "summer" of "The Winter's Tale." Cf. the vernal imagery of the Sonnets.

|| Supra.!

word is significant. Cf. Son., "Show me your *image* in some antique book," &c.), creating his feigned or unreal women out of "liquid" or "subtile" air. Compare also Euripides' Helen. With these general suggestions in mind, let us return now to the argument. I was referring to the expression "that beauty's rose might never die." Beauty's rose, I think, is poetry's rose, and rose, I think, is equivalent to flower, or blossom. So that translated the words would mean poetry's flower or bloom. The expression "might never die" does not suggest a mortal heir, but an immortal one.¶ Assuming, then, that the "tender heir" referred to is a spiritual heir, one that will "never die," I approach the crux of the proposition, which is contained in a single line, viz. :—

"Thou art all the better part of me."

I do not mean that there are no other lines of the same import, nor that the argument may not be strengthened by reference to other lines. What I maintain is that the proposition may be demonstrated from this line alone. Upon this line Shakespearean exegesists lose themselves in a cloud of neo-platonic speculation, but if it can be shown that this line has a simple personal and literary significance the Shakespeareans will be put out of court. I think this can be shown. My thesis is that the word "thou" refers to the Shakespeare writings. To begin with, Shakespeare says that self-love is all his sin :—

"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't but *mine own* when I praise *thee*?"

"My spirit is thine, the better part of me."

¶ "Plato addeth, moreover, that these are immortal issues and immortalise their fathers." Montaigne, note, ante.

" Sin of self love possesses all mine eye
 And all my soul and all my every part ;
 And for myself mine own worth do define,
 As in all other in all worths surmount.
 'Tis thee, myself, that for myself I praise."

If the author is not here talking about himself words have no meaning. Before passing to evidence *aliunde*, let us see if we can find confirmation in the Sonnets of the personal and literary aspect of the passage in question. Take Son. 59 :—

" If there be nothing new . . .
 . . . how are *our brains* beguiled,
 Which, *laboring for invention*, bear amiss,
 The *second burden* of a former *child*.
 O, that record with a backward look
 Even of five hundred courses of the sun
 Show me your *image** in some antique book
 Since *mind*, at first, in *character* was done.
 Then I might see what the old world could say
 To this *composed wonder* of your frame."

This Sonnet is literary throughout. It is the brain that is labouring for invention, and bearing a child. If the " child " produced is merely like one that has been produced before, then the brain is " beguiled." " This *composed wonder* " is necessarily a literary product as is shown not only by the words themselves, but by the accompanying expression, " Since *mind* at first in *character* (writing) was done." " Invention " was the common word of the period for poetical composition. Compare " Love's Labour Lost," where Holofernes criticises Biron's Love Sonnet " according to the established stages and elements of progress in this department of school work. Two of the more

* That is, your like, or equal.

important of these stages were technically known as imitation and invention, the lower exercise, or imitation, being preparatory to the higher and more independent effort required for invention." (Baynes, "Shakespeare Studies.") Take Son. 5 :—

" Those hours that with *gentle work did frame*†
 The *lovely gaze* where every eye doth dwell
 Will play the tyrant to the very same.
 For never resting Time leads Summer on
 To hideous winter.
 Then were not *summer's distillation* left,
 Beauty's effect with beauty were bereft
 But flowers distilled, though they with winter meet
 Leese but their shadow, their substance still is sweet."

" Then let not Winter's rugged hand deface
 In thee (that is himself) thy *Summer*, ere *thou* be distilled."

What is this but telling himself to work and produce while he has the power. And what is all this *vernal imagery* in the Sonnets? "Summer's distillation," "summer's honey breath," "a summer's story," "thy *eternal* summer," &c. It is another story, which I cannot go into here, except to say that winter is the season of darkness, gloom and barrenness, and summer of joy, beauty, and strength. The imagery is as old as the mind of man, and the life of man is like it.

" Youth is full of pleasure, age is lull of care ;
 Youth like summer morn, age like winter weather ;
 Youth like summer brave, age like winter bare
 Youth is hot and bold, age is weak and cold."

This is the burden of the Sonnets :—

" When forty winters shall besiege thy brow
 And dig deep trenches in thy beauty's field,
 Thy youth's proud livery so gazed on now,
 Will be a tattered weed :

† Cf. " This composed wonder of your *frame*."

Then being ask'd where all *thy beauty* lies
 Where all *the treasure of thy lusty days*,
 To say, within thine own deep sunken eyes,
 Were an all eating shame and thriftless praise.
 How much more praise deserved thy beauty's *use*,
 If thou could'st answer—' This fair *child* of mine
 Shall sum my count, and make my old excuse "'
 Proving his beauty by succession thine.
 This were to be new made when thou art old
 And see thy blood warm, when thou feel'st it cold."

This Sonnet is addressed by Shakespeare to himself, and its meaning is plain. He must write, reproduce himself while he can. To let his talent lie waste would be a sin and shame. What follows needs no gloss :—

" Since brass, nor stone, nor earth, nor boundless sea,
 But sad mortality o'ersways their power,
 How with this rage shall beauty (poesy) hold a plea,
 Whose action is no stronger than a flower ?
 O how shall *Summer's honey breath* hold out
 Against the wrackful siege of battering days ?
 O fearful meditation ! Where, alack,
 Shall Time's *best jewel* from Thine's chest be hid ?
 O none, unless this miracle have might,
 That in *black ink* my love may still shine bright."

The sequence closes :—

" O thou, my lovely boy, who in *thy power*,
 Dost hold Time's fickle glass, his sickle, hour ;
 Who hast by waning grown, and therein show'st,
 Thy leaves withering as thy sweet self grow'st ;
 If Nature, Sovereign Mistress, ever wrack,
 As thou goest onwards still will pluck thee back.
 She keeps thee to this purpose, that *her skill*
 May *Time disgrace*, and *wretched moments* kill.
 Yet fear her, O thou minion of her pleasure.
 She may detain, but not still keep her treasure.
 Her audit though delayed, answered must be,
 And *her quietus* is to *render thee*."

Is there any question about what this means? "Not marble, nor the gilded monuments shall outlive this powerful rhyme." But the world was not going to end with the death of Southampton or Pembroke, and Shakespeare did not mean any such thing. But we do not need to speculate, we have a contemporary interpretation. In the Return from Parnassus is this passage :—

"Guillio : Nature that made thee with herself had strife,
Saithe that the world hath ending with thy life.
Ingenioso : Sweete Mr. Shakespeare !"

But enough of this. I have said that the argument turns on a line, "Thou art all the better part of me," and that "thou" in this line is a literary allusion. And I have promised evidence aliunde. It is time to produce it. Son. 44 of Drayton's "Idea" is as follows :

"While thus my pen strives to eternize thee,
Age rules my lines with wrinkles in my face,
Where, in the map of all my misery
Is modelled out the world of my disgrace ;
Whilst in despite of tyranizing times,
Media-like, I make thee young again,
Proudly thou scorn'st my world-out-wearing rhymes,
And murderest virtue with thy coy disdain :
And though in youth my youth untimely perishe,
To keep thee from oblivion and the grave
Ensuing ages yet *my rhymes* shall cherish
Where I entombed *my better part* shall save ;
And though this earthly body fade and die,
My name shall mount upon eternity."

Here the expression is used in so plain a literary sense that no one can mistake it. My next reference is singular. Almost the first mention of Shakespeare as a writer is in the Palladis Tamia of Francis Meeres, who says that, "As the soule of Euphorbus was

thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweete wittie soule of Ovid lives in Melliflous and honeyed-tongued Shakespeare, witness his Venus and Adonis, his Lucrece, his sugred sonnets among his private friends." Mr. George Wyndham, taking this cue, and speaking of the indebtedness of other writers to Ovid, says : " With greater frequency comes the evidence of Shakespeare's loving familiarity with Ovid, whose effects he fuses. . . . In all Shakespeare's work of this period the same fusion of Ovid's stories and images is obvious. . . . Ovid with his power of telling a story and of eloquent discourse, his shining images, his cadences, coloured with assonance and weighted with alliteration ; Chaucer, with his sweet liquidity of diction, his dialogues and soliloquies—*these are the ' only true begetters ' of the lyric Shakespeare.*" Strangely enough, Ben Jonson, in " The War of the Theatres," wrote his Poetaster around a character called Ovid *Junior*, who was ostensibly a lawyer, but secretly a poet and playwright. " The curtain rises with Ovid Junior discovered in his study putting the finishing touches to some verses he has been composing. This young Ovid is a lawyer by profession, but he has no stomach for the law, and he is heard reciting with evident pleasure the last two lines of his poem :—

" Then when *this body* falls in funeral fire
My name shall live and *my best part* aspire."

Without further comment, here are two contemporary uses of Shakespeare's expression that are plainly literary, and by men who knew Shakespeare and who were " undoubtedly," as Sidney Lee would say, familiar with the " sugred sonnets," and who undoubtedly understood them.

Can it be doubted, in the light of the sonnets them-

selves and of this additional evidence aliunde that Shakespeare's line is literary and personal in its meaning? I think not. The "best part" of Drayton and of Ovid Junior was their poetry, and when Shakespeare wrote, "Thou art all the better part of me," he meant the same thing. This was the "lovely gaze," "the composed wonder" that "hours of gentle work did frame," the "Summer's story," "Summer's distillation," &c., of the Sonnets.

C. G. HONOR.

Guthrie, Okla., U.S.A.

MERE FEATHERS.

ONE of the many branches of investigation by the contributors to *BACONIANA* seems to interest "Shakespeareans" least of all. Point out to any of them some of the mysterious woodcuts, head-pieces, tail-pieces, initials, water-marks, or mis-pagination, in volumes printed temp. Eliz. & Jac., and the common remark is, "Well, what of them?" A question like the child's perpetual "Why?" which, as it cannot be answered in a breath, is often rather silencing. Good manners forbid the answer, if ready, being prefaced by a necessary lecture on the history of the period that the questioner, must at least be supposed to know, although it would certainly bore him to listen to it. The best jigsaw puzzle would not engross him more, if he could be persuaded to amuse himself with the subject. On the least evidence of interest in it, he should be induced to read the illustrated paper on the "New Birth of Time,"

contributed by the late Mrs. Constance Pott to this Journal in 1894. (Vol. II., N.S., p. 370.) Such was the title given by that famous Leader of a Research Party to her description and explanation of the symbolical design at the head of the First Folio of "Shakespeare's" Plays. A plate containing four specimens of a similar design, but reproduced from as many different books, accompanies the Article, and its author refers somewhat particularly to details of the symbolical ornament, the Boy, Birds of Paradise, Archers, Wild Animals, Rabbits, etc., and suggests the meaning of each. "Look where we will," she writes, "amongst the illustrated books, the designs, metal work, or architecture of the Baconian period, the English Renaissance, we are met by these symbols, infinitely varied, variously combined, but 'ever the same,' and conspicuous to any observer," and a list of no less than 34 books containing "The New Birth of Time" headline concludes the article. Their dates run from 1583 to 1669. Although the acute-minded lady was aware that the symbols were "infinitely varied," it would seem that even she failed to notice in this headline a variation so trifling that the present writer thinks it must be of importance. He has casually mentioned it before in BACONIANA, but now wishes to bring it more fully into light for investigation. On looking at the "Shakespeare" First Folio Headline, the observer will see that each of the two Birds of Paradise has a long tail of 5 feathers. Now let him look at the Headlines in "The Whole Booke of Psalmes" of 1583, and in the two other Headlines reproduced by Mrs. Pott to illustrate their similarity. At first glance the design seems identical with that of the First Folio. There is, however, a difference. It is this. In the other volumes the Bird has not 5 feathers, but only 3. Whether this is so in all the 34 books

enumerated by Mrs. Pott can easily be ascertained at the Museum, but the present writer has not had an opportunity of examining them. He has, however, found the 3 feather Headline in many books of the period from different printing presses. Inexplicable as this seems to us, it is still more curious that the very identical First Folio Headline with 5 feathers can be found in a few other books not named in the above-mentioned list. They may be classed with the Plays, as works for the "Advancement of Learning." Like the 34, some were published during Bacon's life, others, perhaps, after. These "5 feathered Headlines" will be found in certain volumes treating exhaustively of large and important branches of knowledge. The writer possesses four of such works, which shall now be described.

1. The *Treasurie of Auncient and Moderne Times*, containing the Learned Collections, Judicious Readings, and Memorable Observations: Not only Divine, Morall and Phylosophicall. But also Poetical, Martiall, Politicall, Historicall, Astrological, and Translated out of that Worthy Spanish Gentleman, Pedro Mexio. And M. Francesco Sansovino, that Famous Italian. As also, of those Honourable Frenchmen, Anthonia Du Verdier, Lord of Vauprivaz; Loys Guyon, Sieur de la Nauche, Counsellor unto the King; Claudius Gruget, Parisian, etc.

[PRINTER'S DEVICE.

A right hand grasping a Sceptre supporting a Portcullis. The wrist entwined by a Serpent, with its tail in its mouth, and enclosing the motto, "Prudentia." On either side of the sceptre, and also grasped by the hand, which issues from a cloud, are laurel branches.]

London: Printed by W. Jaggard, 1613.

The work is in 2 vols. fo. There is an unsigned address to the Reader, and above a Dedication to

Sir Thomas Brudenell, Baronet, signed only, "Your namelesse Well-willer,

desirous to be known to none
but your Selfe,"

is the exact Headline of the Folio "Shakespeare." It is repeated on p. 1. A list of 576 Authors cited is given. A second Volume of the Work was entitled, "Time's Storehouse," and came from the same press in 1619, with a fine and somewhat mysterious frontispiece, engraved by R. Elstracke, and an unsigned Dedication to Sir Phillip Herbert and his wife. The whole work is a repertory of information of the most miscellaneous kind. It purports to be a translation, and I have checked a number of the Chapters with those in the "Silva" of Pedro Mexia, and found them to correspond. The First Edition of this Spanish Miscellany was published in Seville A.D. 1542, but my comparison has been made with an Edition printed at Antwerp 1603, and another version in Italian, printed at Venice 1560. There is, however, a great deal of the work which is evidently *not* translated from any of those by the foreign authors named on the title-page, and the 5th Book of Vol. II., describing the ranks of our nobility, the "Ancient forme of the Coronation of the Kings and Queenes of England," with, amongst other plates, a fine one of our Parliament in Session, can have only an English origin. Space will not permit me to state the extraordinarily various subjects of the distinct Chapters in the "Treasury" Essays on most divers matters, such as "Of the Soule of Man," "Of Curiosity," "Of the Ant," "Of the Windes," "Of opportunitie," "Of covetousness," etc., are scattered with almost methodical disorder amongst historical treatises, ex. gr. : "The reign of Herod." "A catalogue of the High Priests." "The three Conquests of England," "Of Ireland," "Of the New-

found World," etc., etc. It is indeed a "storehouse" of valuable and recondite knowledge. Amongst the Essays in the first Vol. is one—freely translated from the Spanish—on "The Seven Ages of Man," which may no doubt suggest to readers the source of a far more poetical treatment of the same subject.

The "Treasurie" is full of the affairs of men in the gross. Let me now call attention to another book, with the "5 feathered Headline," confined to the knowledge of man in detail. "ΜΙΚΡΟΚΟΣΜΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ. A description of the Body of Man. Together with the Controversies thereto belonging. Collected and Translated out of all the Best Authors of Anatomy. Especially out of Gasper Bashinus and Andreas Laurentius. By Helkiah Crooke, Doctor in Physicke. Etiam Parnassia Laurus Parva sub ingenti matris se subijcit umbra."

London: Printed by William Jaggard, 1615, fo.

It is dedicated to King James I., and is an orderly, learned, and exhaustive compendium of Anatomy, illustrated by numerous plates.

Another very general and comprehensive work on the business of men, is "Consuetudo vel Lex Mercatoria, or, The Ancient Law-Merchant. . . . By Gerard Malynes, Merchant. . . . Whereunto is Annexed The Merchant's Mirrour . . . by Richard Dafforne, of Northampton, Accountant."

London: Printed by William Hunt, for Nicolas Bourne, 1656, fo. This is also dedicated to King James I., and an address to the reader is dated 1622, although the book seems to be a first Edition.

Here the "5 feathered Headline" first appears in the middle of the volume, on three pages near to each other, and, above either a preface, or an address "To the Reader," or an Introduction. But it is worth notice that several Chapters, evidently from the pen of a

learned lawyer, in the *Lex Mercatoria*, begin with what I have elsewhere termed the "Boar Initial." If the whole *Lex Mercatoria* was really written by "Gerard Malynes, Merchant," who signs his name "Malines," he was a singularly accomplished man of business, as a glance at the profound Chapters, "Of Navigation and Community of the Seas," and "Of the distinct Dominions of the Seas" would prove. That he was also a person of importance may be inferred from a passage at p. 131, where the Author—whoever he is—writes ". . . I call to memory a conference, which in the year 1606 (being in Yorkshire about the Allome Mines, and certaine Lead Mines in Richmondshire) passed between the Archbishop of York, Doctor *Matthew* and myselfe, in presence of Ralph Lord Eure, with whom I went to Yorke to congratulate the said Archbishop newly come to that See, which was concerning the center of the earth . . . etc.," page 131, and on p. 132, he makes a highly scientific observation on ascertaining the Latitude, adding "As I made Sir Francis Drake, Knight, to take notice of, in the year 1587, and after that more sensibly to Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight," and on p. 134 . . . "I must remember the singular care which the right reverend Father in God, Dr. Abbott (now Archbishop of Canterbury and Metropolitan of England) hath had, in procuring (at his great charges for the good of our posterity) an excellent great volume or manuscript which was heretofore taken at Calais in France, when the Spaniards took the same Anno 1596, and carried to Bruxels in the Low countries, whereof I have had the perusall, and made an abstract of the Chapters of the same"—which he gives, and is most interesting. There are passages on p. 135 full of significance to readers of *BACONIANA*, but too long for me to cite here. They bear on the symbols in the *Headline*.

The fourth large work with "5 feathered Headlines" is entitled, on a fine frontispiece, engraved by Wm. Marshall, "Saturni Ephemerides' sive tabula Historico Chronologica, containing a chronological series, or succession of the four Monarchyes, with an Abridgment of the Annual Memorable passages in them. As also, a succession of the Kings and Rulers over most Kingdoms and Estates of the World. . . . With a compend of the History of the Church of God from the creation. The times of the patriarchs, Fathers, Doctors, and others, famous and learned men in all Faculties. . . . Lastly, An Appendix of the Plantation and Encrease of Religion in this Monarchy of Britayne. The Times of Foundation of Bishoprics in England and Wales, with a Chronological Succession of the Bishops there. . . ." By Henry Isaacson, Londoner. Printed by B. A. and T. F., for Henry Seile and Humphrey Robinson, London, roy. fo., 1633. On the title-page to the Appendix, the printers' names are stated, viz., Barn. Alsop and Tho. Fawcet. It is dedicated to King Charles I. From Latin verses in praise of the Author it appears that Henry Isaacson was the amanuensis of Lancelot Andrewes, the very learned Bishop of Winchester, and intimate friend of Francis Bacon. Therefore it may be said, in passing, that it is passing strange to find, on turning to a column which contains the names of famous Historians, Poets, Painters, Lawyers, etc., the name of Bacon is omitted, and it is fair to add that of "Shake-speare" also. Yet the compendium is most assuredly of use and intended for that "Advancement of Learning" so near to the hearts of both Bishop and his friend.

My rôle as a contributor to these pages is rather to state facts, which possibly may have escaped due attention than to attempt explanations of them,

but perhaps some of our ingenious readers can suggest why the symbolical design used as a headline to the First Folio "Shakespeare," should be exactly reproduced in the four large works which I have just described, and a very similar design with a variation quite mysteriously insignificant, yet requiring a distinct wood block, be used for the 34 volumes specified by the writer of the Article on "The New Birth of Time," that I have respectfully ventured to supplement.

J. R., of Gray's Inn.

[NOTE.—In supplement and confirmation of the foregoing article, the Editor has found in the 1618 English Edition of the "French Academy" (London, Thomas Adams) 4 examples of the five feather version of the Archer Emblem. No book could meet more completely the conditions that J. R. postulates for the using of the 5 feather emblem, than does the French Academy. It is in every sense a book intended for the Advancement of Learning, and treats "exhaustively of large and important branches of knowledge." The 1618 Edition is a small Folio extending to over 1,000 pages. The Four Books into which it is divided treat of :

1. Institution of Manners and Callings of all E states.
2. Concerning the Soul and Body of Man.
3. A Notable description of the whole World, &c.
4. Christian Philosophie instructing the true and only means to Eternal Life.

In this Edition the 4th Book appeared for the first time in English, and it had appeared for the first time in French in the French Edition of 1613 (Saumur, Thomas Portau). The subject matter of the four books gives one an idea of the gigantic undertaking that this book represents.

"L'Academie Francaise," as the French title runs, is a most curious and even mysterious book. The first Edition came out in Paris in 1578, and it is said to be by Peter de la Primaudaye. It was evidently much thought of, subsequent editions were brought out, and as early as 1584 it was translated into English by one Thomas Bowes—as J. R. informs me. But though the work is of such a vast range, and so profound in its searching after knowledge, nothing whatever is known of the

Frenchman, Peter de la Primaudaye, who is put forward as the Author. The writer has searched French biographical dictionaries and can find nothing about him.

To the French Edition of 1613 the 4th Book was added, and apparently this concluded the work. The English Edition of 1618 has this 4th Book, and it is very remarkable that though the subject matter is the same in both, the English is most certainly not a *translation* of the French ; it professes, however, to be a translation. There are very great differences throughout the book in the English and French Versions. As before said, it is one of the "mystery books" of the period.

It will be noticed in the reproduction of headpieces showing the 5 feathers (Shakespeare, Folio, 1623) that the right hand bird has only 4 fully developed feathers and one in embryo. The headpieces in the French Academy are exactly the same as this.—ED. BACONIANA.]

THE ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE.

A BOOK bearing this title was printed by Richard Field [1589, Blackfriars] with no author's name. It will be remembered that Richard Field printed *Venus and Adonis* four years later, and that a year before it appeared Francis Bacon took Richard Field down with him to Twickenham Park, together with Richard Cecil, and Robert Gosnold, to discuss "law for ye merry Tales."

Field dedicated the book to Right Hon. Sir William Cecil, Lord of Burleigh, saying :

"This book coming to my hands, with his bare title without any Author's name or any other ordinary address, I doubted how well it might become me to make you a present thereof, seeming by many express passages . . . that it was by the Author intended to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and to her recreation and service chiefly devised," etc. Again : "Per-

ceiving besides the title to purport so slender a subject, as nothing could be more discrepant from the gravity of your years and Honorable function, whose contemplations are every hour more seriously employed upon the publick administration and services, I thought it no condign gratification for . . . such a person as you."

Yet Field speaks of "thanks due to the Author," for "a device of some novelty (which commonly giveth every good thing a special grace,)" and concludes :

"I could not devise to have presented your Lordship any gift more agreeable to your appetite . . . your Lordship being learned, and a lover of learning."

If this were true, the Lord Treasurer must have altered in the last fourteen years. What Lodge thought of him in 1575 is seen in his *Illustrations*, p. 53-56, where he quotes a letter about Edward Talbot written to his father, Lord Shrewsbury, by Cecil.

"I wish your Lordship's son without any curiosity of human learning, which without the fear of God, I see doth great hurt to all youths in this time and age." Lodge says :

"This singular opinion of human learning renders this letter a most curious and interesting relic." Who is the mysterious Author learned enough to produce such a work, who was so well aware of the unpleasant savour which Poetry had for the Lord High Treasurer and his Sovereign Lady that he had to use palavar and apology to obtain his protection for the volume, which evidently he considered essential to its success ?

In the little volume of English Reprints (Constable, 1895) Edward Arber in his Introduction says the original composition was written about 1585 and printed 1589. Arber calls it the largest part of Poetical criticism in Elizabeth's reign. He finds the following remarks in it somewhat extraordinary considering the great Poets then living.

“As well Poets and Poesie are despised, and the name of some of honorable infamous, subject to scorn and derision . . . rather a reproach than a praise to any that useth it : for commonly who is studious in th' arte, or shews himself excellent in it, they call him in disdain a *phantasticall*, and a light-headed or phantasticall man (by conversion) they call a Poet.”* And again : “It is hard to find in these days of noble men or gentlemen any good mathematician, or excellent musician, or notable philosopher, or else a cunning Poet, because we find few great Princes delighted in the same studies,” adding, “I know very many notable gentlemen in the Court that have written commendably and suppressed it again, or else suffered it to be published without their names to it, as if it were a discredit for a gentleman to seem learned, and to show himself amorous of any good Art.”†

Arber says the book is written for the Queen's information, next for the Court, and lastly to “make this Arte vulgar for all Englishman's use.”

Arber shows how the book gives the theory of the various forms of Poetry ; describes Classic Poetry, and how the Chapter on Language exhibits the Author as the Archbishop Trench of his age. He praises the clear style, the merry twinkling wit constantly peeping out and the dispassionate judgment, ending with this question : “Who was the Author ?” Arber has the gravest doubts of its being George Puttenham, whose name was never attached to it till 1614.

Arber offers no solution to the mystery, but points out that it claims to be written by an Englishman born about 1532, an Oxford scholar, brought up in foreign courts, which he knew better than English ones. At home in Greek and Latin, he was well skilled in French, Italian and Spanish, was well read

* p. 61.

† p. 37.

in History, especially that of his own time, had great acquaintance with his national literature, and took special delight in English poetry. "Who," says Arber, "Is this high-born, high-bred, highly cultivated, courtly Crichton?" Who, ought to be added, never published his important, learned work till he was fifty-three? I answer unhesitatingly, Francis Bacon, with wit enough to wrap his identity up in the pretence of mature age when he was really twenty-four.

The anonymous Author claims to be that despised thing, a Poet or "Maker." A name which Sir John Harrington in his Preface to his Orlando Furioso (Fol. 1,591) says: "Was christened in English by an unknown Godfather in the Arte of English Poesy." Camden, in his Remaines of a Greater Work concerning Britaine (1605) says: "Of the dignity of Poetry much has been said by the worthy Sir Philip Sydney and by the gentleman which proved that Poets were the first Politicians, Philosophers, and Histriographers." Arber says, somewhat foolishly as I think, "Camden did not know who the gentleman was." Arber is much impressed not only by the reticence, of the Author, but by the "successful reticence."

Francis Bacon in his *Advancement of Learning*, Book II., Chap. xiii. [Joseph Devey's edition] divides Poetry, which he names the Second leading Branch of Learning, into 1, Narrative. 2, Dramatic. 3, Allegorical. He insists on the great antiquity of Poetry. "It was," he says, "in high esteem in the most ignorant ages, among the most barbarous people, while other learning was utterly excluded."

The Arte of English Poetry says: "The profession and use of Poesie is most ancient from the beginning . . . before any civil society was among men . . . when as they little differed . . . from the very brutes of the field." Bacon says: "Music which conveys it the

sweeter to the mind" assisted the charms of Poetry, which may justly be esteemed of a Divine nature." The ancient times, he tells us, were full of the Allegories of the Poets, and again: "The Secrets and Mysteries of Religion are wrapped up in Allegorical Poetry."

"It came," says the Arte of Poesy, "That the high Mysteries of the gods should be taught and revealed by Poesy . . ." because they made the first difference between virtue and vice . . . tempered with the exercise of a delectable Music, by melodious instruments, which withall served them to delight their hearers. Therefore were they the first Philosophers Ethick and the first artificial Musicians of the world. "It cannot but be therefore . . . that any scorn should be justly offered to so noble, profitable, ancient, and Divine a Science, as Poesie is. (Arte of English Poesie, p. 25.)

Francis Bacon says: "Dramatic Poetry has the Theatre for its world, and would be of excellent use if it were sound." He adds "for the discipline and corruption of the Theatre is of very great importance. . . the action of the Theatre was carefully watched by the ancients that it might improve mankind in virtue, and many wise men and great philosophers have thought it to the mind as the bow to the fiddle." (Joseph Devey's Ed.: George Bell & Sons. p. 97, *Advancement of Learning*).

Interesting chapters of the Arte of Poesy explain how vice was rebuked anciently by the Satyr, the Comedy, and the Tragedy . . . (p. 46) tending altogether to the good amendment of man by discipline and example." It adds in strong terms: that "Infamous life, wickedness, miserable ends, were painted out in Playes . . . to show the just punishment of God." It is significant that Fairman Ordish in his *Early London Theatres* suggests that the name

Theatre, the name of the first London Play House, was chosen to denote a display or demonstration of God's Judgments.

It is impossible here to touch on all the points of similarity between the writer of the Arte of Poesie, and Francis Bacon. The salient one emphasises the need for the modern Stage to imitate the Ancient one in inculcating virtue.

Sir John Harrington, mentioned above, was the brother of that Minerva, Lucy, Countess of Bedford, who welcomed Poets Donne, Drayton, and many others, at her flowery bower, Twickenham Lodge, which she bought from Francis Bacon. No mean poet herself, we never hear of either Shake-Speare or Bacon being her guests. Her brother, who died unmarried and made her his heir, was the Queen's god-son, and uses the term *Ignoto* for the author of the Arte of Poesie. *De Morte*, the poem commencing "Man's Life's a Tragedy," is signed Ignoto, and is attributed to Francis Bacon by Palgrave in his Golden Treasury. Among Sir Henry Wotton's papers were found poems signed Ignoto, one of these Professor Grosart asserts is Francis Bacon's "The world's a bubble and the life of Man Less than a Span."*

Wotton speaks of Bacon's "Divine Understanding," and says: "Here (Italy) his books are more and more delighted in by those men who have more than ordinary knowledge." (Letter from Italy to Lord Cavendish).

Certainly we believe all his intimates had more than

*In the "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," published in London in 1651, at page 538, this poem, "The World's a Bubble," is given with "Ignoto" as the author. In a subsequent edition of the book, published in London in 1685, at p. 397, this poem again appears with "Fra. Lord Bacon" as the Author. See also the Article "Ignoto" in BACONIANA for October, 1913.—ED. BACONIANA.

ordinary knowledge of his works, and of his desire to remain Ignoto, and furthered his purpose.

A word as to Sir Philip Sydney's *Defence of Poesie* printed for the first time nine years after his death. It appeared 1595, the same year the *Arte of Poesie* was written according to Arber. Sydney describes Poetry as "a speaking picture" which he says has this for end "to teach and delight."

Bacon says: "Dramatic Poetry is a Visible History," and "Hieroglyphics preceded Letters, so Parables preceded Arguments" (p. 96 Ad. of L.), and were used to teach and lay open, and "Poetry not only delights but inculcates morality and nobleness of soul" (p. 97 Ad. of L.).

Sydney says Poetry has "Divine force, and Divine fury."

Bacon says, "Poetry is inspired with Divine rapture," and "Divine fury."

Sydney says: "I conjure you no more to scorn the sacred Mysteries contained in Poetry, which of purpose were written darkly."

Bacon says: "Allegorical Poetry is to envelop things, whose dignity deserves a veil" (p. 98). The secrets and Mysteries of Religion, policy, and philosophy are wrapped up in fables and parables," and "There is a two-fold use of Parables . . . conducing as well to the folding up as to the enlightenment and laying open of obscurities." (Wisdom o. t. A.)

Sydney treats "Fiction as the essence of Poetry."

Bacon treats Poetry as, "History feigned at pleasure."

Sydney calls Poetry, "The first light-giver."

Bacon says: "History performs the office of a guide rather than a light, and Poetry is as it were the stream of knowledge," adding "Poetry has always been attributed to the imagination, and Divine illumination

makes use of it." This fascinating brilliant *Defence of Poesie* bears the trace so absolutely of Francis Bacon's pen, and mirrors his ideas so accurately, that I can but believe he wrote it as surely as he wrote Puttenham's "Arte." Mr. Smedley, I know thinks with me. The word "delightfulness" recurs often in all its tenses with regard to Poetry, which is essentially Baconian.

It is only reasonable to suppose that Francis Bacon desired to conceal from the Queen, to whose favour and bounty he looked in the future, what she feared was a feather in his head, and the fact that he was fitter for a "Mountebank of Service than a grave Councillor." It is quite possible that Bacon when he used this expression in one of his speeches did so with a twinkle, because the Queen had directed it against himself one fine day! There is a tradition that she found his vein lighter than she thought altogether safe for the grave profession of Law.

Had Francis Bacon been known by the Queen and at Court as the "Maker" who not only satyrised the foibles and sins of his day, but wrapped political and royal secrets of most portentous moment up in Plays, his head even would not have been worth a moment's purchase. As an acknowledged instructor of Poets during Elizabeth's reign he would have forfeited favour, but as an acknowledged Dramatist he would probably have forfeited life. A student of our subject pointed out to me lately the old Dugdale copy of the first Stratford monument, saying: "Isn't the cushion like a headless pig? Take away Shakespear, and you leave Bacon." I responded: "Take away Shakspar, and you leave headless Bacon!"

ALICIA AMY LEITH.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE NATURE OF LOVE IN THE SONNETS. TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

DEAR SIR,—This subject is one which has caused critics and commentators, of all shades of opinion, very great difficulty. There are, however, occasional clues dropped by the elusive author, which seem to me to offer encouragement in the game of hide-and-seek so skilfully arranged by him.

The nature of the "love" in the Sonnets is termed :—

Eternal love. (Sonnets 108).

Religious love. (Sonnets 31).

So that eternal love in love's fresh case
Weighs not the dust and injury of age,
Nor gives to necessary wrinkles place,
But makes antiquity for aye his page,
Finding the first conceit of love there bred
Where time and outward form would show it dead.

Where can this "eternal love" be if not in poetry?

In many of the sonnets, "our ever-living poet" is promising eternity to "the better part" of him, and his lines are declared to be "eternal numbers to outlive long date." The appellation "religious love" is not so apparent to the understanding at first sight. Shake-speare writes :—

How many a holy and obsequious tear
Hath dear religious love stolen from mine eye!

Working upon the incontrovertible fact that in the Sonnets (as in *The Tempest*) the poet is praising alternately his own person and art, difficulties at once disappear. Bacon writes that "Poesy was ever thought to have some participation of divineness." Shakespeare observes that "much is the force of heaven-bred Poesy." In his *Apologie for Poetry*, Sidney says :—

"For that same exquisite observing of number and measure in words, and that high-flying liberty of conceit proper to the poet, did seem to have some divine force in it."

All the poets attributed to Poesy a heavenly descent.

It may be of interest to remark that in *A Lover's Complaint*, the nature of love is likewise declared to be :—

Eternal love. Verse 34.

Religious love. Verse 36.

Both these instances are in connection with the nun who abandoned some "noble suit" which she had at Court, and removed thence to spend her living in "eternal love." I take this to refer to some poet (the poet being represented by a female, because Nature gives him power to "beget," or bring forth) who withdrew from the Court, and became, as Dekker called himself, "a priest in Apollo's temple." Still telling the story of this nun, the golden-haired young man boasts how having been subdued, she would :

the caged cloister fly :
Religious love put out religion's eye :
Not to be tempted, would she be immured,
And now, to tempt, all liberty procured.

So this "religious love" steals the eye. It will be remembered that the "Master-Mistress" is said to be :—

A man in hew, all hews in his controlling
Which *steals* men's eyes and women souls amazeth.

The enquiring mind may ask why it was this nun procured liberty in order to tempt. The answer that will, I think, commend itself is that the poet alludes to the license, or liberty, of poetry as a means to move our hearts. Thus Webbe, in *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586), writes :—

"The very sum or chiefest essence of Poetry, did always for the most part consist in delighting the readers or hearers with pleasure . . . whereby they might draw men's minds into admiration of their inventions."

In Sonnet 114, Shakespeare likens the beautiful youth to a cherubin :—

Such cherubins as your sweet self resemble.

In the *Advancement of Learning*, Bacon quotes the authority of Dionysius the Areopagite for his remark that "In the celestial hierarchy the first place or degree is given to the angels of love, which are termed seraphim; the second, to the angels of light which are called cherubim, so as the angels

of knowledge and illumination are placed before the angels of office and domination."

That the being addressed in the sonnets was something of dazzling radiance (personifying what Shakespeare, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, calls "that angel knowledge") is certain :

When most I wink, then do mine eyes best see,
For all the day they view things unrespected ;
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,
When to unseeing eyes thy shade shines so !

All nights are nights to see till I see thee,
And nights bright days when dreams do show thee me.

Are not these dreams to be identified with the *pas'sime* of poetry, which Bacon declared to be "a dream of learning" ?—
Yours very truly,

R. L. EAGLE.

19, Burghill Road, Sydenham, S.E.

" DID BACON DIE IN 1626 ? "
TO THE EDITOR OF " BACONIANA. "

SIR,—I presume that all of us of the Bacon party are interested in the endeavour to solve the mysteries that surround the life of Bacon, and the writings that are acknowledged as his, and the writings which we, his admirers, attribute to him. All endeavours to unveil the mysteries which surround him should be of interest to us, and should be worthy of patient examination. Sometimes doubtless the investigations lead into a blind alley, and are fruitless ; sometimes they open up new paths that lead to valuable results. Often investigations begun by one, are taken up and followed by another ; and in all cases the honest and fair criticisms of the work of any one are helpful in indicating how the pathway of discovery may be further opened up, or why the investigation being followed is in all likelihood bound to yield no good results. But I submit that the criticisms of one Baconian on another should in the first place be studiously fair ; we get enough misquotation, and mere word juggling from Shakespearians.

These remarks are called forth by a letter from Mr. Harold

Hardy in the October BACONIANA, criticising an article of mine, "Did Bacon Die in 1626?" that appeared in the July number. In that article I brought forward a letter that is among the Bacon papers in the Lambeth Library, papers that were gathered by Archbishop Tenison, and by him given to the care of Edmund Gibson (afterwards Bishop), who was librarian of the Palace Library. The letter has been among the Bacon papers ever since. Peculiarities of it are that it is not *addressed* to any one, is only partially dated, no year being given, and is signed merely by the letters "T. M." The fact that it is with the Bacon papers is *prima facie* evidence that it is a letter to Bacon; and the fact that these papers have passed through the hands of men of such high positions as Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Gibson, is somewhat of a guarantee that the letter has a genuine connection with Bacon and is not a mere scrap of paper. Montague (1830) in his "Life of Bacon" accepts it as a letter to Bacon, though I was particularly careful to show in my article that there was no definite address on the letter to justify this. The contents of the letter show without a doubt that it was written in the year 1631. If it is a letter to Bacon, written in 1631, it is a proof that Bacon lived after 1626—as many people, from other circumstances, have surmised; if it be assumed that it is *not* a letter to Bacon, then as against that assumption the question arises why have Tenison and Gibson handed it down as part of the Bacon correspondence? Surely not merely to mislead; while the letter in itself, apart from the light it throws on Bacon's life, is not of sufficient value to include among the papers of the Lambeth Library, if it has no connection with Bacon. These are the puzzling features which I set out in the fairest way I could in my article.

Now Mr. Harold Hardy seems to wish to burke, if he can, any investigation into the fact of the existence of this letter, and to whom it was written. I said: "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

* Who was for many years secretary to Bacon.

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 anything that on the face of it would show for whom it was meant."

With these facts concerning the letter I submit that there is a strong presumption in favour of its being addressed to Bacon; and if this were the case, the matter was one worthy of careful and fair investigation; which, I submit I proceeded to give it. Certainly if Bacon continued to live after 1626, the most "astounding inferences" would necessarily flow from that fact; but that the inferences would be astounding is not proof—as Mr. Hardy would seem to think—that the fact is therefore non-existent. The question to be decided first is: "Was the letter written to Bacon?"; the astounding inferences must be dealt with afterwards. The investigation that any one, desiring to arrive at the truth of this matter, must undertake is, "Was the letter written to Bacon?"; to which the subsidiary questions are: "If not to Bacon then to whom?" and "If not to Bacon, then why included by Archbishop Tenison among the Bacon papers?"

Mr. Hardy says that I give it as my opinion that "Lady St. Alban committed bigamy." If I had given that as my opinion, there is little doubt that a possible investigator would have said to himself, "If the case rests on that, I should think it is hardly worth while looking into it."

Now in the course of my investigations I necessarily came across the curiously complicated tales, or impressions, that were extant in regard to Lady Bacon. On the one hand Spedding, who has gathered up much about Bacon, shows that the public idea was that Lady Bacon had in some way incurred her husband's serious displeasure, in consequence of which he revoked bequests made to her in his will, and her subsequent marriage with her gentleman usher, which the public believed had taken place, gave some support to the scandal that had been talked about her. On the other hand, the remarks of Rawley, Bacon's chaplain and amanuensis, who was deep in his confidence and must have known better than the public the state of affairs; remarks made in the "Resuscitatio" that he published in 1657, some ten years after Lady Bacon's death—are full of respect and admiration for Lady Bacon, and show that she was "prosecuted" by Lord Bacon with much conjugal love and respect and endued with a robe of honour by him "which she wore until her

dying day." There is no hint here of anything scandalous, or any word about marrying her gentleman usher. My opinion of the contradictions implied in the above statements is, not that Lady Bacon committed bigamy, as Mr. Hardy says, but that in order to blind and mislead the public and establish the conviction in the public mind that Bacon died in 1626, the story was deliberately put about that Lady Bacon had married her gentleman usher. But far from suggesting that she had committed bigamy, what I said was :—" 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 was actually 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."

In the face of this, is Mr. Hardy's statement quite fair when he says that my opinion is that Lady Bacon committed bigamy ?

There are other points in Mr. Hardy's letter that are equally erroneous, but you, sir, will probably think I have already spent more space upon it than it merits. I am glad, however, that it has given me the opportunity of again directing attention to this very remarkable letter of Thomas Meautys to Bacon. The more it is studied the more it will be seen to be a most remarkable document, and the fact that it has been carefully preserved for all these years, with the rest of the Bacon papers, is full of significance to those whose minds are capable of receiving impressions, and pondering upon causes and effects.

I thank Mr. Parker Woodward for his remarks in the same October number of *BACONIANA* upon my article. He deals with it in the fair and just spirit of an investigator after truth, and one who is anxious that the true facts should be discovered in all their bearings.

Mr. Henry Hathway's letter is also one for which I am thankful. I am glad that my article should have turned his attention to this phase of the Bacon question, and I venture to predict that the more he follows up his enquiry into the date of Bacon's death, with an open and fair mind, the more he will find that the year 1626 becomes doubtful and, ultimately, incredible.—Yours faithfully,

GRANVILLE C. CUNINGHAM.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

DEAR SIR,—On re-reading Walter Begley's "Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio," I find in Vol. II on page 25, "But Labeo undoubtedly stands for Bacon." It is probably perfectly well known to experts that according to "Secret Shakespearian Seals" (page 27), the positional numerical value of "Labeo" is 33, and by the Kaye method it is 111, which numbers are identical in both cases with the values of the word "Bacon."

Not having come across mention of these values in what little I have read on the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy, perhaps the coincidence may be interesting enough to attract the attention of your readers.—I am, dear sir, faithfully yours,

JOHN GLAS. SANDEMAN.

Whin-Hurst, Hayling Island, Havant.

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BACON AND SHAKESPEARE.

SOME COMMONSENSE REFLECTIONS.

I AM desirous of writing upon some section of the work which the Bacon Society was founded to do, namely, to make the character, abilities and services to mankind of Francis Bacon, more generally known than they are, and to follow up every clue to information concerning him. Personally, I do not pretend to have made any important original discoveries, but the subject has had great attraction for me during many years. Macaulay, as everybody knows, wrote an Essay on Bacon which has probably been more widely read than any other of his Essays. It is a curious composition, as he describes Bacon as having been gifted with "the most exquisitely constructed intellect ever bestowed upon the children of men," and yet the general effect of the Essay has been to throw contempt upon Bacon as a man and to found a vulgar prejudice against him. Macaulay does this by a flat violation of truth, or by perverse insinuations and reckless inferences. To a friend, late in life, it is recorded that he expressed regret for having written this Essay. If Macaulay had never written about Bacon the general idea of the "man in the street," and sometimes the men and women in drawing rooms, would have been very different. He seems never to have quite made up his mind whether to adore or to denounce Bacon, but he laid stress upon some of the

most wonderful qualities of the real man, which lend support to the section of his career which is my subject to-day.

The University of Oxford has ordered all Macaulay's works to be placed in a special category as "*not trustworthy for History.*" His brilliant prose and his political bias often carried him outside the bounds of truth. I suppose that the wrong-headed and inaccurate view he took of Bacon's relations to the *Earl of Essex* is one of the most important of the injurious influences he set in action. Of course he adopted the *primâ facie* facts bearing upon the allegations of Bacon's "corruption" and "Fall," and it never entered his head to investigate these matters for himself or to look below the surface. I say this because there are people ignorant and silly enough to meet the suggestion that Bacon wrote the "Shakespeare" literature by reciting Macaulay's remarks upon these irrelevant points. I have no time to deal fully with the injustice and absurdity of the vulgar belief. *Bacon was in fact one of the gentlest, purest and most unselfish of human beings, the mainspring of whose action throughout life was the desire to benefit mankind.* He never personally derived one penny from the so-called bribes, taken by his servants and clerks, as the principal one, Thomas Bushell, afterwards Sir Thomas Bushell, admits in the very touching letter written by him in a book called, "The First part of Youth's Errors," in 1628—two years after Bacon's death. It will be new to many people. It runs, "a letter to his approved friend, Mr. John Eliot, Esquire."

"The ample testimony of your true affection towards my Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban, hath obliged me, your servant. Yet, lest the calumnious tongues of men might extenuate the good opinion you had of his worth and merit, I must ingenuously confess that myself

and others of his servants were the occasions of exhaling his vertues into a dark eclipse; which God knowes would have long endured both for the honour of his King and the good of the Commonaltie; had not we whom his bountie nursed, laid on his guiltless shoulders our base and execrable deeds to be scand and censured by the whole Senate of a State, where no sooner sentence was given, but most of us forsoke him, which makes us bear the badge of Jewes to this day. Yet I am confident there were some Godly Daniels amongst us. . . . As for myselfe with shame I must acquit the title, and pleade guilty; which grieves my very soule, that so matchless a Peer should be lost by such insinuating caterpillars, who in his owne nature scorn'd the least thought of any base, unworthy or ignoble act, though subject to infirmities as ordained to the wisest." I should be sorry to think so ill of Macaulay as to believe that he had ever heard of the existence of this letter! I have reproduced it in my book, "Francis Bacon wrote Shakespeare." In taking gifts these servants did but follow a bad custom—which Bacon subsequently severely condemned. Bacon is acknowledged to have been the justest and most industrious of Judges. Scarcely one of his decisions were ever reversed. He wrote to Buckingham,—7th May, 1617, "Not one cause is unheard. I have made even with the business of the Kingdom. This, I think, could not be said in our age before. The duties of life are more than life. Fresh justice is sweetest."

Bacon adopted the responsibility for the alleged "bribes," in order to save James I. probably from dethronement and the Country from Revolution. Without reading up the circumstances, it is extremely absurd for anybody to glibly talk about "Bacon's Fall." The intrigue against him was engineered for

political and *really* corrupt personal purposes by personal enemies. The whole story is told in my book. It had its origin in monopolies corruptly given to favourites.

As to Essex, Bacon served him constantly without fee or reward—so did his brother Antony,—he warned him against the political perils of his expedition to Ireland, he implored him on his return, after disastrous failure, to make his peace with Elizabeth, and then, when nothing could restrain Essex from rushing to destruction, he performed his inevitable official function of public prosecutor (which he first tried to escape), as tenderly as practicable, and after the condemnation, by order of the Queen he wrote a "Declaration of Practices and Treason" for Essex so moderate that the Queen was very angry and insisted upon a stronger indictment.

It is vexatious to have to say so much upon these episodes in Bacon's life because, *even if the worst accusations were true, they have no bearing upon the question whether he was the Author of the literature known under the name of "William Shakespeare."* But, if I did not thus glance at these episodes, I am sure there are persons who would stop their mental ears against anything that might be said on the purely literary problem. We of the Bacon Society know all about it, but I am out for converts. It is my principal difficulty—to construct a paper which shall not bore those who have found salvation, and yet shall interest those who have not.

The question really resolves itself into whether a *Miracle* took place or not; a Miracle not of the same nature as those of Holy Writ, but equally inexplicable. If a man born in a petty Provincial town, the conditions of which are known to have been more backward than those of the majority of such towns, of illiterate parents, and in a

County with a very strong distinctive dialect, concerning whom it cannot *positively* be stated that he ever went to school, and if he did it is positively known that before the age of 13 he was serving as a butcher's apprentice, and that he remained in that town for some years, whose personal conduct so far as anything is known of it, it was irregular, dissipated and immoral—tradition being strong to that effect—a man who suddenly fled from that town about the age of 21, deserting a wife and family, and arriving in London, where nothing is known of him until six years later, and who then emerges as an unimportant actor—if this man for the ensuing 20 years produced the greatest literature in the world, then it is indisputable that we are in presence of a miracle.

If the Defenders of the Faith that *Shaksper* of Stratford was the AUTHOR of the "Shakespeare" Plays and Poems, admit that he was an incarnate Miracle, their opponents are disarmed. There is no arguing against a Miracle. Those who think miracles possible, will believe anything—it is their *métier*. But, happily for mankind, the vast majority of sane people are guided by the invariable rules of experience and the laws of Nature. Only by observing these can knowledge be obtained, and it is *knowledge* alone that provides men with firm ground for stepping forward.

I think this consideration at once supplies an answer to those careless sentimentalists who remark, whenever the authorship of the Shakespeare literature is called in question, "What does it matter—we have the works." It matters a great deal to those who value truth, who believe that reason is our only safe guide, that reward attends effort, that effects have natural causes, and that psychology itself is subject to Law.

The word GENIUS is useful as indicating an intense development in individuals of qualities which in in-

ferior degree are possessed by every rational human creature. But it does not mean something miraculous and outside natural law. It does not mean the power to create *something out of nothing*, which we attribute to GOD. Genius displays itself by fresh and unexpected combinations of existing materials within the control of the manipulator. *Genius could not fire an unloaded gun.*

When, therefore, we see a literature compounded of widely scattered elements, but comprising practically all the elements then available—the dead languages, the contemporary languages, the science, geography, history ancient and modern, the various racial characteristics and legends, classic philosophy, Court life and diplomacy, painting, music, horticulture, anatomy, medicine, hawking, fencing, heraldry (these three known only to an aristocratic class), natural philosophy, law, poetry, technical navigation, printing, all combined in a medium of the commonest good sense, we are greatly concerned to discover by whom this literature was produced. It is of very practical importance to make that discovery.

It will not be denied that I have thus accurately (although not adequately) described the "Shakespeare" literature. It is admitted by the defenders of the popular delusion that the AUTHOR was familiar with the following classical writers :—Aristotle, Plato, Euripides, Catullus, Sophocles, Pliny, Lucretius, Statius, Plutarch, Tibullus, Seneca, Tacitus, Horace, Cicero, Ovid and Virgil. Many of their works were then untranslated, and Churton Collins, the most abusive of these gentlemen, records that he must have been able to read Greek. These orthodox defenders, the lovers of the miraculous, try whenever they can, to minimise the perfection of items in this catalogue. Thus they will say that the author made occasional false quanti-

ties in Latin, that some points in his Law are disputable, and some of his poetry doggerel. They would exclude Bacon from the candidature by asserting that his "style" in his acknowledged works is so set and decided that he "could" not have written anything attributed to "Shakespeare." This is like "damning sins they have no mind for by praising those they are inclined for." They are eager to deny miracles when it does not harmonise with their own predilections. They will swallow anything the Stratford butcher offers them, but are very dainty about anything from the greatest intellect of his epoch, if not of all time.

For, whether Macaulay's dictum be true or not, apart from mere hyperbole, and assertions which are insusceptible of mathematical proof, *no* thinker or student can discern in the whole realm of history any *more capable* mind than that of Francis Bacon. It is obvious that no contemporary excelled him, and that in the extent and variety of his knowledge he had no equal.

He also stands for all time as one who emancipated himself from the conventional rules of thought, and he was the incarnation of revolt against the hide bound ideas—so far as the age had *any* ideas—and orthodox mental ligaments which constrained all the exemplars of the culture of his period. In all his acknowledged writings there is not one example of foolish fantasy, and yet running through all is a vein of wholesome poetic fancy. The word "wholesome" seems to describe the mind and nature of Francis Bacon. What we now call common sense (a most uncommon quality still) marks everything that has come down from him. It has been well said that a complete rule of life is to be found in the Shakespeare literature, and that with that and the Bible mankind need seek no higher standard. He was intellectually a kicker over the

traces. And this faculty to discern the unfruitfulness of the scholastic learning of his day was apparent so early in his life that it can only be regarded as the operation of inborn genius. He had a ravenous appetite for real knowledge, and a power of mental assimilation which could not be satisfied with the dry husks which were all that was obtainable from the Professors down to the middle of the 16th century. There were witty and wise men at that time; there were great "scholars," but they all worked within orthodox lines. They were all "Meistersingers." There are few whose names have survived as original thinkers. The great men before Bacon worked with materials which existed ready to their hands and made combinations resembling arguing in a circle. Bacon's centrifugal genius prompted him to seek for *new* materials and point the way by which they might naturally be found. As regards the scientific knowledge which he actually acquired I am not sure that much of it is of intrinsic value now. The progress of science and art, and the conquest of the laws of mechanics, have made the items which he himself garnered unimportant. This, parenthetically, is my answer to those who lay stress upon "Rosicrucian" Mysteries, and the belief that there still exists a Secret Society, founded by Francis Bacon, who carry on knowledge which they are under oath not to divulge to the world at large. It is pretty obvious that no such knowledge of any value can now be secret, or retained by a limited esoteric body. In so far, of course, as anyone can believe in the Supernatural, can believe that it is possible to demonstrate or perceive and appreciate conditions relating to life beyond death, or to commune with the departed, or to realise Soul-life whilst encased in a fleshy envelope, then, indeed, it might be thought possible for "Rosicrucians" to

possess knowledge concealed from the mass of men. But in demonstrating such a claim, the spirit of Rosicrucianism would evaporate. No! I never could be impressed by the mysterious suggestions of the late beloved and highly spiritual and deeply learned Mrs. Pott. That there *was* a Rosicrucian Society in Bacon's time, and that he was a Member, if not the Founder of it, I feel sure. But it dealt with specific and mundane knowledge in my opinion. The deadly oppression, autocracy, and vested interests of the political and religious Authorities, their ruthless struggle against the Renaissance, their furious determination that the human intellect should not awaken and pursue its course towards Truth and Fact, and strike down Superstition and all that lived and battered upon traditional ignorance, gave ample reasons why a Society should be formed which should acquire and store up truth and knowledge, shielding them and keeping them in a hidden treasury, awaiting the time when it would be safe, alike for its guardians and truth itself, that it should become manifest and serviceable to mankind. We know what happened to Bruno, Galileo, and so many others in advance of their age.

I thus dismiss Rosicrucianism. We have outgrown it.

In the Realm of the Supernatural we have made no progress. We know as little now of anything not perceptible to our senses and acceptable to our Reason as the human race has ever known. But, in the material Realm our progress has been incalculable, and we have almost *forced* Nature herself to become our visible household drudge. For the first impetus towards this, for the freedom of idea, for the process, we are indebted to Francis Bacon.

Now, if during a period of some 18 years a series of Plays and Poems, saturated with the characteristics I

have indicated, make their appearance, we, as reasonable beings, must look around for a probable, or at least a possible author.

I have given you two names :—

1. The butcher and subsequent Actor of Stratford ;

2. The great gentleman, lawyer, aristocrat, traveller, scientist, original investigator and philosopher, wit, master of styles, scholar, the man whose external movements were in the eye of the world, the man who has left innumerable records in his own name, whose ambition *it was to be a writer*, and who most unwillingly, and under a well known protest, had to look to law for a livelihood.

Which will you have ? This man or—Barabbas ?

The events of the butcher-actor's life that are actually known and undisputed may be recorded on a sheet of notepaper. The fundamental difficulty in convincing people that the literature was not produced by a man of the name it bears is the literature itself. Just because so little is known of any man of this name, or of a name resembling it, the literature is made to construct the author—instead of the author the literature.

There is no authority so great, learned, painstaking, as *Sir Sidney Lee*. What he does not know no one knows on his side of the question. Within the last few months, *appropriately to the Third Centenary of the death of the Stratford actor* we call "Shakespeare," Sir Sidney Lee has issued a revised and expanded "Life" of this man. There were wild revellings based upon this man's personality as the supposed AUTHOR, and an avalanche of falsehood and vain imaginings let loose. Sir Sidney's "Life" extends to 720 pages. Such an expansion of such an

actual life is its own condemnation. Lee's book is a Cyclopædia of the literature and writers of that epoch. It is extremely interesting and valuable, but does *not add one fact to what was known about this Stratford man before*. Unfortunately, under the influence of an obsession which almost induces idolatry, claims and assertions are made which it is hard to reconcile with conscious veracity, but we know no more about the man of Stratford now than we knew before this colossal work came out. I speak of obsession—consider how strong it must be in the case of the vast majority of living “men of letters.”

I suppose *amour propre* (vanity?) is a stronger influence than love of gain. But both are involved in supporting the Stratford claim. *Just think of the vested interests!* The innumerable books by learned men, who have strained their ingenuity, the *tradition*, the *sentiment*, most powerful, insomuch that the average young lady will say “Bacon was a beast; you must not rob me of my Shakespeare,” the railway companies, the Stratford hotels, the large revenue from visitors' fees to the Church. Nine men out of ten will also say, “I don't want to have my mind upset; I will *not* listen.” (This does not indicate robust faith!) *Motive* is a word with invidious associations. Let me rather put it as origin of impulse. What, then, are the origins of impulse of the Stratfordians and Baconians? Those of Stratford's supporters are obvious. The consequences of the destruction of the Stratford legend would be so great and widespread that even a supernatural revelation would be accepted sulkily and atheists would abound. “You will never convince me.” How could any remark be more foolish? How can a man know whether he can be convinced until he has heard the arguments? Typical!

But Baconians can have but one origin of impulse— an ardent desire for scientific truth. Bitter obloquy is certain to be their portion.

So great is the power of this obsession that J. P. Collier, who had the custody of Henslowe's Diary belonging to Dulwich College for many years, introduced *forgeries* into it, and to quote Lee, "The intense interest which Shakespeare's life and work have long universally excited has tempted unprincipled or sportively mischievous writers from time to time to deceive the public by the forgery of documents purporting to supply new information." Collier was the wickedest, but Steevens, and other eminent "authorities" on the actor's authorship, introduced forgeries in all sorts of places. Lee writes:—"Most of the works relating to the biography of Shakespeare, or the history of the Elizabethan stage produced by J. P. Collier, or under his supervision, between 1835 and 1849, are honeycombed with forged references to Shakespeare, and many of the forgeries have been admitted unsuspectingly into literary history." *Who can say where this process stopped or infallibly distinguish the false from the true?*

I have mentioned Henslowe's Diary. It is to be seen at Dulwich College. Henslowe was the proprietor of the Rose and Fortune theatres. He kept a diary from 1591 to 1609 in which he entered daily the sums lent by him to the needy authors and the money taken for performances. The names of nearly every dramatic writer of the day are found there, but not "Shakespeare." Yet Halliwell Phillips, one of the pillars of the Orthodox faith, actually has the audacity to say, "Up to this period Shakespeare had written all his dramas for Henslowe!"

What object had the forgers? They could not have made money by them. They were not concerned in

the profits of the traffic to Stratford. The explanation I conceive to be that Collier and others, the more they looked into the matter the more uneasy they became. The darling idol they had so long hugged to their hearts was like to perish of inanition. Some nourishment must be administered. There were the wonderful works, and the more wonderful they were the more incredible did the actor's authorship become. *Something must be done!!*

I grieve that Lee himself has deliberately written in the name of Shakespeare in a contemporary record of a dramatist named *Chettle*, which all advanced "orthodox" students admit does not refer to the actor.

Again, as to "origin of impulse," it must be noted that the Stratford supporters' procedure mainly consists of the suppression or evasion of counter arguments, feeble attempts at ridicule, gross personal abuse of Baconians, and occasional outbursts of fury. We are all lunatic and, according to Collins, victims of "a ridiculous epidemic with many of the characteristics of the dancing mania of the Middle Ages." Lee says, "The idea that Bacon wrote the literature" is a "foolish craze," "morbid psychology," "mad-house chatter." We are "unworthy of serious attention from any but professed students of intellectual aberration." This judgment includes Hallam, Emerson, Dickens, Lord Penzance, Lord Beaconsfield, W. E. Gladstone, Lord Palmerston, Judge Webb, Mr. Bompas, K.C., O. W. Holmes, Prince Bismarck, John Bright (who records that "anyone who believes that Shakespeare, of Stratford, wrote "Hamlet" or "Lear" is a fool"), J. R. Lowell, Sir Edwin Arnold, and a host of renowned trained scholars. *All lunatics together!* It is sad; I should myself be in despair had I not the company of kindred spirits equally

afflicted! Lee says we are all "ignorant, vain, unable to test evidence, and should be classed with the believers in Orton and the Cock Lane ghost." Everybody who believes in Bacon lacks "scholarly habits of mind" (I am not sure from some of the examples of scholars that we are not to be congratulated) and "when narrowly examined we have invariably exhibited a tendency to monomania." *An educated man, whatever the truth may be—never wrote a more foolish sentence.* Churton Collins actually has the stupid brutality to use as an "argument," the fact that Delia Bacon, who started the controversy in America, died in an asylum. But Collins himself went mad and poisoned himself in a country ditch. These protagonists may thus be held to cancel each other.

An amusing Stratfordian *ambush* is Bishop Wordsworth's remark—"I am inclined to doubt whether it would be desirable for us to be more fully informed concerning the Poet's life than we actually are." As Shaksper, the actor, was admittedly,—a poacher, seducer, fugitive, vagabond, drunkard, actor, money lender, brewer, land grabber, *I agree with the Bishop.* At the very moment when (1604) the first revised Quarto of "Hamlet" came out, he was engaged at Stratford suing debtors for trifling sums of money lent, and he kept a lawyer (a relative) living with him, probably to write his letters and to worry his debtors on economical terms.

There is not one single action recorded of the Stratford man that is not discreditable. His first marriage license was obtained for another woman and not for Anne Hathaway, whom he had seduced. Her peasant brothers appear to have arrived on the scene just in time to compel him to "make her an honest woman." He seems never to have been free from

rankling animosity against his wife. He deserted her, never sent for her to London, where he is alleged to have been prosperous. After his final return to Stratford, he barred her dower. He left her only his second best bed. There seems to have been no correspondence between them during his long absence. This is an astounding contrast to the exquisitely loving letters which were always passing between Alleyn and his wife. Alleyn, who was one of the proprietors of the theatres and founded Dulwich College. Lee admits that the only contemporaneously recorded incident of Shaksper personally in London is of a low intrigue, which was also a treacherous act towards his friend Burbage. One of the first traditions about him was that he got so drunk at Bidford that he had to sleep where he fell. For a century or more the tree so honoured as to shelter him was exhibited with pride by the villagers. His death has no record except that of the Rev. John Ward, of Stratford (50 years afterwards), and as due to a drunken orgie. He allowed his children to be brought up unable to write. In London he tried to evade paying his rates and was pursued from one parish to another, ultimately being forced to pay something on account by legal proceedings. He never repaid a loan of 40s. made to his wife by his father's shepherd at a time of her dire distress during his desertion, and his executors had to recover it. His biographers tell us that during all this time he was renowned, wealthy and mixing in the first social and literary circles, "the friend of his Queen and of his friend the Earl of Southampton." Such dishonest nonsense makes one rather sick. At a time of famine in Stratford he held up a considerable quantity of corn. He made desperate efforts to enclose common land in the neighbourhood. He attempted to obtain a Coat of Arms by a series of

fraudulent statements which, as they are on record at the Herald's College, all his biographers are obliged to admit. It was ultimately granted, with limitations This is "gentle Shakespeare"; an object of sentimental affection! The sentiment is indeed truly "mental"—*i.e.*, it has no material foundation. One is reminded of Caliban's apostrophe, "I'll be wise hereafter. What a thrice double ass I was to take this drunkard for a god and worship this dull fool."

Of course *all controversialists admit that but for Ben Jonson's* utterances the belief in the actor's authorship would not have taken root. "Shakespeare" without Jonson would always have been a mystery for *everybody*. But Jonson's statements are so contradictory that he is an absolutely discredited witness. A man making such in a law court would have been kicked out, if not indicted for perjury. These utterances are known to everyone who takes even a superficial view of the controversy. They are of two distinct classes:—

When speaking of the AUTHOR seven years after the actor was dead, they are clear and extravagantly laudatory, but so long as the actor was alive and more or less in contact with Jonson, they were most abusive and damnatory. I have no time for more than one or two illustrations. In life Jonson called the actor a "Poet Ape," "a thief," a "stealer of other men's works," a "hyprocrite," "an imposter." When he wrote of him 20 years later, in a volume of "Discoveries" (a book of his reminiscences), he says, "He loved the man this side idolatry." In his lifetime he satirised the actor most savagely in a play called the "Poetaster," and several of the disgraceful incidents I have alluded to are unmistakably introduced (published 1602).

Jonson edited the Volume the Folio of 1623, which

we know as the Shakespeare Plays. He had been for a year or two previously, and was then, assisting Lord Verulam at Gorhambury, as a sort of Secretary, and to improve the latin of his graver writings, and superintending their publication. In the Folio prefatory poem Jonson speaks of the AUTHOR's works as equalling "all that had been sent forth by insolent Greece or haughty Rome." In the same volume of reminiscences he uses precisely the same words of Bacon's works, adding that he was the "mark and acmé of our language." The Shakespeare literature added 7,000 words to the English language, all classically derived. It is absurd to suppose that he was referring to two separate personages. There is also an inconsistency within an inconsistency when Jonson said to Drummond of Hawthornden, that "Shakespeare wanted arte," and made other contemptuous criticisms, because, when the Folio came out, he spoke of the AUTHOR as a "star of poets" about to become a "constellation," whose works were "such as neither man nor Muse could praise too much."

Again, in the list he gives of all the great names of literary characters he had known, "Shakespeare" is omitted.

In the Folio prefatory poem the lines occur :—

"Who casts to write a living line must sweat
(such as thine are) and strike the second heat
Upon the Muse's anvil,—
For a good poet's made as well as born."

And he proceeds to describe his

"Well turned and true filed lines
In each of which he seems to strike a lance
As brandis't at the sight of ignorance."

(Here we have the real origin of the name Shakespeare.)

The actor, however, as we have seen, had no objection to ignorance in his own family. Judith, his daughter, could not sign her name. Mrs. Hall, the other daughter, could not read her husband's writing.

But the AUTHOR, whom Jonson apostrophises, says in the Plays :—

- " Ignorance is the curse of God,"
- " There is no darkness but ignorance."
- " Barbarous ignorance."
- " Dull, infecting ignorance."
- " Gross and miserable ignorance."
- " Short armed ignorance."

On the other hand, knowledge is called :—

- " The wing wherewith we fly to Heaven."

If the actor wrote this, one must suppose that he was not anxious that his family should readily wing aloft, or accompany himself to a higher sphere. His father and mother could not write.

Reverting to Ben Jonson, he says of Francis Bacon—" he could with difficulty be induced to pass by a jest." I think the greatest practical joke in history is Bacon hoaxing posterity as "Shakespeare." Jonson also says :—

" I do reverence him for the greatness that was only proper to himself in that he seemed to me ever by his work one of the greatest men and most worthy of admiration that had been in many ages."

" In his adversity I ever prayed that God would give him strength ; for greatness he could not want. Neither could I condole in a word or syllable for him, as knowing no accident could do harm to virtue, but rather help to make it manifest."

Stratfordians clutch fiercely at Jonson's utterances when they appear to favour their idol. If they are equally true, as applied to Bacon, the cloud of poison gas which has long enshrouded him is dissipated.

A very important point in my estimation is that, given what we know of the actor, it is wildly improbable that any of the Plays should have made their first appearance *anonymously*. Yet, 19 did so. This young, ambitious and avaricious "genius" had he written them would have taken care to let the world know it. There would have been no such question as we are now considering. To the actor, *publicity* would have been *all important* for his advancement. To Bacon, the watcher and waiter for the Lord Chancellorship, it would have been *fatal*. Apart from the consideration that Bacon's acknowledgment that he was a Poet and Playwright, would have had on his professional career, Greene, who called the actor "an upstart crow," beautified with the feathers of writers, and a man who had a "tygers heart wrapped in a player's hide," says in his "Farewell to Folly" (1591), "others if they come to write or publish anything in print which for *their calling* and *gravity* being loth to have any profaned pamphlets pass under their hands, get some other to set his name to their verses. Thus is the ass made proud by this underhand brokery, and he that cannot write true English without the aid of Parish Churches will needs make himself the father of interludes." How completely this fits in with Jonson's address to Poet Ape; it precisely indicates Bacon's and the actor's procedure. Later on—1615—in an anonymous publication called "Confessio Fraternalitatis," Chap. XII., there is this extraordinary passage:—"Our age doth produce many such, one of the greatest being a stage player, a man with sufficient ingenuity for imposition."

Will any of the defenders of Stratford legend take notice of these sorts of historical and contemporary indications? Scarcely. It is not their game.

Sir Sidney Lee writes, "Shakespeare's literary

eminence was abundantly recognised while he lived. At the period of his death no mark of honour was denied his name." (Not denied, for nobody took any notice of the event.) It would be cruel to estimate Sir Sidney's respect for veracity by this sentence. Nothing could be more contrary to truth than is the impression designed to be conveyed by these words. Not the slightest honour was paid him on that occasion, and there is no *real* instance in his life. Not one elegiac poem was written by any of his alleged literary or social friends. Milton's celebrated apostrophe, "What needs my Shakespeare for his honoured bones," etc. (from the genuine specimen of the actor's authorship on his tomb his bones seem to have caused him some anxiety, 'cursed be he that moves my bones") is worthless, as regards the *man*. Milton was only eight years old when the actor died, and knew no more about him than you or I. But he had the literature before him, as written by one "Shakespeare," and what else could he do than use the reputed author's name.

As to Milton, nothing more silly and suggestive of want of the critical faculty has ever been penned than his lines—"Sweetest Shakespeare Fancy's child, warbles his native woodnotes wild." Every word is ridiculous and the flat reverse of fact. I quote from my book: "The Shakespeare literature is highly cultured; its scenes are mainly of foreign location; there is nothing 'native' or suggestive of 'wood notes' or 'wild' about it."

Lee's book concludes with a chapter on "Shakespeare's" "Foreign Vogue." That has been greater in Germany than even here. But all this must be due to the works so labelled. Of the actual personality of the author the foreigner must know less than the Englishman. Germany's recent amusing assertion that we English are unworthy of him and that his bones

would be glad to find a home over there is somewhat reckless. They really do not know what sort of a man the actor was, but, of course, believe he was the author. Dr. Brandes, when here two years ago, made many imaginative and unwarranted statements.

Again, Sir Sidney Lee writes :—" No poet in the age of Anne or the early Georges' failed to pay a sincere tribute to Shakespeare in the genuine text." This is a typical sentence. The tribute is not to the man Shakespeare, although it is habitually read in that sense. The tribute, the allusions, are always called forth by the works. I do not admit that there is one *unmistakable* contemporary reference to the man as the author. All the references may be read as to the *works*. If there were one clear salient *point proving* that the actor was the Author it would be put forward, but believe me, there is none. There is nothing that cannot be explained naturally, and by commonsense, in the claim for Bacon. Everything for the actor is strained imagination, ingenious invention, and built up by a plentiful use of "doubtless" as cement. If Bacon be accepted, nine-tenths of the wonder and puzzlement vanish. If the actor be preferred, not a difficulty is removed, in fact, difficulty only then begins.

I must refer once more to GENIUS. One is tired of the silly stuff written about *Robert Burns*. Burns had genius—that exceptional endowment of mental power previously alluded to, but he illustrates *my point that genius is not creative*. In Burns's case his hand was "subdued to what it worked in." There is no knowledge in his writings of anything beyond a grammar school education and the phenomena forming the fabric of his daily life.

Lee says, "the actor learned to write the old English script; he was never taught the Italian script."

As a matter of fact, only five examples of his writing exist, or six, if a questionable one be admitted. There is not a scrap of general writing of his, and no evidence that he could write. It is a tenable theory that the signatures (three are on his Will, and it is very remarkable that his Will does not mention shares in the theatres) were, what they appear to be, laborious imitative efforts for a special purpose. They are practically illegible.

It is often used as a very crushing argument against Bacon's authorship that none but a professional actor could have written the Plays. But Addison, and others (and it is a feature of the Plays) wrote in "The Spectator," February 10th, 1714, "who would not rather read one of Shakespeare's plays, where there is not a single rule of the Stage observed, than any production of a modern critic where there is not one of them violated?"

And again, Lee says: (p. 609) "Some changes of text or some rearrangement of the scenes are found imperative in all theatrical productions of Shakespeare." Thus Lee seems dimly to perceive that the Plays as we have them could *never* have been acted before the brutal audiences which frequented theatres in those days. The foulness and filthy coarseness of those audiences are known to all students, and details are unprintable. The involuntary repugnance of the author to the common people is a vein running through all the Shakespeare works, perhaps especially in the Sonnets. In the Plays of the period a large section of the audience are called "stinkards." Shakespeare speaks of the masses as the "mutable *rank-scented* many." Fancy putting forward such characters as Juliet, Imogen, Perdita, &c., for the benefit of "stinkards." I don't profess to know what it precisely means, but it sounds unpleasant. Bacon did not

love the people, for what they were, *but as he hoped to make them*. The Plays were written for the library, not the stage. But Jonson gives a plain explanation of how they were really given in the theatres. In his "Bartholomew Fair" there is this entertaining interlude. (My book, p. 133).

Ben Jonson, in his "Bartholomew Fair" has a scene which throws much light upon the relation of audiences to the plays as they were then actually performed :—

COKES (an esquire of Harrow) interrogating LEATHERHEAD (an impresario) enquires with regard to "HERO AND LEANDER" :—

"But do you really play it according to the printed book? I have read that."

LEATHERHEAD : By no means, sir.

COKES : No! How then?

L. : A better way, sir. That is too learned and poetical for our audiences. What do they know what Hellespont is, or guilty of true love's blood? Or what Abydos is? or the other Sestos light?

C. : Thou art in the right. I do not know myself.

L. : No. I have entreated Master Littlewit to take a little pains to reduce it to a more familiar strain for our people.

C. : How, I pray thee, good Master Littlewit?

LITTLEWIT : I have only made it a little easy and modern for the times, sir, that's all. As for the Hellespont, I imagine our Thames here : and then Leander, I make a dyer's son about Puddle Wharf, and Hero a wench o' the Bankside, who, going over one morning to Old Fish Street, Leander spies her land at Brigg stairs and falls in love with her. Now do I introduce Cupid, having metamorphosed himself into a drawer, and he strikes Hero in love with a pint of sherry and other pretty passages.

Francis Bacon had a private notebook which he called a "PROMUS of Formularies and Elegancies." It is dated December 5th, 1594. It is in the British Museum, and I have spent a few hours over it. Mrs. Pott deciphered it completely, and Sir E. Durning

Lawrence reproduced it in his "Bacon is Shakespeare." Bacon scarcely made a traceable use of the notes he had jotted down from time to time, but vast numbers of the entries are found in the "Shakespeare" Plays. Mrs. Pott gives 1,655 instances of these quotations, and the actor's supporters have made a feeble effort to set them aside, mainly by trying to show that the expressions were either commonly current, or had been used by previous writers. *If they were commonly current, Bacon would certainly not have wasted his time by recording them.* Some of the expressions are found in contemporary writings under other names, and Mrs. Pott probably has over-strained the selection of coincidences. But many instances in the Plays *cannot* be explained away unless the author had control of Bacon's private Notebook.

In this connexion I remark that the fact that *Bacon never once mentions Shakespeare* is of great import. Bacon, in his philosophic writings, lays the greatest stress upon the value of the Drama as a *means of education*, and of "making history visible." He deplores the unworthy character of the Drama of his time. When, therefore, a "star" such as Shakespeare arose, Bacon would have been the first to salute it with joy. He never made the faintest allusion to this regenerative example. This great forerunner of a new Gospel. It is easy to understand how probable it is that Bacon silently sent into the world that new model of drama which he felt was urgently needed. This precisely accords with the passage in "As You Like It," where Jacques says:—

"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."

And in the Sonnets there are the expressions :—

“ I made myself a motley to the view,”

And in Sonnet 76 :—

“ Why write I still all one, ever the same
And keep invention in a noted weed.”

What message had the *Stratford actor* to give to cleanse the world ?

Bacon has left on record a wonderful Prayer as follows :—

“ Remember, oh Lord, how Thy servant hath walked before Thee : remember what I have first sought and what hath been principal in my intention. I have loved Thy assemblies, I have mourned for the divisions of Thy church. I have delighted in the brightness of Thy Sanctuary. This Vine which Thy right hand hath planted in this Nation, I have ever played with Thee that it might have the first and the Latter rain ; and that it might stretch its branches to the Seas and to the Floods. The state and bread of the poor have been precious in mine eyes ; I have hated all cruelty and hardness of heart. I have, though in a despised weed, procured the good of all men.”

We thus see Bacon confessing both to God and Man that he has concealed his personality in a weed, and a despised weed, and nothing was more despicable than the profession of an actor. He was a rogue and vagabond by common law.

From this prayer may be deduced that noble patriotism and intense love of England which marks many of the Plays (“ this dear, dear England ”). The same mind would naturally evolve the splendid passage, “ this England, set in a silver sea,” &c., and the magnificent speech of Henry V. at Agincourt. It is very improbable that the actor ever saw the sea. I should like some one to say what opportunity he had.

There is not the slightest evidence that the actor ever knew or had relations with the Earl of Southampton. Lee records that "Southampton was the greatest literary patron of the time." Many of the leading writers addressed eulogiums to him. "Southampton has left in his correspondence ample proofs of his literary learning and taste." Lee says:—"Southampton was Shakespeare's only patron." But Southampton never made any allusion to him. There is no trace of any correspondence between them. It is characteristic of the methods of Shakespeare's "biographers" that Lee should write, "Barnabe Barnes and Gervase Markham confessed respectively in 1593 and 1595, yearnings for Southampton's confidence, in sonnets which glow hardly less ardently than Shakespeare's for his personal charm." Yet here is not the least warrant for the assertion that Shakespeare's sonnets in themselves related to Southampton. But Lee gives himself away very funnily later by writing:—"Shakespeare penned many sonnets calculated to flatter the ear of a praise-loving Mæcenas like Southampton. There was possibly some genuine underlying affection, but it might well be the fruit of his interpretation of common usage." Samuel Daniel and John Davies celebrated Southampton's release from the Tower in buoyant verse. Shakespeare was silent as a matter of fact. But Lee *must* say, "*it is improbable that he was silent.*" It is hopeless to argue with people who write like this. Incidentally, of course, Lee indicates that Shakespeare was very ungrateful to his alleged Patron, when he saw there was nothing to be got by civility, but, when the evidence points to a conclusion which Lee does not like, he says, "there is no evidence but there *must* have been." Southampton was most intimate with Bacon.

There is not the slightest evidence that Queen Elizabeth ever took any notice of the Actor. The habitual way in which the man is represented as being quite a favourite of hers is utterly discreditable to educated writers. They know quite well that there is no warrant for the assertion.

As to the Actor being recognised by his contemporaries as the dramatist, and in view of Southampton's addiction to the society of literary men, just consider that, of all that brilliant group, who were also of high social standing, Sydney, Raleigh, &c., there is not any allusion to the Actor, nor a scrap of correspondence. But we have his known associates in his own line of life pouring contempt upon him in such terms as this :—

“ He degrades the stage ; he barbarises the English language ; and brings all arts and learning into contempt. He wags an ass's ears. He is an ape. His tales are but drolleries ; he mixes his head with other men's heels. He is an upstart who ' at first made low shifts and picked and gleaned, and told of it he slightes it. . . . He marks not whose ' twas first, *and after times may judge it to be his as well as ours.*”

This, down to 1619. The man dead three years.

But in 1623—the AUTHOR of the Shakespeare Plays is :—

“ The soul of the Age, the greatest writer of ancient and modern times.”

We now come to an almost insurmountable bunker for the Stratfordians. When Cuthbert Burbage had occasion to petition the Earl of Pembroke, then become Lord Chamberlain, for a favour relating to the theatre, he names the actor with other actors as a “ man player,” and “ deserving man.” But, the Earl was the survivor of “ The Incomparable Paire,” to whom the immortal Folio of 1623 was dedicated only twelve

years before. It is *too* ridiculous to suppose that, had the Earl known the actor to be the real Author of the Plays he would have been mentioned in such a style and no reference made to him as a dramatist and poet. It is indisputably evident that "Shakespeare" had enjoyed no special reputation amongst his fellows, and that the idea of personal relations between the man and Lord Pembroke never was in the minds of any of the parties.

There is no evidence of *personal contact between Bacon and the Actor*. But, in 1867, in the muniment chest of the Duke of Northumberland, a number of papers belonging to Francis Bacon was found under one cover. The cover bears an index of its contents. I possess a facsimile. The cover mentions the titles of four addresses by Bacon, written in 1592, which were probably delivered at a "Device" which Bacon wrote in honour of the Queen. Other of Bacon's speeches are mentioned—"for my Lord Essex at the tylt," "Orationes at Graises Inne revells," "Essaies by the same author," and the Shakespeare plays, "Rychard the Second" and "Rychard the Third," and other writings. Some papers not named on the cover were found included, but certain most important pieces are missing, most notably, the two "Shakespeare" plays. How did Bacon come to possess these MSS. of Shakespeare plays? Why was the most dangerous one, "Richard the Second," not there, and how came the name "William Shakespeare" in various forms, complete, and partial to be scribbled about the cover eight or nine times? Does it not seem as if the scribe was testing how the name as a *nom-de-plume* looked? Obviously, the name was in his mind. Moreover, the cover bears, *apropos* of nothing apparently, the extraordinary word in "Love's Labours Lost"—"honorificabilitudino." The date of

this cover is indicated to be about 1597, because the Essays and the two Shakespeare plays were first printed in that year. It is even probable that no part of the manuscript was written later than 1596, in which case the plays must have been in Bacon's papers *before they were heard of elsewhere*. In any case, they appear to have been amongst his papers before they were published.

As regards the argument that Bacon's STYLE in his philosophic works precludes the idea that he could write plays and poems, we ought to get a little fun out of Milton. Here are some specimens of Milton's paraphrases of the Psalms. My book, pp. 94 and 97 :—

MILTON AND BACON'S POETICAL PARAPHRASES OF
THE PSALMS.

MILTON.

Psalm I. :

" For the Lord knows th' upright way of the just,
And the way of bad men to ruin must."

Psalm VII. :—

" Then will I Jehovah's praise
According to His justice raise,
And sing the name and Deity
Of Jehovah the Most High."

Psalm VIII. :—

" Fowl of the heavens and fish that through the wet
Sea paths in shoals do slide and know no dearth.
Oh, Jehovah our Lord, how wondrous great
And glorious is Thy Name through all the earth."

Psalm XXX. :—

" Thou feed'st them with the bread of tears,
Their bread with tears they eat,
And mak'st them largely drink the tears
Wherewith their cheeks are wet."

Again :—

“ But the just establish fast
 Since Thou are the God that tries
 Hearts and reins. On God is cast
 My defence, and in Him lies,
 In Him who, both just and wise,
 Saves th' upright of heart at last.”

BACON.

Bacon's poem of the 137th Psalm is very noble and truly poetical, but too long to quote.

But the following is rather fine :—

“ In the beginning, with a mighty hand,
 He made the earth by counterpoise to stand—
 Never to move, but to be fixed still ;
 Yet hath no pillars but His sacred will.”

One of Bacon's Sonnets :—

“ Seated between the old world and the new,
 A land there is no other land may touch,
 Where reigns a queen in peace and honour true ;
 Stories or fable do describe no such.
 Never did Atlas such a burden bear,
 As she in holding up the world opprest ;
 Supplying with her virtue everywhere
 Weakness of friends, errors of servants best.
 No nation breeds a warmer blood for war,
 And yet she calms them by her majesty ;
 No age hath ever wits refined so far,
 And yet she calms them by her policy :
 To her thy son must make his sacrifice,
 If he will have the morning of his eyes.”

Edmund Waller, in dedicating his poems to Queen Henrietta Maria, gives a list of the best poets, including the name of Sir Francis Bacon, of whom he says, “ These nightingales sang only in the Spring ; it was the diversion of their youth.” Macaulay, Shelley, Bulwer Lytton, and others remark that, “ poetry pervaded the thoughts and inspired the similes and

hymned in the majestic sentences of the wisest of mankind." On Bacon's death we have 32 Elegies which spontaneously appeared. They were a selection by Rawley, his Secretary. Twenty-seven speak of Bacon as a transcendent poet, and the favourite subject of the Muses' inspiration.

Further as to *STYLE*, Professor Saintsbury writes in his "History of Elizabethan Literature," "Bacon was a rhetorician rather than a philosopher. He is stimulating beyond the recorded power of any other man except Socrates. He is inexhaustible in analogy and illustration, &c." And, "His constant practice in every kind of literary composition, and in the meditative thought which constant literary composition sometimes tempts its practitioners to dispense with enabled him to write on a vast variety of subjects and in many different styles."

Bacon had a very dear and intimate friend—*Sir Tobie Matthew*, to whom he referred many of his manuscripts for his critical judgment. A large number of their letters are extant. This is what Matthew wrote of him :—

"Of incomparable abilities of mind, of a sharp and cutting apprehension, large and fruitful memory, plentiful and sprouting invention, deep and solid judgment, a man so rare in knowledge of so many several kinds endued with the facility and felicity of expressing it all in so elegant, significant, so abundant and yet so choice and ravishing a way of words, of metaphor, and allusions as perhaps the world hath not seen since it was a world."

Francis Osborn (contemporary) says :—"I have heard him entertain a country lord in the proper terms relating to hawks and dogs and at another time outcant a London chirurgeon."

Mallet writes :—"In conversation he could assume

the most different characters and speak the language proper to each with a facility that was perfectly natural," &c.

Ben Jonson says that when men were listening to him "all that they feared was that he should come to an end." The tradition of his Parliamentary speeches is like that of no predecessor, and he is said to have had the House completely at his command.

We all know the leading facts of Bacon's life. That he left Cambridge at 15 because the University "had no more to teach him." That he then went to France with the British Ambassador, remaining there about three years, once or twice crossing the Channel with despatches for Queen Elizabeth.

We do know that Elizabeth called him "her young Keeper" at the age of 10. RONSARD, the great French poet and founder of the Renaissance literature here, was a great favourite with the King, who almost treated him as an equal. Ronsard was the glory of the Court. Lee says, "Shakespeare was indebted to some of Ronsard's countrymen for the ideas of his sonnets, but that he transferred them with consummate skill and invariably gives more than he receives." *Could anything more preposterously impossible be suggested as applying to the Stratford rustic? Whoever wrote the French Court scenes in Henry V. had so thorough a knowledge of French that he could jest in it. To establish the Actor he must be credited with Italian and Spanish, as well as Latin and Greek. This Lee admits. Bacon made many excursions from Paris. Whoever wrote the Plays must have had personal knowledge of many towns and geographical features of North Italy, of the existence of canals and streams since filled in. There is no more astounding point than the casual allusion to "the icy tideless current of the Pontic sea," in "Othello."*

Francis frequently visited his brother Antony, so long resident at the Court of Navarre, and Antony regularly corresponded with Francis, keeping him informed of the European news. There are 11 vols. of correspondence between the brothers, their mother, and various personages at the Library of Lambeth Palace, and not all have been yet read. Passports granted by Henry of Navarre's Minister, Biron, which is the actual name of one of the courtiers in "Love's Labours Lost" were discovered by Mrs. Chambers-Bunten in the British Museum. The use of two other names of the living courtiers, Longaville, and Dumain in the Play, is a very hard nut for the Stratfordians. This Play, although overloaded with scholastic learning—on which, in fact, it is an elaborate skit,—is just what might be expected from a young man, fresh from the University, and desirous of ridiculing the "schoolmen," whom Bacon so energetically contemned.

It does not seem to have struck anybody before that the play "Love's Labours Lost" could not have been written by the Stratford man, because it relates to current events in an obscure Court in the South of France. It is not like a play which could be constructed upon past history. The circumstances could only have been known to persons in direct touch with that Court, and especially the secret piece of local diplomacy by which the King of Navarre was to grant a quittance for his claims upon Aquitaine upon payment of 100,000 crowns, *as mentioned in the play*. There were no newspapers in those days. This was the actual proposal, and its incorporation in the play seems to be an *inadvertent* admission of authorship by Bacon.

Bacon, on his return from France, went into Chambers in Gray's Inn, and except for a volume of ten Essays his name was not known on any publication until the age of 45. He was supposed to be waiting

for briefs. Is it sensible to think that a man with such a mind was producing nothing during that period? —which was when the “Shakespeare” Plays kept coming out?

He went into Parliament, which in those days meant a very small demand on time, and none in the process of election, for there were scarcely any contests, almost every M.P. being appointed by a patron. It is a very striking fact that Bacon's Parliamentary speeches—so much as has come down to us and his legislative projects, and State Papers precisely agree with the sentiments and teachings of the Plays. In a speech Bacon said, “The King of Spain had to be dealt with as a lion,” and that in Scotland, France and Spain, England had three dangerous enemies. In a play he paraphrases this

“ But there's a saying very old and true,
If that you will France win,
Then with Scotland first begin.”

Lee accepts the tradition that the Actor received £1,000 through the medium of Lord Southampton for some unspecified purpose. The indications are that it was desired by some hidden personage to get the Actor away from London, because dramatic writings were contemplated which would endanger the life of the writer. The Actor suddenly departed from London in 1597, and bought the largest house in Stratford—New Place—and it is not possible to fix what or when his subsequent visits to London took place. He is believed to have finally returned to Stratford in 1611. But the Play of Richard II. came out in 1597 anonymously, and in 1598 with the name with the hyphen—the first to bear the name of “Shakespeare.” This is the Play which so enraged Elizabeth, because it appears to teach rebellion of subjects and deposition of monarchs, and was used by Essex and Southampton

to stir up the London mob the day before Essex's rebellion. The subsequent proceedings were most remarkable. Elizabeth insisted upon Bacon's discovering the author. *There was Shakespeare's name on the title page. Nobody gave him a thought!* Bacon did all he could to shift Elizabeth's attention, asking to be excused from "bringing up this Play as evidence against Essex" with this astonishing expression, "Madam, I, having been wronged by bruits '(rumours)' before, this would expose me to them more, and it would be said I gave in evidence mine own tales!" It is clear that there was a suspicion in some and *actual knowledge in certain select quarters* that Bacon was the author and was a dramatic author.

But who can deny this when due weight is given to the facts that Bacon wrote several Masques for Grays Inn, one of which cost him £2,000, a sonnet here and there, that he and his brother lived for a time near the Actors in Bishopsgate, and that Lady Anne Bacon, his mother, bitterly reproached them for doing so. Her intense Puritanical temperament was alone a sufficient bar to Bacon's allowing his authorship of Stage Plays to be known. He was a very dutiful, loving son. The Plays about 1604 took a tragic turn—Macbeth, &c., and so continued to the end, and that was the date when Lady Anne was seized with insanity and she lingered for years in that state, never recovering. It should be remembered that Lady Anne Bacon was one of the best Greek scholars of her time.

Of the Shakespeare Plays, *Twenty* were never published before 1623 (the Folio), seven years after the actor's death. Nine of these were never before heard of. All of them were altered or touched up for the Folio. It looks very much as if Bacon had supplied Jonson, who edited this volume, with many manuscripts from his secret coffers. Immense additions were made

to some of the Plays. Hamlet received 1,800 new lines. We have both editions. They are included in the "Cambridge" Shakespeare. All the orthodox now admit that Jonson wrote the Address to the Reader and all the prefatory matter. Hemming and Condell merely signed it.

No one has given even a plausible explanation of how these additions, variations, &c., were made by a man who had died 7 years before ! One instance of a variation is so curious as to practically establish the authorship in Bacon. Bacon, in his "Advancement," says "some ancient philosophers could not conceive how there can be voluntary motion without sense." In the 1604 "Hamlet" we read, "Sense sure you have else you could not have motion." But Bacon subsequently discovered that this theory was untenable, and in the 1623 Edition of his "Advancement" he expressly repudiates it. Sure enough, in the 1623 Folio of the Plays the passage was struck out ! But I have overstayed my space, and can only refer to a great many equally striking indications of Authorship which I collect in a special chapter of my little book. Our friend the "enemy" carefully ignores all this sort of points.

There is a very suggestive passage in a letter of Bacon's :—

"For myself I may truly say that, in this present work and those I intend to publish hereinafter, I often and advisedly throw aside the dignity of my name and wit (if such thing be) in my endeavour to advance human interest, and being one that should properly perhaps be an architect in philosophy and the sciences, I turn common labourer, hodman, anything that is wanted ; taking up on myself the burden and execution of many things which must be done and which others from an inborn pride shrink from and decline."

That is pretty plain speaking as to his occupation with works vastly different from those by which he is known.

Long as it is, this paper is a mere skeleton. In my book the outlines are partially filled in, and the *positive* side of the case for Stratford is dealt with. The object of this article is mainly to state the positive side for Baconians. But please don't imagine that I "shy" anything, or that I am not aware of all the "orthodox" points. I know of none that is not easily met by reasonable processes demanding little strain on invention. I could strengthen my case fifty fold. You see *we* have no obsession. The incessant bawling, "Great is Diana," is irritating, because as with the Ephesian shrinemakers, it is so obviously an *interested* cry.

I sum up thus :—

On the one side you have a man equipped as no man ever was before him for the production of all the "Shakespeare" literature and whose accomplishment would be marvellous, but natural.

On the other, a man without any known equipment and whose accomplishment would be contrary to natural law.

I will conclude with quoting the last paragraph of Edwin Reed's collection of opinions *pro* and *con*.

"The Shakesporean Myth has something of the sacredness of divinity, and divinity is largely a matter of tradition. The disputants may be reviving Tertulian's famous maxim '*credo quia absurdum*,'" paraphrased thus: Shakspeare, an ignorant yokel, wrote learned dramas; this I believe because it is repugnant to human reason. He died and was buried under the Church at Stratford in 1616, and yet made large additions to those dramas after that date and burial: this is certain, for it is impossible.

H. CROUCH BATCHELOR.

THOMAS LODGE.

"**L**ODGE was the son of a rich grocer, who had been Lord Mayor. Born in 1557, he had known Lyly at Oxford; had studied law; then yielding to those desires of seeing the dangers and beauties of the world which drove the English youths of the period to seek preferment abroad, he closed his books for a while and became a corsair, visiting the Canary Isles, Brazil and Patagonia. He brought back as booty from his expeditions the romances written at sea to beguile the tedium of the passage and the anxieties of the tempest. One was called "The Margarite of America"; another "Rosalyndc." The latter fell into Shakespeare's hands and pleased him; he drew from it the plot of "As you like it."

The above passage occurs in "The English Novel in the time of Shakespeare," by Mons. J. J. Jusserand. It is typical of the sort of information to be obtained from the biographers and literary persons who have sought to enlighten us about Elizabethan literature. Mr. Edmund Gosse some years ago edited a collection of the works ascribed to Lodge, but if all the knowledge acquired about him is that summarised in Vol. II. of the 1903 English Literature (of which Mr. Gosse was joint editor), Lodge still remains an unknown quantity.

It seems to be fairly well established that Lodge was the son of Sir Thomas Lodge, an impecunious Alderman, who had been Lord Mayor of London in 1563, and afterwards lost his money in Merchant Adventuring. After a period at a City school, Lodge went as a poor scholar to Trinity College, Oxford, where he was servitor to Sir Edward Hoby (a foster-cousin of Francis Bacon). In 1579 Lodge was aged 21, and seems to

have been a student of law at Lincoln's Inn, in London, where according to the late Mr. J. P. Collier (who, whatever his defects, had an intimate knowledge of the Elizabethan period) he obtained employment as an actor. There was nothing unusual in this. Greene, M.A., became a player; so did Gosson, B.A. This brought these men into easy contact with the young dramatist, Francis Bacon, engaged in writing plays for performance by boys at his mother's Court, or by his father, the Earl of Leicester's men players. After Leicester's death, or earlier, these became the Queen's men-players, under the nominal control of her Lord Chamberlain, Lord Hunsdon.

The literature ascribed to Lodge's authorship is substantially as follows:—

1579-80. Pamphlet in support of Music, Poetry and Stage Plays.

1581-2. Verses contributed to Rich's "Don Simonides.

1584. Euphuistic romance, "Forbonius and Prisceria, issued with an Alarm against Usurers—" these primordi (first fruits) of my studies," dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney.

1589. French verse to Greene's "Spanish Masquerado."

1589. Narrative poem, "Glaucus and Scilla."

1591. History of Robert, Second Duke of Normandy, and Catheros (a satire).

1592. Euphuus Shadow (purporting to be edited by Greene).

1590-92. Rosalynde. Euphuus Golden Legacy.

1593. Romance, "Life and death of William Longbeard. Also Poems, entitled 'Phyllis.'"

1594. Play, "Wounds of Civil War." Also said to have collaborated in another play with Greene.

1595. "A Fig for Momus" (Satires and Eclogues).

1596. Romance, "A Margarite of America."

1602. Translation of Josephus.

1603. Treatise of the Plague.

1614. Paraphrase of Seneca.

1625. Summary of works of Du Bartas.

1625. "Wits Misericie."

The total quantity of this "Lodge" literature is really not great. Most of the publications were not larger than many contributions to a modern magazine. Lodge, like Greene, must have been a sort of handy man for Francis Bacon, and he may have been able to prepare materials in rough draft form for his employer, just as a law student prepares drafts for the experienced barrister in whose chambers he is a pupil. But I am disposed to the view that substantially the work ascribed to "Lodge" was written by young Francis Bacon. We know enough now of the way Bacon sought to interest the public of his day in literature. Controversy excited attention. It was cultivated in the Immerito-Harvey letters, the Nash, Lyly, Greene and Harvey pamphlets, and the anti-Martin Marprelate pamphlets. The late Mr. Collier affirms, as already stated, that young Lodge began his career as a player. That Henslowe, the actor, was bond for Lodge over an eight year old tailor's bill of £7, and that later Alleyn, the actor, put Lodge in gaol for non-payment of another debt, show Lodge to have been closely associated with stage players. When Francis, under the mask of Gosson, issued a pamphlet dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, advocating the amendment of Poetry, Music and Stage Plays, it was natural that he should also pen a sort of reply pamphlet—really a confirmation of his arguments—under the mask of Lodge. This pamphlet is said to show a certain restraint, though neither deficient in force of invective nor backward in display of erudition. These qualities are equally to be found in the "Euphues" of "Lyly" and the pamphlet of "Gosson."

Literary critics had not faced difficulties when they accepted a new work in the style of Lyly as having proceeded from the pen of its ascribed author, Barnabe Rich, just back from soldiering in the low

countries. This particular work was printed in 1581, and consisted of eight tales, derived from Boccaccio and Bandello, through Belle Forest—authors from whom Bacon under other names drew largely. Rich was also ascribed author of the 1581 "Don Simonides," an account of travels in Spain and Italy, which countries young Francis Bacon had just returned from travelling in. A further instalment of "Don Simonides" was printed in 1584. Reasoning from this circumstance and the nature of the other Rich publication, makes one expect that "Don Simonides" will turn out to have been written by Bacon, about whom Florio covertly attested that "he was better pleased to be a poet than to be accounted so." The son of Queen Elizabeth had necessarily to remain undisclosed as an author of prose and verse.

The Euphuistic romance attributed to Lodge in 1584 must also have been from the pen of Francis, the original "Lyly." The cry-out against Usurers (dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney) was evidently genuine. Francis must have been driven by his literary expenditure to borrow at high interest. It will be noticed that Lady Ann Bacon, in January, 1584, came to his rescue by conveying to him the Marks Estate.

It was as impossible for the poor young servitor Lodge to have written like "Euphues" as for others to write as Carlyle, as Dickens, or as Chesterton. Robert Greene was called the Ape of Euphues, because he was merely a mask for works put out by Francis, whose early style it was. Early plays by Francis, under the mask of "Shakespeare," were Euphuistic for precisely the same reason. In 1589, verses in French ascribed to Lodge were prefixed to the "Spanish Masquerado," printed by Francis under the mask of Greene.

It is difficult to learn to speak and write French

colloquially. But where could Lodge have acquired such mastery of French language as to write French verse? Young "Bacon," however, had been years in France studying the French, Italian and Latin sonnet writers, and many of his experiments were given under the *nom de plume* of "Watson" in 1581-2. In 1889, Lodge was the ascribed author of a book of poems, including "Glaucus and Scilla." The latter is in the same metre as "Venus and Adonis," 1593. The verses in "Glaucus and Scilla" bear such a general resemblance to "Venus and Adonis," that the critics have been led to say (instead of the Stratford player walking to London with "Venus and Adonis" in his pocket), that Shakespeare was indebted for his poetical *chef d'œuvre* to a close and careful imitation of "Glaucus and Scilla." Was there ever such nonsense! Bacon, of course, wrote both. In 1590, another Euphuistic romance was printed, entitled "Rosalynde." In 1587, Lodge had sailed as a buccaneering soldier, on an expedition to the Canaries and Azores islands. In 1591 a romance in euphuistic style was ascribed to Lodge, entitled "Robert, Second Duke of Normandy."

"Rosalynde" was reprinted in 1592, with a title-page and dedications. The title-page was inscribed, "Rosalynde. Euphues Golden Legacy, found after his death in his cell at Silexedra. Fetcht from the Canaries by T. L. Gent."

The dedications muddy up the authorship question by making Lodge say he wrote it on the Ocean, "When every line was wet with a surge." Also that it was fetcht from as far as the Islands of Terceras (Azores). Next to the dedications is printed what purports to be a "Schedule annexed to Euphues Testament," bequeathing the tale of 'Rosalynde' to the sons of Philautus and Camilla. It is signed "Euphues

dying to live." A digression must here be made. Francis seems to have taken occasion of the actual death, in 1592, of his mask, Robert Greene, to die as "Greene" in a literary sense, and also to die as "Watson" and as "Lyly," which were only pen-names representing no real persons.

At the end of "Euphues his England," 1580, Francis alluded to the fact of his having to abandon "studies of greater delight" in order (in 1580) to take up quarters in Gray's Inn and study law. He called this retiring to Silixedra—a stone cell. Play writing of Court Comedies as "Lyly," looked like having to be discontinued. Under his mask of "Greene," he published, in 1586, "Euphues Censure to Philautus, compiled from some loose papers found in his cell." Philautus was probably the Earl of Leicester, and Camilla (which was the name of the virgin Queen of the Volscians) (see Virgil-Æneid.) meant Queen Elizabeth.

In 1589 came another "Greene" pamphlet, entitled Menaphon, or Camillas Alarum to Slumbering Euphues in his Melancholic cell at Silixedra. In 1590, as "Spenser" in "Tears of the Muses," he alluded to our pleasant Willy (Lyly) who preferred to remain in idle cell. It can be seen how well he danced his various puppets. But this could not be kept up. So to the literary "death" of "Greene" and "Watson" he added the literary "death" of "Lyly," worked out in the "Rosalynde" prefaces. By that time he had other plates spinning, his masks then being Lodge, Nash, Kyd, Marlowe and Peele, to whom on the death of Marlowe, in 1593, he added the Stratford member of his mother, the Queen's, company of players, viz., Shakspeare. Rosalynde was based upon the Arcadia of Sannazaro, and borrowed incident from the 14th Century "Tale of Gamelyn." There is ample indication in the "Shepherds Kalendar," and in the

"Greene" tales, that Francis was a close student of Chaucer, Gower and the English writings of Chaucer's time.

In 1591 Lodge had again embarked (this time with Cavendish) upon an expedition to Brazil and Patagonia.

This expedition did not return until 1593. In Lodge's absence, in 1592 Francis had printed a romance in the manner of Lyly (really as I have shown his own style at that period) purporting to be edited by "Greene" for Lodge, and entitled "Euphues Shadow, or the Battaile of the Sences."

A Romance, the "Life and Death of William Longbeard," was printed in 1593. In this year also forty sonnets, a narrative poem, and some eclogues, were published under the title, "Phillis."

Compare :—

Phillis. Sonnet 4.—"None writes with truer faith or greater love

Ye! out alas! I have no power to move."

with Shakespeare, Sonnet 33 —

"Even so my Sunne one early morne did shine,

But out alack; he was but one hour mine."

The 1594 Roman play of "Wounds of Civil War" is, like Roman plays of Shakespeare, founded upon Plutarch's Lives. One of the characters talks French. The "Fig. for Momus," 1595, consisted of Satires, Eclogues and Epistles, on the strength of which and other work "Lodge" is said, by modern critics, to have been the first English satirist. Messrs. Seccombe and Allen pronounced "Phillis" as, on the whole, the most charming of the minor Elizabethan sonnet series

Anyone who believes that the Euphuistic romance, "A Margarite of America," was written upon a 140 ton sailing ship amidst the storms of the Straits of Magellan is welcome to an opinion I do not share. Francis wrote the romance, and in it complimented the French poet, Desportes. The critics tell us that many of the best of the "Lodge" verses follow Desportes and Ronsard. It is rather an interesting fact that following the example of Desportes, Francis, under "Watson" and other masks, imitated freely the poems of Arriosto Petrarch, Sannazaro, and other Italian writers. This makes one think that, as Francis must have met Desportes at the Court of France, the former being fifteen years his senior, probably helped Francis in his Italian and French poetical studies. It was also quite in accordance with Francis Bacon's practice of seeking to "eternize" all his friends, to have made, as he did, very complimentary references to his friend Desportes (then alive) in the "Margarite of America" romance.

After 1596 there was an interval of six years during which nothing was published under Lodge's name. It is said that he obtained a license as a doctor of medicine, but it would not seem a very remunerative profession, seeing that the physician of St. Bartholomew's Hospital was only allowed a house, fuel, and an annual fee of £2 for his services.

In 1602, Lodge's name was upon a translation of Josephus, and in 1614 upon a talented paraphrase of Seneca's plays. In the year of his death, Lodge was the title-paged author of a Summary of the Works of Du Bartas.

The "Rich" books, printed in 1581 and 1584, fill up the gap which, unsupplied, was inconsistent with young Bacon's writing propensity. Euphues, his Anatomy of Wit, was his first effort after his experiences in France in 1576-8, while in "Don Simonides"

Francis gave very naturally a veiled account of his travels in 1580-81 in Spain and Italy, for which the soldier "Rich," returned from abroad, was a suitable vizard. The "Lodge" works provide more filling of the blank spaces in Bacon's early literary career. His was the shield behind which Francis put out romances in his early style, which he did not care to publish in the name of "Greene." Under the same vizard he printed more of his sonnets, eclogues, invectives and narrative poems. This is how his literary exercises and development culminated in the matured poet philosopher whom we know and revere as "Shakespeare." Moreover, we have another source of satisfaction in clearing up the fact that Francis built up the plays of "Winter's Tale," "As You Like It," and "Twelfth Night," upon *his own stories*, and did not borrow from either Rich, Lodge or Greene. It is common sense that Lodge, who was by turns a servitor, player, corsair, adventurer and apothecary, and always poor, could only have been a hack assistant to the actual author of the romances, plays, invectives and poems ascribed to his name. At the beginning of his great scheme for establishing an English literature, Francis had largely himself alone to rely upon. After Lodge turned up again in 1602, the great literary organisation which Francis had formed was well on its legs, and Lodge's name was used as ascribed author of Folio Compilations, upon the rough ground-work of which he had probably been employed.

A study of the Lodge title-pages and dedications should help to confirm my assumption that they were of Bacon's authorship. A Fig. for Momus, 1595, is reported to have the A. A. headpiece. The "Rosalynde" title-page has 148 roman letters and 9 italic words. Adding the two, gives the 157 Rosicrosse sign. The italic words comprise 48 letters. Deduct 48 from 148,

and the balance of 100 is the numerical equivalent of the letters in Francis Bacon.

Though in Bacon's deciphered biliteral story of his life he does not lay claim to other vizards than Greene, Peele, Marlowe, Spenser, Shakespeare and Burton, it must be observed that the above six, with himself, formed a septet in the books of which he had imbedded what is known as his word cipher. This was the cipher more or less successfully deciphered by Dr. Orville Ward Owen. Until the word-cipher had been decoded, Bacon may have thought it unwise to distract decipherers by specific reference to works under other vizards. Moreover, a matured author is often not particularly anxious to preserve his earlier immature productions. He may, therefore, have abandoned as unimportant the books he wrote, as Gosson, Lyly, Watson, Lodge, Nashe, Rich, Bright, Kyd, and some others. Nevertheless, they have a biographical value, as showing how this marvellous man, known by most as Shakespeare, and by growing numbers as "Bacon," built himself up mentally.

PARKER WOODWARD.

P.S.—In 1593, the date of "A Margarite, &c.," Francis had decided to live abroad and would be writing friend Desportes about settling in France.

DON QUIXOTE.

THE marvellous work of Cervantes, first known in English in Shelton's translation, has of recent years been subjected to the examination of prying eyes and enquiring minds. Many of the suspicious and curious appearances that mark the production of some of the greatest writings of the 16th and 17th centuries in England (Spenser, Shakespeare, Marlowe, etc.), have been noticed about Don Quixote, and those whose minds are not entirely obscured by literary conventions have found themselves asking :— "Is everything about this book, and its author, exactly what it appears to be, and as set out by the literary fraternity?" Sir Thomas Browne says: (*Vulgar Errors*, 1646, Book I., Chap. VI.) :— "But the mortalist enemy unto knowledge, and that which hath done the greatest execution upon truth, hath been a peremptory adhesion unto Authority." The literature of England, corresponding with the time of Don Quixote, is full of many as yet unexplained puzzles, that need only a little freedom of thought and a little independent examination to be seen, and when one looks at Don Quixote, in that mental attitude, one finds many of these puzzles in it.

At the outset I will give, as briefly as possible, something of the bibliography of the subject.

Cervantes was born in 1547, and died in 1616, aged 69. He led the life of a soldier, was wounded at Lepanto (1571), when his left hand was permanently maimed. Four years were spent in active soldiering, and five as prisoner in Algiers. The first part of his great book, "Don Quixote," was first published in Madrid in January, 1604-5. Four editions came out

in Spain in 1605, so that we may say the book achieved popularity at once. Other editions followed, and so great was the hold of the book on the reading public that an imposter, Avellaneda, was tempted to try and snatch some of the Cervantes fruit by bringing out a Second Part of the Don's life and adventures in 1614. This spurred Cervantes on to work, and he brought out his Second Part in the end of 1615. He died in 1616.

The first English translation was made by Thomas Shelton. It is said* that "at the request of a very deare 'friend' he translated the First Part of Don Quixote into English in 1607 in 40 days!" After his friend had glanced at it, Shelton "cast it aside," and it lay for a long time in a corner. However, on the 19th January, 1611-12, it was licensed for publication, and published with Shelton's name as translator (though the name did not appear on the title-page, but only signed the dedication), and at once became most popular. The English translation of the Second Part (that appeared in Spanish in 1615) was brought out in 1620. Shelton's name was not attached to this, but from internal evidence it was supposed and assumed to be by him. An English edition of the two parts, with Shelton as translator, was issued in folio in 1652: and again in folio in 1675: the first part being dated 1675, and the second 1672.

Of Shelton himself but little is known, and it is impossible to identify who he was. No date can be given of his birth or death; simply that he "flourished" in 1612: but he *seems* to have entered the service of Theophilus, Lord Howard (b. 1584, d. 1640). The Dic. Nat. Biog. mentions as one who may be identified with the author a Thomas Shelton, who matriculated from Oriel College, Oxford, on the 23rd November, 1581, at the age of 15, which would give

* See Dic. Nat. Biog. Art. Shelton.

1566 as the year of his birth. There is nothing other than this translation that is known to have come from him.

This translation is wonderfully good : so much so that no other translator has come near Shelton in vivacity, spirit and cleverness. It reads more like an original than a translation, so entirely free is it from anything like the fetters or restraint that are so often to be seen in such writings. Shelton moves with perfect freedom, and nowhere are difficulties felt.

Another translation was brought out by J. Phillips in 1687 (London, Thomas Hodgkin), but this is so extremely free that it is rather a paraphrase or phantasia than a translation. It is, however, of value both for its own clever writing and for comparison with Shelton.

In looking at Shelton's work we are first struck with its wonderful ease and cleverness—as alluded to before. The curious fact also impresses one that the Second Part was anonymous. Why so ? Then we have the fact that a man as clever and brilliant as Shelton must have been, was unknown to his contemporaries, and unnoted by them. And again that this striking personage should have left nothing behind him but this brilliant work, particularly when that work had been so easy a matter to him that the First Part—filling 272 folio pages—was thrown off in 40 days, as tradition records ; while the complete work, fully attributed to him, comes out in 1652, which would be, I presume, after his death, if we can rely on the estimate that gives 1566 as the year of his birth.

Taken with the above is the fact that Cervantes states in his preface that he is *not* the author of Don Quixote. His words are very plain : " But I though in shew a father, yet in truth but a step father to Don Quixote " * (in Spanish : " Pero yo, que aunque parezco

* Shelton's translation.

padre soy padrastro de D. Quijote "). This, doubtless, is treated as a joke by the literary fraternity, a joke that is further elaborated in the body of the work by another name being put forward as the author: a name, too, which—as I shall shew—may contain a useful anagram. And that reminds one that "There's many a true word spoken in jest." The thinking over these things is, I suggest, sufficient to put one on enquiry, and the enquiry in my mind takes the form: "Was Cervantes in truth the author of this book in Spanish, or was the author some one who wrote it in English, with Shelton's name merely put forward as translator as a blind?"

Following up this line of thought one comes to compare the English and Spanish versions, and endeavour to see which of them is the more like an original, and which to a translation.

In the compass of a magazine article it is impossible to deal with many passages, but I would like to put before my readers one where I think a striking peculiarity is apparent.

The passage is near the end of Chapter II., Part II.; Sancho Panza is addressing the Don; I give the Spanish version, beginning in the middle one of Sancho's long sentences . . . "qué anoche llego el hijo de Bartolome Carrasco, que viene de estudiar de Salamanca hecho bachiller, y yendole yo a dar la bienvenida me dijo que andaba ya en libros la historia de vuesa merced, con nombre del Ingenioso Hidalgo D. Quijote de la Mancha: y dice que me mientan a mi en ella con mi mismo nombre de Sancho Panza, y a la senora Dulcinea del Toboso, con otros cosas que pasamos nosotros a solas, que me hice cruces de espantado como las pudo saber el historiader que las escribio. Yo te aseguro, Sancho, dijo D. Quijote, que debe de ser algun sabio encantador el autor de nuestra historia,

que a los tales no se les encubre nada de lo que quieren escribir."

The translation of this (my translation) is: . . .
 "That last night there arrived the son of Bartolomey Carrasco, who comes from study at Salamanca, made Bachelor, and on my going to bid him welcome, he told me there goes already in books the history of your worship under the name of the ingenious Gentleman Don Quijote of La Mancha: and he says that they make mention of me in it, with my very name of Sancho Panza, and of the lady Dulcinea of Toboso, and of other things that have passed betwixt us alone, so that I made crosses to avert the evil,* how the historian could know the things that he wrote. I assure you, Sancho (said Don Quixote) that the author of our history must be some wise enchanter, that to such as these there is nothing hidden of that which they wish to write."

The subsidiary idea of this passage is that Sancho was so frightened (peasant-like) at finding that the acts of himself and his master were so well known to a third party—unknown to them—that he made the sign of the cross to drive away the evil influence that might come upon him from being connected—even unknowingly—with a magician of such Satanic power.

Shelton's translation of the passage dealing with the "cruces de espantado" is as follows: . . . "and he tells me that I am mentioned too, by mine own name of Sancho Panza, and Dulcinea del Toboso is in too, and other matters that passed betwixt us, at which I was amazed, and blessed myself how the Historian that wrote them came to the knowledge of them. Assure thee, Sancho (said Don Quixote) the Author of our History is some Sage Enchanter: for such are not ignorant of all the secrets they write."

* "Cruces de espantado" = crosses for frightening away.

In this version of Shelton's he does not convey the idea that is plainly set out in the Spanish, that Sancho was frightened at the thought of this Historian knowing so much, and made "crosses to frighten away" the evil; but that he was astonished only, and "was blessed if he knew"; using the ordinary English idiomatic expression to convey astonishment. It would have been quite easy for Shelton to have preserved the Spanish idea in his translation, and made it even more comical, by showing the simple Spanish peasant as so terrified at the notion of this History of himself having been written by a learned author, that he made the sign of the cross in his fright. But that is not Shelton's line and he does not translate the Spanish idea. Here I think there is an evidence of the Spanish being a translation of the English, and not *vice versa*. Assume for a moment that a Spanish translator was at work on Shelton's English; when he comes to the passage: "at which I was amazed and blessed myself" he fixes on the latter clause and translates it "me hice cruces de espantado," "I made crosses to frighten away"—bringing in with that the idea of terror at the "sage enchanter"; and his knowledge of English not carrying him so far as to be aware of the colloquial expression, "I'm blessed if I know how he knew," &c.; an expression in which the "bless" has nothing to do with making the sign of the cross.

Philips, of course, translates this passage (1687). His version is very free, but the idea underlying it is the idea conveyed by Shelton, not that of the Spanish. Thus: "He says I am in too by my own Name of Sancho Panza, and that they have jumbl'd in Madame Dulcinea del Toboso by Head and Shoulders: nay, and as if the Devil had been their intelligencer, they have crowded in some things, too, that were only

private discourses between you and I; how the murrain they should come to know 'em otherwise, I can't for my Soul imagine. Assuredly, replied Don Quixote, it must be some necromanser that has writ this Story; for they are here and there and everywhere, like Satan himself."

Again in a French version, published at Lyons by Thomas Amaulray in 1717, this passage reproduces Shelton's idea and not that of the Spanish version. " Il dit que J'y suis tout de mon long, avec mon meme mon de Sancho Panza, et jusqu' a Madame Dulcinee du Toboso qu'on y a fourree, et d'autres choses, qui se sont passees seulement entre vous et moi, que je ne sais pas ou ce diable d'Historien les a pu apprendre. Il faut assurement dit Don Quichotte, &c."

There is nothing here about making crosses to frighten away, nor any suggestion of it, and to my mind it appears as though the Spanish version were a mistaken translation of the English rather than that the French and English versions had failed to catch the Spanish idea.

Immediately following the passage from Shelton that I have quoted, the story continues: " Well (said Sancho) if he were wise and an enchanter, I will tell you according as Samson Carrasco told me, for that's the man's name that spoke with me, that the Author's name of this History is Cid Hamete Berengena* (it should be Benengcli, but Sancho simply mistakes as followeth in the next note). That is the name of a Moor (said Don Quixote). It is very like (quoth Sancho), for your Moors are great lovers of Berengens (Berengena is a fruit in Spain which they boyle with sod meats, as we do Carrats, and here was Sancho's simplicity in mistaking, and to think that name was given to the Author for loving the fruit). Sancho (said

* Thus in Shelton; note the variance from Berengena.

Don Quixote) you are out in the Moores Sirname ; which is Cid Hamete Benengeli : And Cid in the Arabick signifieth Lord. It may be so (quoth Sancho), but if you will have the Bachelor come to you, I'll bring him to you flying."

The Spanish of the foregoing is : " Y como, dijo Sancho si era sabio y encantador, pues segun dice el bachiller Sanson Carrasco (que asi se llama el que dicho) tengo que el autor de la historia se llama Cide Hamete Berengena. Ese nombre es de moro, respondio D. Quijote. Asi sera, respondio Sancho, porque por la mayor parte he oido decir que los moros son amigos de berengenas. Tu debes, Sancho, dijo D. Quijote, errarte en el sobrenombre de ese Cide, que en arabigo quiere decir senor. Bien podria ser, replico Sancho, &c."

The translation of this [my translation] is : " Well said Sancho, if he was wise and an enchanter, then according to what the bachelor Samson Carrasco said (for thus is he named that spoke with me) I have that the author of the History is called Cid Hamete Berengena. That is the name of a Moor, answered Don Quixote. So it may be, answered Sancho, for I have heard say that generally the Moors are fond of Berengenas. You are wrong, Sancho, said D. Quixote, in the sirname of this Cid, which in Arabic means Lord. That may well be, replied Sancho, &c."

In this it is to be noted that the parenthetical clauses in Shelton's English have no place in the Spanish : though in some of the early Spanish editions these clauses are partly given in marginal notes. But more important is the fact that the Spanish does not give the corrected name of the author, Cid Hamete Benengeli, as Shelton gives it in his English, but merely says that Cide means Lord. One does not see very well why this was omitted in the Spanish, or why it was

interpolated in the English, whichever may have been the action that was taken. Certainly the mention of the Author's name in this conversation between Sancho and the Don impresses upon the reader more firmly the fact that the author was a Moor and brings this fact into greater prominence. But why has the Spanish not got it?

Philips' version (1687) of the foregoing passage is very free, and perhaps gives us an insight into his mind, and lets us know what was running in his head on the subject. It is as follows: "How should he be a Necromancer, quo' Sancho, for young Carrasco tells me he writes his name Cid Hamet Hen-en-baken? That's an Arabian name, reply'd Don Quixote. That may very well be, quo' Sancho, for they say your Arabians are great admirers of Hen and Bacon*; if they don't, I'm sure I do. And thus, friend Sancho, thy Belly has put thee out; for thou art indeed within a mile of an Oak of the Name, which is Benengeli not 'Hen-an-baken,' you Logger-head, if I mistake not; and Cid signifies Lord. I never stand upon names, quo' Sancho, but if you desire to hear young Carrasco, &c."

The French version of Amaulray, that I have quoted before, follows the Spanish in that it omits the name Hamete Benengeli in this passage.

Is there anything to be made out of the name Benengeli? Philips in his racy version gives us a hint of what it may contain, and it is quite conceivable that this is a carefully devised hint.

My friend, Major-Haworth Booth, has a short article in BACONIANA for January, 1916, in which he deals with Philips' statement as given above, and brings his knowledge of Arabic to bear for the extraction of anagrams. From "Hen-en" spoken above by Sancho,

*Philips has the capital "B."

and "Hen-an," spoken by the Don, he gets "Henne" and "Henna," either of which words in Arabic means "Here is."

So that when Sancho says, "Hen-en-baken," the anagrammatic meaning implied (using the Arabic) is "here is baken." On which the Don comments "that's an Arabian name," as though to give us a hint to look for Arabic in it. To which Sancho answers that your Arabians are great admirers of "Hen and Bacon," by this purposely translating "baken" into "Bacon" for us, so that we may read his remark, "Here is Bacon." Then we have the Don immediately after this repeating the phrase "Hen-an-Baken" = "Here is Bacon"; while just before this he brings forward the other part of the name "Bénengeli" = "Ebn Inglee" = "a son of England" (note that this is without the Hamet); while he very significantly adds, "And Cid signifies Lord." So that from the Don's sentence, helped out by Sancho's translation of baken into "Bacon," we get the full sentence, "Here is Lord Bacon, a son of England."

There is the other part of the name "Hamet" to be dealt with, but it may be not without intention that Philips drops out that part of the name in the passage where the Don speaks, as though it was not required in his anagram, and would only confuse it, if brought in. In a Spanish version (Paris, 1901), a footnote says that "Hamete es nombre comun entre Moros"; "Hamete is a common name with the Moors."

But is there not in all this something to stir enquiry, and make us think? Or are these things merely coincidences that have come together of themselves, as it were, without any intention or design on the part of the Authors? What do you think, oh, reader?

We must remember, too, that though these words have been so long before the public, and have excited

no suspicion or enquiry, it is only because hitherto an anagram in Arabic has never been thought of or looked for. It may be that the full name Cid (or Cide) Hamete Benengeli, as Shelton has it, contains an Arabic anagram, using in it the name "Hamete"; but I suggest that this had proved too difficult of solution, and that Philips, in 1687, purposely introduced his passage with "Hen and Bacon" and "Hen-an-baken" and dropped out "Hamete" so as to give a hint of what was involved and also to make the solution easier. But I think much credit is due to Major Haworth-Booth for having been the first to see what was intended.

There is a good deal of significance added to all that Philips says, and to the trouble that he apparently takes to introduce the name "Bacon" into his humorous "Translations" of what is said about the author of the book, when we understand the position that he occupied in literary circles. Philips was no unknown man, as was Shelton. He was a voluminous author. His mother was a sister of John Milton; and besides being nephew to the great poet, he was also godson. From infancy he lived with his Uncle, from whom he derived all his education. In 1651, when Philips was 20 years of age, Milton became Latin Secretary to Cromwell, and Philips was in the habit of reading aloud to him, and acted as his assistant secretary.* He was in this way closely associated with his Uncle up to 1655, when apparently his strongly non-puritanical ideas proved too much for the Milton house, and he withdrew.

But in this close connection with Milton, Philips would necessarily come in contact with literary circles

* Dic. Nat. Biog. Art. : John Phillips. In his *Don Quixote* Philips spells his name with one "l," though the Dictionary gives him two.

of England, and would easily become "au courant" with literary gossip of the day, and be in a position to learn whatever secrets were to be learnt in literary matters. I suggest that during this early training and upbringing Philips got his first inkling of some of the "curiosities of Literature" that were extant in his time, and when he brought out his "Don Quixote," in 1687, even if he did disclose things that he may have learnt in his Uncle's house, the fact that Milton died in 1674 would make such disclosures the less objectionable.

The late Mr. Hutchinson also has an article on "Don Quixote" in the same January number of *BACONIANA*, and he plainly plumps for Bacon as the Author. He says: "Now what I propose to contend for here is that this so-called "Shelton's Translation," is no "translation" at all, but the *real origina*l of the work—the original by the author 'Cid Hamet Benengeli,' *alias* 'Francis Bacon, the Englishman.'"

It is interesting to see how the name "Benengeli" is first brought in as the Author of the book. This is done in Part II., Chapter I., of Shelton (Chapter IX., Spanish Edition).* Here Cervantes (who we must remember describes himself as the stepfather not the father of the book) tells how, having got hold of the beginning of Don Quixote's History, he was wondering how he could come by the rest of it, when he saw a boy in the street handling divers old quires and scrowls

* There is much confusion in the division of "Parts," "Books" and "Chapters" in the various versions. This "Part II." from which I am quoting above, begins with the Ninth Chapter of the tale, as in the Spanish Version, and must not be confused with Shelton's "Second Part," which corresponds with the Spanish "Parte Segunda," and comes after the 52nd Chapter of the First Part.

of books. These he got hold of and found they were written in Arabic, and looking about found a "Moor turned Spaniard," who could read them, and then discovered that those quires contained the History of Don Quixote, and that the title was "The History of Don Quixote of the Mancha," written by Cyde Hamete Benengeli, an Arabical Historiographer. So Cervantes immediately carried off the Moor to the Cloyster of the great Church, where he bargained with him to "turn me all of the Arabical sheets that treated of Don Quixote, into Spanish," and this the Moor did for him in a month and a half—45 days! Here I cannot help calling to mind that Shelton is likewise said to have translated the first part of Don Quixote from Spanish into English in 40 days! though he "cast it aside" (a mere trifle, thrown off as a pass time!) and it lay for some years "in a corner."

Of course I quite understand that all this about the Arabical scrowls is mere "galimawfry"; but all the play about "Moors" and a Moor having written it, taken with the anagram "Ebn Inglee"—son of England, contained in Benengeli, has an interesting sidelight thrown on it from that very curious book, the "Argenis," by John Barclay. This came out just about the time of Don Quixote, being published first in Paris in Latin in 1621. It is a fanciful story, with all sorts and degrees of characters in it, from Kings and Queens downwards, who, under elaborate Greek names, do very wonderful and startling things.* Various nations also are dealt with. As the book appeared at first, no one would be able to make much of it, except that it was a highly ornate sort of fairy tale. But in 1627 there appeared in Leyden (in Latin) an edition with a key added: by which the

* See "Bacon's Secret Disclosed": Gay and Handcock, Henrietta St., W.C. 1911.

World was given to know that under fanciful Greek names most of the great personages of Europe were pointed at : Henry III. and IV. of France, Philip II. of Spain, Queen Elizabeth, Catherine de Medici, and so on ; and that under the seemingly fairy-like action of the book, facts of first-rate import, unknown to history, were disclosed ; as, that Queen Elizabeth had been married to one of her subjects, " a man of the most eminent qualitie next the Kings," and that she had had a son, whose escapades had caused considerable trouble. But the particular point with reference to Benengeli is that in the " Argenis " the following names are used to designate the particular countries : Sicily is France ; Sardinia, is Spain ; Mauretania is England ; and the Moors are the English. So that when in " Don Quixote " it is set out that the author of the book was a Moor, and the anagram contained in his name discloses that by that was meant an Englishman, it is only forestalling by a few years the idea that was adopted in the " Argenis " the Moors are the English ; and if we could delve a little deeper, I do not doubt but that we would find that John Barclay and Thomas Shelton were not so far apart as they seem to be on the surface of things.

The position that Philips held in the literary fraternity of England, as I have already indicated, gave him an opportunity of learning much of the secret history of books and authors, and his Don Quixote seems to have been used by him as a sort of pipe for conveying this knowledge from himself to the public. His " translation " introduces things that are absolutely without any place in the original, and introduces phrases and catch words that are entirely due to Philips himself. When these matters are analysed and are found to have a double meaning, it is impossible to escape the suspicion that they are introduced

on account of the double meaning. Many examples of this can be found throughout his book, but I will venture upon just one more in addition to those I have already given, as it is one to which Major Hawthorth-Booth also devotes some attention. To do proper justice to this further example, and to put the reader in a position to appreciate what Philips has done, and the great liberties he has taken with his subject in order to drag in his hints or information, I have to occupy enough space to give both Philips' and Shelton's translations, so that they may be compared.

The passage to be considered occurs in Book I., Part IV., Chap. XI., Shelton (1675); or Part I., Book IV., Chap. XI., Philips' (1687); or Part I., Chap. XXXVIII., Spanish.

The subject of the Chapter is Don Quixote's Discourse upon Arms and Letters. Shelton's translation is very close to the Spanish, and is as follows (p. 100) :—
 "To this objection Arms do make answer; That the Laws cannot be sustained without them, for Commonwealths are defended by Arms, and Kingdoms Governed, Cities fenced, Highways made safe, the Seas freed from Pyrats, and to be brief, if it were not for them, Commonwealths, Kingdoms, Monarchies, Cities and Ways by Sea and Land, would be subject to the rigor and confusion which attendeth on the war all the time that it endureth, and is licenced to practice his Prerogatives and violences;* and it is a known truth, That it which cost most, is, or ought, to be most accounted of; that one may become eminent in Learning, it costs him time, watchings, hunger, nakedness, headaches, rawness of Stomach, and other such inconveniences, as I have partly mentioned already; But that one may arrive by true terms to be a good Souldier, it costs him all that it costs the Student, in so exceeding a degree, as admits no comparison, for he is at every step in

jeopardy to lose his life. And what fear of necessity or poverty may befall or molest a Student so fiercely as it doth a Souldier, who seeing himself at the edge of some impregnable place, and standing Centinel in some Raveline or half-Moon," etc.

The parallel passage to this in Philips (1687) is very different, so different that it is very far from being a translation of the Spanish. I give Philip's words from the place marked with an asterisk in the foregoing.

" Besides, is it not a general maxim, that we esteem that most which costs us dearest? Oh! is it so! pray gi' me leave then—I would fain know what it costs a Man of Letters to become learned? You'll say Time, Patience, Watching, drudging at his Book, spare Diet, poor Habit, and the Want and Privation of a thousand Pleasures and Delights of this World. Well—and what's all this to the purpose? As if a Souldier were not put to these, and other Hardships and Inconveniences ten thousand times more dismal and disastrous. For what hardship is it for a Scholar to encounter a whole Army of Barbara's and Celarent's, Carnestres's and Festino's, or to be Sorbonificabilitudinistally confounded with a Legion of Quinta Essentia's, Genera Generalissima's, or a Host of Prædicaments that will never break his Bones nor his brains neither," etc.

There is so much in this from Philips, for which there is no warrant at all either in the Spanish or in Shelton's version, that one is forced to consider if there may not be some double meaning in what he says: especially in the introduction of the long word Sorbonico, etc. This recalls to mind at once the long word in " Love's Labour Lost " (Act V., Sc. I.), " Honorificabilitudinitatibus," which has been shown to contain an anagram, in Latin, " Hi ludi tuiti F. Baconis orbi nati." In similar way Major Haworth

Booth extracts from Sorbonico, etc., "O in Italics. It is by old Fr. Bacon LVI.": the "LVI." being the numerical count of Fr. Bacon.* I do not think that there is any straining in the matter in assuming that this long word might contain an anagram. Philips takes very great liberties with his subject in order to introduce it: it is not in the smallest degree warranted by the Spanish, and seeing what pains he was at to suggest the name Bacon in the Benengeli passage I think it should not be a matter for any surprise to find an anagram bringing in Bacon in this long word. Rather, it is what one may expect. It is interesting to know that Major Haworth-Booth first deciphered this anagram, and that it was this deciphering that led him to investigate the Benengeli passage.

As I conclude, there comes to my hand "The Library," New Series, No. 36, Vol. IX., October, 1908. Herein there is an article by H. Thomas, on "The Cervantes Collection in the British Museum." At pp. 437-8, Mr. Thomas calls attention to the appendices drawn up by the Museum Authorities, containing references to all the works in the Museum treating of Don Quixote. They are grouped under three heads:—"Spurious Continuation, Imitations, etc."; "Criticism"; and "Pictorial Illustrations." Mr. Thomas remarks: "Under the heading 'Criticism,' are over one hundred and twenty references, some of which tend to make Cervantes a rival of Shakespeare as a universal specialist, for he would appear to be equally and supremely learned in the art of invention, in

* For those who are not familiar with the system of expressing words by number, I would explain that each letter of the alphabet has its numerical value, according to its position. From A = 1 to Z = 24, there being only 24 letters in the Elizabethan alphabet; i and j being one letter and u and v also one. In this way Bacon = 33 and Fr. Bacon = 56. Sorbonico, etc., is in Italics in Philips edition.

geography, jurisprudence, practical medicine, military administration, monomania, navigation, philosophy, political reformation, theology and travelling."

It was Bacon, as we all know, who "Took all learning for his Province," and thus became "an universal specialist," and digested the diverse branches of learning that Mr. Thomas attributes to the uneducated Stratford man. It is, however, intensely significant that, from a literary point of view, such an identity of mental capacity and grasp should be shown to exist between Cervantes and the writer of *The Plays*, while at the same time we Baconians know that a similar identity exists between the author of *The Plays* and Bacon. Whence the inference would be, either that Cervantes and Shakespeare are one, so far as the authorship of "Don Quixote" and "The Plays" is concerned, or that Cervantes and Shakespeare are one with Bacon. Which inference would seem more probably to be correct? If Mr. Thomas, and those like him, were not so fast bound by "a peremptory adhesion unto Authority" (as Sir Thomas Brown puts it) their minds would be better able to draw the correct inference, after having been able to summarise the facts and perceive the analogy.

GRANVILLE C. CUNNINGHAM.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of BACONIANA.

SIR,—Now that so much interest is being taken in Don Quixote and the probability that this work may have originated with Francis Bacon, it might be well to consider another romance that appeared shortly after the diverting history of the famous Spanish Knight, and that is—Guzman de Alfarache.

Written in Spanish by Matheo Aleman, it was translated into English by Diego Puedo-Ser (James Maybe, *i.e.*, Jas. Mabbe), and published in 1623, in London, by Edward Blount, one of the publishers of the Shakespeare folio, issued in the same year.

There are two prefaces, one to the Vulgar, and the other to the Discreet Reader, as also a Declaration for the better understanding of the Book, all of which are worth study from the Baconian view-point.

There are various verses also to the first part of the work, one to the exact Translator, signed I.F., ends :—

“ More is but Due, for as my Scale designs ;
This is the Base, to large and worthy Lines. ”

Which recalls Oliver Lector's " Letters from the Dead to the Dead," f. 73, on Logarithms.

There are lines by Ben Jonson, on the " Author, Worke and Transaltor," containing the following :—

“ Such bookes deserve Translators, of like coate
As was the Genius wherewith they were wrote ;
And this hath met that one, that may be stil'd
More than the Foster-Father of this child. . . ”

Compare Ben Jonson's :—

“ Leave thee alone, for the comparison
Of all, that insolent Greece, or haughtie Rome,
sent forth.”

The second part of the Life starts with—An Address to the Curious Reader and the initial letter which begins it, the A of Albeit—is imposed upon the arms of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, as depicted in Whitney's " Choice of Emblems." (There is no reference to Dudley in the Book.)

Then follows an Elogium to Matneo Aleman, which contains

much for mental digestion. It describes the Author's works as "equalling the very best both Latines and Grecians."

And this reminds one of Cervantes' preface to the reader in "Don Quixote":—

"But I, though in show a father,
Yet in truth but a stepfather."

There are various verses signed Ed. Burton. The first ends:—

" . . . Let the Prose remain, Let it commend
Him (whom I dare not praise) because a Friend."

The position of the brackets is peculiar and—Why dare not praise?

In the third set of verses appears:—

"Would any man see Proteus? Would hee see
Proteus againe, and say: That this is hee?"

F. 33 gives the marginal anagram, S.O.W.

F. 100. Third line from bottom—"I was ever like the Hog."

I simply mention these anagrams for the benefit of those who take an interest in such. There are points that might interest the Fratres Roseæ Crucis, in regard to numbers 157 and 287, but I will only give one example:—

Numerical value of M A T H E O									
12	1	19	8	5	14	=	59		
A	L	E	M	A	N				
1	11	5	12	1	13	=	43	102	
<hr style="width: 20%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>									
Add numerical value B A C O N									
2	1	3	14	13		=	33		
<hr style="width: 20%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>									
								135	
<hr style="width: 20%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>									

On f. 135 the 157th word down the page is—Bacon.
I hope others may study this work and give us their opinions thereon.

ALEX. G. MOFFAT.

Swansea,
16th May, 1917.

"FOR 'SHAKESPEARE' READ 'BACON.'"
TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—Under this heading, it is shown in *BACONIANA* (October, 1916) that when a Shakespearean endeavours to present to his imagination the great poet from the works themselves and not from contemporary testimony, he unconsciously draws a picture, not of the Stratford moneylender, but of the universal genius of St. Albans. The writer of the review of the *Daily Telegraph* tercentenary article on "Shakespeare" might have gone even further than he did. He points out that while the journalist speaks of the "reverence and awe" with which we regard Shakespeare, Francis Osborn (1658) records that Bacon struck all men with "an awful reverence." Moreover that "uncanny feeling of something mystical and divine, something which touches our spirits from afar," is paralleled in what Rawley said of Bacon that "if ever there were a beam of knowledge derived from God upon any man it was upon him."

The article in the *Daily Telegraph* began with the words:—

"A rarer spirit never did steer humanity." Only in Shakespeare's own words can we attempt to define what Shakespeare was.

Now Peter Boener (1647) distinctly defines Bacon as the journalist describes Shakespeare:

"A noteworthy example and pattern for everybody of all virtue, gentleness, peacefulness and patience."

The greater part of the newspaper article is concerned with Shakespeare's patriotism:

"In passage after passage of the plays he proves how near at his heart lay the love of his country."

And this brings us to the earliest attempt to write a "Life" of Bacon, where Pierre Amboise (1631) says:—

"Success or failure in the affairs of his country brought to him the greater part of his joys or his sorrows."*

In "passage after passage" of his writings Bacon proves that here again he was one with Shakespeare.

Sir Tobie Matthew refers to Bacon as "A man so rare in the knowledge of so many several kinds, endued with the facility and felicity of expressing it all, in so elegant, so abundant, and yet so choice and ravishing a way of words, of metaphor and allusions, as, perhaps, the world hath not seen, since it was a world." While of "Shakespeare" it is now written:—

* "Bacon's Secret Disclosed," p. 54. Gay and Hancock, London, 1911.

"There are lines in Shakespeare, passages of unforgettable beauty, thoughts lying deeper than the level of our ordinary consciousness, which amaze us with their sweetness, 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 pure ether, an atmosphere which never was on sea or land."

Everything that can truthfully be said about "Shakespeare," the poet and teacher of the world, is applicable to Francis Bacon, and "in wide contrast" to the Stratford man. Had the article been written of the real "Shakespeare" it would not have been necessary for Mrs. Stopes to make the "ingenious suggestion" (as it is called) that Shakespeare joined the fleet because he is so accurate in the use of sea terms!—Yours faithfully,

R. L. EAGLE.

19, Burghill Road, Sydenham, S.E.

THE "COMEDY OF ERRORS."

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—Between December, 1574, and September, 1576, Francis was a frequent visitor to the court of his mother, Queen Elizabeth.

At Hampton Court, in 1576, the choristers of St. Paul's performed a play called "Historie of Errors." The play was the first rendering by Francis in English of the "Menaechmi" of the Latin comic dramatist, Plautus.

Revised and called the "Comedy of Errors," it was acted at Grays Inn at the night of the 28th December, 1594, by the then players of the Queen's or Lord Chamberlain's company from Shoreditch.

Francis had during that day, with the help of many Gray's Inn men, given the whole or part of the Revells Device, called "The Prince of Purpoole." Too many guests assembled in Gray's Inn Hall for the entertainments, so that room could not be found for an Embassy of Temple barristers who had to return to their Inn disappointed.

A few days later a mock enquiry was held at Gray's Inn as to the cause of the unintentional slight to the men of the Temple. A certain "sorcerer and conjuror," whose name was not mentioned, was accused of "foisting a company of base and common fellows upon the gentlemen of Gray's Inn."

As the play of "Friar Bacon," containing statements that

Bacon (the Friar) was a "sorcerer" and conjuror, had been printed in quarto a few months before, the person intended by the *allusion* was manifestly the master of the Revells, Francis Bacon himself.

A tampered MS., stolen from the Record Office, states that "The Plaie of Errors" was performed at King James' Court in 1604. Wittily appropriate. The wrong king was on the throne! In 1623 the "Comedy of Errors" was first printed, viz., in the Shakespeare Folio.

Lord Campbell said that its writer showed familiarity with most abstruse English jurisprudence.

As a play, the Comedy is poor stuff, rarely staged. Its inclusion in the Folio was very possibly through its suitability as a vehicle for signs, tricks, and cyphers.

I have not met with a play signed by Francis Bacon so persistently.

On page 99, first column, Francis executes a little trick:—

The Abbess introduces—

(1) "Antipholus Siracusa."

(2) "and Dromio Sir."

The last three words are on a line to themselves.

Then remarks the Duke *apropos* of nothing in the run of the play:—

"One of these men is genius to the other:

And so of these, which is the naturall man,

And which the spirit? Who deciphers them?"

Is it purely accidental or intentional that the line "Antipholus Siracusa" has the same number of letters as in "William Shakespeare," while the line "and Dromio Sir" has the same number of letters as in "Francis Bacon"?

"Trifles" is an expression in the dedication of the Folio.

Page 97, second column, under "Abbesse," is "five." Page 99, second column is *Abb.* "Whoever bound him, I will lose (loose) his bonds." This indicates the A.B. or biliteral cipher in *De Augmentis*.

PARKER WOODWARD.

JULY—OCTOBER, 1917.

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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JULY, 1917.

No. 59.

THE FIRST "LIFE OF BACON."

IT is a strange fact in connection with the great Francis Bacon, to preserve whose memory our Society is founded, that the first account of his life that appeared, only five years after he had retired from this world's stage, has been quite overlooked and neglected by English writers upon him. This first Life came out in the French "Histoire Naturelle," published in Paris in 1631. It gives much information about him that Rawley did not disclose in his "Life," prefixed to the "Resuscitatio," published in 1657, the first English life to appear, and which was so long—31 years—in coming out after the close of Bacon's career. Rawley did not show much anxiety to give the public what he knew and felt about his great Master, when he was so leisurely about the production of his "Life." The Frenchman—Pierre Amboise, if it were he who wrote in 1631—was more active in the matter, and gives us an insight into the mind and thoughts of the man of whom he writes in a manner that is notably intimate and yet restrained. He tells us also that he travelled during some years of his youth in France, Italy and Spain, a fact that we Baconians have surmised for ourselves from the study of books that we feel sure were written by him, though it is a fact that Rawley did not give us in his Life. Rawley himself does not allude to this "Life," neither does Mallet, nor Montague, nor Spedding, nor James Robertson, nor G. Walter Steeves, to come down to the latest writers on Bacon; though it

was quoted, with approval, as a "just and elegant discourse," by Gilbert Wats, in his forewords to the translation of Bacon's "Advancement of Learning," published in 1640. The first time that this French Life appeared in English was in 1911, when Mr. Cuninghame gave a translation of it in his book, "Bacon's Secret Disclosed," actually 280 years after its first appearance in Paris.

We have thought it right that this first "Life" should have a place in the pages of BACONIANA, there to be on record for the study and reference of our members.—ED., BACONIANA.

"DISCOURSE ON THE LIFE OF M. FRANCIS BACON
CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

"Those who have known the quality of M. Bacon's mind from reading his works, will—in my opinion—be desirous to learn who he was, and to know that Fortune did not forget to recompense merit so rare and extraordinary as was his. It is true, however, that she was less gracious to his latter age than to his youth; for his life had such happy beginning, and an end so rough and strange, that one is astonished to see England's principal Minister of State, a man great both in birth and in possessions, reduced actually to the verge of lacking the necessaries of life.

"I have difficulty in coinciding with the opinion of the common people, who think that great men are unable to beget children similar to themselves, as though nature was in that particular inferior to the art which can easily produce portraits that are likenesses: especially as history teaches us that the greatest personages have often found in their own families heirs of their virtues as well as of their possessions. And indeed, without the need of going to search for far away examples, we see that M. Bacon was the son of a father

who possessed no less virtue than he : his worth secured to him the honour of being so well-beloved by Queen Elizabeth that she gave him the position of Keeper of the Seals, and placed in his hands the most important affairs of her Kingdom. And in truth it pains me to say that soon after his promotion to the first-named dignity, he was the principal instrument that she made use of in order to establish the Protestant Religion in England.

" Although that work was so odious in its nature, yet if one considers it according to political maxims, we can easily see that it was one of the greatest and boldest undertakings that had been carried out for many centuries : and one ought not the less to admire the Author of it, in that he had known how to conduct a bad business so dexterously, as to change both the form of Religion, and the belief, of an entire Country, without having disturbed its tranquility. M. Bacon was not only obliged to imitate the virtues of such an one, but also those of many others of his ancestors, who have left so many marks of their greatness in history that honour and dignity seem to have been at all times the spoil of his family. Certain it is that no one can reproach him with having added less than they to the splendour of his race. Being thus born in the purple [*ne parmy les pourpres*] and brought up with the expectation of a great career [*l'esperance d'une grande fortune*], his father had him instructed in ' *bonnes Lettres* ' with such great and such especial care, that I know not to whom we are the more indebted for all the splendid works [*les beaux ouvrages*] that he has left to us : whether to the mind of the son, or to the care the father had taken in making him cultivate it. But, however that may be, the obligation we are under to the father is not small. Capacity [*jugement*] and memory were never in any man to such

a degree as in this one : so that in a very short time he made himself conversant with all the knowledge he could acquire at College. And though he was then considered capable of undertaking the most important affairs [*capable des charges les plus importants*] yet, so that he should not fall into the usual fault of young men of his kind (who by a too hasty ambition often bring to the management of great affairs, a mind still full of the crudities of the school), M. Bacon himself wished to acquire that knowledge which in former times made Ulysses so commendable, and earned for him the name of Wise ; by the study of the manners of many different nations. I wish to state that he employed some years of his youth in travel, in order to polish his mind and to mould his opinion by intercourse with all kinds of foreigners. France, Italy and Spain, as the most civilised nations of the whole world, were those whither his desire for knowledge [*curiosité*] carried him. And as he saw himself destined one day to hold in his hands the helm of the Kingdom [*le timon du Royaume*] instead of looking only at the people and the different fashions in dress, as do the most of those who travel, he observed judiciously the laws and the customs of the countries through which he passed, noted the different forms of Government in a State, with their advantages or defects, together with all the other matters which might help to make a man able for the government of men.

“ Having by these means reached the summit of learning and virtue, it was fitting that he should also reach that of dignity. For this reason, some time after his return, the King, who well knew his worth, gave him several small matters to carry out, that might serve for him as stepping-stones to high positions : in these he acquitted himself so well that he was in due course considered worthy of the same

position that his father vacated with his life. And in carrying out the work of Chancellor he gave so many proofs of the largeness of his mind, that one can say without flattery that England owes to his wise counsels, and his good rule, a part of the repose she has so long enjoyed. And King James, who then reigned, should not take to himself alone all the glory of this, for it is certain that M^re Bacon should share it with him. We may truly say that this Monarch was one of the greatest Princes of his time, who understood thoroughly well the worth and value of men, and he made use to the fullest extent of M. Bacon's services, and relied upon his vigilance to support the greater part of the burden of the Crown. The Chancellor never proposed anything for the good of the State, or the maintenance of justice, but was carried out by the Royal power; and the authority of the Master seconded the good intentions of the servant; so that one must avouch that this Prince was worthy to have such a Minister and he worthy of so great a King.

"Among so many virtues that made this great man commendable Prudence, as the first of all the Moral virtues, and that most necessary to those of his profession, was that which shone in him the most brightly. His profound wisdom can be most readily seen in his books, and his matchless fidelity in the signal services that he continuously rendered to his Prince. Never was there man who so loved equity, or so enthusiastically worked for the public good as he: so that I may aver that he would have been much better suited to a Republic than to a Monarchy, where frequently the convenience of the Prince is more thought of, than that of his people. And I do not doubt that, had he lived in a Republic, he would have acquired as much glory from the citizens, as formerly did Aristides and Cato, the one in Athens, the other

in Rome. Innocence oppressed found always in his protection a sure refuge, and the position of the great gave them no vantage ground before the Chancellor, when suing for justice.

"Vanity, avarice, and ambition, vices that too often attach themselves to great honours, were to him quite unknown, and if he did a good action, it was not from the desire of fame, but simply because he could not do otherwise. His good qualities were entirely pure, without being clouded by the admixture of any imperfections; and the passions that form usually the defects in great men, in him only served to bring out his virtues; if he felt hatred and rage it was only against evil doers, to show his detestation of their crimes; and success or failure in the affairs of his country, brought to him the greater part of his joys or his sorrows. He was as truly a good man, as he was an upright judge, and by the example of his life, corrected vice and bad living, as much as by pains and penalties. And in a word, it seemed that Nature had exempted from the ordinary frailties of men him whom she had marked out to deal with their crimes. All these good qualities made him the darling of the people, and prized by the great ones of the State. But when it seemed that nothing could destroy his position, Fortune made clear that she did not yet wish to abandon her character for instability, and that Bacon had too much worth to remain so long prosperous. It thus came about that amongst the great number of officials such as a man of his position must have in his house, there was one who was accused before Parliament of exaction, and of having sold the influence that he might have with his master. And though the probity of M. Bacon was entirely exempt from censure, nevertheless he was declared guilty of the crime of his servant, and was deprived of the power that he had so long exercised

with so much honour and glory. In this I see the working of monstrous ingratitude and unparalleled cruelty ; to say that a man who could mark the years of his life, rather by the signal services that he had rendered to the State, than by times or seasons, should have received such hard usage, for the punishment of a crime which he never committed ; England, indeed, teaches us by this that the sea, that surrounds her shores, imparts to her inhabitants somewhat of its restless inconstancy. This storm did not at all surprise him, and he received the news of his disgrace with a countenance so undisturbed that it was easy to see that he thought but little of the sweets of life, since the loss of them caused him discomfort so slight. He had, fairly close to London, a country house replete with everything requisite to soothe a mind embittered by public life, as was his, and weary of living in the turmoil of the great world. He returned thither to give himself up more completely to the study of his books, and to pass in repose, the remainder of his life. But as he seemed to have been born rather for the rest of mankind than for himself, and as by the want of public employment he could not give his work to the people, he wished at least to render himself of use by his writings and by his books ; worthy as these are to be in all the libraries of the world, and to rank with the most splendid works of antiquity.

“ The history of Henry VII. is one of those works which we owe to his fall, a work so well received by the whole world, that one has wished for nothing so much as the continuation of the History of the other Kings. And even yet he would not have given opportunity for these regrets, had not death cut short his plans, and thus robbed us of a work that bid fair to put all the others to shame.

“ The Natural History is also one of the fruits of

his idleness. The praiseworthy wish that he had, to pass by nothing but to connote the nature and qualities of all things, induced his mind to make researches which some learned men may perhaps have indicated to him, but which none but himself could properly carry out. In which he has without doubt achieved so great a success, that but little has escaped his knowledge, so that he has laid bare to us the errors of the ancient Philosophy and made us see the abuses that have crept into that teaching, under the authority of the first authors of the science. But whilst he was occupied in this great work, want of means forced him to concentrate his mind on his domestic affairs. The honest manner in which he had lived was the sole cause of his poverty ; and as he was ever more desirous of acquiring honour than of amassing a fortune, he had always preferred the interests of the State to those of his house ; and had neglected, during the time of his great prosperity, the opportunities of enriching himself : So that after some years passed in solitude he found himself reduced to such dire necessity that he was constrained to have recourse to the King, to obtain, by his liberality, some alleviation of his misery. I know not if poverty be the mother of beauty, but I aver that the letter he wrote to the King on that occasion is one of the most beautiful examples of that style of writing ever seen. The request that he made for a pension is conceived in terms so lofty and in such good taste, that one could not deny him without great injustice. Having thus obtained the means to extricate himself from his difficulties, he again applied himself, as before, to unravel the great secrets of nature. And as he was engaged during a severe frost in observing some particular effects of cold, having stayed too long in the open, and forgetting that his age made him incapable of bearing such severities ; the

cold, acting the more easily on a body whose powers were already reduced by old age, drove out all that remained of natural heat, and reduced him to the last condition that is always reached by great men only too soon. Nature failed him while he was chanting her praise: this she did, perhaps, because, being miserly and hiding from us her best, she feared that at last he would discover all her treasures, and make all men learned at her expense. Thus ended this great man, whom England could place alone as the equal [*en parallèle avec*] of the best of all the previous centuries."

HIS FINAL DRAMA.

THERE is much to indicate that Bacon's last play had for a long time been premeditated. It was never printed, but it was intended to have all the world for its stage.

ACT I. SCENE I. "DISTRESS."

Bacon's tremendous powers of work as Lord Chancellor and his zeal for giving quick justice to the nation had largely to do with the attack by Parliament, but mainly directed against him by the Common Law Judges, officials and practitioners. Fees and presents had been diverted to the Chancery from the Common Law Courts by litigants, who desired celerity in disposal of their suits, but the Lord Chancellor administered justice justly. He was impeached, effectually replied to the charges, but, for the sake of reformation, requested to be condemned.

The nation had committed an act of "monstrous ingratitude and unparalleled cruelty" (:) so he had no further desire to serve the State. King James,

his close personal friend, on whose behalf Bacon had virtually ruled the nation since 1603, took care to terminate the imprisonment after two days and to assign the £40,000 fine to trustees nominated by Bacon as a protection against the pressure of specialty and simple contract creditors, whose claims through loss of his income he could no longer provide for.

It is pointed out by Rawley (†) that the offices of Lord Keeper and Lord Chancellor, "though same in authority and power, yet differed in patent, height and favour of the prince." The position of Lord Chancellor was next in order of precedence to the Royal Family. The warrant for the King's Pardon to Bacon was dated October 12th, 1621. It will be found that the King secretly restored Bacon to the dignity of Lord Chancellor, although the judicial work and emoluments of the office were given to a new Lord Keeper. In 1622 Bacon printed "Othello." Whatever it had been as a performed play, as a *printed* one it was a comment on the apparent ingratitude of the nation. Pushkin, the Russian poet, had the necessary clarity to perceive that the Moor Othello was not jealous, but trustful. Desdemona idealised the English nation Bacon had worked for, loved and trusted, but which on the face of things, had abused his confidence and trust. Steadily working in retirement at his literary productions Bacon became at length very short of money. In March, 1625, the King, his friend, died, the pension he had granted Bacon was much in arrear, so that he only kept himself from immediate ignominy by borrowing.

Then Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia, resident in Holland with her dethroned husband, being there supported by a subsidy of £12,000 per annum from England, appeared upon the scene in August, 1625. In writing to Bacon, in a previous letter she had

subscribed herself "your very affectionate friend." All that Bacon's preserved reply to the letter of August, 1625, disclosed was, that she had offered him "a great favour." Thereupon Bacon put in operation his long contemplated and dramatic scheme. His marriage had been a failure. The young wife had soon tired of the old poet philosopher, her husband, always concentrated upon state affairs or his books.

Tell me thou lov'st elsewhere, but in my sight,
Dear heart forbear to glance thine eye aside. (3)

He decided to carry out his wish to die to the world "in St. Alban's habit as he lived" (1). No man of his day had ever watched over his own health with the intensity and care that Bacon did. He could relieve the pains of gout in two hours by one of his own prescriptions (2). But if he was going to "die to the world" he must first be "ill" to the world. In that day illness was called "sickness." Of this more anon.

When he "died," as his literary vizard of "Euphues" ("Dying to live," he called it) in the 1592 edition of *Rosalynde*, title-paged to Lodge, he had previously carried out various preparations to lull the public mind. He had made similar preparations of the imagination of "inferiour Readers" when he also died as "Watson" and as "Greene." In the character of Falstaffe he had discussed the ethic of "dying to live" in the play of Henry IV. first part:—"But to counterfeit dying, when a man thereby liveth, is to be no counterfeit, but the true and perfect image of life indeed."

So he "*went sick*" in the autumn of 1625. His reply to the Queen of Bohemia stated that he was "ill of a dangerous and tedious sickness." He did not explain that he meant "old age!" Bacon dissembled, but did not lie. To Mr. Palmer, on October 29th, he wrote, "I have obtained some

degree of health." To Sir Humphrey May :—" I shall not be able in respect of my health to attend a Parliament. I wish you a good New Year." To Buckingham, " I have gotten some degree of health. I wish your Grace a good New Year."

In a carefully schemed Will, dated December 21st, 1625, published in the presence of his chaplain, Rawley and other servants who signed their names, he directed his Executors, " To have a special care to discharge a debt by bond (now made in my sickness) to Mr. Thomas Meautys." The main practical effect of the Will was to make his estate absolutely freed from the priority of the £40,000 fine or Crown debt, so that his specialty and simple contract creditors should have all the estate he had available, which eventuated in their getting about 8s. in the £. Those who had lent at high interest of course did better, as also did those who had advanced less than the nominal amounts.

For the general public whom gossip might not have reached, he printed about January, 1625-6, two little books, " Apophthegmes," prefaced " for recreation in my sickness," and " Translations of Psalms," prefaced " his poor exercise of my sickness."

SCENE II. THE " DEATH."

Having thus thoroughly prepared the public to *expect his death*, Francis came up from Gorhambury to London and stayed at his Gray's Inn Chambers. The next we hear is that when snow was on the ground at the beginning of April, he " casually repaired " (6) to the Earl of Arundel's house at Highgate. Norden tells about this country seat on high ground some miles from the city of London (7). It was remote and had fine views of the surrounding country. Bacon knew it well, both when Sir William Cornwallis owned it and afterwards. The Countess of Arundel gave a

banquet there in Bacon's honour in 1617. There was only a caretaker in the house. At the time of Bacon's visit its owner, the Earl of Arundel, was a temporary prisoner in the Tower. As a youth Arundel had been a ward of Bacon's brother, Robert Earl of Essex, whose remains he, Arundel, took away for burial after Robert had been beheaded on Tower Green in 1601. He was a great friend of the Queen of Bohemia, and of Francis Bacon, educated his family in Holland, and was a rich patron of the fine arts. His library was eventually given to the Royal Society. In 1680 in his life of Hobbes, Aubrey relates, on the authority of Hobbes, a story of Bacon and Dr. Witheybourne, the King's physician (correctly Sir John Wedderburn) taking a coach drive to Highgate in the snow and then stopping to stuff snow into a newly killed fowl, whereby Bacon caught a chill and was two or three days at Highgate House before he died! In a life of Sir Julius Cæsar, quoted by Montagu (⁸) it is stated that Bacon died in Cæsar's arms. Montagu also states (but gives no authority) that Cæsar was sent for to Highgate House when Bacon was taken ill.

In 1702, in Stephen's collection of Bacon's letters, we are given Bacon's account (⁹) of his "illness," though not in his handwriting. The document was printed in Sir Tobie Matthews' collection. According to this, Bacon had nearly lost his life in an experiment in the induration of a body, etc. Then Rawley once more (¹⁰) lets us know that Bacon died in the early morning of the 9th April, a day on which was commemorated the resurrection of our Saviour, etc. Lloyd's *Statesmen*, 1665, stated that Bacon made *in effect* his last bed at Cæsar's house. Fuller's "Worthies," 1662, says the same. From Montagu (¹¹) are two other fragments of information:—"History of Life and Death"; "The condensation by *Flight*

is when there is antipathy between the spirit and the body upon which it acts as in *Opium* . . . a grain will tranquilize the nerves and by a few grains they may be so compressed as to be irrecoverable. The *Touched Spirit* may *Retreat* into its *Shell* for a time or for ever." Where Montagu obtained this make-believe translation has yet be to found out.

The other fragment quoted by Montagu is from the Ad. of Learning, 1640 :—

"Wherefore voluptuous men often turn into *friars* and the declining age of ambitious *princes* is commonly more sad and *besieged with Melancholy*."

The late Mrs. Pott wrote that the name of Bacon's own physician, Dr. Parry, has been associated with the "death," but did not give her authority.

Piecing these fragments together, we can expect that Bacon's body was indurated, that is to say, was put under an opiate, which proved nearly too much for him. That he was shown to the simple caretaker on the early morning of April 9th as seemingly dead in Cæsar's arms; that he was carried away in a rough coffin (shell) nearly dying on the journey, and taken to Cæsar's house (he owned one near the St. Catherine dock on the Thames) where Francis was suitably restored. That dressed in the habit of a French friar he sailed abroad, doubtless to Holland. His close friend and late secretary, Sir Thomas Meautys would be concerned in the proceedings, and he would spread abroad the allegation that the Viscount was dead.

SCENE III. HIS "FUNERALLS."

There is no record of any funeral nor any entry upon a register of burials of the burial of Francis Bacon. Meautys, writing in April, 1626, to Lady Jane (Corn-

wallis) Bacon upon the delicate subject of a loan from her, added, "My Ld. St. Alban is dead and buried." Other persons gave out that he was dead (¹²).

The omission of record of "funeral rites" was partly atoned for by the publication by Rawley, in 1626, of thirty-three Latin Dirges at his (Bacon's) untimely death. They were called "Manes Verulamiani." One of these dirge writers was so overcome, that he said, "He is gone. He is gone. *I have not said he is dead.*"

At this point reference might usefully be made to Johphiel's remarks in Ben Jonson's "Masque of the Fortunate Isles," in folio of 1640, written, but not performed, and to the Repertorie of Records, 1631.

ACT II. SCENE I. "THE DESERTED CHAPLAIN."

Whatever he may have suspected, it is doubtful whether Rawley (then a Court Chaplain) knew of Bacon's flight until some years later. According to the bilateral cipher written by him (¹³) he had charge of Bacon's "Shakespeare" Manuscripts and of his "Spenser" manuscripts with instructions to get them into the respective tomb monuments of those worthy vizards. But Bacon had not had time to see his "Sylva Sylvarum" and "New Atlantis" through the press, though he had written the preface to the former work. Rawley, who took charge, made a bungle of this preface when he published the work in 1627. In 1629 Rawley printed some Miscellany Works of his lordship, viz., "Holy War," "War With Spain," and two unfinished fragments, evidently to convey a cypher message.

The pamphlets he had probably copied for himself, being interested as a clergyman; the fragments were, one would expect, unfinished drafts he had taken down at his lordship's dictation. I doubt if Bacon

knew that Rawley had these papers. In accordance with the "Will" of 1625, all Bacon's manuscripts and papers were sealed up and despatched to Mr. Boswell, the English agent at the Hague. It is certain that in the preface to the Miscellany Works, 1629, and in the biliteral cypher which Rawley inserted, he writes of Bacon as dead and sleeping in his tombe⁽¹⁴⁾. But growing acquaintance with the methods of the Rosicrosse fraternity enables one to see that its members do not hesitate to *dissemble truth* if they provide the truth in an occult form besides the dissembling statement. Rawley, however, does not appear to have done this in the 1629 publication.

Rawley did not come into action again over Bacon's acknowledged writings until Aelius Deodate (avocat) who one would take to have been Bacon's French lawyer, came over to London from Paris, in 1632, with a request that Rawley would prepare a Latin edition of certain of Bacon's works.

This was agreed to, and was accomplished in 1638. Here we must leave Rawley. He comes on the scene again in 1651-8, but of this later.

ACT II. SCENE II. "BACON IN RETREAT."

Charles Molloy, who after Rawley's death in 1667, printed the 1671 edition of "Resuscitatio," prefaced that Bacon "made a *holy and humble retreat* into the cool shades of rest, where he remained triumphant above fate and fortune till heaven was pleased to summon him to a more glorious and triumphant rest." We may gather from this that Bacon had before 1671 *actually died* and had until then lived the holy and humble life of a friar. With his complete knowledge of French and his guise as a friar he could have most excellently concealed his identity.

One may assume that at first he took matters quietly. But he soon had something to do. Another edition of the "Anatomy of Melancholy" was required by his publisher, Cripps of Oxford. Francis prepared the edition of 1628, inserted more bilateral cypher which he signed "Francis St. Alban," furnished a frontispiece (the plate being engraved by a foreigner, C. le Blon) and added 102 extra pages. On one of these he stated, "I will not hereafter add, alter, or retract. *I have done.*" Nevertheless he found himself obliged to prepare an edition in 1632 and again in 1638. No wonder that he jocularly said in the 1640 Ad. of Learning, that he was "besieged with Melancholy" in his declining age.

The letter Meautys sent to Bacon (¹⁵) dealing with just happened events in 1631, shows that Bacon at that date was in friendly association with titled friends, some of whom were especial friends of Meautys.

In 1629-30 Francis would be writing the French "Sylva," printed 1631. Particularly noticeable is the prominence he gave to his title of *Lord Chancellor*, and that he mentioned facts concerning himself which *could have been known to him alone*. James Gruter, in 1648, brought in parts of the French "Sylva" when he printed in Latin the English "Sylva Sylvarum." Rawley was alarmed at this, as appears by the Gruter letters in BACONIANA, 1679. The 1656 "History of King Charles I.," which stops at May 11th, 1641, has on its F.B., or 62nd page, the words:— "Secondly *the then (1626) and last Lord Chancellor, Sir Francis Bacon, etc.*"

By its marks in printer's ornaments and certain numbers, the "History of Charles I., 1656," had a Rosicrosse origin.

D. M., the anonymous author of the French "Sylva," suggests "Democritus," the name under which Francis

wrote the "Anatomy of Melancholy." The Privilege du Roy for the French "Sylva" was granted to one, Pierre Amboise, who immediately assigned his rights to the publishers. His name was of purpose incorrectly given in Ad. of Learning, 1640, as author of the French "Sylva."

It is manifest that D. M., in the Epistre, correctly complained of Rawley having printed in a *confused manner* "all the papers that he found in his cabinet." When Rawley finished the oversight of the "Sylva Sylvarum," and had blundered over the Preface, his work was done, until specially employed in 1632 to prepare a Latin collection of Bacon's works.

Bacon would, I expect, edit the 1632 book of six Lyly Comedies, and supply the lyrics not in the quartos. He revised certain of his philosophical manuscripts, left them with Boswell for custody, and these were by Boswell (after Bacon's death and before his own death in 1649) entrusted to Isaac Gruter. They were printed by Gruter in 1653 (*Scripta in Naturali*, etc.).

Mr. Edwin Reed has noted (¹⁶) the careful omissions from the published "Cogitata" of passages which Bacon wrote in 1607, and of which he had submitted MS. copies to his friends, Bodley and Bishop Andrews. The important revelations in Bodley's reply have already been given in this magazine.

Friar Francis also revised the English Ad. of Learning, 1640, nominally the work of Wats. To Francis may also be ascribed the three pamphlets printed anonymously in 1638, "Discovery of a New World," which, after Bishop Wilkins' death, were title-paged to Wilkins.

"Mercury, or the Swift and Secret Messenger," was one of Bacon's last works half ascribed in 1641 to "Mercury Junior" and half to Wilkins, who seems to have become its foster-father.

ACT II. SCENE III. "REST."

Sir Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Alban, Lord Chancellor of England, died actually in the year 1641, at the age of 81. The proof of this is abundant and cumulative. I ask Baconians to search books for further confirmation. In the "Resuscitatio," 1657, and the subsequent editions of 1661 and 1671, is an engraved portrait of Bacon. At its foot is a statement in italics about his death. There are exactly 81 italic letters in the statement. In Rawley's "Life of the Honourable Author," in the short paragraph which begins, "He died," and ends with "age," there are 22 italic words and seven Roman words. Deduct the smaller number and the remainder is 15, which, added to the year of death, gives 1641, and added to the age gives 81. At page 134 of "Fuller's Worthies," 1662, is given the inscription on the tomb tablet to "Democritus Junior" at Christ Church, Oxford. It contains 81 italic letters. On page 259 of BACONIANA, 1679, which gives the sentence, "Let the Companions be parted in the year of our Lord, 1626, and the sixty-sixth year of his age" there are 81 whole words in Roman type. Number 259 is the Kay count of "Shakespeare," and the simple count of "Christian Rosenkreutz."

The great "Historical Dictionary," 1691, states that Bacon was Lord Chancellor 19 years. Adding 1622 to 19 gives the age at death as 1641. No new Lord Chancellor was appointed until Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, was given the office at Bruges, on January 13th, 1657-8, before Charles II. came to the throne, thus showing that it was not necessarily more than a title of honour.

Stephens, in his 1702 edition of Bacon's letters, gives the age of death in a neat piece of dissembling. Bacon's birthday, January 22nd, 1660-1, is mentioned by Stephens and his alleged death day, 9th April, 1626

Says Stephens, Bacon died aged 65 years, 2 months and about 14 days. Of course the number of days should be 18. But add $65 + 2 + 14$ and you get 81 years of age. The most sacred symbol in Freemasonry, says Carlisle, is the number 81.

Finally, in 1741, *one century after the date of death*, the statue to "Shakespeare" was placed in Westminster Abbey. The extract on the scroll held by the figure is from the "Tempest," but garbled so as to reduce it to 157 letters. The head note is contrived so as to show 54 letters. 54 is the simple count of Fr. Bacon, and 157 the simple count of Fra. Rosicrosse.

EPILOGUE.

From Tenison's extract of the contents of Bacon's last Will and from Rawley's own statement that another person had been appointed to give the "In Felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ," in English, it is obvious that he was not directly entrusted with Bacon's remaining manuscripts and papers. They were, perhaps, given to his custody by the literary overseers, John Selden and Edward Herbert, of the Inner Temple. In 1651 he would appear to have had charge of them and printed the "Resuscitatio," 1657 and 1661, and the "Opuscula," 1658. He died in 1667 and the papers passed to the custody of the Rev. Thomas Tenison, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury.

Bacon at one time looked upon life as a comedy:—

"Why the same thing 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."

"Don Quixote," 2nd part, 1615.

In 1621, when the English nation for which he had worked all his life, misled by a greedy faction, had

turned against him, he formed another view. So that in 1623, in making a selection of "Shakespeare" Comedies, Histories and Tragedies for folio publication he *included only 35 in his Catalogue*. The tragedy of "Troilus and Cressida" unpagged to show it was a stop-gap, was placed between the Histories and Tragedies, as it were temporarily, until the drama of his (Bacon's) whole life had been played to its end.

The place intended for the drama of his life was, however, no longer amongst the Comedies. He showed that he classified it as something akin to a History, but more so to a Tragedy. (27)

PARKER WOODWARD.

NOTES.

1. "Discourse, L'Histoire Naturelle," 1631.
2. "Resuscitatio' Life of Bacon."
3. "Shakespeare's Sonnets," 1609, No. 139.
4. When made viscount.
- 5 and 6. Rawley's "Life of Bacon."
7. "Norden's Survey," 1596.
8. Montagu Vol. 17, p. 424.
9. Page 301.
10. "Life of Bacon."
11. Vol. 17, p. 418, probably taken from the 1650 edition.
12. See *BACONIANA*, 1914, p. 96, article by Miss Leith.
- 13 and 14. Lost MSS. (Gallup), p. 48.
15. Montagu Vol. 12, p. 492.¹
16. "F. Bacon our Shakespeare."
17. A letter on page 252 of Tobie Matthews' Collection ends as follows:—
 "Or rather this Beeing of ours, is not so properlie a Life as a Play, and God onely is He who can tell us whether it shall prove a Tragedy or a Comedy in the end."

THE FRENCH "SYLVA," 1631.

I AM indebted to Mr. Cuninghām for again drawing attention to this book, criticised in his "Bacon's Secret Disclosed," and in Mr. Begley's "Nova Resuscitatio."

Its title is "Histoire Naturelle de Mre. Francois Bacon, Baron de Verulan, Vicomte de Saint Alban et Chancelier d'Angleterre." It contains:—

A Dedication to M. de Chasteauneuf, signed D. M.

Address to the Reader. (Epistre.)

Licence to print. (Privilege du Roy.)

Discourse on the Life of M. Francis Bacon, Chancellor of England.

Verses by M. Auvray, Advocat en Parliament, à Monsieur Bacon Chancelier d'Angleterre sur son Histoire Naturelle traduit par le sieur.—D. M.

An abridgment of the English Sylva Sylvarum in French with alterations and additions.

A translation of the "New Atlantis."

Verulam it will be noticed is misspelt, one would think deliberately, as "Alban" is spelt correctly.

The translator makes great play with Chancelier. From 1622 until 1657-8 Francis has been the only Lord Chancellor.

To myself, accustomed to Bacon's dedications, the Epistre reads like an old friend:—

"Your name on the front of this work will make it last throughout centuries." This treasure of history had been *discovered* by D. M., with all its fine embellishments it had formerly obtained from his (Baconian) pen during Chasteauneuf's Embassage. Chasteauneuf was in England on special Embassy in 1629-30. D. M. would have us believe that he had found a print of the Rawley "Sylva" annotated by the author. "It would

have been easy for this great man to have found a better pen than mine to have shown forth his Genius."

"These are the *fruits* of a land where you have shown those of your prudence." "Your most humble and most obedient servant, D. M.

"Address to the reader." affirms the work, though posthumous, to be as genuine as works published by the author when living. The author had done better than Aristotle, Pliny and Cardan, and other Ancients who had written upon the subject. If he had used in the translation many words more Latin than French, D. M. blamed the sterility of "our language" which he found "deficient."

He "had not followed exactly the order observed in the original English work, because its matter seemed broken up rather by caprice than reason."

Yet Rawley, in the English *Sylva Sylvarum*, had copied Bacon's Preface, and a man does not usually write a Preface to a book divided into 10 Centuries and 1,000 particulars, until it is finished. Rawley could not, or rather did not, propose to explain why his lordship had not put these particulars into any "exact method," but added that "he that looks attentively shall find that they have a secret order."

D. M. continues, that being aided for the most part by the manuscripts of the author: "I have deemed it necessary to add to or to take away many of the things that have been omitted or added by the Chaplain of Mr. Bacon, who printed in a confused manner all the papers that he found in his cabinet. I say this so that those who understand English will not accuse me of inaccuracy when they encounter in my translation many things that they do not find in the original."

This looks as if Bacon only entrusted to Rawley the *Sylva* and one or two other papers not wanted else-

where. Rawley printed these papers in the "confused manner" noticeable in "Certaine Miscellany Works, 1629." The 1625 Will affords a clue to the elsewhere. Mr. Boswell, whose name is, I think, with design spelt "Bosvile" in the Will, was a diplomatist interested mostly in the literature of the East. Boswell was English agent at the Hague, and thus a friendly consignee of the bulk of important MSS., until Bacon could take charge of them.

Bacon was an adept in deceiving the "inferior reader," yet telling the truth all the time.

How could "D. M.", unless he were Bacon himself, have acquired such inside knowledge of the private affairs entrusted to Rawley?

Bacon, as D. M., deemed it necessary to alter and add to the English "Sylva," yet assured his English readers that the new facts and observations *were true*.

It is not necessary to dwell on the "Privilege du Roy" to Pierre Amboise to translate, and publish, but as it was undesirable in the 1640 Ad. of Learning to raise debate as to the identity of "D. M.", Master Pierre Amboise was credited with having made the translation.

"The Discourse on the Life of M. Francis Bacon" is manifestly a discourse by Bacon himself.

The great man had been cruelly wronged, and took an early opportunity of setting himself right with foreign nations and his own countrymen of a future age. None but Bacon knew that he was "great in birth and possessions"; that "many of his ancestors had left marks of their greatness in history" (his great grandfather, Henry VII. to wit); "that he was born in the purple" (son of Queen Elizabeth); "brought up with the expectation of a great career"; that he had travelled in Italy and Spain (France would be known

about); and "saw himself destined to hold the helm of the kingdom."

Bacon was most interested to affirm that he was a good man and an upright judge, and the introduction of the word "Fashions" shows that none but he could have seen the Bodley to Bacon letter of 1581, and none but he have known of the MS. Notes on the States of Christendom, or have told that he had soon learnt all that College could teach him.

Who else but Bacon and the then late King James had access to the letter of 1622 in which Bacon begged for help. It was not printed until 1645.

Still more, who else would recognise and acclaim its great literary quality for that style of writing! Bacon, like the writer of the Discourse, had an immense belief in the pre-eminent greatness of Francis Bacon from the time he left College.

The amusing part of the business is that the belief was entirely justified.

As to this attitude of mind, remember his controversy with the Queen over the subsidies in which he held firmly to his own correct action, and his justification of his course of conduct with regard to his brother Essex. Condemned by the House of Lords, he maintained in his letter to Buckingham that though the decision was for reformation's sake fit, and that he had partaken of the abuses of the times he had been the justest judge since Sir Nicholas Bacon.

As "D. M." he shows that having reached the summit of Learning and Virtue it was fitting that he should also reach that of Dignity. So ignoring the whole period 1581-1603 he demonstrates that until his fall, he, as a matter of fact, both ruled and guided the Kingdom. No one can dispute this. Passing on to the time of his impeachment he rests his trouble upon one servant. That was a very ingenious way of accusing his officials.

and servants generally. It left each to apply to himself as much of the accusation as his conscience admitted. His servant Bushel had already confessed their responsibility and accused Hastings.

Churchill, the Registrar, whom Bacon discharged for fraud, was a bad man who revenged his discharge by raking everything he could collect to bolster up the case against the Chancellor, and, of course, did not care. The Chancery work at that time fell almost solely upon Bacon. Litigants found their business went through quicker in Chancery, and deserted the Common Law Courts.

Bacon was a prodigious worker, so everybody who could went to the Chancery Court. A good deal of interesting work was done at York House. (A modern example would be the rush to the Rolls Court and its officials in Sir George Jessel's time). Litigants showered their money and gifts which Bacon tolerated as a practice of the time, and left much of this dealing to his officials. What he did not do, but what his people did occasionally, and that unknown to him, was to promise decrees in favour of those who made gifts.

Bacon all the time was deciding the cases on their merits. When the storm fell upon him he was right in his "D. M." point of view that the action against him (engineered by jealous Common Law Judges and pleaders whose profits were seriously encroached upon) was a piece of "monstrous ingratitude" on the part of the nation and an act of "unparalleled cruelty" to him. In the result, he dropped out of public service and retired to his books, though his books did not furnish bread and meat, so this proud man had to beg. Finally "D.M." adds a word about his "death" due, he said, to a cold caught during a severe frost. Here he is cleverly ambiguous, because colds are not usually caught during *severe* frosts. That he had intended

to print letters which would include and cover the Highgate House letter as to his "illness" is probable, but he must have finally decided not to do so. In conclusion of the Discourse he wrote, "Voila quelle fut la fin de ce grand personage quel Angleterre peut mettre seul en paralelle avec les plus excellens hommes de tous les siecles precedens."

That was the high pinnacle on which Bacon put himself in the 1623 Folio as "Shakespeare." Ben Jonson put him one stage higher in writing his "Discoveries." I take the "Discourse" to be a full vindication by Bacon of his own career and merit given without fig leaves, and adorned with the beautiful poetic imagery which characterises his writings as a whole. Here he alludes to the instability of Fortune, likens the English to the inconstancy of the seas surrounding their shores, and makes, concerning the manner of his death, the delightful remark:—"Nature failed him, while he was chanting her praise."

In the body of the Sylva Abridgement mention is made of matters only known to him, such as what he had heard and seen in Scotland, and his knowledge of the writer of Amleth (Saxo Grammaticus). The only possible other explanation may be that Bacon left behind another "Sylva" and that someone impossible to identify, when he came to discourse on Bacon's life was in full possession of his most intimate secrets, and was as clever a poet as the author he wrote about. But this I do not for one moment believe. My brother and I have examined a copy of "L'Histoire Naturelle" and find it has many marks of Baconian or Rosicrosse origin. There are colons in the printers' ornament, the numerical sigils, 33 and 157, are on the title page, and 287 is shown on the last page of the "Epistre." Several pages are wrongly numbered, the total of the figures omitted is 282, which is the K. cipher count

of "Francis Bacon." "D. M." may have stood for Democritus Junior, his pen-name in "Anatomy of Melancholy."

It follows that Bacon was alive in 1631, and had with him abroad such manuscripts as he wanted.

PARKER WOODWARD.

A LIFE OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

"It is abundantly proved that a gentle modesty was an abiding note of Shakespeare's character."—*Sir Sidney Lee*.

IN making this assertion on page 186 of the latest edition of his book, entitled, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (a very misleading title for this work of over 700 pages), Sir Sidney Lee cannot have had in mind the "abiding note" of the character of *his* Shakespeare, for, as his book shows, "John Shakespeare's eldest son" was neither gentle nor modest. If Sir Sidney Lee were judging the character of the author of the plays and poems, and endeavouring to identify that author upon the merits of the works alone he could come to no other conclusion than Emerson's, viz., that the poet, as revealed by his writings, was "the best bred gentleman in England."

It is an interesting and really amusing exercise to summarise the incidents of the player's life as recorded by his most distinguished biographer. The latest edition of this work covers more than 700 pages, and as all the facts recorded about Sir Sidney Lee's "Shakespeare" do not warrant more than a hundredth part of this bulk, the bread is quite obscured by the intoler

able deal of sack, so eagerly drunk off by the unapprehending public.

The facts are so swamped in this flood of printers' ink that it is a matter of time to draw them out. But it is worth bringing them into the light, because the judgment is then enabled to weigh the evidence as to the probability, or improbability, of this man being the author of "Shakespeare."

Sir Sidney Lee is the generalissimo of orthodox Shakespeareans. Let us see how "the poet" appears in the beam of the searchlight.

It is assumed that Shakespeare (as he is called) "probably made his entry" to the Grammar School at Stratford in 1571. But there is not a scrap of evidence here. Had "the greatest head of the universe" (as Emerson terms the author of *Hamlet*) been a student there, his precocity would have created such a sensation in the village that gossip would have been kept alive for several generations. But far from being of a studious disposition, we are disappointed to learn (page 33) :—

There is small doubt, too, that his sporting experiences passed at times beyond orthodox limits. Some practical knowledge of the art of poaching seems to be attested by Shakespeare's early lines :—

What ! hast thou not full often struck a doe
And borne her cleanly by the keeper's nose.

This is from *Titus Andronicus*, in which "Shakespeare's hand is only visible in detached embellishments" (p. 129). A footnote to this page reads : "Mr. J. M. Robertson, in his *Did Shakespeare Write Titus Andronicus?* (1905), ably questions Shakespeare's responsibility at any point."

No inconsistency is found between the young

Stratford rustic's amours in his native district, and the conduct we should have expected from the author of the exquisitely courteous comedies :—

This morning, like the spirit of a youth,
That means to be of note, begins betimes.

On page 29, of this Life of Shakespeare, we read :—

The prominence of the Shottery husbandmen in the negotiations preceding Shakespeare's marriage suggests the true position of affairs. Sandells and Richardson, representing the lady's family, doubtless secured the deed on their own initiative, so that Shakespeare might have small opportunity of evading a step which his intimacy with their friend's daughter had rendered essential to her reputation. The wedding probably took place, without the consent of the bridegroom's parents—it may be without their knowledge—soon after the signing of the deed. The scene of the ceremony was clearly outside the bounds of Stratford parish—in an unidentified church of the Worcester diocese, the register of which is lost.

Within six months of the marriage bond—in May, 1583,—a daughter was born to the poet.

And this man is hailed as the creator of Miranda and Imogen ! who wrote :—

Good name in man or woman, dear my lord,
Is the immediate jewel of their souls.

According to Sir Sidney Lee, Shakespeare “repeatedly ridicules the craze for foreign travel . . . His Italian scenes *lack the intimate detail* which would attest a first-hand experience of the country.” Well, there is a play called *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, in which it is said to be “a great impeachment” to a man's age, “having known no travel in his youth.” Antonio declares that his son, Proteus,

cannot be a perfect man
Not being tried and tutor'd in the world,

and so the boy is to be sent abroad to

Hear sweet discourse, converse with noblemen,
And be in the eye of every exercise
Worthy his youth and nobleness of birth.

As for the alleged lack of intimate detail in his Italian scenes, other commentators, who probably knew as much about Italy as Sir Sidney Lee, vouch for Shakespeare's accuracy. Thus the famous Danish Shakespearean, Dr. George Brandes, observes that:—"In the *Taming of the Shrew*, we notice with surprise not only the correctness of the Italian names, but the remarkable way in which, at the very beginning of the play, several Italian cities and districts are characterised in a single phrase. Lombardy is 'the pleasant garden of great Italy'; Pisa is 'renowned for grave citizens'; and here the epithet 'grave' is especially noteworthy, since many testimonies concur to show that it was particularly characteristic of the inhabitants of Pisa. C. A. Brown, in *Shakespeare's Autobiographical Poems*, has pointed out the remarkable form of the betrothal of Petruchio and Katharina (namely, that her father joins their hands in the presence of two witnesses), and observes that this form was not English, but peculiarly Italian. It is not found in the older play, the scene of which, however, is laid in Athens."

Of the speech at the end of the second act, where Gremio reckons up all the goods and gear with which his house is stocked, Dr. Brandes states that "Lady Morgan long ago remarked that she had seen literally all of these articles of luxury in the palaces of Venice, Genoa, and Florence. Miss Martineau, in ignorance

alike of Brown's theory and Lady Morgan's observation, expressed to Shakespeare's biographer, Charles Knight, her feeling that the local colour of the *Taming of the Shrew* and the *Merchant of Venice* displays such an *intimate* acquaintance, not only with the manners and customs of Italy, but with the *minutest details* of domestic life, that it cannot possibly have been gleaned from books or from mere conversations with this man or that who happened to have floated in a gondola."

According to one Shakespearean, therefore, the poet's knowledge of Italy and her people is lacking in "*intimate detail*," while another insists that he had "*an intimate acquaintance*" with the "*minutest details*" of Italian life! Sir Sidney Lee agrees, however, that "he was well read in the romances of Italy, and that his reading was not entirely through French or English translations" (p. 98). But as to what period of his life "John Shakespeare's eldest son" studied the Italian language, and found time for that "wide reading in both classical and recent domestic literature" (p. 143), we are not enlightened. Nor does Sir Sidney suggest where his Shakespeare obtained the necessary library. Yet "doubtless" the poet made notes or marks in "the margents of such books." (*Lucrece*, 102).

On page 97 of the "Life" occurs one of the most curious assertions of any in the book:—"Shakespeare must be credited with the production, during these twenty years (1591-1611) of a yearly average of two plays, nearly all of which belong to the supreme rank of literature. Three volumes of poems must be added to the total. . . . Signs of hasty workmanship are not lacking, but they are few when it is considered how rapidly his numerous compositions came from his pen." How long does Sir Sidney Lee

imagine that it took Shakespeare to turn out a play? Apparently about six months, and this without having the labour of shaping and inventing his plot. This is called "prolific industry!" And yet on the previous page mention is made of Thomas Heywood, who claimed to have had a hand in more than 220 plays, "although his literary labours were by no means confined to drama. In his elaborate *Apology for Actors* (1612) he professed pride in his actor's vocation, from which, despite his other employments, he never dissociated himself."

The total number of plays by Lope de Vega is unknown. He himself put it down as 1,500. His early biographer talked of 300 more. About 430 are actually extant. This is, indeed, "prolific industry," but if Shakespeare wrote one play in six months (instead of, as is more likely, less than six days) it is pretty certain that his lines would have none of that easy-flowing grace which makes them so delightful to the ear, nor would his papers have appeared "without a blot in them."

We are told how Shakespeare readily "absorbed and transmuted into gold" the unvalued ore of other writers. Nobody can disagree with this, but it is significant that this was the admitted practice of Bacon who, said Dr. Rawley, "lighted his torch at every man's candles."

Among many important statements that may well be questioned, I would single out that on page 255:—

For several years his genius as dramatist and poet had been acknowledged by critics and playgoers alike, and his social and professional position had become considerable.

Perhaps the most striking contrast with Sir Sidney Lee's theory of Shakespeare as popular and honoured in his own time is to be found in Dr. C. M. Ingleby's

compilation of Allusions to Shakespeare, entitled, *Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse*. Reviewing "the estimation in which Shakespeare was held by the writers of the century during which his fame was germinating, viz., 1592-1693," Dr. Ingleby writes:—

"The absence of sundry great names with which no pains of research, scrutiny, or study could connect the most trivial allusion to the bard or his works (such, *e.g.*, as Lord Brooke, Lord Bacon, Selden, Sir John Beaumont, Henry Vaughan, and Lord Clarendon) is *tacitly* significant: the iteration of the same vapid and affected compliments, couched in conventional terms, from writers of the first two periods, comparing Shakespeare's 'tongue,' 'pen,' or 'vein,' to silver, honey, sugar, or nectar, while they ignore his greater and distinguishing qualities, is *expressly* significant. It is plain for one thing that the bard of our admiration was unknown to the men of that age. . . . Assuredly no one during the 'Centurie' had any suspicion that the genius of Shakespeare was unique, and that he was *sui generis*—*i.e.*, the only exemplar of his species."

Emerson remarks, "If it need wit to know wit, according to the proverb, Shakespeare's time should be capable of recognising it. . . . Since the constellation of great men who appeared in Greece in the time of Pericles, there was never any such society; yet their genius failed them to find out the best head in the universe. Our poet's mask was impenetrable."

The biographer again insists on Shakespeare's contemporary recognition, and says that "the exceptional popularity of Shakespeare's work after 1599 gave him the full advantage of higher rates of pecuniary reward in all directions" (p 315). As to this "exceptional popularity," all that Dr. Ingleby can say is

that "those who ranked him very high compared him to Spenser, Sidney, Chapman, Jonson, Fletcher, and even lesser lights, and most of the judges of that time assigned the first place to one of them."

There is, of course, no evidence that the author of *Hamlet*, *Lear*, and the rest of those marvellous plays, ever received a penny for them. Nearly every other play-writer is mentioned as receiving "pecuniary reward" for dramatic work for Henslowe's Theatre, but although plays bearing similar titles to the Shakespeare dramas were produced, the name does not appear in the Diary, and I do not know upon what evidence Sir Sidney Lee bases his assertion. Further on (p. 503), we are told that, "With Shakespeare's literary power and his sociability, too, there clearly went the shrewd capacity of a man of business. Pope had just warrant for the surmise that he

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

His literary attainments and successes were chiefly valued as serving the prosaic end of making a permanent provision for himself and his daughters."

Here, indeed, is food for reflection! And the question we ask is, if the object of these "literary attainments" was merely to make money, and the author of them the maltster who sued Philip Rogers for two shillings lent, why did he allow advantage to be taken by others of his "successes" even to the detriment of his literary reputation? He took no action against the printers, publishers, poets, and dramatists who dispersed their writings under his name. This is an elementary objection to the theory that the plays were written for any "prosaic end," but it is unanswered and unanswerable. Then again,

most of the plays are far too lengthy for "the two hours' traffic" of the public theatre. About half of *Hamlet* or *Lear* could be read in that space of time. *Antony and Cleopatra* is, as written, quite unrepresentable upon any stage. Apart from its great length, it consists of 42 scenes (Act IV., Scene 2 amounts to four lines !)

Each revision of the plays was calculated to enhance their value for the study, but it correspondingly impaired their adaptability to the stage. Was this done with "the shrewd capacity of a man of business?" The Stratford player is said, by tradition, to have performed the part of Adam in *As You Like It*. Would he not have winced somewhat when Orlando addressed him with these words:—

O good old man, how well in thee appears
The constant service of the antique world,
When service sweat for duty, not for meed !
Thou art not for the fashion of these times,
Where none will sweat but for promotion,
And, having that, do choke their service up
Even with the having.

This does not sound like the Shakespeare whose "life" has been through many editions. The gentle poet sneers at money as "trash," and landed possessions as "dirt,"—

Who steals my purse steals trash.

Tell her my love, more noble than the world,
Prizes not quantity of dirty lands.

Dost know this water fly? . . . 'tis a vice to know him. He hath much land and fertile; let a beast be lord of beasts, and his crib shall stand at the King's mess. 'Tis a chough; but, as I say, spacious in the possession of dirt.

If we separate the bare facts from their well-padded surroundings which make up this "Life" of Shakespeare, we realise the feelings of Richard Grant White, voicing the disappointment of his heart:—

"These stories grate upon our feelings. . . The pursuit of an impoverished man, for the sake of imprisoning him and depriving him, both of the power of paying his debt and supporting himself and his family, is an incident in Shakespeare's life which it requires the utmost allowance and consideration for the practice of the time and country to enable us to contemplate with equanimity—satisfaction is impossible. The biographer of Shakespeare must record these facts, because the literary antiquaries have unearthed and brought them forward as new particulars of the life of Shakespeare. We hunger, and we receive these husks; we open our mouths for food, and we break our teeth against these stones."

The life of the Stratford man brings no food to his hungry idolaters. There is not recorded of him one noble or lovable action. All the facts which have been brought to light are sordid, mean, and base. Here are a few of the "husks" which find their way into Sir Sidney Lee's "Life of Shakespeare," a volume which journalists have trumpeted as "an honour to English scholarship, an almost perfect model of its kind, and a matter for great national rejoicing that the standard life of Shakespeare has at last been made in England"; "A marvel of research"; "Unquestionably one of the most remarkable achievements of modern English scholarship":

Shakespeare left Bishopsgate without discharging the debt (his taxes for St. Helen's parish). Soon afterwards, however, the Bishopsgate officials traced him to his new Southwark lodging—p. 274.

"Whether or no, Ratsey's biographer consciously identified the highwayman's auditor with Shakespeare, it was the prosaic course of conduct which Ratsey recommended to his actor that Shakespeare literally followed." This is a reference to the well-known allusion in *Ratsey's Ghost* (1605), an anecdotal biography of Gamaliel Ratsey, a notorious highwayman, who was hanged at Bedford, on March 26th, 1605 :—

There shalt thou learn to be frugal—for players were never so thrifty as they are now about London—and to feed upon all men ; to let none feed upon thee ; to make thy hand a stranger to thy pocket, thy heart slow to perform thy tongue's promise, and *when thou feelest thy purse well-lined, buy thee some place of lordship in the country, that growing weary of playing, thy money may there bring thee to dignity and reputation ; then thou needest care for no man, no not for them that before made thee proud with speaking their words upon the stage.*

The part I have put in italics is all that is quoted in this "Life" of Shakespeare. But from what is actually known of the prosperous player he "literally followed" the other portions of Ratsey's recommendation. And if, as appears practically certain this is an outline of the career of the Stratford man it is highly significant that he was made proud with speaking *other's* words upon the stage, and not his own.

We learn how Shakespeare obtained a coat-of-arms by false assertions, and thus John Shakespeare and his son recommended their claim "to the notice of the easy-going heralds" (p. 281-287). But these "fraudulent representations"* were spread over a period of nearly three years, 1596-1599, and a scene in Ben Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humour* (1599),

*Let me have no lying ; it becomes none but tradesmen.

(*Winter's Tale*, IV., 3.)

has been thought to be a skit upon Shakespeare and his quest of a coat-of-arms:—"I have been so toiled among the harrots yonder," says Sogliardo. "They give a man the hardiest terms for his money." His crest is said to be a "boar without a head," and Puntarvolo suggests the motto should be, "Not without mustard."

In the course of this history of Shakespeare's quest for the "coveted distinction," it is stated that "The poet was favourably known both to Camden . . . and to the Earl of Essex." It would be interesting to know what evidence exists that there was any acquaintance between the Stratford man and either of those celebrities. I fear there is none at all. Next "the poet" figures as a "profiteer" of the worst description:—

"The harvests of 1594 and the three following years yielded badly. The prices of grain rapidly rose. The consequent distress was acute and recovery was slow." But when the poor cried, did the rich householder in Chapel Street weep? No! He "was reported to own the very substantial quantity of ten quarters or eighty bushels of corn and malt" (p. 292), and, in the midst of the general distress, Quiney appeals to Shakespeare for a loan of £30, "wherewith to discharge pressing private debts," not forgetting to mention the names of his sureties (Richard Quiney's letter makes up the total of Shakespeare's correspondence). Adrian Quiney sends a message to his son Richard, saying, "If you bargain with William Shakespeare, or receive money therefor," &c., so it may justly be inferred that the poet who said "neither a borrower nor a lender be," did not "lend money gratis."

The chapter headed "Shakespeare's Financial Resources" continues the story of his "astute business

transactions." That these should synchronise with the production of Shakespeare's noblest literary work is, we are assured, "an inconsistency that is more apparent than real." The poet "inherited his father's love of litigation, and stood rigorously by his rights in all his business relations." He must have valued these petty matters far above his literary work, for which he never troubled to stand by his right, or even enter a mild protest against infringements. We are told that "he was not averse from advancing money to impecunious neighbours," and "he was punctual and pertinacious in demands for repayment."

We need not follow the details of Shakespeare as "a frequent suitor in the local court of record," and how he "avenged himself" on the surety for one of the debtors who "left the town," and so made Shakespeare's "triumph" of obtaining judgment from a jury (*sic*) for the payment of £6, with £1 5s. costs, a "barren" one. That he should write of "Kindness nobler ever than revenge," is doubtless only an inconsistency "more apparent than real."

"The sole anecdote of Shakespeare, that is positively known to have been recorded in his lifetime," is alluded to on p. 454, but the biographer refrains from quoting the extract from Manningham's diary. One would have thought that "the sole anecdote" of the great poet, recorded by the "credible chronicler," was worth any amount of belated tradition or gossip. This is only another instance of the skilful way in which the "husks" are prepared and served by the chefs who handle them. They are made to appear "so wholly satisfying" (as the critic of *Blackwood's Magazine* found this *Life of William Shakespeare*.)

Yet another suppression. It is stated that "a preacher, doubtless of Puritan proclivities, was entertained at Shakespeare's residence, New Place, after

delivering a sermon in the spring of 1614" (p. 466). I have looked in vain for mention of the fact that in the Chamberlain's accounts of Stratford (which is the source of Sir Sidney Lee's information) we find a charge "on quart of sack and on quart of clarett wine geven to a preacher at the New Place." So Shakspeare made the town pay for the drinks!

In the chapter entitled, "The Close of Life," we are reminded how Shakespeare omitted the name of his wife from the original draft of the will, "but by an interlineation in the final draft she received his 'second best bed with the furniture.'" He barred her right to a widow's dower, which, says Sir Sidney, "is pretty conclusive proof that he had the intention of excluding her from the enjoyment of his possessions after his death."

He left unpaid her debt to her father's shepherd of forty shillings, and when the latter died in 1601, "he directed his executor to recover the sum from the poet and distribute it among the poor of Stratford" (p. 280).

In 1614 "the dramatist" acquiesced in an attempt to enclose common lands, and the townsmen showed their resentment by rioting. The other "heroes" of the controversy, acting against the townsmen, were William and Thomas Combe, nephews of John Combe the usurer, "whose personality appealed most strongly to the dramatist" (p. 470).

Finally, Sir Sidney Lee does not reject "the testimony of the vicar Ward that Shakespeare and his two guests, Jonson and Drayton, when they greeted him at Stratford for the last time, 'had a merry meeting,' 'but' (the diarist proceeds) 'Shakespeare it seems drank too hard, for he died of a feavour there contracted.' He thinks "Shakespeare may well have cherished Falstaff's faith in the virtues of sherris

sack and have scorned 'thin potions.' This gossip is too good to be lightly cast aside, for here is mention of Jonson and Drayton making merry in Shakespeare's house. But I hardly think Drayton a likely partner on this occasion. He is described by Meres (1598) as "A man of virtuous disposition, honest conversation and well-governed carriage." Fuller, who was twenty-three when Drayton died, writes of him as "a pious poet; his conscience always having the command of his fancy; very temperate in his life, slow of speech and inoffensive in company." The story is probably, therefore, a myth.

We have seen the kind of life led by the accepted author of the immortal poems and plays—the man who has been said to have "taught the world." But nothing seems to disturb the faith of the orthodox Shakespearean. He has made up his mind that these inconsistencies (if he will allow there are any) are "more apparent than real." The complacency and assurance with which that chapter, "The Close of Life," is brought to an end, is, in the face of the facts, simply amazing:—

At Stratford, in later life, he loyally conformed to the social standards which prevailed among his well-to-do neighbours, and he was proud of the regard which small landowners and prosperous traders extended to him as to one of their own social rank. Ideals so homely are reckoned rare in poets, but Chaucer and Sir Walter Scott, among writers of exalted genius, vie with Shakespeare in the sobriety of their personal aims and in the sanity of their mental attitude towards life's ordinary incidents.

It is pitiable that this should be the kind of stuff required by the world of readers. But traditions become established, and all kinds of vested interests crop up around them that it becomes essential to the maintenance of them to "educate" the masses to

the acceptance as beliefs of what prove on investigation to be the wildest impossibilities. It requires infinite patience to persuade a person to question the instruction of his youth, but, though still the much abused minority, we must not be discouraged.

No wonder *The Daily Telegraph* reviewer had to admit that, "There is so little to say about Shakespeare the man," and, of the very mean record of external events which make up this "Life," could only say that these "are not the exhibition of a human soul, not biography, not Shakespeare!" On the other hand, however, a very foolish scribe in *The Contemporary Review* asserts that the Plays "reveal just the very personality that the extant material collated here reveals," and of the Stratford man ("as Sphinx-like as ever," says *The Times*), "There is, in fact, to-day no man that we know better." It is deplorable that any self-respecting journal should print such stuff.

Sir Sidney Lee is careful to call his "memorial" *A Life*. As Mr. Walter de la Mare significantly observed in *The Westminster Gazette*, "*The life is elsewhere.*"

R. L. EAGLE.

P.S.—Whoever erected the Stratford Monument must have intended a jocular allusion to the fact that during the famine, Shakespeare held tightly to his sacks of corn. What other interpretation is possible? No wonder when the monument was "restored" to its present form, the sack, which the figure was grasping with both hands and pressing to himself, was removed and the whole erection made into a poet's, instead of a tradesman's, memorial. Sir Sidney Lee agrees that "his *local* repute justified the distinction of a grave before the altar, and that "as part owner of the tithes and consequently one of the lay rectors, the dramatist (*sic*) had a right of interment in the chancel."

“Do you suppose that, when all the entrances and passages to the mind of all men are infested and obstructed with the darkest idols, and these seated and burned in, as it were, into their substance, that clear and smooth places can be found for receiving the true and natural rays of objects? A new process must be instituted by which to insinuate ourselves into minds so entirely obstructed. For, as the delusions of the insane are removed by art and ingenuity, so must we adapt ourselves to the universal insanity.”

THE FIRST FOLIO OF SHAKESPEARE.

THE claim to the Shakespearean authorship rests mainly upon the appearance of Shakespeare's name on the Title Page of the First Folio of “Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies.” The Actor, as far as known, was never identified with any of the Plays contained in the First Folio except by hearsay, and by the appearance of the name, “William Shake-speare” or “Shakespeare,” “W.Sh.” or “W.S.” on the title pages of certain of the Quartos, and subsequently of the name “Mr. William Shakespeare” on the Title Page of the First Folio. Several facsimiles of the First Folio have been published, the best one being that issued in 1902 by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, under the direction of Sir Sidney Lee, as it is reproduced from the copy of the First Folio in the Duke of Devonshire's Library at Chatsworth, which is an exceptionally fine one. This valuable facsimile is prefaced by an Introduction of great critical interest from the pen of Sir Sidney Lee,

who remarks on page 29 of the Introduction that :
 " Proofs that the book was printed off without adequate supervision could be multiplied almost indefinitely and " apart from misprints in the text, errors in pagination recur with embarrassing frequency. For example, in Hamlet, page 156, is followed by page 257, and the subsequent pages run on consecutively from 257, so that 100 numbers are missed in the pagination of the Tragedies section."

On page 32 of the Introduction, Sir Sidney Lee says :
 " Despite spasmodic efforts of the press corrector, no thorough revision of the whole volume was attempted—*most of the irregularities in pagination—remained to the last.*

Now these so-called errors in pagination being so numerous and *not being corrected* should have been sufficient to make the student of the plays pause and consider if there was any reason why the pages should bear wrong numbers.

With all deference to Sir Sidney Lee, it will, I think, strike any unbiassed person who examines this reprint that the original Folio must have been one of the most remarkable specimens of English typography of that period. It was got up in sumptuous style and regardless of expense, and whoever was financially responsible for its production would naturally desire it to be as perfect and free from errors as was possible. How then are we to account for these misprints and mispaginations, which are too numerous and glaring to escape the notice of the veriest printer's apprentice? How are we to explain the fact that, as Sir Sidney Lee remarks, most of the errors remained to the last; despite spasmodic efforts at revision? Does not the anomaly between the costliness of the volume and the slovenly editorship suggest the possibility that this seemingly culpable carelessness was actually deliberate and inten-

tional? And does not this possibility provoke an enquiry as to the probable intention?

What makes one almost certain that the false paging is *intentional* and *not accidental*, is proved in the following way—for example, instead of page 77 following page 76 in the Tragedies, the next page is not 77 but 79, and the following pages are numbered 80, 81, 82, 81, 82. The second of the two pages numbered 82 is correctly numbered, which shows that the printer was quite aware that the intermediate pages are incorrectly numbered. However, the printer does not alter or correct the paging, although he shows that he knows the real and right numbering *by taking it up again correctly* when he likes.

When two pages bear the same number, the probability is that there is some connection between them which has to be discovered. But is such mispaging peculiar to this Folio, or is it to be found in other books of the period? The answer to the second question is in the affirmative, and one glaring instance is the first edition of "The Two Books of Francis Bacon—of the Proficiency and Advancement in Learning, Divine and Humane," published by Henry Tomes (1605). Each leaf instead of each page in this book is numbered, and one finds that in the second book the leaves from 31 to 70 are correctly numbered and then the leaves are numbered as follows: 70, 70, 71, 70, 72, 74, 73, 74, 75, 69, 77, 78, 79, 80, 77, 74, 74, 69, 69, 82, 87, 79, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 99, 97, 99, 94, 100, 99, 102, 103, 103, 93, 106, and so on. Here we find a book written by Sir Francis Bacon in which the numbers on certain of the leaves are duplicated, and the leaves wrongly numbered in apparently the most random fashion. Thus the phenomenon we observe in the First Folio is anticipated in "The Proficiency and Advancement of Learning," and the question inevitable suggests itself whether there is not a similar reason for both.

The First Folio includes three divisions, namely, Comedies, Histories and Tragedies, and each division starts with a fresh pagination, commencing with page 1. The pages are divided into two columns ; and a full column contains 66 lines, the majority of which are dialogue lines, interspersed here and there with stage directions. For the purpose of making the calculations given later, the dialogue lines alone are counted, and this count is made either upwards from the bottom or downwards from the top of the column. The pages of the Folio and not the columns are numbered, so that in counting the columns the right hand one will be twice the page number and the left hand one will be one less than twice the page number. As it has been remarked already, the page numbering shows some curious vagaries, certain pages being duplicated. In the Histories, for instance, the pages run from numbers 1 to 100, and then start again with 69 and run on to 232.

The first step taken in this investigation was to re-number the pages of the facsimile correctly, keeping the three divisions of the Plays, namely, Comedies, Histories and Tragedies, distinct. The pages in the Comedies did not require re-numbering as a whole, as they run consecutively (with certain mispaginations) from 1 to 303. In the Histories the pages are numbered 1 to 46, then two page numbers are dropped, the next page being numbered 49 instead of 47. The numbers then run consecutively from 47 to 100, then comes an unnumbered page containing an Epilogue, followed by an unnumbered page containing Actors' names, the next page is numbered 69, and the numbers then run consecutively from 69 to 232. The page following that which is numbered 100 was re-numbered 101, and so on consecutively to the end of the Histories, so that the last page of this division is correctly numbered p. 264 instead of 232, its number in the

Folio. The Play Troylus and Cressida was apparently inserted as an after-thought, as only two pages are numbered, namely, the second and third pages which are numbered 79 and 80. The first page of Troylus and Cressida was accordingly numbered 78, the page following the page numbered 80 was numbered 81, and so on to the end, which makes the last page of this Play number 105.

In the Tragedies the pages run from 1 consecutively (with certain exceptions) to 98, then comes an unnumbered page containing Actors' names, then a page left blank. The next page is numbered 109 and the page numbers then run consecutively from 109 to 156. The next page to 156 is numbered 257, and the page numbers then run consecutively (with certain intermediate mis-paginations) to 398 and then comes the last page numbered 993. In the Tragedies the page following that numbered 98 was renumbered 99, and so on to the end, thus making the last page of the Tragedies 291 instead of 993.

As I was reading in the Comedies in the Play, "The Merry Wives of Windsor," I came across this curious line:—

AND MAKE MILCH-KINE YEELD BLOOD AND
SHAKES A CHAINE.

The word "Shakes" arrested my attention by its ungrammatical construction, and it suggested the question whether there might not be some reason for it. I noticed that the number of the page was 56, that it was in the left hand column, which therefore counted as the 111th, and that it was on the 25th line down that column. Was there any significance in these figures? On turning to the Histories, I found that the page in the Histories which is numbered 56 was wrongly numbered and should have been numbered 54. But there appeared to be a reason for such wrong num-

bering, for on the left hand column, the 25th line down ends with a mysterious long ———. Now this page is occupied by part of the Play, entitled "The First Part of King Henry the Fourth," and the first page of this Play is correctly numbered 46, but the next page, which should of course be numbered 47, is incorrectly numbered 49, and the incorrect numbering is maintained so that the page which should be numbered 56 is wrongly numbered 58. In the first column of this page which is wrongly numbered 58 (the correct number being 56) on the 25th line down, is the sentence:—

"BARD. YEA AND TO TICKLE OUR NOSES WITH SPEAR-GRASSE."

Let us re-state these remarkable coincidences:—

On the true page 56 and column III of the *Comedies* on the 25th line counting *down* the column, is the word *SHAKES*.

On the false page 56 and column III of the *Histories*, on the 25th line counting *down* the column, is a long ———.

On the true page 56 (wrongly numbered 58) and column III of the *Histories* on the 25th line counting *down* the column, is the word *SPEAR*.

This combination thus yields Shakes-spear.

It may be remarked incidentally that the word *SHAKE* also appears on the 24th line counting down column III of the *Tragedies*, but this must be reserved for future reference.

This coincidence naturally piqued my curiosity, and led to further investigation to discover whether after all it might not be purely accidental. But closer analysis yields some more interesting results.

Placing our two lines together for convenience of reference and calling them A and B.

A. AND MAKE MILCH-KINE YEELD BLOOD AND SHAKES A CHAINE.

B. BARD. YEA AND TO TICKLE OUR NOSES
WITH SPEAR-GRASSE.

Let us count the letters in each line, including the two hyphens as letters, and we find :—

Line A. 30 letters, then the word Shakes, then 7 letters.

Line B. 30 letters, then the word Spear, then 7 letters.

Does this suggest no design? Can it be a mere accident that the 31st letter on the 25th line down column III of the Comedies is the 1st letter of the word Shakes and that the 31st letter on the 25th line down column III of the Histories is the 1st letter of the word Spear?

It seemed to me that there was here at least *prima facie* evidence that the Editor of the Folio *intentionally* introduced Shakes and Spear and their connecting hyphen in their respective places, and that the connection was cryptically indicated in the way and by the methods I have described.

But what was the purpose of all this? Why should the Editor be at the trouble to insert the author's name in so curious a manner in the body of his Plays seven years after Shakespeare's death? This is a point which calls for further investigation.

On looking carefully at the first column of the false page 56 of the Histories in which on the 25th line *down* is the long dash ———, I find that there is another dash ——— in this column, and curiously enough this second dash is at the end of the 25th line counting *up* the column. It will also be observed that the only word on the line below the first ——— is the word Francis, and the only word on the line below the second ——— is also the word Francis. Now this column is the first column on the false page 56 and therefore the *true page 54* of the Histories. On looking at the false

page 54 of the Histories (that is the one wrongly numbered 54) in the 2nd column is to be found the word "Bacon." Whereabouts in the column is this word placed? It is on the 25th line counting up the column and also the 25th line counting down the column, and a glance at this page will clearly show that the type is purposely set to make the line on which the word "Bacon" appears the 25th line, counting up or down the column, and the word itself is exactly in the middle of the line, there being 20 letters in front of it and 20 letters (counting the hyphen as a letter as before) after it. Does not this show design?

Let us recapitulate.

Comedies, page 56, 1st column, 25th line down, is "Shakes."

Histories, false page 56, correct page 54, 1st column 25th line up or down, is —— (the only word on the line below *Francis*.)

Histories, correct page 52, false page 54, 2nd column 25th line up or down, is *Bacon*.

Histories, correct page 56, false page 58, 1st column, 25th line down, is "Spear."

A reason for the dropping of two numbers in numbering the pages of the Histories is at once apparent. The author wishes to connect the three pages in the Histories above mentioned. It is too obvious to place the same number on each of the three pages, but the same effect is produced by dropping two numbers earlier in the Play, thus making the page numbered 58 the true page 56, which connects it with the page falsely numbered 56, and it follows that the page numbered 56 is the true page 54, and this connects this page with the page falsely numbered 54 and so on backwards or forwards in this first division of the Histories. A more ingenious method of connecting pages can hardly be imagined.

That the pages bearing the same number either true or false are connected is proved as follows:—

Comedies, page No. 56, on 25th line down, is Shakes.

Histories, page No. 56, on 25th line down, is ———

This page of the Histories is really page 54.

Histories, true page 54, on 25th line down, is ———.

Tragedies, page No. 54, on 25th line down, is Peer.

Thus again I find Shakes—Peer, and that this is no coincidence is proved because the line containing Shakes has 30 letters before this word, and the line containing Peer has also 30 letters after this word.

Let us go back to the word "Shakes" on page 56 of the Comedies. Who is it who "shakes a chain," and why a chain? A chain consists of links, and we have already been able to link together Shakes-Spear and Bacon. The gentleman who shakes a chain is "Herne the Hunter." This character appears again on page 59 of the Comedies, and attention is drawn to this page because, although it is the true page 59, it is paged 51. On this page 59, the 25th line down contains this sentence, "WILL NONE BUT *HERNE THE HUNTER* SERVE YOUR TURNE," the W of Will being formed of two V's in a most conspicuous manner.

It will be remembered that on the 25th line down the 1st column of page 56 of the Comedies, there are 30 letters, then the word Shakes, and counting back from the last letter of the above sentence there are 30 Roman letters, then the word Will. This word "Will" is on the 25th line down the 2nd column of true page 59 of the Comedies, and the word Shakes is on 25th line down the 1st column of page 56 of the Comedies, a difference of 8 columns.

The 25th line down the 2nd column of the page No. 59 in the Histories contains this sentence:—
NOW MY MASTERS FOR A TRUE FACE AND
GOOD CONSCIENCE.

Counting 30 letters back from the last letter of this line cuts off the S of the word MASTERS, leaving MASTER, so one gets this result :—

Histories, page No. 59 (true page 57), 2nd column, 25th line down, is the word Master + 30 letters.

Comedies, true page 59, 2nd column, 25th line down, is the word Will + 30 letters.

Eight columns back.

Comedies, page 56, 1st column, 25th line down, are 30 letters, then Shakes.

Comedies, true page 56, 1st column, 25th line down, is the long ———.

Histories, true page 56, 1st column, 25th line down, are 30 letters then Spear.

Eight columns back.

Histories, page No. 54, 2nd column, 25th line is the word " BACON."

I also find this strange coincidence :—

Histories, true page 57, 2nd column, 25th line down, is the word Master.

Tragedies, page 57, 2nd column, 25th line down, the first word is Will.

Eight columns back.

Tragedies, page 54, 1st column, 25th line down, the first word is Peer.

Histories, true page 54 (page Nod. 56), 1st column, 25th line down, is the long ———.

Comedies, page 56, 1st column, 25th line down, is the word Shakes.

Anyone who will take the trouble to study the First Folio of the Shakespeare Plays will accordingly find that Master Will Shakespeare was but a mask of Sir Francis Bacon.

EDWARD D. JOHNSON.

(To be continued.) —

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE BACON ACROSTICS IN THE LITERATURE OF THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES AS DISCOVERED PREVIOUS TO 1902, BY ALFRED MUDIE, OF LONDON.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—In 1909 that fine, and extensively illustrated book, by William S. Booth, of Boston, Mass., U.S.A., entitled "Some Acrostic Signatures of Francis Bacon," was described in *BACONIANA*, of July, 1909, page 209. This work goes into the subject of acrostics very extensively, but a simpler anagram is described in Rev. Walter Begley's "Is it Shakespeare?" page 354. The anagram is more fully described and illustrated by the discoverer, Mr. Alfred Mudie, of London, in his pamphlet, "The Shakespeare Anagrams," 1902.

The anagram, or acrostic of Francis Bacon is found in the poems of Spenser, the plays of Marlowe, the poems and plays of Shakespeare, in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* [which play Jonson himself states was written by another pen], and many other poems and plays attributed to various writers of the 16th and 17th centuries. The first verse of the "Passionate Pilgrim" contains the name of "Francis Bacon" beginning with the first letter "f" and ending with "n" in the last line. When this verse was re-written and changed, as it appears in Sonnet 138, instead of Francis Bacon, "Francis of Verulam" is found, ending on the last "m." As Sir Francis Bacon did not receive the title of "Verulam" until 1619, it is sufficient proof that the sonnets were not printed until after 1619, that the date of 1603 is a false date, as asserted by Dr. J. E. Roe, of South Lima, New York State, U.S.A., in the columns of *BACONIANA*. This fact coincides with the false dates of the quartos of 1600 and 1609, which were not printed until 1619.

Another instance where a similar change is to be found is in the Quarto edition of the 1608 (?) [true date is 1619] edition of *King Lear*, and in the Folio of 1623; in the 1619 edition, "Francis Bacon" is found in the last nine lines, but in the Folio Viscount Saint Alban, added this line, *Exeunt with a Dead March*, so that the letter "M" could be found for the word "Verulam." These italic letters also form a part of Bacon's bi-literal cipher that is inserted in this "Tragedie of *King Lear*."

EXTRACT FROM THE 1608 (?) QUARTO EDITION OF
KING LEAR—THE LAST NINE LINES (*Act V.,
Sc. III.*)

- 2978.—*Duke* : Beare them *from* hence, our present F r
 busines
 Is to generall woe, friends of my soule, you a n
 twaine
 Rule in this kingdome, and the goãrd state sustaine.
2981. *Kent* : I haue a journey, sir, shortly to go,
 My maister *calls*, and *I* must not say noa, c i s
2983. *Duke* : The waight of this sad time we must B
 obey
 Speake what we feele, not what we ought to a
 say.
2985. The oldest haue borne most, we that are yong,
2986. Shall neuer see so much, nor liue so long. c o n

THE SAME LINES AS CHANGED IN THE 1623 FOLIO,
PART 3, PAGE 309.

Alb. : Beare them *from* hence, our present businesse F r
Is generall woe : Friends of my soule, you twaine, a n
Rule in this Realme, and the gor'd state sustaine.

Kent : I haue a journey, Sir, shortly to go,
My Master *calls* me, *I* must not say no. c i s

Edg. : The waight of this sad time we must obey, o f
Speake what we feele, not what we ought to say :
The oldest hath borne most, we that are yong,
Shall *neuer* see so much, nor liue so long. V e r u l

Exeunt with a dead March, a m

R. A. Smith.

Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

NOTE.—Mr. Smith in his letter makes a very interesting statement in regard to the acrostic signatures in "I. Passionate Pilgrim," and Sonnet CXXXVIII. We have thought it well to reproduce these stanzas, so that our members may see how curiously complete the signatures are :—

I. PASSIONATE PILGRIM.

When my love swears that she is made of truth,	F r
I do believe her, though I know she lies,	
That she might think me some untutor'd youth,	a n
Unskilful in the world's false forgeries.	
Thus vainly thinking that she thinks me young,	
Although I know my year be past the best	
I smiling credit her false-speaking tongue	c i s
Outfacing faults in love with love's ill rest.	
But wherefore says my love that she is young ?	B a
And wherefore say not I that I am old ?	
O, love's best habit is a soothing tongue,	
And age, in love, love's not to have years told.	
Therefore I'll lie with love, and love with me	
Since that our faults in love thus smother'd be.	c o n

SONNET CXXXVIII.

When my love swears that she is made of truth,	F r
I do believe her, though I know she lies,	
That she might think me some untutor'd youth	
Unlearned in the world's false subtleties.	a n
Thus vainly thinking that she thinks me young	
Although she knows my days are past the best,	
Simply I credit her false-speaking tongue :	c i s
On both sides thus is simple truth suppress'd.	o
But wherefore says she not she is unjust ?	t
And wherefore say not I that I am old ?	
O, love's best habit is in seeming trust,	V e r u
And age in love loves not to have years told :	l a
Therefore I lie with her and she with me,	m
And in our faults by lies we flatter'd be.	

The method of working out these acrostic signatures is to take the first "F," then the next "r," the next "a," the next "n," and so on to the end, and to be complete, and certain, the name, or the sentence, should use up all the verse; the final letter of the name should at least be the last use of that letter in the verse. It may seem at first sight an easy thing to do this or that many different names might be spelt out; but this is not the case, when the condition of using up the verse is observed. "Francis of Verulam" can be spelt out of the *Passionate Pilgrim* verse, but in that case *Verulam* ends on the "m" in "am" on the tenth line, leaving four lines unused; which would show that that was not the message there intended. Much change had to be made in the *Sonnet*

to ensure that "of Verulam" would come right to the end in place of "Bacón," and these changes are very interesting. One can hardly think that this has come about by accident, and not by design. "Francis Bacon" cannot be spelt out of Sonnet CXXXVIII., following the rules given.—ED., BACONIANA.

DID BACON DIE IN 1626 ?

SIR,—The letter of Mr. Granville Cunningham in the January number of BACONIANA, in which he complains that my criticism was unfair and that I misquoted his article, is so unconvincing, that I should like to protest against the fallacy underlying his argument; and at the same time to invite your readers to examine what I may call the personal complaint, and to see whether it has any justification.

It will be convenient, perhaps, to recall the undisputed facts, which may be shortly stated as follows:—

There is a letter among the Gibson MSS. in the Lambeth Palace Library subscribed with the letters "T.M." and apparently written by Thomas Meautys. The letter is not addressed to anyone, and is only dated "October 11th," no year being given. It has been entered in the catalogue as a letter from Meautys to Bacon, and was accepted as such by Montague in his "Life of Bacon."

Mr. Cunningham has now discovered that "the contents of the letter show without a doubt that it was written in the year 1631."

On this discovery, Mr. Cunningham says he believes that Bacon did not die in 1626, and contends that this letter proves it.

On the other hand, I ventured to suggest that it was easier to believe the letter had been erroneously described as a letter written to Bacon, than that Bacon was living in 1631, five years after the recorded date of his death. There is certainly nothing in Mr. Cunningham's letter to suggest any reasonable doubt about it.

But now I come to the personal complaint. Mr. Cunningham alleges that I "seem to wish to burke, if I can, any investigation into the fact of the existence of this letter, and to whom it was written."

As to the existence of the letter, I never questioned the fact.

The letter is in Lambeth Palace Library, where I have spent many hours from time to time examining and copying the Bacon MSS. Nor have I any wish to burke investigation.

The object of research work is to ascertain the truth, and Mr. Cunningham may be congratulated on his discovery of the error made by Montague in assuming that the letter was written to Bacon. Such slips are often made—*humanum est errare*—and may be undetected for a very long period, particularly with regard to documents of no great interest or importance; and although it is only a matter of opinion and I may be wrong, I should like to say that Mr. Cunningham's description of the letter as "a most remarkable document" seems rather an exaggeration; as in many another letter, the best part is, I think, in the postscript. I like that human touch about the wayward maid, Mary, and the picture of the writer scribbling in the light of a spluttering dip.

Another statement that surprises me is where Mr. Cunningham says:—"The curious thing about the letter is the air of concealment that envelopes it; the entire absence of anything that on the face of it would show for whom it was meant."

But I must pass on to the more serious part of the complaint, because Mr. Cunningham alleges that I have misquoted him, and that my criticism is unfair. It may be that Mr. Cunningham did not realise the effect of what he wrote, but I certainly did not misquote him. After referring to the astounding inferences drawn from the erroneous proposition that Bacon was alive in 1631, I stated—"In Mr. Cunningham's opinion, Bacon made a bogus will and Lady St. Alban committed bigamy."

As to the bogus will, the following is a quotation from Mr. Cunningham's article:—

"Believing as I do, and as the 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 died, must have been drawn and planned largely as a 'blind' and to enable him to use his property after his death."

With regard to the bigamous marriage, Mr. Cunningham says:—

"My opinion is, not that Lady Bacon committed bigamy, as Mr. Hardy says, but that in order to blind and mislead the public and establish the conviction in the public mind that Bacon died in 1626, the story was deliberately put about that Lady Bacon had married her gentleman usher."

But that is not all, for Mr. Cunningham adds:—

"Therefore a fictitious marriage with her gentleman usher was enacted."

Now I am bound to ask Mr. Cunningham how is a fictitious marriage "enacted," unless the parties go through the ceremony of marriage? And if Lady Bacon went through the ceremony of marriage with her gentleman usher, knowing that her husband was alive at the time—such is the crude suggestion—she would be guilty of a criminal offence and the marriage would be properly described as "bigamous."

I agree with Mr. Cunningham that we are all interested in solving any mysteries that surround the life of Francis Bacon; but there are still members of the Society who are not convinced that, as to his birth or death, there is any mystery at all, and there is, I hope, room for those who, when they find assertions in *BACONIANA* which arouse their distrust, may be allowed to protest against what appears to be an imposition on their credulity.

Yours faithfully,

HAROLD HARDY.

TO THE EDITOR OF "*BACONIANA*."

Stratheden Mansions Hotel,

59-63, Regency Square,

Brighton.

August 19th, 1917.

DEAR SIR,—The lands and estates held by Francis Bacon are many, and varied, and it seems that all his life-long, he was acquiring property only to sell it again, often at a loss, when his creditors pressed him for payment.

Up to the present, I was not aware that he held land in Bedfordshire, and will be glad of further light on the subject.

It appears that the ancient Manor of Old Warden in Bedfordshire, which in the time of the Domesday Survey was held by Wicken Speck, as a Manor of 9 Hides, was granted to Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. in 1550, for life. She probably drew the revenues of it, and later on this Crown property descended to James I.'s eldest son, Prince Henry. But that Prince only held it for two years before his death, after which it was bestowed upon his brother Charles in 1616. No sooner did the estate pass into the possession of Charles, Prince of Wales, than he granted a lease of it for 99 years to *Sir Francis Bacon*. This was held by Sir Francis until his death in 1626, and, in 1628, the reversion was granted to Edward Ditchfield and others for the Corporation of London.

It seems remarkable that Prince Charles should part with valuable land which had just been bestowed upon him, and

we wonder if it was given for services rendered and what the occasion was. But this was not the only land in Bedfordshire owned by Sir Francis, for, in 1617, he obtained a lease for 99 years of the ancient Manor House of Flitwick (sometimes written Flietewicke, or Flythwick). There are other names joined to his in this latter lease, and they eventually transferred their interest in the property to William Williams and others in 1628, which was after Bacon's death. There is a further point of interest to be mentioned as regards the old Cistercian Abbey of Warden, which was founded in 1135: for its orchard was celebrated for a particularly sweet pear, and this fruit is mentioned in Shakespeare's "*Winter's Tale*," where the clown is made to say:

"I must have saffron to colour the *Warden Pie*."

So that particular pie was made in Bedfordshire most probably.

The counter seal of the Abbey was a shield bearing a crozier between three pears.

This touch from "*Winter's Tale*" seems to bring Bacon very near us, when we find he owned Old Warden Manor at one time.

A list of the places acquired by Bacon would include:—

Marks,
Cheltenham,
Charlton Kings,
Pitts.
Twickenham Park and adjoining lands.
Gorhambury Estate.
Old Warden and Flitwick, Bedfordshire.
Zelwood Forest.

Can the list be further added to?

Yours truly,

ALICE CHAMBERS BUNTEN.

QUERIES.

EDITOR OF "*BACONIANA*."

SIR,—I have so far pieced together the various scattered facts as to have enabled me to write a new Life of Bacon. No publisher is likely to undertake the risk of publication at the present time, so that I shall amuse myself with augmenting the biography as new facts come along.

Could anyone lend me:—

Ritter's *History of Ancient Philosophy*. English Trans., 1838.

Barnabe Rich's Farewell to the Military Profession, 1581.
ditto "Don Simonides," 1581 and 1584.

"History of the Reign of Charles I." 1656.

Any account of the visit of Muley Hamel Xarife and suite to England in August, 1600.

I have Nichols Progresses where the visit is mentioned. Possibly Bacon was attracted by the name "Hamet," which is the name of the Arabian said to have written "Don Quixote."

Any accounts by Royal Society men about 1662-1700 or later, which make statements about the manner of Bacon's death would also be useful. Books by Dr. Sprat and Dr. Wallis would be worth referring to. Bushel's works and life should contain interesting revelations about the period. So would Elias Ashmole's.

PARKER WOODWARD.

"BACON AND SHAKESPEARE."

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—Mr. Crouch Batchelor's "reflections" upon Bacon and Shakespeare (BACONIANA, April, 1917), is an admirable summary, and contains so much that is absolutely unanswerable by the supporters of the Stratford fellow, that any honest person in their ranks would be induced, on reading it, to take up the study of this enthralling subject. But it invariably happens, where there is a large display of facts, points are made of evidence that is not of the strongest class. This is very difficult to avoid, but any well-informed Stratfordian, desirous of debating the question (though not many of them are); would confine himself to the very few weak arguments, and ignore the most important points. It would be an excellent scheme if this "paper" were to be reproduced in pamphlet form, and circulated in the Stratford camp, but it seems first of all desirable to call attention to a few vulnerable spots in Mr. Batchelor's front line:

1. Page 78.—"In his lifetime he (Ben Jonson) satirised the actor most savagely in a play called *The Poetaster*, and several of the disgraceful incidents I have alluded to are unmistakably introduced."

The only character in *The Poetaster*, who can possibly represent the Stratford player, is Luscus. There is a reference to his minding horses, but I cannot find any allusions to the "disgraceful incidents" of his career. It is true that Jonson attacks actors generally, and the loathsome and degraded condition of the stage, and the audiences.

2. It cannot be proved that Jonson edited the First Folio.

Under the circumstances mentioned by Mr. Batchelor (p. 79). most probably he did. But assumptions can be left to the Stratfordians—they specialise in them.

3. Page 80.—The words " he could with difficulty be induced to pass by a jest," do not exactly quote Ben Jonson. This should be corrected to read :

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

4. Page 84.—Although the Sonnets reveal the aristocratic mind of the poet, it is not quite accurate to say that " the involuntary repugnance of the author to the common people " is especially prominent in the Sonnets. It seems to me to be remarkably subdued, when we remember *Coriolanus* and *Julius Caesar*.

5. Page 85.—The statement that " The Plays were written for the library, not the stage," is rather a dangerous one. *The Comedy of Errors* and *Twelfth Night* are known to have been performed at Gray's Inn, and the Middle Temple respectively. For the audience there, these comedies were no doubt especially written, and they are good acting plays. In the case of certain other plays (*Hamlet*, for instance) subsequent revision and alteration impaired their fitness for the stage, but enhanced their value for the library. Others again (like *Antony and Cleopatra*) never were stage-plays.

6. Page 97.—It was not of the Shakespeare play that " Elizabeth insisted upon Bacon discovering the author," but what Bacon calls, " The Book of Deposing King Richard the Second, and the coming in of Henry the 4th, supposed to be written by Doctor Hayward, who was committed to the Tower for it." It is not at all certain that " Shake-speare's " *Richard II.* was the play which Sir Charles Percy and other supporters of Essex ordered to be performed by the Lord Chamberlain's men. Professor Dowden says, " That this was Shakespeare's play is very unlikely." In the Preface to *Richard II.* (Clarendon Press Series) the Editors, Clark and Wright, say : " It is certain that this was not Shakespeare's play. At least two other plays on the same subject were extant." They point out that Shakespeare's would not serve the ends of the conspirators even with the deposition scene, because the sympathies of the audience are powerfully attracted to the deposed King. Moreover the Essex conspirators were most anxious to disclaim any attempt upon the life of the Queen.

In his *Apologia*, Bacon certainly hints that he was the author of more than one history of *Richard II.* (" my own tales "), but

the evidence is purposely made obscure by Bacon, and is not of the best kind for Baconians to make use of.

On the same page it is stated that Francis and his brother lived for a time near the actors in Bishopsgate, and that Lady Anne Bacon bitterly reproached them for doing so. I have never heard that Francis ever lived in Bishopsgate, or that his mother reproached him for doing so. Is Mr. Batchelor thinking of her letter imploring the brothers not to mask, nor mum, nor sinfully revel at Gray's Inn ?

The many hard blows from Mr. Batchelor's sledge-hammer should be sufficient to make the most obstinate and thick-skinned Stratfordian confess, and repent. But they decline to play the game, knowing that they will be "bunkered" at every turn. I have sent a copy of *BACONIANA*, containing this summary of facts, to a prominent Shakespearean in the North of England, in the remote expectation of drawing a reply from him. If it be forthcoming, Mr. Batchelor will have the time of his life.

I am, Sir,

Yours truly,

R. L. EAGLE.

19, Burghill Road,
Sydenham, S.E.,

July 23rd, 1917.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

DEAR SIR,—The following letter from the late Lady Elizabeth Cust bears out my view of the identity of the Duke in "Twelfth Night." I send it to you for insertion, if you see fit, in *BACONIANA* :—

"DEAR MISS LEITH,—Thank you for allowing me to see your articles on "Twelfth Night." I have been looking at some authorities, and find that the Duke that you wished to refer to was Ludovick Stuart, second Duke of Lenox, created Duke of Richmond, 17th May, 1623. His father, Esme Stuart, Lord d'Aubigny, first Duke of Lenox, died 26th May, 1583, therefore it must have been Duke Ludovic, who, in 1592, according to Mrs. Murray Smith (Bradley), Vol. I., p. 81, and Miss Cooper, Vol. I., p. 118, 'longeth after Arabella.' How both Miss Cooper and Mrs. M. Smith both chose to call him D'Aubigny and to identify him with his father, who died 1583, I cannot imagine.

"Now a grain of comfort for you. James I., who probably at one time intended to make his young cousin and *protégé*

Ludovic, second Duke, his heir, had sent for the boy directly after his father's death. The Master of Grey brought him to Scotland, in November, 1583, when he was nine years old, he being born September 29th, 1574. At an early age James appointed him to various offices in Scotland, and in July, 1601, sent him as Ambassador to France, where Duke Ludovic took the opportunity of visiting (his mother) Katherine, Duchess of Lenox, and he brought his brother, Esme Stuart, back with him. November, 1601, he was appointed Ambassador to England (*Doyle's Official Baronage*, Vol. III.), and both brothers were probably present on February 2nd, 1602, and Ludovic had the opportunity of falling in love with Arabella if she was in London. Although older than her other lover, Seymour, he was quite a young man. . . . I know Duke Ludovic was already married, but was perhaps then a widower. I am interested in reading your articles and will return them soon. You must make the best of the information I have sent, as I am too busy to look the matter up any more. I recommend you to study the two Peerages I have quoted and the State Paper Calendars.—Yours truly,

"ELIZABETH C. CUST."

This additional note was sent me, too, by Lady Elizabeth Cust:—"Sir Robert Gordon, contemporary of Ludovic, in his 'History of the Sutherland Family,' states that when King James went to Denmark, in 1589, that he appointed Ludovic, Duke of Lenox, Viceroy of Scotland during his absence, and named him heir to the crown of Scotland in case he died on the voyage, as being the next lawful heir to the crown (through his descent from Princess Mary, daughter of James II.). I notice that D'Israeli, in 'Curiosities of Literature,' made the same confusion of Esme and Ludovic as Miss Cooper and Mrs. Murray Smith have done."

I have discovered how this came about. (Note that I am speaking now.—A. A. LEITH). Camden writes of Esme Stuart, Count d'Aubigny, "James conferred on him title of Duke of Lennox. His son, Ludovic (Lewis) Esme enjoys it at this day," which discovery of mine puts the matter at rest. One thing more. Arabella alludes constantly in her mysterious letters to "The King of Scots," "that noble gentleman," whom she desireth her Majesty to grace and to win his heart from her, whom she "dare not see nor send but by stealth," "by whose love she is so much honoured." He, as I think, was Ludovic.—Yours truly,

November, 1917.⁷

A. A. LEITH.

BACONIANA.

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"SHAKESPEARE AND CHAPMAN."

MR. J. M. ROBERTSON'S new book* has not been hailed by the Press with the shouts of joy, exultation, rapture, and admiration excited by that remarkable "confutation" of what he was pleased to call *The Baconian Heresy*. But from what Baconians have experienced from the Press in general (though gratefully acknowledging several worthy exceptions to the rule), Mr. Robinson's latest reception must be perhaps regarded as testimony to the value of his inquiry. Mr. Robertson knows well enough that his methods of controversy and "citations" in the *Heresy* were often most unjust, if not dishonest, and Sir George Greenwood has the thanks of all lovers of truth and fair play, for the exposures in his unanswered and unanswerable reply included in his book, *Is There a Shakespeare Problem?*

The reason of the very mixed and, on the whole, unpopular reception of this "entirely new thesis in Shakespeare criticism," is not hard to seek. In this *Shakespeare heresy*, Mr. Robertson has come up against the *dicta* of "authority," and his thesis has made it very uncomfortable for the precious reputations of the "men of letters" (the professors of literature). Faith in these gentlemen has become less pronounced in recent

*"Shakespeare and Chapman." By the Right Hon. J. M. Robertson, M.P. (*T. Fisher Unwin*, 10s. 6d. net.)

years, with a growing inclination of the Public to think for themselves. In *The Baconian Heresy*, it was agreed in the Press, which stands as the bulwark of vested interests, that Mr. Robertson had rescued the Shakespeare literature from the usurper Bacon, and had finally established the Stratford maltster on the top of Parnassus.

But this doughty champion, having set "William the Conqueror" on the throne, claims rather a large dukedom for his new favourite, Chapman. He has already written a volume to show that Shakespeare did not write *Titus*, and the leading Shakespeareans have declared that the Henry VI. trilogy is largely Marlowe's work. This, at any rate, saves the embarrassing situation of having to explain how the Stratford rustic so rapidly obtained the command of so many classical allusions, apart from Latin quotations, put into the mouths of the actors. And here, I would say, that it is very perplexing to read another abusive anti-Baconian (Charles Crawford, *Collectanea*, 1906), saying:—

I assert that Marlow had no hand in *Titus Andronicus*, or the various versions of *Henry VI.*; and I am prepared to prove my assertion. In these dramas Marlowe is merely copied by Shakespeare, who is their sole author.

Mr. Robertson's starting point is the poem *A Lover's Complaint*, which he claims to be entirely Chapman's. To him also he assigns the bulk of *Timon of Athens*, and *Troilus and Cressida*; and finds Chapman in (1) *All's Well* ("contains much of Chapman,"—Greene "first draftsman").

(2) *Taming of the Shrew*.—"The bulk" not Shakespeare's,—Chapman and Greene again.

(3) *Henry V.*—"Unquestionably some of Shakespeare's work in it." Traces of Greene, Marlowe, Peele, Chapman.

(4) *Comedy of Errors*.—Suggests Chapman, but admits "the argument is speculative." However, "the mass of non-Shakespearean matter is stubbornly clear."

(5) *Two Gentlemen*.—"Much of it non-Shakespearean." Greene and Chapman are named.

His hand is also found to be indicated in *Pericles*; *Titus*; *Cymbeline*; *Julius Cæsar* (with Ben Jonson); The Masque in *The Tempest*; the Pyrrhus speech in *Hamlet*, and also the "Murder of Gonzago"; the beautiful Dirge and the Vision in *Cymbeline*. On page 249, is the suggestion that Chapman "had a hand in the alteration of *Macbeth*." Some speeches in *Othello* (1-3, 199-219) are likewise mentioned. The Henry VI. trilogy is also among the mixed plays; as is also Richard III., and the novel assertion is made that Clarence's dream is "clearly Marlowe's." Mr. Robertson thinks that Chapman may have shared in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*; *King John* "is slightly brought into the question, and *Henry VIII.* is indicated in the same fashion as regards the Shakespearean portions."*

Now all this looks very startling and, without reading Mr. Robertson, one might cry out (like the highly respectable Shakespearean who will not soil his fingers and contaminate his mind by the conscientious study of a Baconian book), "absurd!" "mad-house chatter!!" But the eternal question necessarily crops up, "Who was Shakespeare?" To flourish this in the

*Mr. Robertson cannot now give *Titus* to Chapman, for he has already written a book arguing in favour of Peele and Greene, with a smaller share from Kyd. As for the Sonnets, we are mortified to find that "it is obviously impossible to be sure of all," and Mr. Robertson holds that there are more or less grounds for doubt about 5, 128, 135, 136, 143, 145, 153, 154!

eyes of Mr. Robertson is like a red rag to a bull in the arena. But though he often goes out of his way to deliver a furious onslaught against the "Baconists," he has, in spite of his denials, used methods which have been employed by them. When Mr. Robertson subjects "Shakespeare" to "a thorough analysis as regards style, content, and vocabulary," this is called "an inductive inquiry, which leads to the identification of an author," but no condemnation can be strong enough if adopted by a Baconian. "The Baconist method is outside of logic," presumably because he insinuates that Baconians can only have "a boundless ignorance of Elizabethan literature" (p. 57). In his own words (p. 58) Mr. Robertson is qualified to pursue the "rational," while the ignorant Baconian gropes in the darkness with "the irrational use of verbal clues."* Now this sort of "cavil" is merely childish, and the very limited knowledge of the Baconian theory, and the real Shakespeare Problem, displayed in the *Heresy*, is sufficient to convince us that Mr. Robertson knows little about the work of Baconians. He has never quoted from the pages of BACONIANA, which would enable him to follow the movement year by year, nor does he refer to the books of such erudite Baconians as Edwin Reed, Walter Begley, and others I could name. The reason must be that he has never seen them, and he is therefore not qualified to "confute" the theory. In BACONIANA (July—October, 1906), he will find a very happy solution of the *Lover's Complaint* enigma. The allegorical nature of the poem fully explains the obscure

*Baconians build their theory on broader bases than Mr. Robertson with his Chapman thesis. He has no argument beyond the result of tests of vocabulary and diction. Baconians go beyond these quicksands into the firmer ground of identity of opinion, methods, ideals and purposes between Bacon and Shakespeare.

language, the unusual words, and the inconclusive treatment of the subject. It is not absurd to declare that Francis Bacon was alone capable of inventing this very enigmatical and infolded poem—a story of Mistress Philosophy wooed by the Spirit of Poesy, of Pegasus, Helicon and Parnassus, all under the veil of “love.” The same performance is carried out in the “Master-Mistress” sonnets, and if Chapman wrote the *Complaint*, he also wrote the “deep-brain’d sonnets,” for by Mr. Robertson’s inductive method I should be prepared to show that both proceeded from the same learned brain. Mr. Robertson’s amazing theory is that “the *Complaint* was written in direct rivalry with *Lucrece*,” with the object of gaining the favour of Lord Southampton. Now one of the characteristics of Chapman, and duly noted by Mr. Robertson, is much circumstance and prolongation of ponderous verse before coming to any point or argument. Chapman would have produced something more formidable in volume than a pastoral of 329 lines as a rival to 1,851 lines of Shakespeare. And if, as Mr. Robertson finds the *Complaint* is really affected by “a certain laboriousness, a certain cramped, gritty, discontinuous quality,” would player Shakespeare who, we are told, inherited a love for litigation from his father, have allowed this poem to be printed with the name “William Shakespeare” to it, and in the same cover as his Sonnets?

Mr. Robertson endeavours to revive the theory that Chapman is the “rival” poet mentioned in the Sonnets, but the case for Chapman depends upon firstly, the “master-mistress” of Shakespeare’s “passion” being either Southampton or Pembroke and, that fallacy being accepted, it must be assumed that the Earl had patronised Chapman. As to the first point, I may mention that last year there was published a valuable Variorum Edition of the Sonnets. The

Editor, R. M. Alden, of Stanford University, California, reviews the evidence for and against the Pembroke and the Southampton theories, and concludes his summing up of the latter :—

"Throughout, as with the Pembroke theory, plausible objections are raised at every step, and the whole body of evidence is seen to be circumstantial and inferential."

Mr. Robertson follows Acheson (*Shakespeare and the Rival Poet*, 1903), who had to assume that Chapman sought the patronage of Southampton for his early poems in 1594-1595, and was rejected. We are told (p. 127 of Acheson's book) that his "dedicated words" were "undoubtedly still in MS. when Shakespeare wrote Sonnet 82." For these statements he does not produce a particle of real proof, but later repeatedly refers to it as a known fact.*

Sir Sidney Lee mentions (*Life*, p. 203) that Chapman "produced no conspicuously great verse until he began his translation of Homer in 1598." In 1610, the complete edition appeared, and among a series of sixteen sonnets appended there was one to Lord Southampton. But, as Sir Sidney Lee points out, "It was couched in terms of formality," and the writer implies that he had had previously no close relations with any of the distinguished noblemen addressed. Neither in the case of Southampton nor Pembroke, is there the slightest evidence of any relationship with Chapman, who was originally brought into the discussion by the Pembrokists, and it is all a matter of "supposing." Thomas Tyler puts it in this way :—

*It is amusing to find Mr. Acheson referring in his book to the Baconian theory as being "dead." It must have been very much alive since, ten years later, Mr. Robertson thought fit to publish "A Confutation." The Press proclaimed this as the death-knell of Baconianism, but so persistent is truth that nearly every discussion of a Shakespearean subject necessarily mentions "Baconics."

But supposing the Sonnets concerned with the rival-poet to have been written in 1599, Chapman's *Seven Iliades* would have been then a new book, and so would be likely to attract the notice of Herbert, and excite his interest in Chapman.

Mr. Robertson, however, prefers Southampton to Pembroke for Shake-speare's "friend," but he wants to bring in Chapman. This is how it is done :—

Chapman *may have* written a number of early sonnets to Southampton, or, as Mr. Acheson contends, he *may have* praised him in other ways.

How Mr. Robertson would have bludgeoned any Baconian, or indeed anybody else, who happened to introduce such guesswork into any discussion not supporting his opinions !

If, as is now assumed, Shakespeare was quite aware of Chapman's defects, and that, "by accepting collaboration or draftsmanship from Chapman," he was submitting himself to "an artistic tax" in giving such help, and that "Shakespeare must have sighed over the tasks" of trying to make artistic successes of plays which challenged artistic successes (p. 290), it is impossible for me to see how Chapman could have been the "rival" poet of the Sonnets.

How could Chapman (who, Mr. Robertson confesses, in spite of real gifts, had "little moral judgment and no high charm ; and judgment and charm are the two poles of Shakespeare's comedy") be that "worthier pen" of Sonnet 79, whose manner of poesy left Shakespeare "tongue-tied" ? Was Chapman noted for writing :—

In polish'd form of well-refined pen ?

Note how in 85, Shakespeare bows his head to this rival :—

My tongue-tied Muse in manners holds her still,
 While comment of your praise, richly compiled,
 Reserve their character with golden quill
 And precious phrase by all the Muses filed.

I am a worthless boat,
 He of tall building and of goodly pride.—80.

The whole question depends upon the identification of the strange being addressed as Shakespeare's "Master-Mistress,"—"the better part" of him. If, as will one day be universally agreed, he personifies that which Ovid and Horace call "the better part" of themselves, *viz.*, the poetic Genius or intellectual Soul, we may turn to Drayton among his contemporaries who borrowed the device, and strived to eternize what he too calls "my better part." Drayton comes much nearer to Shakespeare in respect of "invention." Meres reports that he was termed "the golden-mouthed, for the purity and preciousness of his style."

If it had suited him, Mr. Robertson could have made out even a better case for Drayton than can be urged for Chapman. Of all the plays with which it is argued Chapman was concerned as first draftsman, the strongest case is made out for *Timon*.* No fair-minded person could take exception to the supposition in this instance. The inquiry is here carried through by weighing the internal evidence with excellent skill and good judgment, and congratulations are due to

*A large part of the *Baconian Heresy* is an endeavour to trick the reader into the conviction that the author of the Plays had "small Latin and less Greek." There was no question of Chapman then. If Chapman had such a considerable share in them, must not Mr. Robertson retreat on this front. Are there no traces of Chapman's learning? Why, too, with all this collaboration, does not the name of Shakespeare appear, like Chapman, in the pages of Henslow's Diary?

Mr. Robertson for the thorough manner in which he has become familiar with all Chapman's published works. When Bacon was ordered by Queen Elizabeth to discover the author of a seditious pamphlet, as it was called, whom she proposed to put to the torture, he replied, “Nay, Madam, rack not his body—*rack his style*, give him paper and pens; with help of books bid him carry on his tale. By comparing the two parts I will tell you if he be the true man.” The *Waverley Novels* were correctly assigned to Scott on the strength of internal evidence. As Spedding says :—

There is a character in language as in handwriting, which it is hardly possible to disguise. Little tricks of thought—little tricks of the hand—peculiarities of which the writer is unconscious, are perceptible by the reader.

The argument for *Timon* is so superior to every other attempt to connect Chapman with “Shakespeare,” that I believe with Mr. Robertson. Now *Timon* does not appear to have been known before its inclusion in the Folio, 1623. In certain places, as in certain scenes of Henry VIII., we are reminded forcibly of circumstances attending the fall from power of Lord Chancellor Bacon. We know that Bacon in a letter to Dr. Playfer (1606-7) makes this admission :—

Since I have taken upon me to ring a bell *to call other wits together*, which is the meanest office, it cannot but be consonant with my desire to have that bell heard as far as may be.

As early as 1594 there was a scrivenery of “good pens” under his direction. Bacon alludes to them in a letter to Sir Tobie Matthew in 1623 :—

My labours are now most set to have those works which I had formerly published . . . well translated into Latin by the help of some good pens which forsake me not.

According to Archbishop Tenison, Ben Jonson was one of the group. White, in *Our English Homer* (p. 13), declares that Chapman was "generously patronised by Francis Bacon during his later years."*

Seeing that Chapman survived Bacon, this must have been during those years between Bacon's fall and his death. What is more likely than that one of Bacon's disciples (his "sons" as he calls them) should prepare a draft of the required play, and that the Master should add the final touches?

Mr. Robertson says at page 56 :—

Baconics take for granted exactly what we are concerned to dispute—the absolute authorship by Shakespeare of all the poems and plays ascribed to him.

I believe there are several Baconians who agree with me that inferior pens are discernible in some of the plays. If Mr. Robertson decides to extend his acquaintance with the arguments of the Baconians, † he will notice in *Is It Shakespeare?* by Mr. Begley, M.A., that this writer says, in respect to Ben Jonson's Epigram on *Poetæpe*, that the evidence "Should prevent Baconians from making the too-wide assertion that Bacon wrote Shakespeare, which we can see plainly from this present Epigram, is not strictly correct" (p. 95).

*1. This patronage may have inspired Chapman to dedicate his translation of the *Georgicks of Hesiod* (1618), "To the Most Noble Combiner of Learning and Honour, Sir Francis Bacon, Knight."

†2. It is very doubtful, however, if the cause of truth and justice would benefit. Mr. Robertson is only concerned with making Baconians appear ignorant, foolish, and discreditable. So far as this subject is concerned, he has waded into the mire of misrepresentation and cannot get out, being covered with the mud he would aim at others.

While Mr. Begley claims the Poems and Sonnets as unadulterated Bacon, his opinion as to the Plays is that they came “*in the main*” from Francis Bacon.

At page 290 of Mr. Robertson’s book, we meet a very startling suggestion, which is that the Stratford player took Chapman under his wing, and was charitable to the poverty-stricken and friendless poet who lamented that the world “ever took with the left hand what he gave with the right.” Mr. Robertson goes on to say :—

Shakespeare would not be slack to help a man so placed, if appealed to. As he puts it in his own limpidly beautiful lines :—

The quality of mercy is not strained
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath.

Above all, he had no artistic jealousy, herein transcending alike Chapman and Jonson.

It is well known that Shakespeare of Stratford was not to be moved to compassion for those whose fortunes were beneath his own. In Sir Sidney Lee’s *Life* we read how he left unpaid the debt contracted by his wife to her father’s shepherd ; cheated his fellow townsmen over the enclosure of public land ; persecuted his debtors, and “avenged himself” on the surety for one who “left the town.” Of course, he had no artistic jealousy if he had no artistic talent. But if this man could have written Shakespeare, we may be sure he would have “stood rigorously by his rights” as an author, and would not have allowed his reputation to suffer by having his name set to plays and verses of very inferior wits. If, however, some gentleman, having reasons for concealment, chose the pen-name “William Shakespeare” under which to disperse his poesy, we can realise that he had no choice

in the matter, but to suffer these indignities in silence ; and so Bacon addresses his *alter ego* :—

As every alien pen hath got my use
And under thee their poesy disperse.

The reviewers, as I have said, were not amorous of Mr. Robertson's deductions, and complain of the methods he employs. Professor Saintsbury writes in the *Bookman* (July, 1917) :—

Mr. Robertson . . . even thinks that the case for Chapman's authorship of *A Lover's Complaint* is made out "decisively," and that the case for his origination of *Timon* "substantially," here. This seems to the present reviewer to be an instance of the damaging effect which this kind of inquiry has upon the enquirer. It is doubtless by no means certain—indeed there is hardly any evidence and very little probability—that Shakespeare wrote *A Lover's Complaint*, and Chapman might very conceivably have written it. But to establish authorship decisively needs evidence of which one fairly careful and critically exercised reader can find nothing in Mr. Robertson's book. As for the case of *Timon*, one must without flippancy say that "shadow" would be a much better word than "substance." . . . Two points in Mr. Robertson's very interesting book remain to be noticed. He is much too acute not to perceive that his method is liable to be confused with that of the Baconians. In fact, it is that of the lamented Mrs. Pott. . . . He speaks of their "infinite mania for assigning to Bacon the bulk of Elizabethan literature." Far be it from us to accuse him of any mania. But does not his own method lead to assigning the composition of "Shakespeare" to the majority of Elizabethan dramatists ?

Here Professor Saintsbury touches a very intricate and far-reaching problem. In *The Shakespeare Symphony* (1906), Mr. Harold Bayley quotes the opinions and ideals of Francis Bacon and the dramatists. The preface to this work prepares us for the sensational conclusion at which the author arrives at page 355 :—

I do not maintain that Bacon was the concealed author of

all the plays from which I have quoted extracts ; but for many of them he will, I believe, ultimately be found to have been responsible ; and for others his disciples could probably have rendered some account. In Sculpture, Painting and Literature, nothing is more perilous than to be dogmatic in differentiating between the authentic works of a Master, and the imitations of his own School.

Mr. Bayley proves that a group of exalted Artists produced "entire Symphonies uniform with each other, not merely in leading movements, but incidentally phrase for phrase and bar for bar, even to faulty progression and false relation,—such a paradox seemingly exceeds all reason." By "the dramatists" Mr. Bayley is careful to point out that he means *some* of them, and seems to suggest that the touch of the Master is visibly impressed upon their pages :—

Few things are more bewildering than the manner in which trash and sublimity rub shoulders with each other.

The Contemporary Review (August, 1917) confirms Mr. Bayley's great discovery though it does not acknowledge his work. Speaking of Mr. Robertson on "the marks of Chapman," the reviewer says :—

The passages quoted in support of these "marks" have a strangely Shakespearean sound. The truth is that the *musical note* or mark of the age is common to all (*sic*) the poets of the period. . . . Mr. Robertson makes us see the Chapman touch wandering into the most sacred and unsuspected places.

Mr. Robertson makes a brief mention of Mr. Bayley's book in the *Heresy* (though he ignores it in his present book), so he is doubtless familiar with its contents. However, at the risk of wearying the readers of *BACONIANA* with repetition, I should like to point to some of the extracts quoted under various headings

for Bacon, Shakespeare and Chapman among others :—

He was a *prince*, sad, serious, and full of thoughts.
Bacon (*Henry VII.*), 1621.

How is the King employed ?
I left him private, full of sad thoughts.
(*Henry VIII.*, 11-2), 1623.

Alas, good prince . . . so full of serious thoughts.
Chapman (*Revenge for Honour*), 1654.

The dramatic conception of a Prince is that embodied in *Hamlet*, sad, serious, and full of thought.

At pages 171 and 258 Mr. Robertson quotes the word "excrement" as a mark of Chapman, and quotes *medy of Errors* :—

Why is Time such a niggard of hair, being, as it is, so plentiful an excrement ?

Mr. Bayley does not quote Chapman as using the word in its strictly classical meaning, "outgrowth," but Bacon has :—

Hair and nails . . . are excrements (*Sylva Sylvarum*), 1627.

The office of medicine is but to tune this curious harp of man's body and reduce it to harmony.

Bacon (*Advancement of Learning*), 1605.

The man that hath no music in himself
Is fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils.
(*Merchant of Venice*), 1600.

O innocence that makes a man in tune still with himself.

Chapman (*Conspiracy of Byron*), 1608.

But to continue quoting such instances of harmony in thought (combined often in identical diction) would fill up very many pages. Mr. Bayley's book has an excellent index, and by turning to Chapman, whose name and works figure prominently throughout, we find him sharing opinions with Bacon, Shakespeare, and others, upon such widely scattered subjects as :—

- Sense and Motion, p. 184.
- Ambition, p. 122.
- Circumstance tedious, p. 313.
- Nothing made out of nothing, p. 259.
- The Sun—an Eye, p. 261.
- The Brain, a Forge, p. 287.
- Innocence a Guard, p. 234.
- One Nail expelling another, p. 241.
- The Multitude, pp. 158-9.
- Putting a Girdle round the World, p. 259.
- Man—a Candle, p. 235.
- False Fire, pp. 266-7.
- Buzzes, pp. 267-8.
- Metaphors from Art of Grafting, p. 320.
- Writ in water, p. 184.

Another list can be compiled of similar instances, where Shakespeare and Chapman are quoted without Bacon, and again where Chapman and Bacon appear without Shakespeare. The names which are most frequently called in, as endorsing opinions on the various subjects, are Bacon, Shakespeare, Spenser, Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Nash, Lily, Beaumont and Fletcher, Chapman, Dekker, Marston, Kyd, Heywood, Webster, Tourneur, Middleton, Ford, Shirley, Robert Burton, Sir Thomas Browne. It would not be a difficult task for a good controversialist to make out a case for any of these poets and writers as having had a share in Shakespeare, or even in each other's writings. Some Baconians maintain that Bacon was responsible for the

works published under certain of these names. It is impossible to deny that a group of writers and poets was informed of the matter existing in Bacon's mind and helped to circulate his opinions. No poet gilded the philosophic pill with a covering so sweet to the taste as "Shakespeare." He is univervally proclaimed the *Master* among these skilled musicians. One can only gasp in astonishment that such a broad-minded man as Mr. Robertson should have bound himself with the fetters of the wretched Stratford tradition, that the player and, doubtless, "deserving man" was "the best head" in that Universe. Whoever "Shakespeare" may have been, he was superbly conscious of his superiority:—

I all other in all worths surmount.—S. 62.

And my great mind most kingly drinks it up.—S. 114.

And Bacon commended greatness of mind as a supreme virtue, speaking of it in this way:—

I know his virtues and that namely that he hath much greatness of mind which is a thing almost lost among men.

(Letter to Tobie Matthew, 1620.)

Dean Church observes that Bacon "never affected to conceal from himself his superiority to other men, in his aims and in the grasp of his intelligence." It was enough if "Francis of Verulam thought thus," and so in the self-assertion of Shakespeare—"I am that I am" (Sonnet, 121).

Bacon's contemporaries knew him to be the guiding-star of literature and poetry in his age. The writers of the *Manes Verulamiani* (1626) not only acknowledge this, but they add that Francis Bacon was *decima Musa* (the tenth Muse), and the leader of the choir (*decusque chori*), who filled the world with his writings and the ages with his glory (*Replesti mundum scriptis et saecula fama*), but who had not claimed all he had given to the world and the Muses:—

Si repetes quantum mundo Musisque (Bacone), Donasti,
&c.

One of these elegists includes *dramatic* Poetry—Tragedy and Comedy—among the activities of this “other Apollo.” After comparing Philosophy as wandering about, like Eurydice, in search of a deliverer, and finding her Orpheus in Bacon, he goes on :—

tali manu lactata extulit philosophia . . . humique
soccis reptitantem comicis restauravit. Hinc politius surgit
cothurno celsiore, et Organo Stagirita virbius revivis cit novo.

What, I would ask, does this mean if Bacon did not seek to deliver true philosophy from the subtleties of the schoolmen, by the aid of the lowly socks of Comedy, and the loftier tragic buskin ; in other words, by commending her to the minds of all men by means of poetry and the stage ? Where are the fruits of this industry if not in Shakespeare, whose plays supply in detail and treatment the missing Fourth Part of Bacon's *Instauration* ? Will Mr. Robertson supply the answers, or will he continue to ignore the real argument ? There is no mention of the *Manes Verulamiani* in his *Baconian Heresy* !

Ben Jonson confirms that Bacon was the only leader and director of the literary fraternity : “ *He it is that hath filled up all numbers and performed that in our tongue which may be compared and preferred either to insolent Greece or haughty Rome. In short, within his view, and about his times, were all the wits born that could honour a language, or help study. Now things daily fall, wits grow downward, eloquence grows backward, so that he may be named and stand as the mark and acme of our language.*”

As every Baconian knows, the comparison with insolent Greece and haughty Rome was applied by Ben Jonson to his beloved the Author, Mr. William Shakespeare, in 1623, whom he also named as the mark

and acme of dramatic poetry, imploring the departed poet to return again "to chide and cheer the drooping stage," which since his flight from its domains had "mourned like night." What a misfortune Ben Jonson and his fellows allowed this essential genius to retire to Stratford in 1611, and spend the rest of his life in pursuits morally and intellectually opposed to poetic productiveness!

That performance in the English tongue with which Jonson credits Shakespeare-Bacon can only refer to the systematic development of the language carried out by Bacon, and by the "wits" helping in this study during the period 1579-1623. In Caliban we have a personification of the Elizabethan masses, the "dung scum rabble" (Marston); the ignorant and rude multitude, the vulgar (*Bacon*); the natural depravity and malignant disposition of the vulgar (*Bacon*); the mutable, rank-scented many (*Shakespeare*); the wild monster multitude (*Ford*); the credulous beast, the multitude (*Beaumont and Fletcher*); the staggering multitude (*Marston*); that wide-throated beast (Middleton); the rude multitude . . . gaping for the spoil (Heywood); the idolatrous vulgar (Marston).

Surely a very good character sketch of Caliban! "Shakespeare" himself speaks through the mouth of Prospero:—

Thou most lying slave,
Whom stripes may move, not kindness! I have used thee
Filth as thou art, with human care
. Abhorred slave
Which any print of goodness wilt not take,
Being capable of all ill! I pitied thee,
*Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour
One thing or other*: when thou did'st not, savage
Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like
A thing most brutish, I endow'd thy purposes
With words that made them plain.

R. L. EAGLE.

BACON'S DEATH AND BURIAL.

IN the year 1631, the very year in which the strange letter, Meautys to Bacon*, was written, just five years after Bacon's death, in 1626 (for convenience' sake I will speak of his death as having occurred in that year) there appeared in Paris, and in French, a Life of Bacon. This was the first to appear; and for many years—until 1657—was the only life† that the world had of Bacon, and the only account of him and his works. It is somewhat strange that this first life should have appeared in a French dress, and that there was no Englishman sufficiently interested in the great man to bring out a life of him with equal promptitude; a life that, one would have thought, would have been eagerly read by all the Bacon admirers in England. What were Rawley and Jonson about that their pens should have been idle on this occasion? Why did they not give the world what they knew about the great man whom they so intensely admired? True Rawley, at last, in 1657, brought out a Life of Bacon, but he had allowed himself to be forestalled these many years by a nameless French writer, and had not cared to win the honour of being the first to celebrate the Master, whom to serve he had been so proud. It must not be supposed from this, however, that the French Life was some slight production, lightly passed over by the literary world of the time. It is quoted by Gilbert Wats, who brought out the translation—the first appearance in English dress—of

* BACONIANA, July, 1916.

† Except a very short notice of him, by his servant, Peter Boerner, that came out in 1647, in Leyden, in Dutch.

Bacon's "De Augmentis Scientiarum," in 1640; and is spoken of by him as a "just and elegant discourse upon the Life" of Bacon.* This French Life had formed a preface to a French "Histoire Naturelle," which professed to have been translated into French from Bacon's English, by Pierre Amboise, and the whole work was brought out in Paris in 1631. Though the translator speaks of the English original as though it could be compared with the French, nothing of this English edition is known. The book is not in any sense a translation of Bacon's "Sylva Sylvarum." I have dealt with this at some length in my book, "Bacon's Secret Disclosed." This "Histoire Naturelle" was in after years (1652 and onwards) the subject of correspondence between Isaac Gruter and Rawley†; and though they seemed to have some latent objection to the book, they yet were unwilling or unable to state what the objection was, and they were curiously ignorant of the name of the French sponsor for the book—very curious, one must consider this, when one remembers how small was the literary world of those days—and always speak of him as "the Frenchman," though the book itself puts forward Pierre Amboise as the sponsor; and were ignorant also of the English originals from which the French translation was said to have been made. This, I think, very noteworthy, for if anyone should have known about Bacon's writings and his literary remains, surely it would have been Rawley. But this French translation with the Life prefixed, comes out only five years after Bacon's "death," and Rawley does not know where the English original comes from!—and the

* See "Bacon's Secret Disclosed," Gay & Hancock, London, 1911.

† See Tenison's "Baconiana," 1679, p. 221 to 237.

French translator, furthermore, has the hardihood to say that where he differs from Rawley he is to be taken as the more correct as he had the better information.* Yet after all this when he is so plainly "flouted," Rawley has neither the courage nor the "*mens sibi conscia recti*" to induce him to come out in his "Life of Bacon," published in 1657, and show where the French life was wrong, or where the "Histoire Naturelle" was unauthorised. Indeed, in Rawley's "Life of Bacon," he absolutely ignores the French life, which after what had passed between him and Isaac Gruter on the subject, as is shown in the letters Tenison published in 1679, is very astonishing. But as we go on to investigate and enquire into Baconian affairs, subsequent to 1626, we will find that there were other things intimately connected with Bacon, with which Rawley had nothing to do, and where he seems to have been pushed to one side. For one thing it seemed to have been the *mot d'ordre* of the Rawley party to ignore all the French side of Bacon's life, and subsequent English writers seem to have followed Rawley's lead. From Mallet, writing in 1740, to the more recent Montague and Spedding, and on to Bacon's latest biographers, James Robertson and G. Walter Steeves, none take any notice of, or seem at all to be aware of, the "Histoire Naturelle," and the French Life prefixed to it; though Gilbert Wats, in 1640, had certified to its importance by quoting it. Biographers who investigate so slightly will not discover much truth. Until the Revd. Walter Begley called attention to this "Histoire Naturelle," in his "Nova Resuscitatio," † no modern Englishman had considered it; and I

* Bacon's Secret Disclosed, p. 48.

† Gay & Bird, London, 1905.

believe that the Translation of the "Life" given in my "Bacon's Secret Disclosed," was actually the first rendering of this into English that had ever been published. A record of neglect such as this does not impress one greatly with the powers of research of the modern English writers on Bacon.

There has been a copy of the "Histoire Naturelle" in the British Museum since about 1820. It forms part of the Banksian collection. At one time I owned two copies, and still possess one. It is a book *sui generis*, and in no sense a transcript or translation of Bacon's "Sylva Sylvarum."

What are the salient features of this French life? *

First of all, one is struck by the absence from it of those fundamental things that one would expect to find in a Life. There are no dates of either birth or death; there is no statement of the place of either birth or death; the name of either father or mother is not once mentioned; it is only "son pere" that is spoken of; there is no mention of places of residence. And yet though the Life is extraordinarily lacking in these matters it shows an intimate knowledge of the private and retired—one might almost say—the inmost matters of the man with whom it deals. It tells us in the most assured way what were the private thoughts and intentions of Bacon when he was a young man. It tells us of his having spent some years of his early life in travel in France, Italy and Spain, and it gives further the reason that actuated Bacon in thus travelling; that he might observe the manners and customs, and modes of Government of the various peoples among whom he sojourned, and thus the better fit himself for the business of governing. And why should he fit himself for governing? Because

* See preceding article.

he "saw himself" (as a youth, remember) "*destined* at some day to hold in his hand the helm of the Kingdom." What Frenchman could have so intimate a knowledge of Bacon's inmost affairs as to be able to write in this way? All this is very different from the bald and meagre information vouchsafed by Rawley, when he undertook to write the Life brought out in the Resuscitatio of 1657. But then Rawley, in his Preface, warns us that he will not tread too near upon the heels of Truth, and indeed in some instances I suspect he has given Truth a very wide berth. He tells us nothing about Bacon having travelled in Italy and Spain, he says nothing about the reasons that, as a young man, weighed with him in making his journeys, but he has a lot of harmless and not very informing bits of information that must have been well known to all those about Bacon or even to his contemporaries generally; any intimate knowledge about the man is withheld as probably being too close upon the heels of Truth. And who of all those about Bacon would we expect to be able to tell us intimate things about him, if not Rawley? But "the Frenchman," whom Rawley and Gruter pretend to despise, but whom they dare not contradict; this Frenchman comes out boldly about Bacon and give us information concerning him that only the most intimate and private knowledge could supply. It is impossible to believe that "this Frenchman," possessed as he was of this intimate knowledge of Bacon's private thoughts, did not know the ordinary facts of his life, such as the date of his birth and death, the names of his Father and Mother, the places of his residence, etc.; but for some good and sufficient reasons he does not give these—details which Rawley revels in with expansive delight—but goes on to other private and reserved matters.

The French Life, given in translation in the July BACONIANA preceding, should be carefully read and studied in order to catch the full flavour of what I say, but I would refer particularly to what the writer—Pierre Amboise, or whoever he was—says about the letter that Bacon wrote to King James and which at last gained for him the King's pardon, accompanied by a small pension. This Life—be it remembered—was published in 1631, and at that date it was quite impossible that this letter could have been open to the public. And yet the writer of the Life has complete knowledge of it, and speaks of it in a thoroughly intimate manner. Such knowledge was not extant in England at that time, and was not completely extant until 1702, when the letter was published in its entirety by Stephen. It was *alluded* to by Howells, and quoted from by him, in his letters published in 1645, and Howells, from his position of Clerk to the Council (1642-1643) might very possibly have seen the letter itself, and thus been able to quote from it. But at this much earlier date, 1631, this letter was familiar to the French author, and he had evidently been fully informed about it. I think this in itself shows how completely the Frenchman was in possession of facts about Bacon.

I would also draw attention to a passage in the Life, p. 139, where it is said:—

“ But as he seemed to have been born rather for the rest of mankind than for himself, and as by the want of public employment he could not give his work to the people, he wished at least to render himself of use by his writings and by his books.”

The sentiment is thoroughly Baconian, and quite in accord with what I have suggested as the feelings that were guiding and governing Bacon when going into retirement,—retirement, that is, after 1626.

But a part of the "Life" to which I wish to call special attention is that where "the Frenchman" comes to speak of Bacon's death. For it is here that we find him avoiding in that marked way to be noted in many references to Bacon, any direct mention of "Death" or "Dead," in regard to him. Why should there be any difficulty about saying he was dead—if such were actually the case—or why should there be any mystifying reticence about it? But what "the Frenchman" says to convey to his readers the notion of Bacon's death is :—

"The cold, acting the more easily on a body whose powers were already reduced by old age, drove out all that remained of natural heat, and reduced him to the last condition that is always reached by great men only too soon."

This is all that "the Frenchman" says, and with these vague and roundabout phrases tells us—or gets us to surmise—that Bacon died; though where, or when, he says not. This mystifying sort of reticence is quite of a piece with what can be seen in the "Manes Verulamiani"; there, it was, I think, distinctly visible that Bacon's nearest and most intimate friends avoided saying that he was dead, and refrained from pouring out funeral dirges over him. Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Tobie Matthew, Sir Thomas Meautys, and Ben Jonson, all very close intimates of Bacon, contributed nothing to these Manes. (See translation by W. J. Sutton, S.J., in Vols. III., IV. and V., *BACONIANA* 1905-6-7.) Rawley contributes an "Address to the Reader," but he does not speak of "death." He goes no further than to say "these tokens of love and memorials of sorrow prove how much *his loss* grieves their heart"; and *loss* may mean retirement. Boswell contributes an elegy headed, "To the Memory and Merits of the Right Hon. Lord, Francis," &c., and

"death" or "dead" do not occur in it. And I think the true reason for this curious reticence was the simple fact that he was not dead, and that this fact was known to some few of his trusted intimates.

It has frequently been pointed out that we have no account anywhere of Bacon's funeral. Rawley says nothing about it in 1657, nor does Fuller in his "Worthies," in 1662; nor Lloyd, in his "Statesmen and Favourites," in 1665; nor Will Winstanley, in "England's Worthies," in 1684.

Lloyd, in his Life of Sir Julius Cæsar, in the "Statesmen and Favourites," 1665, has a curious remark about Bacon, giving a "variant" as to his place of death, though in the Life of Bacon himself, he gives the story of his dying at Lord Arundel's house in Highgate; this latter is in Lloyd's second Edition of 170, in the first Edition of 1665, in Bacon's Life, he does not give the Highgate story. What Lloyd says in his Life of Sir Julius Cæsar is:—

"Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, was judicious in his election, when perceiving his Dissolution to approach. he made his last bed, in effect, in the house of Sir Julius."

Possibly the phrase "his last bed in effect" may mean that at the time of his visit to Highgate he was residing in Sir Julius Cæsar's house, and there is some confirmation of this to be found in Lloyd's remarks about Bacon, in his Life of him, where he says:—

" . . . Though this peerless Lord is much admired by Englishmen, yet he is more valued by Strangers: distance as the Historian hath it, diminishing his Faults to Foreigners, while we behold his perfections abated with his failings; which set him as much below pity, as his Place did once above it: Sir Julius Cæsar (they say) looking upon him as a burden in his family, and the Lord Brooke denying him a bottle of small beer."

It is indeed a pitiable object that Lloyd sets before us in these few lines, and there is little to wonder at if Bacon did—as I suppose—find a “way out” on the occasion of his visit to Highgate. But the remark “a burden in his Family” may, I think, be intended to imply that Bacon was residing with Sir Julius Cæsar at that time. There is no information as to where Francis Bacon lived in 1626, though there is a letter from him to Secretary Conway, dated 26th January, 1626 (new style) from Gray's Inn. However that may be, it is thus that the facts of the case stand, as I have been able to extract them. But with all the writing there has been round and about Bacon's demise, there is none of the writers who has told us about a funeral procession from Highgate to St. Michael's Church, at St. Albans, a subject that must have appealed to the feelings of his friends if it had taken place. Rawley, it is to be noted, says nothing about it. And as a definite addition to this little cloud of mystery, when one goes to St. Albans to examine the records of burials for the period about 1626, one finds that the pages referring to that time have been removed, so that nothing is to be found recorded about Bacon. So often in this Baconian investigation this is the sort of thing that happens. The main line of investigation fails for some reason; one looks for bypaths for corroboration, and one finds that they are obstructed or destroyed, just at the very place where one expects they would lead to definite information.

All the registers of St. Michael's have disappeared previous to 1643, but transcripts of the same are in the Archdeaconry Court of St. Albans Abbey from 1572 to 1600, and from 1629 to 1630. Even in the transcript, however, there is a gap from 1600 to 1628; the registers of this period are missing. There is

thus no record of Lady Anne Bacon's burial on 30th August, 1610, nor that of Francis in 1626. I suggest that the explanation of this hiatus in the registers is, that the pages were removed in order to hide what would be a most difficult fact to account for in a reasonable way, viz., that there was in reality and very truth no record of the burial of Bacon in the Church in 1626, or any subsequent year, and that for the very good reason that he was not buried there. It was easier to remove the pages and blur the evidence in that way, than to manage a fictitious entry of burial. And so we have the gap in the Register. It may be called to mind that in the register of Bacon's birth, to be seen in the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, there are peculiarities that have been the subject of discussion. Had the record of his burial been clouded in a similar manner, there would have been too much for suspecting eyes to feed on. So the best plan would be to tear the pages out and leave people to wonder what had become of them.

There was another official source that might be expected to give some information about Bacon's funeral; and that was the Records of the Corporation of St. Albans. Bacon had been appointed Counsel to the Borough in 1612; Recorder, 1st February, 1613; High Steward, 18th September, 1616, and had been three times elected Member of Parliament for the City, in 1601, 1604, and 1614. On none of these occasions, however, did he sit for St. Albans; in 1601 and 1604 he elected to sit for Ipswich, for which place he had also been chosen, and in 1614 he sat for Cambridge University. It would be natural under these circumstances to expect that the Records would record something about the funeral of a man who had been so great in the Great World and had been so intimately connected with the Corporation; but there is not a word. And the silence is significant.

I am indebted to Mr. Charles H. Ashdown, F.R.G.S., a resident of St. Albans, for the foregoing facts in regard to the Register of Burials and the Corporation Records.

But there was a monument put up to Bacon in St. Michael's by the care and affection of his secretary, Sir Thomas Meautys, and this was inscribed with an epitaph composed in Latin by another of Bacon's truest friends, Sir Henry Wotton. What does this tell us? The epitaph is as follows:—

FRANCISCVS BACON BARO DE VERULAM ST. ALBANI VICCOMES
SEU NOTIORIBUS TITULIS
SCIENTIARUM LUMEN FACUNDIÆ LEX
SIC SEDEBAT

— — —
QUI POSTQUAM OMNIA NATURALIS SAPIENTIÆ
ET CIVILIS ARCANA EVOLVISSET
NATURÆ DECRETUM EXPLEVIT
COMPOSITA SOLVANTUR
ANO DNI MDCXXVI
AETAT LXVI
TANTI VIRI
MEM
THOMAS MEAUTUS
SUPERSTITIS CULTOR
DEFUNCTI ADMIRATOR
H P

The first thing that strikes one about this epitaph is the absence of the almost universally used "Hic Jacet"; instead of that we have the very unusual expression, "Sic sedebat," "Thus he used to sit." This seems to suggest to the reader that "Here lies" would possibly be an incorrect statement, and therefore the inference would be plain that Bacon does not lie there. But still more unusual and provocative is the expression: "Naturæ decretum explevit, composita solvantur," "He fulfilled the decree of Nature, Let the compounds be dissolved."

It is strange indeed that so very unusual a phrase as "Composita solvantur" should be employed to tell us that Bacon died in 1626, and this phrase may mean something else than death, and in any case we cannot but be struck with the fact that this Epitaph carefully avoids any expression of "death" or "died." It is also to be noted that the date on the tablet is simply the year 1626. Almost invariably on such a monumental tablet the month and the day of the month on which death occurred is given as well as the year.

But we have been favoured with what may be called an "official translation" of the above Latin epitaph. This came out in *BACONIANA*, published in 1679. This book is a very important one in any research into Bacon's life. Though anonymous, it has been attributed to Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury.

The "official translation" has been set out by the translator with much care and arranged by him in definite paragraphs, with punctuation that one must see is the result of consideration. I give this translation in the form, with paragraphs and punctuation, as it appears on p. 259 of the *BACONIANA* of 1679, and also with all the words in italics that are there in that type. It is as follows:—

Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam,
Viscount of St. Albans : Or in more
conspicuous Titles ;
The Light of Sciences, the Law of Elo-
quence, sate on this manner.
Who, after he had unfolded all the Myster-
ies of Natural and Civil Wisdom, ob-
-eyed the Decree of Nature
*Let the Companions be parted,** in the Year
of our Lord 1626, and the Sixty sixth
Year of his Age.

* *i.e.*, Soul and Body.

Thomas Meautys, a Reverencer of him whilst Alive, and an Admirer of him now dead, hath set up this to the Memory of so great a Man.

Now "every schoolboy" knows that "Composita solvantur" cannot by any twisting sustain the translation, "Let the companions be parted." No one can bring forward any instance in Latin literature where the word, "Composita" is used as meaning "Companions." True, the Translator puts in a marginal gloss as an explanation of *composita*, "*i.e.*, soul and body," but this is merely dust thrown in people's eyes. Had Sir Henry Wotton intended to say in Latin, "Let the companions be parted," he could easily have found Latin words to say it, and then the marginal note would have been in proper order. He does not say it, however, but the translator gives the unreal translation of "*composita solvantur*" in order to say what Sir Henry Wotton had in his mind to say—but dared not—and to tell enquirers after the truth, that what happened in 1626 was that the "Companions (*i.e.*, Bacon and his friends) were parted"; and that what was given out to the world as "Death" was only separation. I think this translation is a very remarkable piece of cunning. Just as Bacon, in his last letter to Lord Arundel, plainly tells him that the time he spent at his house in Highgate was occupied in making experiments so as to render bodies incapable of feeling—a work that would have to be undertaken for his own sham death; so here the translator plainly says that what happened in 1626 was that the companions were parted. There was no word about "death" or "dying," but merely a parting of the companions.

Note, too, how this clause in the translation is most significantly put by itself in a separate paragraph,

and that the important words are in italics, so as to draw attention to them. I think it is most evident that these words are intended to mean what they say and that the meaning I give is that which was intended by the translator.

I am not aware that this translation has been adopted by any other writers on Bacon. Those who came after BACONIANA could not squeeze their Latin to such an extent as to get this meaning out of it, and at the same time, they had not perceived what was in Tenison's mind that had made him so free with his translation.

I think that the consideration of all this should convince any unbiassed mind that here there was a strong effort being made to give a definite hint to enquirers, of what had actually happened in 1626. By the year 1679 the complications that would arise, if the truth were known, would be much reduced, and therefore less harm would be done in allowing it to leak out.

There had been a previous attempt made—at least so I take it—to put enquirers on some right path for discovery ; but possibly this had been too subtle to be understood or made use of, and in subsequent years the use of it was made impossible by certain changes that took place. It is a very curious and instructive happening that I am about to relate.

In the 1640 Edition of the "Advancement of Learning," that which is a translation by Gilbert Wats of Bacon's 1623 "De Augmentis Scientiarum," there is a long series of "fore words"—laudatory poems, pleasing references and so forth, to Bacon from other writers—occupying 17 pages at the beginning of the Book. On the last of these pages there occurs—

standing alone and separate from the context—the following Latin sentence :—

“ Ordine Sequeretur descriptio Tumuli Verulamiani monumentum Nobiliss : Mutisii, in honorem domini sui constructum ; qua pietate, et dignitatem Patroni sui, quem (quod rari faciunt, etiam post cineres coluit) consuluit ; Patriæ suæ opprobrium diluit ; sibi nomen condidit. Busta hæc nondum invisit interpres, sed invisurus, Interim lector tua cura commoda et abi in rem tuam.”

This Latin is somewhat crabbed and difficult, but I submit the following translation, wherein I have taken the liberty of moving the position of the bracket, and placing it before instead of after “ quem.”

“ The delineation (exposition) of the tomb of Verulam will follow in order that of the most illustrious Meautys, erected by him in honour of his Master ; by which piety, also for the worthiness of his Patron (whom he revered even after his death, a thing which few do) he shewed regard ; he blotted out the reproach of his Country, and founded a name for himself. The Interpreter (explainer ? decipherer ?) has not yet cast an eye upon these tombs, but he will look into them. In the meantime, oh ! Reader, mind thy affairs, and go about thy business.”*

It is quite evident I think that the main purpose of the Latin paragraph inserted as I have described, was to connect the two memorial epitaphs of Bacon and Meautys, and to direct attention to the fact that that of Meautys would in some way explain that of Bacon ; or at any rate that the two should be considered together as having some direct bearing, the one on the other, and that the one would be an exposition of the other. The mere fact that the epitaphs of Bacon and Meautys are brought together in this

* See also “ The Tragedy of Sir Francis Bacon,” p. 141, by Harold Bayley : Grant Richards, London, 1902.

way at the end of the "forewords" of such a book as "The Advancement of Learning," is extremely significant. There was nothing in the remotest degree calling for any allusion to these memorials at such a time and in such a place, and this paragraph is dragged in "*apropos de rien*." But the natural inference that one is forced to draw is that the composer of this paragraph had in his mind two things; first, that Sir Henry Wotton's epitaph on Bacon was not plain and clear, but contained things that required explaining, and which would certainly raise questions in the minds of future readers. And second: That the epitaph to Sir Thomas Meautys contained in it something that would explain and clear away the difficulties that would be aroused by the reading of Bacon's epitaph. What other inference can one draw but this? We are entitled to assume that the Author of the 1640 "Advancement of Learning" was not actuated by mere foolishness when he inserted his curious paragraph, that has no bearing whatever on the work he has in hand, but that it was put in with a definite purpose; and what could that purpose be, unless it were that the Meautys' epitaph was in some sort a commentary upon and explanation of Bacon's earlier and somewhat puzzling epitaph.

I am sure that it is no straining of the imagination to say that any one who was interested in Bacon, had read his epitaph and puzzled over the curious phrases. "*Sic sedchat*" and "*Composita solvantur*," remembering, too, that this very monument to Bacon had been put up by Sir Thomas Meautys, would, on reading and comprehending this Latin paragraph, directing attention to Meautys' epitaph as a commentary on Bacon's, immediately go and search out Meautys' tomb to ponder over and study it. And what would he find? That the whole epitaph has been carefully

defaced by a chisel, or some other sharp instrument! In the whole range of weird puzzles surrounding Bacon, there is nothing, I think, that takes one's breath away as this does. One has been led on step by step in the task of endeavouring to let light in upon the dark places, and to find confirmation, or denial, of theories that have naturally arisen. The absence of the pages in the register was startling, but that *might* have been caused by something different than one supposed. But the direction to Meautys' epitaph seems definite and certain—and then it is found defaced! and one is baulked again of any explanation.

The tomb of Meautys is in reality merely a slab covering his grave. This slab lies in front of the Communion table of the little St. Michael's Church and almost in front of, and close to, Bacon's monument.

I have endeavoured to find some contemporary account or record of Meautys' epitaph, but there does not seem to be any. The later editions of Weever's "Funeral Monuments" (the first edition would be too early, being 1631) would be likely places in which to find some allusion to it, but there is none. Dingley's "Historie from Marble," compiled from notes gathered by Dingley between 1640-80 is another likely place, but there is nothing to be found here. Both these books are also curiously lacking in any record of, or account of Bacon's monument and tomb. One would have thought that Dingley's facile pencil would certainly have given us a sketch of Bacon's beautiful and pathetic monument, and that Dingley would have had something to say about the epitaph; but as so often occurs in these Bacon matters, there is silence.

I have carefully examined the Meautys slab. The first line of the epitaph:—

" Here lyeth the bodie of St "

is quite clear and distinct. The next words, " Thomas Meautys," have been cut into and much injured, but can still be made out ; all the rest is quite removed. The cutting, or chiselling, is very plain, just about the name " Thomas Meautys " ; below this the wear of feet passing over the slab has worn the stone quite smooth, and has worn out the chisel cuts almost entirely, except one or two indentations where the chisel has " gouged out " the stone deeper than in other places. There is no record or tradition of when this was done. The fact that the stone is worn so smooth would show that it had been done many years ago. The place where the cutting marks are most clearly to be seen, at the top of the stone, is out of the line of passer's feet and therefore was not subject to wear, but lower down the wear would take place more rapidly, and all the more rapidly because the surface had been broken by the chisel cuts. In any case, however, it must have taken a very long time for the epitaph and the chisel cuttings to get worn out as they are to-day.*

And so this extraordinary puzzle stands. The inscription that might have explained Bacon's curious epitaph, and thrown some light on the phrase, " Let

* Mr. C. H. Ashdown, of St. Albans, in a letter to me of the 10th July, 1913, says :—" I am pleased to hear your report upon the Meauty's slab ; it certainly coincides with my own conclusions from investigations " : while under 15th June he wrote to me :—" The information *re* 1640 Edition of ' Avancement of Learning ' is most suggestive, and was unknown to me."

When I went to see the Meautys slab in July, 1913, I remarked to the Verger, who showed me the church, that the slab had a strange appearance, and asked what had caused the inscription to disappear ? He answered : " It looks as if it had been chipped away."—G.C.C.

the Companions be parted," is so defaced that one cannot read it. That this defacing has been intentionally done I think there can be no doubt, and I think it is quite a legitimate inference that it has been intentionally done to prevent any explanation being received of Bacon's epitaph. If it were not for the Latin paragraph preserved in the 1640 edition of the "Advancement of Learning" we would have no notion at all that the Meautys epitaph contained anything that had any reference to Bacon's epitaph. This paragraph, which the defacers had probably forgotten about, or perhaps did not know about, remains to give us a hint that there is something strange and unexplained about Bacon's tomb and that there was something explanatory to be found on Meauty's slab to put us on enquiry, and make us ask: "What is there hidden about Bacon that people were so anxious to keep hidden, and yet ultimately to reveal?"

I have space left to direct attention only very briefly to the remarks made by Charles Molloy in his "Address to the Reader," prefixed to the Second Part of the Third Edition of Rawley's "Resuscitatio," brought out in 1670 (Rawley died in 1667). Molloy says, speaking of Bacon, that he no sooner sought but obtained his Royal Master's mercy, "and then with a head filled up to the brim, as well with sorrow as wisdom, and covered and adorned with grey hairs, made a holy and humble retreat to the cool shades of rest, where he remained triumphant above fate and fortune, till heaven was pleased to summon him to a more glorious and triumphant rest: Nor shall his most excellent pieces, part of which though dispersed and published at several times in his life time, *now after his death** lie buried in oblivion, but rather

* My italics.

survive time, and as incense smell sweet in the nostrils of posterity."

It is quite certain that prior to 1626 Bacon did not make "a holy and humble retreat to the cool shades of rest." He was summoned to the first Parliament of Charles I. in 1625, and letters of his written in the early part of 1626 on public matters, show that up to April, 1626, he was before the public much as usual. His holy and humble retreat took place *after* that date, and it was "now" (in 1670) "after his death," that his most excellent pieces were being brought out by Molloy. I submit that Molloy's language can only refer to a retirement and death subsequent to 1626, and to a time of death perhaps many years subsequent to that date.

GRANVILLE C. CUNNINGHAM.

BACON'S PRE-OCCUPATION OF MIND.

THERE is a letter from Bacon to Sir Thomas Bodley which provides us with proof that Bacon had been engaged in pursuits which absorbed his time to the exclusion of literary work. It makes a most interesting comparison with those sonnets (97-119), telling of Shakespeare's absence from his "sweet boy"; Bacon says:—

* * * * *

I do confess, since I was of any understanding, my mind hath in effect been absent from that I have done, and *in absence errors are committed*, which I do willingly acknowledge; and amongst the rest this great one which led to the rest: that knowing myself by inward calling to be fitter to hold a book than to play a part, I have led my life in civil causes, for which I was not very fit by nature, and more unfit by the pre-occupation of my mind.*

*Stephen's Letters, 1702, p. 19.

of his own powers, aware of the peculiar quality of his mind, and disliking his pursuits, his heart was often in his study, while he lent his person to the robes of office."

Bacon says: "I am better fitted to hold a book than to play a part." This is the tragedy of Hamlet's life. Hamlet enters "holding a book" when he should act, even though it is a part for which he "was not very fit by nature, and more unfit by the pre-occupation of the mind."

As Coleridge observes, "We see a great and enormous intellectual activity, and a proportionate aversion to real action consequent upon it." Hamlet is a university man, a poet—he writes "verses"—and a dramatist who sends forth his work as that of another. He has one true friend, Horatio, to whom he utters a magnificent essay on Friendship. Bacon had one true friend Tobie Matthew, for whom he wrote the *Essay Of Friendship*. Hamlet is dragged into public life against his bent, and is anxious to return to his studies. He complains that he is poor—a "beggar"—and laments, "I do lack advancement." Hamlet is robbed of his rights, and spied upon by his uncle. For many years Bacon appealed to his uncle Burleigh, that he lacked advancement, but he was continuously put off with promises, held down and spied upon by the Cecils.

Nobody can hear the "strains of woe" from the Sonnets, especially where Shakespeare complains of the "spite of Fortune," and that the world is bent his deeds to cross (S. 90) without catching the plaintive music of the soliloquies uttered by the courtier and scholar who had to "bear the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune."

Hamlet detests the "manners" of the Court, and expresses the opinion that they are:

More honour'd in the breach than the observance.

And here I should like to say more about the very important Sonnet (III), where Shakespeare laments that Fortune did not provide better for his life, "than public means which public manners breeds."

Not all Shakespeareans agree with Malone that "the author seems here to lament his being reduced to the necessity of appearing on the stage, or writing for the public theatre."

James Boswell (1821) points out that Shakespeare "would scarcely indulge in such bitter complaints against a profession which was rapidly conducting him to fortune as well as to fame." Halliwell-Phillips (*Outlines*, 8th ed.) agrees with this view. The German critic, N. Delius, observes that these lines "tell us only, in general, that the poet had been drawn into commerce with the world from considerations of a livelihood, and cannot withdraw from this in spite of the wish of his heart. Gerald Massey writes:—

The meaning, as illustrated by the context, is that the speaker has to live in the public eye in a way that is apt to beget public manners. . . . His public is the only public of Shakespeare's time, the court circle and public officers of the State.

Shakespeare writes of "Our public court" (*As You Like It*, I-3).

He shall endure such public shame as the rest of the court can possibly desire. (*Love's Labour Lost*, I., 1.)

In Sonnet 25, Shakespeare expressly says that Fortune had debarred him from *public* honours:—

Let those who are in favour with their stars,
Of public honour and proud titles boast,
Whilst I, whom fortune of such triumph bars,
Unlook'd for joy in that I honour most.

What Shakespeare honours most, and brings him comfort and joy in the midst of all his sorrows, is his

Poesy. In the same way, when Fortune had barred Prospero from "public honours," he was comforted in the thought of his offspring, Miranda—representing, no doubt, the wonderful fruits of his creative genius.

A letter to Essex (1595) proves that Bacon was, at that time, carried away by the delights of Poesy. Whilst urging the Earl to proceed with his suit for the Solicitor's place, he says: "Desiring your good Lordship nevertheless not to conceive out of this my diligence in soliciting this matter that I am either much in appetite or much in hope. For as for appetite, *the Waters of Parnassus* are not like the waters of the Spaw that give a stomach, but rather they *quench appetite and desires.*"

R. L. EAGLE.

FRESH LIGHTS ON TWELFTH NIGHT OR WHAT YOU WILL.

A COMEDY, THE SCENE OF WHICH IS LAID IN A CITY OF
ILLYRIA AND THE SEA-COAST NEAR IT.

TO rightly understand this play we must try and visualise riverside London, in the out-of-door life of which so much of the time of its first audiences was passed.

Fairman Ordish, in his *Shakespeare's London*, notes how mighty a mart and great a port was Elizabeth's London. Knight's *London* shows how: "In the beginning of the seventeenth century the river Thames was at the height of its glory as the great thoroughfare of London."

Howell said: "It hath not her fellow, if regard be had to those forests of masts which are perpetually upon her," and "Foreign ambassadors affirm that the most glorious sight in the world, take water and land together, was to come upon a high tide from Gravesend

and shoot the bridge to Westminster." It was just there that flowery lawns swept down to the water's edge where swans floated, 'mid reeds and rushes. Music and revelry sounded from the mansions of the great, each of which had its own landing stairs. Blackfriars was the chief centre of busy life, whether from the fashionable world's point of view or from the trader's and navigator's. Its wharves were crowded always with bronzed sea-captains, and busy merchants, and light-hearted travellers home from Aleppo and Levantine ports.

Where late black monks sang and prayed, the highest nobility clustered, and on holy ground now a select and private Theatre under Her Majesty's special patronage, flourished. Where Dominicans not long before had set forth their Moralities and Mysteries, the Children of the Queen's Revels formed now a Conservatoire for the art training then so much in vogue.

Ordish points particularly to the topographical allusion to river-side London in Twelfth Night, assuring us that beneath "the Masquerade of foreign names in the Shakespeare Comedies lay tacitly the familiar scenes of England and London." "Let us enumerate," he says: "a few of the rents and holes in the Illyrian gauze which covers it." With the sea as its background this Comedy," according to him, is the chief of the group of sea-plays which so appealed to Elizabethan audiences. Not impossibly," he adds, "it was first performed in Blackfriars, and in Blackfriars Theatre."

With Ordish I heartily agree, the rugged region of *Epirus Nova* or *Illyris Graeca* had far less to do with Twelfth Night than the willows and the swans, and the landing stages of Queen-hythe and Puddle Dock, so inexpressibly dear to the heart of the citizens of that day. Puddle Dock, which we shall have occasion to

mention later, was the landing-stage just below Ireland Yard, where in Edward the VIth's reign were stored the tents, pavilions, masks and revels of Sir Thomas Cawarden, the Master of the Revels.

No wonder that Twelfth Night was one of the most popular of the immortal Plays. I quote again from Ordish: "There is little room for doubt that the Characters in the Illyrian Masquerade were drawn from the originals in Shakespeare's London." These I propose to unveil, one by one, proving that the more intimate we become with the originals the closer are the parallels. Mr. Cunningham, in his Introduction to the Reprint of Barnaby Riche's *Honesty of this Age*, says Twelfth Night was probably written in 1600 or 1601. Mr. Halliwell Phillipps gives January 6th, 1602 (Twelfth Night) as the probable date of its first appearance, preceding the performance before the Benchers and students of the Middle Temple on the Feast of the Purification, February 2nd, 1602. I am more inclined to think that the Temple performance preceded one given at Whitehall a few night after. Professional players were sometimes engaged for the great festivals of the lawyers, but as Manningham does not so describe those who played, I am free to hold my own opinion that Twelfth Night was presented on that and succeeding occasions during ten or twelve years as a Masque, or Play acted by Amateurs, and that it was not licensed for the public stage till 1610 or after.

TWELFTH NIGHT OR WHAT YOU WILL.

Dramatis Personæ.

Orsino, Duke of Illyria.—Ludovic Esme Stuart, Duke of Lenox.

Olivia, Princess and Countess.—Arabella, Princess and Countess.

Sebastian and Viola (Twins).—Sir William Seymour.

Sir Toby Belch, Uncle to Olivia.—Sir Gilbert Talbot, Uncle to Arabella.

Sir Andrew Ague-Cheek.—Sir Andrew Sinclair, and Duke Ulrich of Holstein.

Malvolio, Steward to Olivia.—Sir William Fowler.

Feste, Olivia's Servant.—Cutting, Arabella's Servant.

Maria, or Mary, Olivia's Gentlewoman.—Mary, Lady Talbot.

Scene.—A City in Illyria and the Sea-Coast near it.

Scene.—Blackfriars and its water-way.

Princess and Countess Olivia.

Mouse of virtue that purged the air of pestilence. A virtuous maid, of sweet perfections, that would admit no suit, no, not the neighbouring Duke's, who wooed with adorations, groans and sighs.

Of beauty truly blent, whose red and white Nature's hand laid on.

Of eyes grey with lids to them ; too proud, yet fair. She had no folly, was wisdom itself. (*Olivia is Italian for Olive and Olive-tree, Minerva's emblem.*)

Lady Olivia had a white hand, and a sweet roman handwriting. Her heart was of fine frame. She mourned a dead brother, and like a cloistress seasoned his dead love by watering her chamber with eye-offending brine, thus keeping his love fresh and lasting in her memory.

She harboured her Uncle Sir Toby Belch, but was nothing allied to his disorders.

A priest plighted her troth to the boy Sebastian underneath a consecrated roof, until she could safely avow the sacred tie with a celebration that accorded with her royal birth. This eternal bond, intended to be kept dark, was revealed by occasion before it was ripe.

This lady confessed to sad madness, and a most distracting phrensy.

Princess Arbella Stuart, Countess of Lenox.

This direct descendant of Henry VII. was Princess Royal. To Charles Stuart, her father, King James gave the Earldom of Lenox, which reverted to him at the death of his cousin, Mathew Stuart. But at Charles' death James repudiating Arbella's claim to the title and estates, created his cousin* Esmé Stuart Duke of Lenox, and robbed Arbella of her rights. A picture of her is extant with Countess of Lenox upon it.

Numberless people have left their witness to the singular virtues of this Lady. James for one. Beaumont, the French Ambassador, writes to Henry the Great that:—"The people at Court speak freely of Arabella's virtues." Sir William Fowler, Queen Anne's Secretary, describes her in a letter to Lord Shrewsbury:—"That worthy and most virtuous Lady." Mistress Lanyer, wife of one of James' Household, eulogises her "beauteous soul" in a Poem. She connects Arabella, an acknowledged poet, with Minerva and the Muses. She calls her "Great learned Lady, rare Phoenix, whose fair feathers are your own." She is the "Fair Arabella" of a contemporaneous ballad. Her warm admirer, Sir William Fowler, calls her "The eighth wonder of the world," and "godly nymph, divine in soul, devout in life . . . and mirror bright were virtues doth reflex." "Her virtuous disposition, rare skill in languages, good judgment and sight in music, her mind free from pride, vanity and affectation, and her great sobriety in fashion of apparel and behaviour," are Sir John Harrington's description of her, while, as the translator of Orlando Furioso, he gives her exceptional praise for her Italian. "At thirteen she read French out of Italian, and English out of both much better than I could."

* Father of Ludovic Esmé.

Fowler writes :—" She will not hear of marriage ; " she rejects all suitors, the highest and the lowest, even the fascinating Duke, her near neighbour at Puddle Dock, Blackfriars, from which place she signs letters. Of him we shall speak later, at present we have her own beautiful self to deal with. Her eyes were grey with heavy lids. As a child they had the true Minerva blue mingling with the grey. Her complexion was fair, and as her feathers were her own, and she had neither vanity nor affectation, we may presume so was the tint of her cheek. High spirited, and with a strong sense of what was due to her and her position, she may be called proud ; she herself says too proud in the following confession :—

" I have dealt unkindly, shrewdly (proudly) with him, and if any living have cause to think me proud (shrewd) it is he !"

If she was the devil she was fair and kind to her dependents, who were devoted to her.

Her " marvellous white hand " was one of her beauties, as it was that of Mary Queen of Scots, and it led to her discovery when she tried to escape out of England.

Mr. Alexander Webster, the possessor of a letter written by Arbella, assures me her hand-writing was " beautiful," while Mr. Inderwick, in his *Side Lights of the Stuarts*, alludes to it as " the small and distinct print-like hand of the Italian school."

Her heart beat tenderly for Robert, Earl of Essex. On Ash Wednesday, the anniversary of his execution, she writes to Sir Henry Brounker, sending him : " The ill-favoured picture of her grief." The " whole sad day " she spends shut up in her chamber. Bradley, in the *Life and Letters of Arabella*, quotes her words : " This fatal day," the new-dropping tears of some might make you remember it, if it were possible you

could forget. She writes: "Were I not unthankfully forgetful if I should not remember my noble friend." And again, "I have lost all I can lose, or care to lose, now I am constrained to renew those melancholy thoughts by the smarting feeling of my great loss, who may well say, I never had, nor never shall have the like friend." Professor Brandes believed Essex was the son of Mary Queen of Scots. I believe Arabella to have been her daughter; in this case he would have been her brother.

The Jesuit Rivers wrote in 1601, "Some say (Arabella) is married to the Earl of Hertford's Grandchild, which is most false." (Cal. State Papers.) The National Biography says: "About 1602 Arabella formed an attachment for a member of the Seymour family." Just before the Queen's death Arabella writes of her "little, little love," who has "won her resolved heart." She alludes more than once to this "little love."

Collins, in his Peerage, quotes from Lodge, "of a childish connection of the Lady Arabella with young Sir William Seymour, Miss Cooper in her Life of Arabella says that in February, 1602, Arabella was arrested by the Queen for attempting a betrothal with William Seymour, and that the Queen "lost her repose" in consequence. We are told the intrigue—this love for a boy of fifteen by a woman of twenty-seven—both perilously near the throne—was frustrated by "the rigour of the Queen." [National Biography.]

How the eternal bond which was intended to be kept dark became known to the Queen remains a mystery. But it is open to surmise that the play of Twelfth Night, dealing, as I am showing it does, with the personal history of Arabella, may have been the means used not only to acquaint the Queen with the attachment,

but to enlist her sympathies for the chief characters of the Comedy. This view of the origin and aim of the play will be dealt with more at length later; here we are still concerned with Arabella and her exact double, Olivia.

Arabella's letters in 1602 show what a highly strung nervous organisation hers was. Though at the close of her sad life she was distracted by grief, her nature was gay in the extreme. In one of her bright letters to her Uncle Gilbert she writes: "I make it my end only to make you merry, and show my desires to please you even in playing the fool, for no folly is greater, I trow, than to laugh when one smarteth." Genius, we know, is akin to madness, and this our Poet felt; she confesses to a "scribbling melancholy, this is a kind of madness, and there are several kinds of it." She can laugh as heartily as she can cry. She is driven from her lady Grandmother's presence by laughter, which, as she writes, "upon good cause I cannot forbear." She extends her efforts to amuse, even to Her Majesty, and alludes mysteriously to "bringing laughter to the lips of an offended Queen by making herself and certain others 'merry in our parts.' Some noble gentleman (whose name she conceals) she says has egged her on to 'play the fool in good earnest and make Her Majesty merry.'"

By which we learn that Arabella while she loved a mystery also had fits of merry and sad madness.

Duke Orsino of Illyria.

Called also Count. His soul breathed faithfulest offerings to the altars of Olivia, whom he loved with adorations, groans and sighs. She loved him not and rejected his suit, though she supposed him virtuous, knew him noble, of great estate, of fresh and stainless youth, in voices well divulged, free, learned and valiant,

in dimension and the shape of nature a gracious person. When he learnt she was betrothed to Sebastian he called her "sweet sister." He had a company of musicians who did his bidding. The Duke was a lover of music and garden flowers. He assisted at evening performances where songs delighted him, sung by a professional singer. Music he called Love's food.

Ludovic Esme, Duke of Lenox (of Albania, Scotland).

He inherited his father's title and estate of Lenox, while his brother Esme inherited the French title of Count D'Aubigny. He "longed after" Arabella (Beautiful Altar), but she rejected his suit. Their ages agreed, he was the elder by two years. His grace and personal attractions, accomplishments of music and dancing, made him chosen as an actor by Ben Jonson, in whose masks he appeared at Court, side by side, with the Countess Arabella. Lady Elizabeth Cust, our authority on the Stuarts, assured me that both he and his brother were good friends of Ben Jonson.

Ludovic Esme, which Camden says is the same name as *Amate* or *Amé*, masculine of *Aimée*, is the twin of Olivia's love-lorn Duke. He was her kinsman by birth, she his sweet cousin. In writing to her Uncle Gilbert she alludes to him as "The Duke," as though there were no other.

He and his brother came to London together in 1601. Esmé had a mansion in Blackfriars, and so green lawns and sweet flowers in all likelihood surrounded Arabella's love-lorn Duke, just as they did Olivia's. His company of players were forbidden in 1603 from performing in London (see *Alleyn's Memoirs*, p. 69), including, of course, professional musicians, who soothed him when his love outran his gentleness and discretion, for which two virtues this Duke was famed. Elizabeth was not

impervious to his agreeable personality, we are told. Had Cupid not played one of his mischievous tricks he and Arabella would have proved an ideal King and Queen, of Twelfth Night, or Albania, or Illyria, or of What you will! Ludovic and Arabella were well matched, and James desired their union, promising the young Duke, Arabella's senior by two years, the succession at the time when he himself had no children.

But the Lady Olivia and Arabella, victims of the mischief maker, alike set their somewhat mature affections upon a boy of fifteen.

Is it a coincidence, and nothing more, that the head of the Orsini in Rome at the end of the sixteenth century was Ludovic Orsino? The brothers Stuart were educated by their learned mother, Catharine de Balsac, at Berry, in France. Esmé, the younger, was brought up entirely by her.

The Duke of Lenox married for his third wife Francis Howard, the step-Grandmother of young Sir William Seymour—not his sister.

Sebastian and Cesario (Viola).

Cesario, "a young man well attended," arrives disguised at the gate of the Lady Olivia. Not old enough for a man, nor young enough for a boy, between boy and man. Very well favoured and speaking shrewishly (proudly), he says, "I am not what I am." He arrives with a message of love—a suit from another. He says his parentage is well, he is a gentleman, and the Lady Olivia says his tongue, face, limbs, actions and spirit give him five-fold blazon. His perfections creep in at her eyes with an invisible and subtle strength. His twin, young Sebastian, who arrives on shore with an older man who protects him, and fathers him, says his father is Sebastian of Messaline, so well known to the world. On landing he seeks the reliques of the town,

saying : " I am not weary—I pray you let us satisfy our eyes with the memorials and the things of fame that do renown this city." The travellers choose the Elephant, on the south side of the town, to lodge and feed in. Sebastian valiant, and a " young soldier," is ruled by Olivia, who after a contract by a Priest calls him Husband, which contract she intended to keep dark had occasion not revealed it before it was ripe. She bids her young love " take his fortunes up." " Be that thou knowst thou art, and then thou art as great as that thou fearest."

Sebastian says : " Having sworn truth ever will be true." Viola, surnamed Cesario, says of the Duke :—
" I love him more than I love these eyes, more than my life, more by all mores."

William Seymour.

A note of instructions written by Arabella suggests that the Earl of Hertford should send his Grandson to her disguised as the son or nephew of one of his attendants, an " ancient man " ; that the boy should be attended and guarded by him. The reason being that she had never seen him, and there was an idea that he, Edward, son of Lord Beauchamp, might prove an acceptable suitor ; Edward being aged 16, b. 1587. There was no mention then of William, aged 15. But there was mention made of a certain Owen Tudor, living in Wales, an " ancient " servant of Lady Shrewsbury's, who was asked by the Earl of Hertford's Lawyer to help move the marriage. Now, he had a son Owen (or he said he had) about this time, who, arriving at the gates of Arabella's Mansion, was admitted to be her page. A well-instructed page, too, for he fetched and carried her learned books to and from her library.

Lady Shrewsbury refused to listen to the offer of

marriage of Edward, moved by Tydder, without the Queen's knowledge or Acquiescence, but the page messenger remained as the constant companion of the wily Countess Arabella, who, in a letter to the Queen, confesses that she often does things without the knowledge of her Grandmother, Lady Shrewsbury, and throws out many dark hints about her "little little love," to whom it seems she at twenty-seven had lost her heart.

Anagrams were such a serious pursuit at that time it is not surprising to find in Cesario's sentence, "more than I love these eyes," etc.—"*Viola—the Seymore.*" Seymour or Seymore, being commonly spelled so.

William Seymour, Lord Beauchamp's second son, married the Lady Arbella in 1610. This man of intellectual tastes, more fond, as we are told, of his books than of exercise, was singularly suited to Arbella. History proclaims him a perfect example of good principle and honour. His "state was well, he was a gentleman;" and entitled to a five-fold blazon, for his great Grandmother was descended from five kings. His Grandfather, the Earl of Hertford, was husband of that Messalina divorced by Henry Earl of Pembroke. . . Catharine Grey, whom Elizabeth hated and in a fury cast into prison. Elizabeth chose to ignore the legality of Catharine's marriage with Seymore, and refused to name his son Lord Beauchamp, born in prison, as her successor, saying, "I will have no rascal's son on my throne." In her eyes Beauchamp was Seymore of Messalina.

As I have suggested, Illyria is Blackfriars, across the river the Elephant stands now. One asks, did a public or private House of that sign stand there in 1602?

Sir Toby Belch, Uncle to the Lady Olivia.
His niece is nothing allied to his disorders. He loves

to eat, drink and be merry, but he keeps late hours with a prodigal companion in her house. He calls her a "Cataian," and adds, "We are Politicians." He is a quarreller who draws his weapon at every opportunity, and is an expert at delivering challenges. Olivia holds him in check, and chides him for his ungracious disposition, saying: "Will it be ever thus? Fit for the mountains and barbarous caves, where manners ne'er were preached."

He delights in a jest and "a device," and is a botcher up of "fruitless pranks," which incur Olivia's displeasure.

He is an intense admirer of Princess Olivia's maid-of-honour, or Lady-in-Waiting; especially of her wit. Fabian says he "married Maria," in recompence for a 'device which rather plucked on laughter than revenge," and which made Monsieur Malvolio declare he would be revenged on the whole pack of them. The whirligig of time brought in the Revenges.

Sir Gilbert Talbot, Uncle to the Lady Arabella.

A prodigal, *Bon Vivant*, and a well known figure at Court when in favour. Was eldest son of the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, to whom he was a sad disappointment. "He hath been a costly child to me," he writes, and complains of having "naught but sorrow" in his heir. Bradley speaks of him as becoming the great and glorious Earl of Shrewsbury, "irrespective of either intellectual or official distinction." Lodge, in his Illustrations, says: "The presence chamber of Gilbert Shrewsbury is crowded with spongers and creditors." Without the dignity of his father, endowed with a weak will and "not mentally vigorous," he was pugnacious, and under the thumb of his wife, on whose guidance and leadership he leaned. The old Earl George, his father, said "he had long been a disobedient son, but

he knew he had many good parts, but was over ruled by others." Gilbert answered he was not over-ruled by his wife. Francis Bacon thought differently, for he says: "It is a great person my Lord of Shrewsbury, or rather, as I think, a greater than he, which is my Lady of Shrewsbury."* "I know," said his father also, "Gilbert Talbot will be too much ruled by those, . . . they do with him what they list, and so I have told his friends, but all will not help. . . . I know that the Queen affecteth not Gilbert Talbot." (Bradley, p. 73. Vol. 1.)

He and his wife were Roman Catholics, and suspected of furthering plots to put Arabella on the throne. Pope Clement the Eighth is said by Cardinal D'Ossiat to have suggested as Arbella's suitors the Duke of Parma and Cardinal Farnese, because they were in the succession from a daughter of Edward IV.

Arbella, a Protestant, was opposed to all such plots, and might very naturally be known as a Cataian to the plotters or "Politicians," by which name Catholics were known. Camden explains a Cataian, "coming from *chain*, for that he *chained* and fettered many good men here with linking together false surmises to their utter undoing." Page, in the *Merry Wives*, says:—

"I will not believe such a Cataian, though the priest o' the town, commended him for a true man."

Gilbert was a favourite Uncle of Arabella. And she spent much of her life under the same roof. Now at Hardwick, and again in London. Inderwick says she had a house of her own in Broad Street. Wherever she was her house was open to him and to Mary, his wife, who acted lady-in-waiting to this Princess of the blood. Arabella treated Gilbert *en bon camarade*, alternately amusing and scolding him. "I pray God,"

* Letter to the King, Jan. 31st, 1614.

she writes, "that the cheese I send your Lordship prove as good as great (which few of you great Lords are by your leave)." She is always ready with her word in season to him. In one letter she upholds the innocency and virtue of her sex over his, reminding him that "ten thousand virgins went to heaven in one day," adding, if he thinks "there are some, but not many of us, that may prove saints, I hope you are deceived."

She is certainly not blind to his faults. "Not many rich," she tells him, "not many noble shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven." She underlines this, adding, "So that riches and nobility are hindrances from heaven as well as our nature's infirmity." She begs him to pardon her for "preaching" to him and says, "It is not my function." Alluding to the many "kindnesses and favours" received from him, she yet says: "I will not be restrained from chiding you (great Lord as you are) if I find you are not willing to hearken to this good motion, or to proceed in it as I shall think reasonable."

She fears to be as funny as she would over the little Dutchkin, her suitor, whom apparently Gilbert takes under his wing. "I will not say we were merry at the Dutchkin lest you complain of me telling tales out of the Queen's coach; I could find it in my heart to write unto you some of yesterday's adventures, but that I conjecture you would not have this honest gentleman overladen with such superfluous relations." If this young unsophisticated Dane shared the drinking habits of his brother, Christian IV., and his Court, he was not the best companion for weak-kneed Sir Gely. The name Gilbert had odd shorts in those days. The old Earl called his son Gylbard. Spelling with apparently no rule makes the whole subject of Anagrams difficult for us to unravel. Gillye and Gilly were also used as shorts for Gilbert. Toby Belch is not altogether

impossible to find in Gilbert Talbot's name, which surname was in the Fifteenth century pronounced without the l, like Torby.

Sir Andrew Aguecheek.

A rich owl, a prodigal whom Sir Toby affects, had three thousand ducats a year, and was dear to him "two thousand strong or so." Impecunious Sir Toby bids him send for more money. Sir Andrew confesses to no more wit than a Christian or "an ordinary man," and to being a great "eater of beef." Of northern complexion his hair is like flax. He is suitor of the Lady Olivia, who rejects him. He is drunk most nights in the company of her Uncle, Sir Toby. He says: "I am a fellow of the strangest mind in the world, I delight in Masques and Revels. Shall we set about some Revels?" He has skill in capers and dancing, but will not compare himself "to an old man." Fabian says he "sails into the North of his Lady's opinion," and unless he shows "valour or policy, will hang like an icicle on a Dutchman's beard."

Duke Ulrich of Holstein; also

Sir Andrew Sinclair, Ambassador to Christian IV.

Brother of Queen Anne, Ul-rich—which being interpreted means Rich-owl. King James gave him £400, besides £100 a week for expences (Letters from Chamberlain). Lord Lumley wrote to Earl of Salisbury from his House at the Tower Hill. "The Queen's brother is come to Court, but not very rich any way." (A pun on his name Ul-rich.). (D. Carleton to Mr. Winwood, 1604.) Allusion is made to his brother Christian, the King of Denmark's want of wit. The King of Denmark ate Martlemas Beef when out hunting, in his "Boare's Houses." His brother had also an affection for meat, he was provided while in England with twenty dishes of it at every meal.

Of Scandinavian birth, his make up would be flaxen. A rejected suitor of Lady Arbella, he left England, sailed into the North, 1604. If he shared the vices of his brother Christian and his Court, he certainly would have been drunk every night. A young Prince of twenty-four, he is described "without much knowledge of the world, who speaks and acts with great freedom—A comely man." The Lady Arbella makes fun of him, calling him "the little Dutchkin," while Chamberlain writes: "The tilting this year will be at this Place, here is much practising, and the Duke of Holst is a learner, among the rest. Whose horse took it so unkindly the last day . . . that he laid his little Burden on God's fair earth."

In Nicol's *Progresses of King James*, p. 474, he says: "They say the Duke of Holst will come upon us with an after-reckoning, and that we shall see him on Candlemas Day night in a Maske. He hath shown himself a lusty Reveller all this Christmas."

Thus February 2nd comes into prominence with regard to a Masque. Was it Twelfth Night, and was the character of Sir Andrew Aguecheek introduced to afford Ulrich a chance of distinguishing himself in it, and vastly amusing his audience by sly hits at himself? The Anagram of Sinclair occurs possibly in "an icicle (on) a." When a Shakespeare character is drawn from two people, he escapes offending the originals. Unfortunately, not having any precise knowledge of Sir Andrew Sinclair, I am unable to discuss his share in Twelfth Night. Did he retire to the North, his ain countree, with the toothache? My memory plays me false, and I have no reference on the subject. He was in correspondence with the Lady Arbella from Copenhagen, and visited England to pave the way for Ulrich's suit.

With regard to the words of Aguecheek, "I will not

compare myself to an old man," where dancing and capering were in question—at the Revels on King James' accession, "Lord Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, the hero of the Armada, notwithstanding his great age, . . . danced so merrily at Winchester that he won the heart of lady Margaret Stuart, cousin of Lady Arbella, whom he married in September, 1603." (Inderwick, *Sidelight on the Stuarts*, p. 82.)

At the Queen's Masque, on Twelfth Night, 1604, on the creation of Prince Charles as Duke of York, the Spanish Ambassador (who was privately at the Court Masque and sat, as we hear, disguised), "took out the Queen, and footed it like a lusty old gallant." [Nicol's Progress, p. 473.] An allusion to the Duke of Holst follows, and his love of revelling.

In the former reign Sir Cristopher Hatton was the foremost dancer, and if his age is taken into account, a remarkable one.

Malvolio, Steward to Olivia.

A gentleman (Monsieur), stubborn and uncourteous, sick of self-love, who tastes with distempered appetite. Neither generous, guiltless, nor of free disposition. He is a kind of puritan, an affected ass, who can state without book, and utters it with great swarths. Is crammed, as he thinks, with excellencies. His ground of faith, that all who look on him love him. He is a gull. A sour fellow, with a sad face and an acrid tongue. He says he has *limed* his Lady. He is gulled into believing his lady is in love with him, by Sir Toby, Fabian, and Maria's device. A device or "Interlude," which Fabian says if it were played upon a stage he could condemn it as an improbable fiction. He is asked what Pythagoras' opinion was concerning wild-fowl. He is told to fear to kill a woodcock for fear of dispossessing the soul of his Grandam. Malvolio cries, "I'll be revenged on the whole pack of you."

The Duke Orsino desires that Malvolio should be pursued and "entreated to a Peace."

Sir William Fowler, son of Sir Thomas Fowler, Steward to Margaret, Lady Lenox.

A ridiculous personage, at once simpleton and buffoon. So described by Bradley the Biographer of Arbella, she goes on to say: "Extravagant as is his language, there is a ring of sincerity about his praises of the Lady (Arbella) which has led to the supposition that Fowler would, if he had dared, joined the ranks of her suitors."

Isaac D'Israeli, in an Article called the *Loves of the Lady Arabella* [Vol. I., New Series of the Curiosities of Literature] describes Will Fowl-er (or Fowl-Will) as "One of those butterflies who quiver on the fair flowers of a Court." In a note he says: "Will Fowler was a rhyming fantastical secretary to the Queen of James the First." His father was Executor to Arbella's Grandmother, Countess of Lenox. He writes extravagant admiration of Arbella to her Uncle Gilbert, "I fear I am too saucy and overbold," he writes from the Court at Woodstock, September, 1603, "but . . . I send two sonnets . . . the expressers of my humour and the honour of her whose sufficiency and perfections merit more regard than this ungrateful and depressing age will afford or suffer." "The ridiculous William Fowler," as Bradley calls him, was "certainly half in love with his Lady Arbella."

She quotes a letter in which he calls her: "More fairer than fair, more beautiful than beauteous, truer than truth itself."

Cooper tells us Fowler was a "simple" knight. And again that he is a "simpleton." "Foolish as may have been his manners and style of talking," says Cooper, another of Arabella's Biographers . . . "he

gave utterance to his feelings with an artlessness that sneered at by all around him was yet kindly received by Arbella. She made no game of Fowler, never snubbed him or exhibited him as a triumph or ridiculous spectacle to her acquaintance." Whether Miss Cooper is right is open to question. That Will Fowler was the original of Malvolio of the later Twelfth Night seems likely. Leonard Digges says Malvolio was the favourite character in the play. At James' accession needy Scotchmen crowded to the Court, so Scotchmen were held up to ridicule on the stage. This Sir Simple (who possibly figures under the pseudonym of "Sir James Simple," in the political News Letters of that day), as Malvolio would have attracted laughter and applause from all. But he only claims acquaintance with his divine Lady Arbella, in September, 1603, in a letter to her Uncle Gilbert. Who was the Malvolio of the Feast of the Purification eight months before that? We have evidence that there was actually "a gentleman of the revenges" a year before that even.

An undated letter of Arbella to her Grandmother, Lady Shrewsbury, was enclosed by her to the Queen on 2nd February, the day of the Twelfth Night Performance at the Middle Temple. Arbella was away from home, possibly in London. It contains these curious words:—

"He taught me (a secret friend unnamed) that one might plead one errand and deliver another with a safe conscience. He assured me Her Majesty's offence would be converted into laughter when Her Majesty should see the honest cunning of the contriver."
 . . . "I am desirous Her Majesty should understand every part and parcel of the Device, every actor, every action." . . . I will reveal some secrets of love concerning myself, and some others which will be

delightful to Her Majesty to understand. . . . I will inform Her Majesty of some matters whereof Her Majesty hath yet no manner of suspicion. I will offend none but my Uncle of Shrewsbury, my Aunt and my Uncle Charles, and them it will anger as much as ever they angered me, and make myself as merry at them as the last Lent they did at their own pleasant Device, for so I take it, of the Gentleman with the Revenges."

In Windsor Royal Library I have seen a copy of the Folio of 1623, once the property of Stevens, in which the title of Twelfth Night has been scored out, and Malvolio inserted instead, in what has been said to be Charles I. handwriting. He would have enjoyed the staging of Malvolio as his Mother's Secretary, whose ridiculous personality he knew so well.

The first Malvolio still remains a Mystery, which is the title or heading of the pages in Bradley's *Life of Arabella*, in which both this letter just quoted of Arbell's occurs, and another to Edward Talbot, February 16th, commencing "I am as unjustly accused of contriving a Comedy, as you (on my conscience) a Tragedy."

The Queen's collapse had already then supervened.

Malvolio is warned not to kill a woodcock; a Fowler snares one, whether or no he kills it. A gull is a feathered Fowl. Malvolio (= ill - will) says he has "limed" his lady, which is the technical expression of a Fowler. He "cons state," for he was engaged in Political negotiations with England, and possibly with France. He set forth what he alleged to be the "errors of Roman Catholics," and proves himself, not only by that but other things, to be as sour a Puritan as Malvolio. He devotes his leisure moments to poetry, relieving his mind by discoursing on: "worldlings," and "their sad remorse." Their

"organs of vain sense that transport the mind." And calls "trash" their "objects both of sight and ear." Masques? The Duke's last parthian satirical shot rather points to this. "Entreat him to a peace (piece)."

Feste, Servant to Olivia.

This servant neither clownish nor foolish, but wise and witty, is a professional musician, a singer who carries a tabor. His "turning away" is discussed as being as bad for him as a hanging. He is no "ordinary fool," like the Queen's fool Stone. He is an actor ready for a part any moment. He explains that the Mermaid Taverns are above the common alehouses. He says he is not the Lady Olivia's Fool, that she keeps none. He bids the Duke listen to the bells of Saint Benet, showing he hears them ring; and alludes to Saint Anne, says he lives by the Church.

Cutting, Servant to Arbella.

"She (Arbella) presents to the King of Denmark a gentleman of her establishment named Cutting . . . who is sent to Christiana (Copenhagen) apparently without the slightest regard to his wishes or feelings." (Inderwick. *Side light on the Stuarts*, p. 48.)

Queen Anne of Denmark made the request that Cotting should depart from Arbella's service, which he did about April or May. Prince Henry wrote as her Ladyship's loving Cousin to ask the same thing because his Uncle Christian desired: "one that could play upon the lute." Arbella writes to the King of Denmark a high testimonial of Cotting.

"Most august and potent King. . . . Your Majesty was desirous that my Servant Thomas Cutting should be sent to your Majesty that your Majesty might avail yourself of his services among the skilful performers on the harp . . . whom

after being entrusted to the most refined masters and to gratify me instructed in this art, I received, accompanied by no trifling recommendation both in his art, and for the ingenuousness, of his character, this very same person I send with no more trifling recommendation to your Majesty provided it met with your Majesty's good approval, being desirous to send if I could do so as well Orpheus and Apollo." Elsom in his *Shakespeare in Music*, says: "Many kinds of Lute . . . one sort possesses a number of open harp-like strings in addition to the guitar-like ones. . . The Lute was almost always used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the accompaniment to song." Shakespeare connects lute-playing with song "Orpheus Lute was strung with poet's sinews." There is little doubt Cutting was a singer to his lute. In carrying his lute he carried a tabor. Skeat says a Tambur or Tabor is a kind of lute or guitar with a long neck and six brass strings, as well as a drum. In Elsom's book is a plate of an Elizabethan Lute-Player, perched on a high stool, with one pointed shoe resting on a rung of it, his lute in hand. Lady Arbella in the "Friars," as she designates Blackfriars in her letters, seated among the flowers and lawns of that willow-fringed fashionable precinct, often had such a dramatic and picturesque figure near her within earshot of St. Benet's bells, "one, two, three." St. Anne, by which Cutting's prototype swore, being the Parish Church of Blackfriars, with the Private Theatre adjoining.

. Maria, Olivia's Gentlewoman.

This lady is so described by Olivia (Act I., S. V.). She is "Mistress Mary" to Feste and Malvolio. Of herself she says: "My name is Mary." Sir Toby says he

could marry her, Fabian says he has done so. Mary has Sir Toby under her thumb, calls him "Sweet Sir Toby," and adores him. He suggests playing his freedom at tray-trip and being her bond-slave. He calls her "Penthesilca" (Queen of the Amazons), "the youngest wren of nine," and "nettle of India." She is *au fait* with a new map of the Indies, in which new discoveries by the latest Navigator have added new lines.

Mary, a bit of a shrew, is cultivated and intellectual, with humour and excellent wit; not only enjoys a jest and a Device, but invents and carries one through. Her handwriting is the fashionable script of the day, and is the counterpart of the Princess's and Olivia's. She hates a Puritan as she does the devil; with fine scorn she describes Malvolio as "a kind of a puritan." She is in charge of the Buttery Hatch. Sir Toby calls to her twice for wine.

Mary, Arbella's Lady-in-Waiting.

Mary Cavendish married Sir Gilbert Talbot, and was, as we have seen, the better man of the two. In the Hardwick picture gallery she appears tall and commanding. Queen of the Amazons, Penthesilea, aided the Albanians (Illyrians?) The "desperate courage of these women" (the Amazons) is noted by Geropius Becanus in his *Amazonica*, while a more modern Becanus, Francis Bacon, says: "The Land of Amazons is where the whole government, public and private, yea, the Militia itself, was in the hands of women."

We have already noted that according to him this is the government that obtained in the Household of Gilbert Talbot.

Mary was the youngest bird of eight in the nestful of Bess of Hardwick, by Sir William Cavendish, her third Husband. Whether a ninth had been admitted as a

Ward—who can tell? Elizabeth, a quiet, meek girl, very unlike her mother or Mary, married Charles Darnley, to the fury of Elizabeth—queen. It is she who is the acknowledged mother of Princess Arbella.

If we paraphrase "Here comes our nettle of India," we get Toby's meaning, I think. "Here comes sweet Cavendish, rough and harsh to those who love her not, but to me an exhilaration and delight, because of her pungent flavour!" Sir Thomas Cavendish, Mary's renowned kinsman, gave his name to Cavendish tobacco, a "secret delight" to those who take it. Indian Tobacco is said by a contemporaneous expert to possess "a certain pleasant flavour." Camden says the "Indian plant" partakes of the stinging properties of puff, as well as of the exhilarating ones of Tobacco.

The Middle Temple Library, where *Twelfth Night* was exhibited at its birth, possessed a unique example of Cavendish's terrestrial Globe, made in 1592, a comparative novelty. In Spenser's *New and Old* (p. 228] he speaks of a new Map drawn out of Cavendish's Journey by Mercato, Hondus, and others, and the Nat. Bio. explains that a "blue line showeth voyage of Master Candish," and "a red line Drake's." Sir Thomas Cavendish, Navigator and Privateer, sailed from Plymouth, 22nd July, 1586, round the Globe; returned 9th September, 1588; sailed again, 6th August, 1591, and died off Brazil, 1593, of chagrin. He discovered Saint Helena to the English. There were great doings at Greenwich when Sir Thomas came home from his adventures. He accompanied the expedition to Virginia, and made the second and shortest voyage round the world up to that time made. He was one of the great Navigators of the Elizabethan age, was born 1560, studied at Cambridge. ("Students' Encyclopædia.")

Tobacco, as described by the learned, is "in taste

biting and in temperature hot." Mary, Lady Shrewsbury, partook, as we hear from history, of her Mother Bess of Hardwick's character. I quote at random. She was "free-tongued," "easily infuriated," of "nature excitable." "Clever, managing," having "vitality and joy in intrigue." Rawson, in his "Bess of Hardwick" speaks of her shrewd look in her picture and of the "humorous sparkle" in her face. She certainly was a favourite Aunt of Arbella, who was hardly ever without her loyal companionship. She is described as extravagant, and loving State and Pomp, and accused by angry Elizabeth of keeping up royal state for Arbella. She attended that Princess at Court and was to all intents and purposes her Lady-in-Waiting. She was a Catholic.

She seems to have taken the oath of Service to Queen Elizabeth and is spoken of by Arbella in a letter to Gilbert as the Cup bearer designate to Queen Anne.

With Mary I close my list of Types and Prototypes, which all, as I think, form a fairly perfect mosaic. The pattern of which would have, without doubt, been received as "excellent fooling" by the Theatre goer of the Sixteenth and the early part of the Seventeenth century.

The Venetian Ambassador writes, 18th Feb., 1610, that Arbella complained that some *comici publici* intended bringing her upon the Stage. Not till then was Twelfth Night played by Professionals, as I think.

I have little doubt that Francis Bacon was the mysterious gentleman who, collaborating with Arabella, first produced that masquerade with the aid of Duke Ludovic's private company of actors. Manningham's Diary says: "The Queen since Shrove-tide has become fixed in her gaze and silent, tho' she has her mind and memory." The Venetian

Ambassador writes, the Queen was in her normal health until February 2nd, when she collapsed, and died a month later. He accuses Arabella of being *l'omicida della Regina.*" Was she not only the heroine but one of the authors and actors of Twelfth Night? *Chi lo sa!*

ALICIA AMY LEITH.

BACON AND SCOTLAND.

THE play of "Macbeth," first presented in the Folio of 1623 betrays on the part of its author such knowledge of the scenery and "local colour" as to impress Shakesperians with the belief that the author at some time in his career visited Scotland. The record of one Dr. Forman is that he saw the play performed in, or prior to 1610-11.

Bacon was in the English Parliament which existed from 1604 to 1610, and was the first appointed of the twenty-eight English Commissioners for arranging with the Scotch the terms of Union of the Kingdoms. Preliminaries were signed on December 6th, 1604, as drawn up by Bacon and the Lord Advocate. His considerations reported to the King were "to acquit the trust that has been reposed in me." Referring to the discussions expected on the subject at the Autumn meeting of Parliament Sir John Harrington writing in July, 1606 (See "Nichols Progresses of James I.") said "Bacon is to manage all the affair: as who can better do these State jobs." Mr. Spedding could find nothing out about Bacon's movements between May 6th, 1606 (when he married Alice Barnham) and August 4th of the same year.

In *L'Histoire Naturelle*, 1631, as Mr. Cunningham has pointed out, ("Bacon's Secret Disclosed"), Bacon mentions as facts the hearing of an echo at Edinburgh,

and seeing in Scotland some "body which had burst its coffin." Oliver Lector in "Letters from the Dead to the Dead" refers to some intimacy between Bacon and Napier of Merchiston (near Edinburgh) who printed a book of Logarithms in 1614.

Seeing the great advantage of ascertaining the views of leading Scotsmen in Edinburgh upon an important State business of which he had charge, the probabilities are that Sir Francis Bacon and his bride visited Scotland in the summer of 1606. Amongst the papers of Napier of Merchiston, Drummond of Hawthornden, or other Scotch statesmen, there may be recorded some note confirmatory of this presumed visit.

PARKER WOODWARD.

NOTE.—The passages in "L'Histoire Naturelle," where Bacon's remarks show that he had been in Scotland, are as follows :—

Livre II., chapitre IX. "De la reflexion des sons," p. 116.

"I have formerly heard the Echo of Charenton, near Paris repeating the same thing seven or eight times quite distinctly, and I remember that near Edinburgh in Scotland, there is one that repeats the *Pater noster* from the beginning to the end."

And again :

Livre VI., chapitre V. : "Du mouvement de quelques animaux après leur mort," p. 373.

"I have seen, nevertheless, in Scotland the body of a gentleman, very big and powerful, who had had his head cut off ; and being placed at once in a wooden coffin, burst it with great force. But of that I cannot give the reason."

The writer of this note is an Edinburgh man, and has no knowledge of such an echo, or the tradition of such, as Bacon mentions. There is in the ruins of Dunkeld Cathedral—or used to be some 50 years ago—a fine echo, that was tested by visitors when such phenomena attracted more attention than they seem to do now. Possibly when the Cathedral was intact the echo was better, and may have fulfilled Bacon's conditions. The fact that Dunkeld is close to where "Great Birnam Wood to high Dunsinane Hill, Shall come against him"—(Macbeth Act. IV., Sc. I. 93) would make the record of the echo doubly interesting.—ED., "BACONIANA."

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOME ANAGRAM SIGNATURES FROM "DU BARTAS"

By J. SYLVESTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

The 1633 Folio was the Third Edition of the "Divine Weekes and Workes" of Du Bartas by J. Sylvester: and I propose to deal chiefly with this fine edition in the present brief Article. The first edition was in Quarto in 1605, and I will only allude to that Edition for one illustration.

The first word after the Frontispiece in the 1633 volume is "Anagrammata," and the first line of the first poem contains an anagram of the name of the King, James Stuart, in the phrase "A Just Master." The same stanza closes with an anagram on the Author's name, "Josua Sylvester" in the phrase "Voy Sire Saluste"; and lest the reader should not observe this anagram, it is repeated at the close of the following stanza, where you are distinctly told that the phrase is an Anagram of the Author's name.

I mention these facts to indicate that every effort is made by the Author to point the Reader's attention to look out for Anagrams in the book under our consideration.

On the second page (un-numbered) of the Volume is a sigillum, or ornamental device, containing the following inscription: "Sylvestres Nove Musæ"; Perhaps this is intended to suggest "Sylvestres Novæ Musæ," which might be a pun on the Author's name and also mean "New Sylvan Songs": as written in the text the words will not translate into English, and it is obvious in the original that the M in "Musæ" is formed by J.V.I., and this is a necessary proceeding for the sake of the hidden Anagram which reads, "I. SEE. A. SLY. SWINE'S. TREW. O."—Of course O = cipher.

The first stroke of the M is a J exaggerated in size to draw attention to the composite character of the M.

"True O" is constantly alluded to in Anagram messages of the Period; I will give an example of this. On the Title-page of Peacham's *Minerva Britannia*, 1612, are two mottoes: "Vivitur ingenio. cetera mortis erunt," and "ÆNTE VIDEBOR." Examination shows that the monogram forming the first two letters of the word "Mente" is really M.F. and not M.E., and the enclosed Anagrams in the two sentences run as follows: "I. AM. WRITING. A. SECRET. IN. TRVE. O. IN. TRVE, O. TRVE. O. MINDE. F.B."

On the Title Page of the First Weeke of Du Bartas, in the place where the Author's name might appear, is the motto "Acceptam refero"; this motto is repeated again, at least ten times in equally important positions on title-pages in the Volume under discussion. It is placed near a diagram representing phases of the moon, so as to appear to have some connection therewith, but its real import I believe is to conceal the signature in Anagram.

"MEE. A. FAT. PORCCER.

There is no "K" in Latin, so the double "C" has to be substituted for "K."

In addition to these eleven signatures in Anagram, are, on three important title pages, two more mottoes occurring on one sigillum, "JVSTVS. VIVET. FIDE. R.Y." and "DEVS PROVIDEBIT."

These mottoes, like the double motto quoted above from Peacham contain a consecutive Anagram signature "I. FRY. IN. STEW'D SVET. SVET. I. PROVIDED. B."

Note the N is formed by joining I. and V.

I find the phrase "stew'd suet" frequently occurring in the anagram references to fried Bacon. Here I will digress for a moment from the third Edition of Du Bartas and turn to the First Edition in order that I may record another reference to "stew'd suet" in Anagram, only this time there is, I think, a palpable hint at "Shakespeare" also.

The First Edition of Du Bartas (Quarto 1605) has on several Title Pages a sigillum containing a motto which is also found in Spencer's Faërie Queene, 1613, and also in the 3rd Edition of Du Bartas and in other fine works of the period.

The motto in 1605 Du Bartas is as follows :

ET. VSQVE. AD. NVBES. VERITAS. TVA. P.S.

The additional P.S. only occurs (so far as I know) in the first Edition of Du Bartas : The Anagram signature, contained in it, I believe to be

QVASATE. SPEAR. STEW'D. IN SVVET. B. (See Note*).

In Spencer's Faërie Queen, 1613, and in the 3rd Edition of Du Bartas and in Lodge's Josephus, 1640, the above motto occurs without the additional P.S., and thus it also occurs in several other works of the period : In this form, and without the P.S. I believe the enclosed Anagram should read as follows :—

SAVE. QVESTE. AND. STAVE. WRIT. B.

"Queste" of course, means "Question" and the motto might be a proverb : "Avoid being questioned and you won't be served with a writ."

It is very frequent in the works of this period that the motto " Et usque ad nubes veritas tua " occurs in the same sigillum with another motto as follows :—

DEDIT. OS. HOMINI. SVBLIME. which contains in Anagram I. MVST. HIDD. ME. IN. SLIE. OO. B.

But this last motto is improved upon by the addition of two extra letters on the last page of " The Faërie Qucene," 1613. There the Motto runs as follows :—

DEDIT. OS. HOMINI. SVBLIME. H.D. which contains the improved anagram.

IN. SLIE. HOOD. I. MVST. HIDD. ME. B.

I infer, of course, that the remaining letter B. stands as usual for Bacon's initial.

This last page of the 1613 Faërie Queen has what might be intended for a date 16012, immediately placed over the sigillum containing the motto and the sigillum has a white line scored across the centre of the plate, pointing straight towards the cipher O in the 16012. I cannot explain the meaning of this.

The date on Title-page being 1613, why should the last page be dated 1612, with the addition of a O. in the centre ?

This O. stands immediately over the plate containing the last Anagram quoted above, and I think refers to the Anagram.

BEN. HAWORTH BOOTH.

*NOTE ON "QUASSATE SPEAR."

" Quassate Hastam " would signify " Shake Spear " in Latin if, therefore, it were desired to find a synonym for " Shake Spear " in English, in that golden age when the best literature was saturated with Latin phrases, what would be more likely to occur to the writer's mind than " Quassate Spear ? " The single or double " S " at this period might be a matter of taste, or merely of convenience to fit the anagram, or perhaps it might depend on whether the author connected the word with the Latin " Quasam Hastam " or " Quassatam Hastam," both of these signifying " A Shaken Spear."

Moreover, it is certain that the word " Quassate " had been already adopted and included into the English language : it appears in the English Dictionaries of the period : Phillips' Dictionary, 1658, and Bailey's Dictionary (the fourth edition of which appeared in 1728) give " Quassation : a shaking or brandishing." " To Quassate : to shake or brandish." I have not at present access to any other dictionary of the period.

"Quasate Spear" [or "Shake Spear"] in this anagram is associated with the phrase "Stew'd in suet"—the usual method of cooking the delicacy referred to in the redundant letter B. for "Bacon," which remains over for "Signature," to complete the Anagram.

B. HAWORTH-BOOTH.

Presented to the Bacon Society of London by the Authors, Dr Hyland C. Kirk, A.M. (Amherst College, Mass.), Elmer W. Marshall (Yale University) and Robert Atwater Smith, Genealogist and Historian.

A TRUE RECORD OF THE LIFE of "willm Shagsper" (1563-1616) OF STRATFORD. Collected from manuscript Records by a Genealogist of over a third of a century's experience and study.

1563.—"willm Shagsper (1563-1616) was born before April 23, 1563, O.S. (this by our modern calender would be May 6th.) See the inscription on the tablet on the wall of Trinity Church, Stratford, which plainly states that he was 53 years old at the time of his death on Apl. 23, 1616. See also the MS. record, made at Stratford some time between 1650 and 1688, by Rev. Wm. Fulman (1632-1698.) For facsimiles, see Halliwell's "Outlines" Vol. 1, pg. 257, and Vol. 2, pg. 71, 10th ed. 1898. Copy in Washington Public Library. Photo reproductions of these facsimiles in possession of the writer.

Apl. 26, 1564. On this date "Gulielmus, filius Johannes Shaxsper" is recorded in a list of baptisms at Stratford. Notice how some "Shaxsper fanatic" has attempted to change the letter "x" to a "k." Two loops have been added (the smaller loop not being considered long enough) to make the letter appear as a "k." The name of Shaxsper's father John is to be found written with an "x" in the Stratford records nearly a score of times. Fourteen facsimiles are printed in "Outlines." Tracings of them are in possession of the writer. A facsimile of record of baptism is on pg. 34 of H. W. Mabie's "Life of Shakespeare," N.Y., 1901. On pg. 406 is a facsimile of the "Record of Burial," the name is there written "Will Shakspur," Photo copies in possession of the writer.

1565.—Of the signatures of nineteen of the prominent men of Stratford, whose names were attached to an official document in 1565, thirteen are signatures by mark. A facsimile of the marks of these (finely educated) men is to be found in "Outlines" 9th Ed., Vol. 1. pg. 41. (This 9th Ed. is in the Library of Congress.) One of the thirteen "Marksmen" was "John Shaxsper, father of "willm." In 1587 more than one-half

of twenty-seven prominent men of Stratford could not write their names. Here we have an illustration of the wonderful effect of the education that was obtained in that famous Stratford Grammar School. It might be noted here, that besides "willm Shagsper" no native of Stratford within the years of 1560 to 1590 ever attained the smallest semblance of a reputation as an Author. How, when and where, did "willm" acquire the learning that is to be found in every step in the poems and dramas attributed to William Shakespeare.

Nov. 28th, 1582.—A "Marriage Bond" for "willm Shagsper" and "Ann Hathwey" is found on record. The name of "Shagsper" appears twice and "willm" four times. As "willm" had arrived at the age of maturity, this spelling of his name should always be used, for he himself was never able to spell or write his name. Facsimiles are to be found in Gray's "Shakespeare's Departure," etc., London, 1905; In New Shakespeareana of July, 1906. See "Shaxsper could not Write," by Wm. H. Burr, A.M., Washington, 1886 and 1906. Read BACONIANA of Jan., 1913, pg. 57, in L. of C. Shagsper was "forced" by John Richardson and Fulk Sandels, friends of the bride to marry the woman he had seduced. The "Premature Susanna" was baptised May 26th, 1583, inside of six months from Nov. 28th, 1582. She may have been born a few weeks after that date.

1587.—In September of this year, "Shagsper" must have been in Stratford for at that time he, with his father and mother, made a transfer of property to his cousin John Lambert, according to Halliwell's "Outlines." Some time in this year of 1587 he disappears from Stratford. The tradition is that he was forced to flee by Sir Thomas Lucy on account of his poaching and thieving habits. No record of him in Stratford is found until 1596, when in October of that year he applies for a coat of arms in the name of his father. He made several false statements in connection with that effort to procure the "Arms." The name is there written "Shaxsper." See facsimiles on page 19 of D. H. Lambert's "Shakespeare Documents," London, 1904. Read "Bacon Nonsense" and Edwin Read's Books published in Boston, Mass.

1587-1596.—During this period "Willm" may have lived in London. The account of an assignation made by Shagsper "sometime between 1590 and 1598 (as related by John Manningham in his "Diary" of March 13th, 1601-2) to outwit his comrade Richard Burbage, is the only record of a speech made by "Shagsper" while in London. It was: "William the Conquerour was before Rich. 3." See Wm. H

Edward's "Shaxsper not Shake-speare," pg. 266. Read BACONIANA of Jan., 1913, pg. 57. Read Donnelly's "Great Cryptogram." Also BACONIANA, July, 1910, pg. 170.

1593.—Until after 1593, when Sir Francis (1561-1668) invented the pen-name "Shakespeare," the name he signed to the famous "Venus and Adonis" letter of dedication, the name Shakespeare or "Shake-speare" has never been found in any of the Stratford Records in connection with "willm Shagsper." It was always written "Shax" or "Shak" or "Shag" and never written Shakespeare or Shake-speare. Edmund Malone, regarded as one of the greatest of Shake-speare authorities, in a letter to Rev. Mr. Davenport, Rector of Trinity Church, states that the name was never written with a final "e" until after 1650. Mr. Malone saw these records in the 18th century, when the ink was much less faded than it is now in the 20th century. See "Outlines," 9th Ed., Vol. 2, pg. 399. Read G. G. Greenwood's "The Shake-speare Problem restated." London, 1908. "Is there a Shake-speare Problem?" Dr A. Morgan's "Shakesperian Myth," 1880.

1596-1616.—During these years "willm Shagsper" was living at Stratford. There is some mention of "willm" in the Stratford town records almost every year from 1595 to his death on April 23, 1616. (According to our present calendar that date in the 17th century corresponds with May 6th. *Vide* "Who wrote the Plays and Poems," by Maj. G. H. P. Burns, London, 1908). The statements that "willm" was living in London after 1596 are not substantiated by anything in the way of documentary evidence. Consult "The Greatest of Literary Problems," by Hon. James P. Baxter, Boston, 1915. Extract from pg. 40. According to Rev. John Ward, Rector at Stratford in 1661 "Shakespear, Drayton and Ben Jonson had a merrie meeting, and it seems drank too hard, for Shakespear died of feavour there contracted."

ROBERT A. SMITH.

[NOTE.—In view of the discussion that has gone on in the pages of BACONIANA over the question: Did Bacon die in 1626? it is interesting to see that our American friends plainly assume the dates 1561-1668 for Bacon.—Ed. BACONIANA.]

A FEW QUERIES.

LETTER FROM ANTHONY BACON, 1581.
TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

(1) This letter to Burleigh giving a continental route for

Francis, if dated French style, would be February, 1581, but if English style, February, 1581-2. Which is intended? If not the French style, a deduction of importance would end in tragedy—be killed by a fact.

HALF-BROTHER ANTHONY.

(2) At page 101, *BACONIANA*, 1911, is quoted from State records that King James gave Francis Bacon a pension of £60 per annum, in consideration of good and faithful and acceptable service by Francis and *his half-brother*, Anthony Bacon." Can someone explain this ambiguous entry?

COOPER'S ATHENAE CANTERBURIENSIS, 1861.

(3) Why is a full biography given of Anthony Bacon and none of Francis Bacon? Both were at Trinity College.

FELICITIES OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

(4) The Latin of above is declared to be defective. Has any Baconian tried to translate it? The Eulogy was doubtless true to Bacon's dictum that the dead are entitled to good fame. It states that the Queen in her vigorous years was able to bear children, that she had no brother or uncle and had no props of her government, but *those of her own making*. This, if a simulation, would not exclude a husband and sons.

Another statement was "Childless she was and left no issue behind her." Was this a simulation that in the entire absence of proof, she was in law childless and without issue? Of course, Francis was answering a pamphlet impugning the late Queen's morality.

BOLTON'S HYPERCRITICA.

(5) Has anyone carefully examined this pamphlet from a Baconian or Rosicrucian point of view? It is to be found in Vol. II. of Hazlewood's *Ancient Critical Essays on English Poets*. It was written about 1618 and not printed until 1722. It gives prominence to the Earl of Essex, and Sir Henry Savile, his great friend. It calls itself a Rule of Judgment for writing or reading our History and gives prominence to Boccacini the Rosicrucian who published the *Universal Reformation of the Whole Wide World*. P. W.

THE "PROCREATION" SONNETS.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

DEAR SIR,—I do not think any Baconians are carried away by the popular theory that in Sonnets 1-17, "Shakespeare" is

exhorting either Lord Southampton or any other nobleman to marry and beget children for the sake of his love towards the poet ("For love of me.") Sir Sidney Lee takes these Sonnets to be "the poet's appeal to a young man to marry so that his youth and beauty may survive in children." Such is the veneration for "authority" that whatever is said by a "Professor" of public eminence is bound to capture the imaginations of the many. Sir Sidney Lee identifies this young man with the Earl of Southampton, and as his poet is "John Shakespeare's eldest son," it seems too absurd to contend against. Reason confounds as soon as we apply it. It is doubtful if even Francis Bacon would have taken the extreme liberty to send sonnets to Southampton worded like these.

It has, however, been argued that in the Sonnets the author is speaking to himself, and that they are the meditations of Francis Bacon. He was in appearance and age just such a man as the writer of the Sonnets, and the "young man" whose "painted counterfeit," Shakespeare has before him seems drawn after the Hillyard portrait of Francis Bacon, and Bacon might well have desired to see that lovely youth reproduced. But he realises that Nature has given him more bountiful gifts than other men and that his duty is to convert to store not in children of the flesh which, he says in the *Essay of Children* hinder great enterprises, but in "heirs" of the "invention."

There are some lines by Thomas Randolph (1638) which are significant:—

Why do I prate
Of women, that are things against my fate?
I never mean to wed
That torture to my bed.
My Muse is she
My love shall be.

Let clowns get wealth and heirs; when I am gone,
And the great bugbear, grisly death,
Shall take this idle breath,

If I a poem leave, that poem is my son.

(*Ode to Mr. Anthony Stafford.*)

Shakespeare writes:—

So thou thyself out-going in thy noon
Unlook'd on diest, unless thou get a son.

Yours truly,

R. L. EAGLE.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—I have come across, for the first time, a charming little volume, entitled, "*Thoughts That Broothe and Words That Burn,*" from the Writings of Francis Bacon; Selected by Alexander B. Grosart. (London, Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, 1893).

At page 182, Dr. Grosart points to an interesting Bacon-Shakespeare parallelism. Bacon says of Perkin Warbeck (*Life of Henry VII.*) that he "in all things did notably acquit himself; insomuch as it was generally believed (as well amongst great persons as amongst the vulgar), that he was indeed Duke Richard. Nay; himself, with long and continued counterfeiting, and with often telling a lie, was turned by habit almost into the thing he seemed to be, and from a liar to a believer."

Dr. Grosart notes that Bacon draws this from the chronicler Speed, and that the same thought appears in *The Tempest* :—

Like one,

Who having unto Truth, by telling of it
Made such a sinner of his memory,
To credit his own lie—he did believe
He was indeed the Duke.

The editor makes the following comment upon the parallelism :

"It is marvellous how Bacon and Shakespeare alike transmute the least suggestion of arid chroniclers into imperishable stuff."

In his admirable preface, Dr. Grosart confesses his inability "to represent so splendid an intellect and so incomparable a stylist by the present volume," and he mentions Bacon's "inestimably perfect literary workmanship," exclaiming, "Here is no mere artizan of words, but an artist of cunningest faculty!"

The introduction concludes :—

"Finally, I cannot help expressing my sense of the discredit due to our literature by the continuous quotation of Pope's perverse couplet on the great, if human Chancellor, as though it were true, whereas it was out and out false. The wrong is the more inexcusable inasmuch as Spence's *Anecdotes* revealed that Pope did not believe his own couplet; only it was too smart and good a thing to be suppressed."—I am, dear sir, yours truly,

R. L. EAGLE.

19, Burghill Road, Sydenham, S.E.





