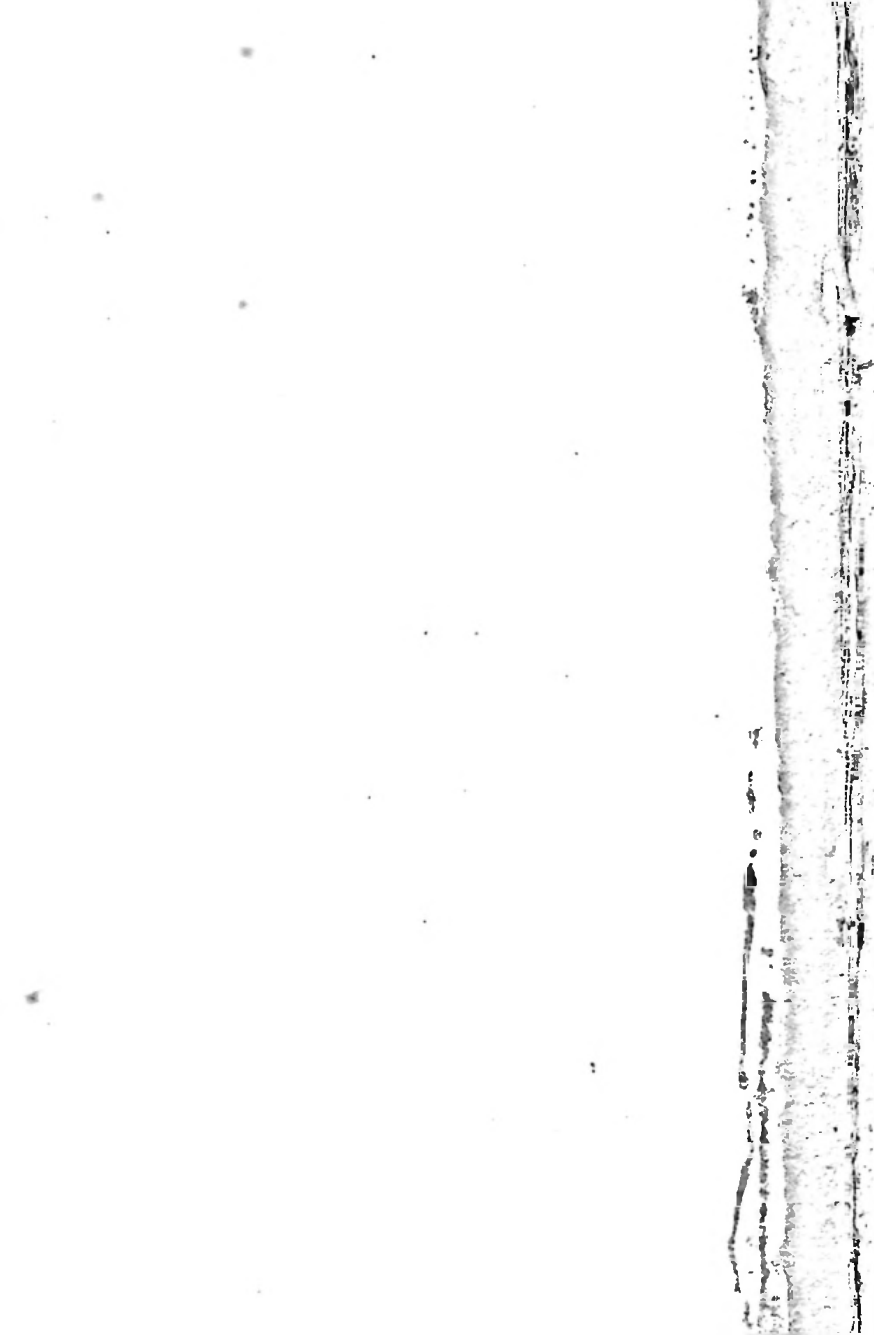


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"Therefore we shall make our judgment upon the things themselves as they give light one to another and, as we can, dig Truth out of the mine."

—FRANCIS BACON.

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THE 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 his authorship of the plays commonly ascribed to Shakspeare, and to investigate his connection with other works of the Elizabethan period.

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BACONIANA.

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THE VINDICATION OF VERULAM.

THE integrity of their judges is the legitimate boast of the British people. We pride ourselves on the tradition that wherever our flag flies the law is administered without fear or favour. This guarantee of even-handed justice is one of the securities of the Empire, and makes all sorts and conditions of men content to live under its rule. Without it our world-wide possessions could neither have been acquired nor maintained. Whatever, therefore, besmirches the honour of a British Judge disturbs the very foundation of British polity and the higher the station of the dignitary whose integrity is impugned the greater the injury to the national reputation. It is strange, therefore, and unaccountable that the people of England should for so long have permitted the name and reputation of the greatest personage who ever adorned a British Bench to lie under an imputation of corruption for which there is no solid foundation.

The assumption of the guilt of Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, rests on his own so-called confession. But in his admission of culpability there is more of refutation than of acknowledgment of wrong doing. In his time the salaries of officials were little more than nominal. The incomes necessary to maintain their state were largely derived from fines, fees and forfeitures. It is manifestly unjust and absurd to apply to the transactions of men of past ages the present

criterion of conduct. Only in our own days has the taking of certain secret commissions been made illegal.

In the reign of James I. it was customary for Officers of State to accept presents for services rendered in their public capacity; although this, like many other practices then sanctioned or tolerated, would now be regarded as infamous.

Verulam draws a distinction between *vitium temporis* and *vitium hominis*. To the former he pleads guilty, not to the latter. In a letter to the King, he says :

“ For the briberies and gifts wherewith I am charged, when the book of hearts shall be opened, I hope I shall not be found to have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart, in a depraved habit of taking rewards to pervert justice ; howsoever, I be frail and partake of the abuses of the time.” From the Tower he wrote to Buckingham, saying “ Howsoever I have acknowledged that the sentence is just and for reformation sake fit I have been . . . the justest Chancellor that hath been in the five changes since Sir Nicholas Bacon’s time.”

It should be borne in mind that while Verulam’s protestations of innocence were the outpourings of his own heart, his confession and submission to the House of Lords was made at the request of the Crown. In notes prepared for a conference with the King, he says that the law of Nature taught him to speak in his own defence, that with respect to the charge of bribery he was as innocent as any born on St. Innocent’s day, that if, however, it was absolutely necessary, the King’s will should be obeyed ; and that he was ready to make an oblation of himself to the King, in whose hands he was as clay, to be made a vessel of honour or dishonour.

It is evident that Verulam’s original intention was to defend himself in person from the charges brought

against him, and doubtless his clear conscience and unmatched eloquence would have enabled him successfully to do so. The reasons that restrained him from this course, though difficult now to appraise, were paramount at the time, and the motive of the King in desiring that he should not exonerate himself becomes clear when the situation is reviewed.

Money was urgently needed for naval defences and other necessities of Government. At the earnest entreaty of Bacon, the King had consented to abandon objectionable methods of raising revenue and to summon a Parliament. The members while voting supply were bent on redressing grievances and purging abuses. Coke, Bacon's bitter enemy and life-long rival, suggested that enquiry should be made into abuses in the courts of law. Verulam welcomed this as a step towards the reforms he desired, and gave full permission to search the proceedings of his own Court. Two former suitors in Chancery were brought forward. One, Aubrey by name, complained that though on the advice of his Counsel he paid £100 to the Court, he lost his case. Another, Edward Egerton, stated that he sent, at the suggestion of Sir George Hastings and Sir Richard Young, a present of £400 to the Chancellor for former kindness when Attorney General; nevertheless, the case was decided against him. These allegations were regarded by the Commons as insufficient to support an accusation. Consequently Churchill, a servant dismissed by Verulam for misconduct, was put on the scent. Out of 7,000 cases decided by the Lord Chancellor, 22 charges of corruption were raked up against him. Some of these were ordinary loans. One gift, being irregular, had been sent back. One was a fee from the London Companies for arbitration. The majority of cases were payments and presents made in the customary manner.

The House of Commons, at the instance of Verulam's foes, consented to let the case go up to the House of Lords for enquiry, but not as an impeachment. Lord Verulam, who was at first disposed to regard the accusation as merely malicious and vexatious, now realised that a plot, with sanction in high places, was on foot to overthrow him. The exactions and corruption of the myrmidons of Buckingham had been scandalous. To save the Crown from compromise, a victim was demanded. Either the Chancellor or the favourite must be sacrificed. The King's desire was to save the latter at any cost, so the foremost man of all this world was doomed to fall.

There are circumstances connected with the overthrow of Verulam which are still mysterious. It is to be hoped that at no distant date a full and impartial enquiry into them will be made. Archbishop Tenison says : " The great cause of his suffering is to some a secret. I leave them to find it out by his words to King James : ' I wish that as I am the first, so I may be the last of sacrifices in your time, and when, from private appetite, it is resolved that a creature shall be sacrificed, it is easy to pick up sticks enough from any thicket whither it hath strayed, to make a fire to offer it with.' " Dr. Rawley, Bacon's chaplain, remarks that " Some papers touching matters of estate, tread too near to the heels of truth, and to the times of the persons concerned." Years later, when it was safe to speak, Sir Thomas Bushel, one of Bacon's secretaries, throws some light on the subject. In a tract published in 1659 he says :—

" Before this could be accomplished to his own content, there arose such complaints against his lordship and the favourite at Court, that for some days put the King to this quere, whether he should permit the favourite of his affection, or the oracle of his

council, to sink in his service ; whereupon his lordship was sent for by the King, who, after some discourse, gave him this positive advice, to submit himself to his house of peers, and that, upon his princely word, he would restore him again, if they, in their honours, should not be sensible of his merits. Now, though my lord saw his approaching ruin, and told his Majesty that there was little hopes of mercy in a multitude, when his enemies were to give fire, if he did not plead for himself ; yet such was his obedience to him from whom he had his being, that he resolved his Majesty's will should be his only law ; and so he took leave of him with these words : Those who will strike at your Chancellor, it is much to be feared, will strike at your crown ; and wished that as he was then the first, so he might be the last of sacrifices.

“ Soon after, according to his Majesty's commands, he wrote a submissive letter to the House, and sent me to my Lord Windsor to know the result, which I was loth, at my return, to acquaint him with ; for, alas ! his sovereign's favour was not in so high a measure, but he, like the phoenix, must be sacrificed in flames of his own raising, and so perished, like Icarus, in that his lofty design ; the great revenue of his office being lost, and his titles of honour saved but by the bishops' votes, whereto he replied, that he was only bound to thank his clergy.

“ The thunder of which fatal sentence did much perplex my troubled thoughts as well as others, to see that famous lord, who procured his Majesty to call this Parliament, must be the first subject of their revengeful wrath, and that so unparalleled a master should be thus brought upon the public stage, for the foolish miscarriage of his own servants, whereof, with grief of heart, I confess myself to be one. Yet shortly after, the King dissolved the Parliament, but

never restored that matchless lord to his place, which made him to wish the many years he had spent in state policy and law study had been solely devoted to true philosophy ; for, said he, the one, at the best, doth but comprehend man's frailty, in its greatest splendour ; but the other, the mysterious knowledge of all things created in the six days' work."

Bushel apparently attributes the downfall of Verulam to the action of his subordinates. One of the anecdotes told of him is that when returning home after the accusation was first made, his servants rose as he passed through the hall, whereupon, he said, " Sit down, my friends, your rise has been my fall." The last article in the Charges made against Verulam was that he had given way to great exactions by his servants. In his reply to this he went so far as to confess to a great fault of neglect in looking no better after them. In this, as in other respects, he was more sinned against than sinning, but he was of far too generous a nature to attempt to shift the blame on others. As to the general censure against presents to judges implied in his condemnation, Verulam could make no complaint. The passion of his life was the betterment of mankind. He rejoiced at the prospect of purging the Courts of Justice, and in his " submission and supplication " to the House of Lords, he uses the words, " Though it be my fortune to be the anvil on which these good effects are beaten and wrought, I take no small comfort."

The sentence pronounced by the House of Lords was severe. Already deprived of the Seals, Verulam was to undergo a fine of £40,000, to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure, to be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment in the State or Commonwealth, and never again to sit in Parliament, nor come within the verge of the Court.

He was, however, set free in a few days, and soon afterwards the fine was remitted. The remainder of the sentence was cancelled in 1624 and he was once more summoned to Parliament. His fall was great, but he bore his cross and endured the shame like a true philosopher. His spirit and energy remained undaunted. Indeed he regarded his release from the bondage of power as somewhat of a blessing in disguise, for it enabled him to devote himself to those pursuits for which by nature he was best fitted. In a letter to the King he says: "In the beginning of my trouble, when in the midst of the tempest, I had a kenning of the harbour, which I hope now by your Majesty's favour I am entering into: now my study is my exchange, and my pen my practice for the use of my talent." In his retirement he produced many of the best of his immortal works.

It has been urged by some that, even though made at the entreaty of the King, Verulam's so-called confession precludes the possibility of his exculpation. But his self-reproach was only an admission that he fell short of his own ideal. The best men are those who are most conscious of their shortcomings. They under-estimate their goodness, while inferior minds plume themselves on a minimum of virtue. The apostle who proclaimed himself the chief of sinners was a saint. Every good churchman once a week confesses himself to be a miserable sinner. An eminent divine, on seeing a culprit dragged on a hurdle to execution, was constrained to exclaim: "There but by the grace of God go I." There is a humility born of greatness. Guilt is comparative. Judged by the absolute standard, Bacon sought condemnation; but judged by the human standard he appears pre-eminent in virtue. He spoke nothing but the truth when he claimed to be a just and upright judge.

Conscious of his rectitude, and of ultimate vindication, he bequeathed, in the touching words of his last will and testament, his name and memory to "Men's charitable speeches, to foreign nations and the next ages." So far as foreign nations are concerned, the trust has been honoured. Both during his life time and ever after, he has been held in the highest esteem by all but his own countrymen. Thus has the saying been verified that a prophet is not without honour save in his own country and in his own house. It is a standing disgrace that here among the people whose greatness is largely due to his wise counsels and fruitful philosophy, the name of Bacon is still a by-word and reproach. A political writer excuses the *faults* of Brougham by a comparison with the *crimes* of Bacon. A distinguished statesman and modern philosopher, while admiring the intellect of Bacon, deplored his moral depravity. Yet when the truth is fully revealed it will appear that his gigantic intelligence was even exceeded by the greatness of his soul. We are told by Aubrey that all good men loved him; how then could he have been the cringing sycophant, the false friend and the corrupt judge that the common herd call him.

Pope, to point a phrase and satisfy a craving for antithesis pronounced him, in an infamous line, to be "the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind." Rarely has a voice been raised on his behalf. Basil Montagu in 1834 published in the "Life of Francis Bacon," a noble defence of his actions and character. This was the signal for a truculent attack in the *Edinburgh Review*, by Macaulay who, in addition to giving voice to the vulgar view, elaborates a charge of gross cruelty against the most benignant and gentlest of mortals. Macaulay's love of effect and habitual inaccuracy may account for an article which it is said he regretted

having written. But what can be urged as a palliation for Lord Campbell, himself afterwards a Lord Chancellor, fouling his own nest by a diatribe containing inaccuracies which would bring discredit on a pleader in the Old Bailey. Spedding justly sums up these calumnies in the remark that Lord Campbell's is a rough version of Macaulay's essay which itself was an exaggerated version of a popular view.

The charge of sycophancy rests mainly on Bacon's letters to his kinsmen, Burghley and Cecil, soliciting employment. Being left without provision by his father he naturally longed for an opportunity to earn his own living. That world has yet to be created in which place and power fall into a man's hand, however worthy, without seeking. Bacon also desired eminence as a platform from which to promulgate the designs he had formed for the good of all men. His own words are: "Power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring; for good thoughts, though God accept them, are yet towards men little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place as the vantage and commanding ground."

The charge of cruelty in the examination of Peacham is couched by Macaulay in his most flamboyant style of rhetoric. Bacon, however, cannot justly be held responsible for the barbarous methods of the age in which he lived; indeed he protested against them. But as an officer of the Crown his manifest duty was to assist in carrying out the commands of the Privy Council. Moreover his superiors were present when the culprit was put to the question.

Probably nothing has weighed more against Bacon in the public mind than the charge of ingratitude to Essex. But the balance of obligation was from Essex to Bacon rather than the reverse. Both Francis and

his brother, Anthony, served Essex for years, the one as legal and business adviser, the other as secretary. Essex in return sought to reward Francis by obtaining for him appointment as Solicitor-General, but destroyed all prospect of success by an impetuous and domineering attitude to the Queen. Unable to discharge his obligation in this manner, Essex pressed on Bacon a gift of some land, not Twickenham Park as is commonly supposed, for this property had never been in the possession of Essex. After some demur Bacon accepted the land, but in his letter of acknowledgment there appears a premonition of the future. "My lord," he says, "I see I must be your *homager* and hold land of your gift, but do you know the manner of doing homage in law? Always it is with saving of his faith to the King." The estrangement between Essex and Bacon was gradual. The measures of a land reformer were obnoxious to the class prejudice of the Earl. Contrary to his wont, he attended the House of Lords to act on a Committee and vote against Bacon's Bill to restore the land of England to the yeomen of England. Even after Essex had entered on the course which led to his ruin, Bacon, unaware of his treasonable intentions, befriended him and strove unceasingly to influence the Queen in his favour.

It is only in recent years that any accurate account of the proceedings in the case of Essex has been published. These completely exonerate Bacon.

The article by Professor Adamson in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* states that the great popularity of Essex and "the general ignorance of the reasons for his imprisonment, stirred up a strong feeling against the Queen, who was supposed to be influenced by Bacon, and such indignation was raised against the latter, that his friends feared his life would be in danger.

The groundless character of this accusation shows how little confidence should be reposed in popular versions of obscure occurrences."

At the trial of Essex Bacon, as one of the Counsel for the Crown, was bound to appear. His refusal would have strengthened the suspicion that he was concerned in the writing of a play describing the deposition of Richard II., which was staged by the conspirators on the eve of their insurrection as an incitement and example for the execution of their plot against the Queen. Professor Adamson sums up and disposes of the charge of false friendship in the words, "Everything that Bacon could do was done by him until the real nature of Essex's design was made apparent, and then, as he had repeatedly told the Earl, his devotion and respect were for the Queen and State, not for any subject; friendship could never take rank above loyalty. Those who blame Bacon must acquit Essex of all wrong-doing." Tobie Matthew describes Bacon as a "friend unalterable to his friends," but even friendship has a limit.

Bacon himself thus defines the degrees of obligation: "Any honest man will forsake his King rather than forsake God, and his friend rather than the King; and yet will forsake his own life rather than forsake his friend."

There are not wanting indications that the rage for calumny against Verulam's character has spent its force and that a desire for a better balanced judgment of his motives and actions is asserting itself. Macaulay himself admits that "No reports are more readily believed than those which disparage genius and soothe the envy of conscious mediocrity." Bacon was a High Priest and Interpreter of Nature, and like the mysteries of Nature his disposition was intricate, complex and full of paradox. Such a character

does not attract the public who have no comprehension of the exceptions, concessions, and qualifications which every philosopher and genuine lover of truth is bound to admit. Bold, unscrupulous purveyors of popular prejudices who paint their scenic effects with broad washes of colour fascinate the popular imagination and become the idols of the day. Bacon's appeal was *ad clerum*. His pearls were not grain for the sty. The wonder is that in the rough and tumble of politics he ever succeeded at all. His rapier was not the weapon to cope with the bludgeon of men like Coke. It required all his incomparable intelligence to keep his malicious rivals and foes so long at bay.

It is only justice to Macaulay to state that notwithstanding his degrading estimate of Bacon's moral qualities he extols to the skies the genius of the mighty mind that re-created the world. Bacon's philosophy is a synonym for the experimental method by which modern discoveries have been made, and the forces of Nature subdued. He struck the barren rock of scholastic philosophy and caused fertilising streams of fruit-yielding knowledge to enrich the world. The debt civilisation owes to him both in the realm of thought and in the fields of action is incalculable. By him the machinery of the modern world was set in motion. His sayings and aphorisms are periodically made the text of leading articles in the newspapers. He pioneered the path of Empire and pointed out the value of command of the sea. He laid down sound lines for the foundation of Colonies. The language of the English speaking races was largely shaped by him. He is one of the great assets of England. But what have his fellow countrymen done to discharge their vast obligation to him? They have heaped obloquy on his name and have done little to perpetuate his memory. In vain foreigners may search the

public places of the metropolis for his monument. His name does not even appear on the plate placed before the water gate of York House where he was born and lived. Our American kinsmen, as in a pilgrimage to Mecca, orient themselves to Gray's Inn ; where they may see Verulam Buildings on the outskirts and a comparatively recent statue in the quadrangle ; but what have the Benchers done to vindicate the character of the mighty sage whose footsteps hallowed their precincts ? Is it to be understood that they connive without question at the conclusion that the greatest of them all was venal, false, mean and unprincipled ? Their corporate as well as their individual sense of honour should lead them to be the first instead of the last to institute an enquiry which, with evidence now available, can have no other result than the vindication of Verulam.

TOBIE MATTHEW'S COLLECTION.

A FRIEND lent me a book entitled a "Collection of Letters made by Sir Tobie Matthew, Kt., 1660."

Matthew, from before the time he entered Gray's Inn in 1599, was Francis Bacon's friend.

After the deaths in 1601 of Robert Earl of Essex and Anthony Bacon, Matthew may be said to have become Francis Bacon's *most intimate* friend. Writing to Gondomar the Spanish Ambassador, Francis referred to Matthew as my "Alter Ego." To Buckingham he termed Matthew "another myself." These encomiums were written in 1623, but Francis had given Tobie the Squire's part in the device he wrote for Essex in 1595, and used Tobie as his intimate messenger to the

Court of King James when on its way to London in 1603.

It was therefore natural that Tobie gave first and special prominence in his "Collection" to certain letters openly set forth as written by Bacon. As these letters were written to widely scattered and important individuals, such as Queen Elizabeth, King James, the Duke of Buckingham, Bishop Andrews, Lord Treasurer Marlborough, the Earl of Ellesmere, Lord Bristow and the Earl of Arundel, it may be safely assumed that the source of the printed letters could only have been the drafts or copies which Bacon kept and which Matthew obtained from Bacon or his executors. He may have even entrusted them to Matthew with request to publish them after his death.

Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, writing to Cottington in 1646, commented "I remember your favourite Sir Tobie Matthew once *pretended a design* of publishing a volume or collection of English Letters for the honour of the nation, etc., etc."

Matthew died in 1655, and the collection was not published to the world until five years after his death; which causes one to think the delay was by Matthew's or Bacon's instructions, particularly as not Matthew's executors, but a son of his old friend Donne, the poet, possessed and edited the "Collection." Mr. Spedding and others have commented upon the reticence shown as to the source of a large number of letters in the collection. Names and dates were omitted, and some of the letters were cut down and altered.

When Stephens the Royal Historiographer, printed, in 1702, a carefully selected set of Bacon's Letters, he included some admittedly taken from Matthew's "Collection." Stephen says in his preface: "Such as are taken from the Cabala, Sir Tobie Matthew's Collection, and other books since, it is now far removed

from my power to restore all the passages I judged faulty." Later, he says: "Whilst many Vols. of *Familiar* and *Feigned Letters* (the increase whereof was so justly censured by Boccacini) have been compelled to *live and die in obscurity*."

"Familiar" in that day meant "intimate," while "Feigned" meant "concealed under a false shew." When the name Boccacini is dragged in, one is generally led to look out for something connected with Bacon's affairs (see *BACONIANA*, 1679, page 4 *passim*). May we infer that some of Bacon's own letters had been compelled to *live* in obscurity? Turning back to Matthew's Collection one cannot help noticing a number of letters which although bereft of names and dates and otherwise screened, seem uncommonly like communications from, to or about Francis Bacon. Before dealing with these, let us see how Stephens treats the alleged letter (on page 57 of the Collection) entitled "The Lord of St. Albans to the Earl Marshal, with humble thanks for a favour." Stephens lifts it entirely into his 1702 vol., *but omits the headnote*: "*This was the last letter that he ever wrote.*" Now Matthew (or Donne) as a casuist, might have felt no hesitation in using a dissembling statement. He might have satisfied himself with the prevarication that Bacon died to the world in 1626, though he afterwards lived under another name.

Stephens, evidently a keenly conscientious man, thought it better to omit the headnote, and simply put as a heading: "the Earl of Arundel and Surrey."

But in 1740, Blackbourne, in his "Life and Works of Bacon," acting under the ægis of Dr. Richard Mead (one of the persons responsible for the "Shakespeare" statue at Westminster Abbey in 1741) *restored* Matthew's headnote of the Arundel letter, viz., "This was the last

letter he ever wrote." At that date it is abundantly evident that the subject of Bacon's career was *definitely put off to a future age of discovery*, landmarks for which, Pope, Mead, Burlington and others *did not fail to provide*.

I now offer some comments on the Bacon letters and some others in the Collection.

The letter on page 274 would seem to give the age of Sir Francis Bacon's wife at marriage (10th May, 1606). I judge the letter to have come from Sir Henry Wotton (or some other friend) to Matthew in the summer of 1606.

Below is the first part of the letter :—

" SIR,—

" Your train takes not fire. I received a young letter from you dated as out of England, but I will not believe that you were as far out of Venice upon your way to Florence when you wrote it : And that after these heates we shall have you here. Or if indeed you be in England what wind or water could drive you back so soon ? I am not so glad of anything I got to-day (except my dinner) as I am of having lost my place this Parliament : and next the not exercising of it myself I am most glad you had it not. It is a hard choice when a man must either be undone or damned. Your observation of *Sir Francis was wont to be true touching unsaleable war(e)*, but *since I hear he hath married a pretty Wench of sixteen years old*.

" It seems the Clyents are as fortunate as the *Advocate* since their seditious pamphlets procured favour, whereas the Papists are punished for saying nothing."

To understand this letter it is necessary to follow Matthew's movements. Elected M.P. for St. Albans in March, 1604. Left England November, 1604. In France to March, 1604-5. March and April 1605.

Again in England. Departed for Italy 1st May, 1605, visited Florence, Naples and Rome. Was in Florence in August, 1606, and was in Paris in December. Sir Thomas Shirley, who is mentioned in the latter half of the letter, was released from Constantinople in December, 1605, and then went to live in Naples. Matthew repeated the information he received about Shirley in a letter he sent to Carleton of 8th August, 1606. Gunpowder Plot had been frustrated on 5th November, 1605, which accounts for the allusiveness of "Your train takes not fire," "glad" of having "lost my place this Parliament." "As fortunate as the Advocate" points to Bacon being the Sir Francis referred to. One of Chamberlain's extant letters spoke of Bacon's bride as "the young wench." Benedict Barnham, her father, was educated at Oxford, became an Alderman in 1591 at the age of 32, and died seven years later. Alice was his second daughter. Sir Francis Woolley (named elsewhere in the Collection) did not marry. Sir Francis Wenman (also named elsewhere in the Collection) was not knighted until 1618, and Sir Francis Barnham Alice's cousin, married at a much earlier date.

Wotton may not have been the writer of the letter, but its preservation in the Collection would be due to its having been received by Matthew and having concerned Bacon.

Matthew was in England most of the year 1607, in fact he was imprisoned in the Fleet prison for many months, but was allowed to visit Sir Francis Bacon occasionally. In April, 1608, Matthew was in Paris, then Florence in and after August. In January, 1608-9, he was in Spain and remained in Flanders, Italy, Spain or France until July, 1617, when he returned to England and stayed until October, 1618.

During 1605 Bacon sent Matthew a copy of his Two

Books of the Ad. of Learning, the first book of which Matthew had previously seen in MS.

In 1609 Bacon sent Matthew a few leaves of the preface to his proposed "Novum Organum," also a print of his "In Felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ" ("to requite your Elogy of the late Duke of Florence's Felicity.") *Of this when you were here I shewed you some Model.* At that time methought you were more willing to hear Julius Cæsar than Queen Elizabeth commended."

This Duke of Florence had died in February, 1608-9, and the date of the above letter would be about the summer of 1609. After 4th August, 1609, Bacon wrote Matthew another letter regretting the death of a mutual friend (said by Mr. Spedding to have been Sir Thomas Smith, Clerk to the Privy Council, who died 28th November, 1609), who had been the medium of forwarding Bacon's letters. In this letter Bacon replying to Matthew's comments on the Memorial "of the late deceased Queen said "I will not question whether you be to pass for a *disinterested man* or no; *I freely confesse myselfe am not* and so I leave it. (Clearly if he was the Queen's unacknowledged son he was not disinterested.)

There is a point as to the date of a letter from Bacon to Matthew on page 14 of the "Collection." The letter has the sentence: "*Those works of the Alphabet are of lesse use to you where you now are than at Paris.*"² Matthew's only stay in Paris of a few months was in and after April, 1608. He was in Florence by August, and afterwards went into Spain for which he would leave about October, 1608, and where he remained until 1610. I agree with Mr. A. H. Matthew in his "Life of Sir Tobie Matthew," 1907, that Tobie received this letter in Spain. The letter refers to Bacon having sent some copies of the Ad. of Learning at Matthew's

request " and a little work of my Recreation that you desired not."

Matthew had some years before received a copy of the Ad. of Learning for his own use so the other copies were probably for friends in Spain. Having regard to these facts it is quite possible the work of my recreation was the Shakespeare Sonnets, 1609. I notice this letter cautions Matthew from publishing to others. The work was not " Sapiientia Veterum," published in 1610, as the secrecey requested would not apply to a work like the " Sapiientia." The " Sapiientia Veterum " is dated 1609, but that could well mean 1609-10 as the year did not end until 25th March. Stephen, 1702, and Mallet, 1740, give 1610 as the year of publication of the " S. Veterum." Spedding and the Dictionary National Biography give 1609, but assign no reason for the change.

Bacon's own letter sending a first copy of the " Sapiientia " to Matthew is dated February, 1610, which means 1610-11, and consequently settles the point. Resuscitatio, 1657, says " Sapiientia " was the book which Bacon sent to Matthew with the letter just mentioned. I therefore maintain the opinion that Shakespeare's Sonnets, 1609, was the " Work of My Recreation," which Bacon sent to Matthew, and that it probably contains a cipher capable of decipher by a " framed alphabet." The letter implies that " the little work of my Recreation " was a *work of the Alphabet*. When Matthew again went to Spain in 1623, Bacon, in one of his letters, says: " I pray you place the *Alphabet* (as you can do it right well) *in a frame*, etc."

In a work on ciphers, printed in 1641, and called " Mercury," the method of working ciphers by framed Alphabets is explained. I have elsewhere given reasons for my strong opinion that " Mercury " was

written by Bacon, though fathered upon Wilkins, the young chaplain to Lord Berkeley. Berkeley married Bacon's relative, Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Carey.

The word "frame" is used once or twice in the Shakespeare Sonnets. And once is the word "key."

A garbled letter in the "Collection" refers to Ciphers and Jargons, so it may have been written to Matthew by Bacon, who used the same terms in the proceedings against Earl Somerset. (See page 24, "Civil Remains" in BACONIANA, 1679.) Matthew, in a letter to Bacon also mentions "cipher."

Matthew was in England in July to October, 1618, and again in England in 1621, except for six months. From December, 1621, to 1642, he was in England, except for a few months (April to October, 1623), when he was in Spain, assisting in Prince Charles' matrimonial negotiations for which services he was knighted. Bacon would appear to have presented him on 9th April, 1625, with a print of the Shakespeare Folio which elicited Matthew's postscript. "The most prodigious wit that ever I knew of any nation, and of this side of the sea is of your Lordship's name, though he is known by another."

If Bacon took flight abroad in April, 1626, after making a pretence of dying at Arundel House, one might expect some letters in the Collection to be confirmatory of that assumption. One on page 111 described as "A Lady to her husband who was parted upon misunderstanding between them," begins: "Sir, I write *not this* out of *any thoughts of returning*." It goes on to say: "If I never or not of late showed any love to you; yet *now I have in freeing you* from a woman whom you profess so much to hate. If you take anything ill in the manner of it, you may pardon my fears who *durst not* tarrie the being *carried away* I

know not whither, and where none of my friends should be suffered to come near me."

This, if from Lady St. Alban to her husband, shows that Bacon gave his wife the offer of going into exile with him, and that she refused.

I have already expressed the view that Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, who subscribed herself to Bacon "Your very affectionate friend," offered him her protection if he went to Holland where she and her husband had perforce to reside, from, I think, 1624 onwards.

She was daughter of James I. In 1629 she is said to have as "usual wintered at the Hague."

On page 127 of the "Collection" is a letter addressed to a Lady (probably of the court of the Queen of Bohemia) containing this passage: "Your Ladyship was the first in making me know the inclination of the most excellent Queen to keep me from perishing in a storm." I think Bacon wrote the letter.

On page 87 is a letter I ascribe to Bacon, which begins:—"Here comes a sinner of one Religion paying his vows to a Saint of another. For I approach your presence with as profound reverence as I know how to carrie to a Creature." Bacon, in the guise of a French friar or hermit, could have well described himself as a *sinner* of one Religion, because he was only a pseudo Roman Catholic. The Queen was a Protestant. On page 95 is a letter described as to a Lady with some relation to the Queen of Bohemia." In it the writer says:—"It was too great an humilitie for her Majesty to stoop so low as to raise and prefer those *poor Toyes*, which were scarce fit to lie at her feet, so high as that head which was worthie to be the seat of Emperiall Crowns whether blind Fortune will or no. And I shall desire with my whole heart that not only Flowers as you say they shall, but Fruits also may be the Testi-

monies of her Triumphs. For I make account that when the Victories belong to her Friends (which is the present case) they are but Flowers to her ; but they shall then be Fruits when they are her own."

The Victories alluded to in such poetical imagery would be those of Gustavus Adolphus in 1631 over Tilley. This letter, which is in Bacon's style, would again confirm the inference from the letters " Meautys to Lord St. Alban " (printed by Montagu) that Bacon was alive in 1631.

Of letters to Matthew from Bacon after his flight in 1626 there may be one or two in the Collection.

That on page 151 seemed likely to be one from Bacon most carefully garbled, but it may perhaps have been from some other friend of Matthew in Spain written as early as 1606. The writer complains of trouble with his heart, of fits of melancholy. He says : " I see nothing before me but miserie ; and behind me nothing but matter of pennance ; and as for my present life it is but a verie dreaming away of my time for I do nothing in it like a man awake."

He continues :—" For whereas it was not my hope onlie, but the scope and verie end of my comming abroad to have redeemed so manie lost years, whereof Ordinaries Plays and Prabbles had robbed me, with the industrious expence of those that are left ; I now find my self sometimes so full of indispositions and sometimes so illused about my Estate that I am forced to let the care of all that knowledge goe which doth versari circa bene esse and to attend chieffie to that which hath in consideration esse simpliciter ; and to speak in plain English how to have health in my bodie and monie in my purse."

Later on (page 157) the writer remarks " The reservedness which you charge me to have used in not acquainting you with my designs was so far from anie

unwillingness that they should come to your knowledge, that I protest to you I know no Oracle with which I would rather consult ye." So the letter may have been written to Matthew by Bacon after his flight abroad.

I wonder if the short letter on page 227 is from Bacon? It has the passage: "was wont to tell me still (*when I was alive*) that he prayed God to make me an honest man, but you must desire him now to alter his prayer, for I find myself alreadie to be so honest that I am the worst for it." A letter on page 251 may be from Bacon having regard to the following extracts: "and hope that howsoever the great world go, our little one may ever passe or rather still remain in the posture of good relation to one another." . . . But in fine the world we live in is passing on away every minute. Or, rather this Beeing of ours is not so properlie a Life as a Play; and God only is He who can tell us whether it shall prove a Tragedy or Comedy in the end."

The letters on pages 113 to 123 seem to have been between Matthew and Bacon. At page 120 one of them, probably Matthew, says: "I shall not promise to return you weight for weight but '*Measure for Measure*' (the capitals and quotation marks are mine).

On page 159 the writer, probably Matthew, begins a sentence: "The want of public occurrents puts me to this shift of *sending you your own back again* all ragged which came so handsomely clad from you. Yet better so than that my silence should make you think that your letter or at least your '*Labour was Lost*.'"

In the preface to the "Collection," Matthew places Bacon with Cardinal Wolsey, Sir Thomas More and Sir Philip Sidney as greater men than were to be found in any other nation in Europe of any age. Writing of Bacon, he said: "The fourth was a Creature of in-

comparable Abilities of Mind, of a sharp and catching apprehension, large and faithful memory, plentiful and sprouting Invention, deep and solid Judgment, for as much as might concern the understanding part. 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 metaphors, and allusions, as perhaps the world hath not seen since it was a world, etc." Mr. W. H. Smith some years ago commented upon the exclusion of the name of "Shakespeare" from the above list of eminent Englishmen.

But Matthew knew that his Lordship was the most prodigious wit of his nation, and yet was known by another name (Shakespeare).

PARKER WOODWARD.

POSTSCRIPT.—In a previous article I claimed that Bacon lived to the age of 81. Since then I have re-examined the evidence and find that the number 81 was much more probably a reference to his position as Leader of the secret Fraternity of the Rosicrosse. Perhaps I may be permitted to state my reasons in a future issue of BACONIANA.

“THE COURTYER.”

THE earliest English translation of this choice Italian book was made by Thomas Hoby, of Hertfordshire. Born 1530, he studied first at Cambridge, then at Oxford, and after that travelled in France, Italy, and other countries. Roger Ascham writes he “was many ways well furnished with learning, and very expert in knowledge of divers tongues.” In 1558 he inherited Bisham in Berkshire from a brother, and that year married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke. Knighted in 1565, he was sent as Ambassador to France in 1566, and died in Paris that same year. Lady Hoby brought him “honourably home” and built a chapel to his memory with statues of him and his brother Philip in complete armour, and Latin verses by herself.

The *Courtyer of Count Baldessare Castilio*, divided into four books. Very necessary and profitable for yonge gentilmen and gentilwomen abiding in Court, Palace or Place, done into Engljische. 4-to, 1561, 1565, 1588. Dedicated to Lord Henry Hastings, son and heir to Earl of Huntingdon.

So runs the old title-page of the “Courtier.” Three diary MSS. were left by Sir Thomas.

His widow, Francis Bacon’s aunt, re-married John, Lord Russell. Two daughters died 1570, the surviving one, Anne, heiress of the House of Bedford, married 1600 Henry, Lord Herbert, eldest son of the Marquess of Worcester. On the day of the wedding Queen Elizabeth did Lady Russell the honour of dining at her house in fashionable Blackfriars, taking part, after supper, at Lord Cobham’s Mansion near by, in a strange new dance of the Nine Muses, invented for the

occasion. What "new strange thing would love not relish worse" than the skirts of cloth of silver, rich waistcoats wrought with silks and gold and silver, and mantels of carnation taffeta (their hair loose about their shoulders and curiously knotted and interlaced)—which adorned the Muses? A Chronicler says that Arabella Stuart was one, and "that Apollo brought the music" to which they danced. We do not need to search far for that Apollo, for in one place Francis complains that the Rites of the Muses have not been celebrated quite as they should, and again he confesses to have been all along "but tuning and trying the instrument of the Muses for a Concert to be played upon by other hands." Our Apollo was humble.

To return to *The Courtyer*: Roger Ascham, in his *Schoolmasster* (1570), writes: "To join learning with comley exercises Count Baldesaro Castiglioni, in his book *Cortigiano*, doth truly teach.

"Professor Walter Raleigh, the modern Editor of Hoby's Work, traces its influence on Elizabethan literature; and there is no doubt whatever that it had its share of inspiring the mind of the boy Francis. If, as Mr. Smedley, has always believed, Sir Anthony Cooke was his tutor, he would have placed most assuredly his son-in-law's fascinating translation in the hands of his precocious pupil.

Sir Roger Ascham recommends the book being "read and diligently followed" by a young man in England for year as a good preparation for foreign travel. In it we find references to "the reign of Gold," and to the facts that "Stags, Cranes and many other birds, always set up a leader whom they may follow and obey, and the Bees obey their King as it were by process of reasoning, and with as much reverence as the most obedient people on earth" (*p.* 259), also that the body is created by Nature for obedience to the Soul, and "so is

appetite for obedience to reason ” (p. 26). We are told : “ We ought not to say that true liberty is to live as we like, but to live according to good laws. Nor is it less natural and useful, and necessary to obey than it is to command, and some things are born and thus appointed and ordained by Nature to command, as certain others are to obey ” (*ibid.*), and that “ Beauty identical with the highest good gives to plants also and stones natural instinct.”

The beautiful speech attributed to Pietro Bembo* on “ Divine Law and the Divine Lover,” and the Prayer, “ O Most Holy Love,” may well have quickened Francis’ spirit. The lines : “ The Pyre whereon Hercules was burned on crest of Mount Otta, Burning Bush of Moses, the cloven tongues of fire, the firey Chariot of Elias, which doubles grace and felicity in the souls of those who are worthy to behold it when they leave this earthly baseness to take flight towards Heaven,” are redolent with Baconian thought, as are also the following :—

“ It is wholesome to preserve a mean in all things.”

“ A Stairway-sensual beauty on lowest step-mounts to lofty Mansion where dwells the heavenly, lovely, and true beauty, which lies hidden in the inmost secret recesses of God.”

Whether this fine work can put in a claim to have laid some of the foundations of Baconian thought, or whether some of Francis’ own original ideas may have been sprinkled into the 1588 English edition I am not prepared to say. I leave this to better critics to decide. The work itself is of sufficient worth to attract all Baconians.

ALICIA AMY LEITH.

*Cardinal Bembo read the proofs for correction. Died 1577.

BISHOP THIRLBY AND SHAKESPEARE'S HOUSE IN BLACKFRIARS.

IN his new edition of the "Life of William Shakespeare," Sir Sidney Lee has compiled a work which appears so exhaustive in its accumulation of details relating to Shakespeare's property that one would hardly expect to find any further information on the subject. But there is a history attaching to Shakespeare's house in Blackfriars which is yet untold. The house has many interesting associations with the Blackwell, Bacon, and Walpole families, and particularly with a man who has been described as one of the most accomplished and graceful scholars of his age. It was the home of Thomas Thirlby when he was Bishop of Norwich, and his refuge in time of trouble when he was a prisoner at Lambeth Palace.

Thirlby's career was a remarkable one though not so tragic in its ending as that of other notable recusants. In his undergraduate days at Cambridge he had rooms under those of Bilney, the eloquent preacher, and Thirlby's playing on the recorder, we are told, so interfered with Bilney's reading that it drove him to his prayers. But in spite of these musical diversions, Thirlby distinguished himself in the schools and became fellow of Trinity Hall, while his learning and qualities so fascinated Cranmer that the Archbishop loaded him with presents. Indeed, it was said that Cranmer's devotion was so unbounded that if Thirlby had asked for his little finger Cranmer would have cut it off to gratify him. Another early patron of Thirlby was Dr. Butts, the King's physician, whose part in the Shakespeare play of Henry VIII., is consistent with the fact that he was employed in affairs of state as well as medicine. At the Court of King Henry, Dr. Butts

was as great a favourite as Nicholas Bacon, whose friendship resulted in the marriage of Anne Butts, the doctor's granddaughter, with Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper's eldest son.

Through the influence of Cranmer and Dr. Butts, Thirlby found favour with the King, and was sent from time to time as ambassador to foreign courts. He was Dean of the Chapel Royal in 1540 when by letters patent the King made Westminster a See, and Thirlby was honoured with the unique distinction of being the first as well as the last Bishop of Westminster. Ten years later, on his translation to Norwich, he surrendered the See of Westminster to Edward VI., who dissolved it, when part of the possessions of S. Peter's Cathedral, as Westminster Abbey was then called, were appropriated to the repairs of S. Paul's Cathedral, and so arose the saying about "robbing Peter to pay Paul."

Thirlby was made Bishop of Ely in 1554, and it is at this time that we first find a reference to his house in the Blackfriars, which afterwards became the property of William Shakespeare.

Sir Henry Bedingfield, a friend of Thirlby, was then in charge of the *Princess Elizabeth* at Woodstock, and was fretting under the burden and responsibility of his duty, while attempting to gratify the whims and caprices of his royal prisoner. In a letter to Thirlby (16th August, 1554), he implores the Bishop to use his influence with Queen Mary to allow him to be discharged from the service, which was causing him so much anxiety and trouble. He says that he has no house in London, and he so dislikes the idea of staying at an inn that "he would be glad to give large money to be avoided of that inconvenience." He further states that he made suit to Thirlby to let him have *his house at Blackfriars*, but received the answer that it had

already been disposed of. (Stone's "Studies from Court and Cloister.")

The house in Blackfriars had in fact been sold by Thirlby, as will be seen hereafter, to his cousin, William Blackwell, who was Town Clerk of London, and a man of considerable wealth and importance. And, in the meantime, apparently, the Bishop occupied a house in Holborn, belonging to the Earl of Bath, and may have continued to live there after his translation to Ely, until he was sent by Queen Mary on a mission to France to negotiate the restoration of Calais—at least there is some authority for saying that he never visited his diocese. After the accession of Elizabeth, he returned to England, and was required to take the oath of allegiance, which was then exacted of all who held office in Church or State. But the form of the oath appeared to Thirlby to be so offensive that he refused to take it, and in consequence of his "recusancy" he was deprived of his Bishopric. He caused further displeasure by preaching against the Reformation, even after being warned to desist, and for this he was excommunicated, and committed to the Tower.

The imprisonment of Thirlby made it necessary to provide for the care of his ward, young William Walpole, who had inherited large estates on the death of his father, Sergeant Walpole of Harpley, by whose will the Bishop had been appointed guardian and entrusted with the education of the son. William Walpole had been admitted as a member of Gray's Inn at an early age, and he was only a boy of 16 when his guardian was imprisoned in the Tower and the home broken up. But Thirlby's house in Blackfriars, which then belonged to Mr. Blackwell, continued to be the home of Thirlby's ward. It was arranged that young Walpole should live with the Blackwells until he came of age, or his guardian should be restored to

liberty. The boy readily adapted himself to the change of circumstances, and found consolation after the domestic upheaval. He fell in love with one of the daughters, Mary Blackwell, and as soon as he attained his majority they were married in the church of S. Andrews in the Wardrobe.

Thirlby was not long a prisoner in the Tower. On account of the plague in London he was removed to the Archbishop's house at Beaksbourne in Kent, where he was kept in custody, although Parker treated him more as a guest than as a prisoner. A few years later, when Thirlby was removed from Beaksbourne to Lambeth Palace, we are told that the Archbishop showed him much courtesy and kindness, and even permitted him to lodge from time to time at the house of the Blackwells in the Blackfriars. The Bishop's home then became the prisoner's refuge. There, in the house which was formerly his own, a room was always set apart for the Bishop's use, and for some years after his death it continued to be known as "Thirlby's chamber." When his health failed, and the end was near, it was there among his friends, the Blackwells, that he wished to die. On the 25th August, 1569, Archbishop Parker wrote from Lambeth Palace to Lord Burleigh: "Dr. Thirlby is in great sickness, and wishes to remove to some of his friends." On the following day Thirlby died in Lambeth Palace after a period of 10 years' imprisonment, and he was buried in the chancel of S. Mary's, Lambeth.

Seven years afterwards, a Lancashire woman, widow of a Justice of the Peace, and a devout Catholic, rented Thirlby's chamber to die in, apparently on account of the sanctity attaching to it. In Strype's "Life of Parker," it is stated thus:—

"Thirlby continued with the Archbishop to his dying day, though sometimes he seems to have lodged in

London in Blackfriars at one Mrs. Blackwell's. In whose bed-chamber some years after died one Mrs. Catherine Cairns, a Lancashire woman, widow of a Justice of the Peace of that name. Which gentlewoman it is likely out of her devotion hired that chamber in her age to die in, upon the supposed holiness and merit thereof which the said Thirlby might be thought to convey to it." And in a letter to Lord Burleigh in 1577, Sergeant Fleetwood, Recorder of London, mentions among other items of news, the fact that " Katherine Cairns, the late Justice's wife, my countrywoman, with all her pride and popery is this week gone (as I trust) to God. *She died in Bishop Thirlby's chamber in Mr. Blackwell's house in the Blackfriars.*"

William Blackwell survived his cousin only a few months, and his will, which was made in 1567, contains a bequest of a gold ring " to the Right Reverend Father in God, and my most singular good Lord, Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, for a poor remembrance of good heart and will towards his lordship." His large estates in the counties of Sussex, Hants, Surrey, Essex, and Middlesex passed under the will to his widow, Margaret Blackwell, to whom he also gave Thirlby's house in the Blackfriars which is described in the will as " my mansion in the parish of St. Andrew in the ward of Castle Baynard."

Margaret Blackwell was the daughter of Thomas Campion, a merchant tailor in London and a relative of the Jesuit, Father Campion, whose horrible sufferings from Topcliffian methods on the rack and the ghastly mutilation of his body after his execution at Tyburn, inspired Henry Walpole, cousin of William Walpole, Thirlby's ward, to cross the channel without licence and devote himself to the Jesuit cause.

Mrs. Blackwell's associations with Jesuits, and with

the "recusant" Thirlby, appear to have aroused the suspicions of her neighbours. In 1585 a complaint was made to the Lords of the Council by the Sheriff of Sussex that he had made diligent inquiry for Margaret Blackwell, widow, and not finding her remaining within the county but to be in the City of London, near unto the Blackfriars, where for the most part she was resident, he had levied the sum of £25 on her as a recusant; although on further inquiry he was informed by the Vicar and churchwardens, and other substantial inhabitants of the Blackfriars near unto her dwelling, that she was a regular attendant at church. Mrs. Blackwell, promptly protested against the levy, and denied that she was a recusant. She had never refused, she wrote to the Lords of the Council, since the beginning of her Majesty's reign, to come to church. The truth was, as she alleged, that her neighbours within the precincts of the late Blackfriars, had tried to persuade her to belong to their parish, but she had refused to do so, because she and her husband had for 30 years attended the church of St. Andrews in Castle Baynard as their parish church, whereupon they of the Blackfriars had on sundry occasions "presented" her and her husband for not coming to church, and that was the reason why she had been falsely accused of being a recusant. To clinch the matter, she sent to the Lords of the Council a certificate of the Vicar and Churchwardens of S. Andrews, affirming that she had been a constant worshipper at the Church. (STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, cxxxvii. 46.)

Margaret Blackwell died in 1586, and Thirlby's house in the Blackfriars, became the property of her daughter, Anne Bacon. Her will contains the following bequest:—

"I give and bequeath to my daughter, Anne Bacon, my new mansion and dwelling house . . . situate

in the parish of St. Andrew in the Ward of Castle Baynard . . . *which said mansion my husband, William Blackwell, bought of my honoured father in God, Thomas Thirlby, late Bishop of Ely.*"

Thirlby's house in the Blackfriars, therefore, belonging to the Blackwell estate, passed in 1586 into the Bacon family, and it was sold by Matthie Bacon in 1604 to Henry Walker, from whom it was purchased by William Shakespeare in 1613.

The question has often been asked who was Matthie Bacon? Who was Anne Bacon, widow, mentioned in the deed of conveyance to William Shakespeare? And how did Shakespeare's house belong to the Blackwell estate which is referred to in the pleadings discovered by Professor Wallace in the Chancery suit against Matthie Bacon in 1615?

From an examination of documents at the Record Office and wills at Somerset House, it is possible to answer these questions with certainty, and to trace the connection between the Blackwells and the Bacon family. The will of Thomas Bacon, of Lavenham, in the county of Suffolk, contains (*inter alia*) the following bequest: "I bequeath unto Anne, my wife, all such household stuff, plate, jewels, etc., as remaineth of mine *in the house of my mother by law, Mrs. Blackwell, within the Blackfriars in the City of London.*"

It is clear, therefore, that Anne Bacon, widow of Thomas Bacon, of Lavenham, was the daughter of Mrs. Blackwell, whose house was in the Blackfriars, and who was, in fact, the owner of the Blackwell estate on which stood the house which was afterwards purchased by William Shakespeare. (VISITATION OF LONDON.)

Thomas Bacon, of Lavenham, was at one time owner of Hedingham Castle in Essex, and he was Sergeant of the Acatry in Queen Mary's reign. The Acatry was the

room set apart for keeping the provisions which were supplied to the royal household, and the officers of the Acatry consisted of a Sergeant, 2 clerks, and a yeoman of the salt stores. The catering business was closely associated with the Bacon family. James Bacon, a brother of the Lord Keeper, was a salter and fishmonger in Billingsgate, and became Alderman and Sheriff of London.

It may be mentioned as an important link in the pedigree that the witnesses to the will of Margaret Blackwell were her grandsons Matthie, George, and Richard Bacon. Richard Bacon was one of the complainants with William Shakespeare in the Chancery suit against his brother, Matthie Bacon, in 1615. His other brother George was born in 1563, as appears from the following entry of his baptism in the register of S. Andrews in the Wardrobe.

"156 $\frac{2}{3}$.—The — day of February was christened at S. Andrews in the Wardrobe George Bacon, son of Master Bacon, Esquire, sometime Sergeant of the Acatry by Queen Mary's days.

"Godfathers—Mr. George Blackwell and Mr. Walpole."

A few months later the Bacon family party assembled in the house in Blackfriars, which was afterwards purchased by Shakespeare, and celebrated the churching of Anne Bacon, with as much feasting as was consistent with the season of Lent.

In *Machyn's Diary* it is recorded as follows:—

"156 $\frac{2}{3}$.—8th March, Mrs. Bacon was churched at S. Andrews in the Wardrobe, the wife of Mr. Bacon, Sergt. of the Acatry unto Queen Mary; and after, she went home to her father's house, Mr. Blackwell's; and so she and a great company of gentlewomen had as great a dinner as could be had as for Lent as for fish."

Matthie Bacon was a member of Gray's Inn, where

he was admitted in 1597, having matriculated at Hart Hall, Oxford, at the age of 16 in 1576. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Raven, of Sandbach, Chester, who pre-deceased him, and they appear to have had no children. He died in 1639, and at the time of his death he was resident in the parish of S. Stephen's, Coleman Street, where he wished to be buried. Among his many bequests is one "to poor scholars of Hart Hall."

It appears from deeds at the Record Office that Matthie Bacon made extensive purchases of land in different parts of the country, and in these transactions he was generally associated with his brother-in-law, Morgan Allen, of Gubbins, in the parish of Hornechurch, Essex, who married Matthie's sister, Anne Bacon.

Morgan Allen died in 1614, and appointed as overseer of his will "my loving brother-in-law, Matthie Bacon, desiring him to be kind and comfortable to my children and my loving wife, his sister." It appears that Anne Allen married again, because the will of Matthie Bacon contains the following bequest: "£20 to my sister, Anne Whitbread, which would be more but for her being averse in religion."

There was a direction in the will of Margaret Blackwell that the mansion in Blackfriars which she left to Anne Bacon, should be held by her daughter for three years and should then be sold and the proceeds divided between Anne Bacon and her brother William Blackwell. Whether this direction was duly carried out we do not know, but Halliwell Phillips states that the estate came to Matthie Bacon in 1590 in pursuance of some friendly arrangements, although he does not give any reference to documents or any authority for the statement.

It is evident, however, from Walker's deed of conveyance to Shakespeare in 1613 that Matthie

Bacon sold the house in Blackfriars in 1604 to Henry Walker, who is described as "citizen and minstrel of London."

Henry Walker was a native of Herefordshire, born at Kington in that county, and he was a member of the company of musicians, which had no hall of its own, and used to meet in the Embroiderers' Hall in Foster Lane, which ran to Silver Street and Muggle Street, at the corner of which Shakespeare was at one time a lodger in the house of Mountjoy, the wigmaker.

Henry Walker died in 1616, and his will contains a bequest of "£120 to the master, wardens, and assistants of the company of musicians in London of which I am a member, to pay £8 yearly to the churchwardens of Kington, where I was born, to the use of the poor of the parish." He also bequeathed certain plate to the company of musicians, but the bequest was revoked by a codicil, because he had already given the company a better gift of plate in his lifetime.

In 1613 Walker sold the house in Blackfriars to William Shakespeare, and in the following year Anne Bacon died. Her will contains bequests to her sons, Matthie, Richard, Walter, and Edward Bacon, and to her daughter, Anne Allen. The residue of her estate was left to her son, Matthie Bacon, who was appointed executor of her will. As executor and residuary legatee, Matthie Bacon took possession of the title deeds and documents relating to the Blackwell estate, and refused to hand them over to the owners of the property in Blackfriars, who proceeded to enforce their claims against him by a suit in the Court of Chancery. The bill of complaint was filed on the 26th April, 1615, by Thomas Bendish, Bart., Edward Newport, and William Thoresbie, Esquires, Robert Dormer, Esquire and Marie, his wife, William Shakespeare, gentleman

and Richard Bacon, citizen of London. There was no real defence to the claim, and the Court ordered that the defendant should hand over the documents to their respective owners.

The house in Blackfriars, which so far as we know was the only dwelling house in London owned by Shakespeare, was let to John Robinson, a tailor, who was living there at the time of Shakespeare's death. Under Shakespeare's will the property passed to Susannah Hall, the daughter of the testator.

HAROLD HARDY.

SPENSER'S "PLEASANT WILLY."

THE well-known lines in Spenser's *Tears of the Muses* (1591), where a contemporary writer of comedies is alluded to under the name of "pleasant Willy," have been thought by some to contain a reference to Shakespeare. But, much though the admirers of "the bard of Avon" (as they call him) would like to think so, they are rather troubled seeing that he could not have come to London before 1587, to account for the grace of "Willy's" style, which is said to have filled the listeners' "eares with melodie." Did he not necessarily leave his dirty and outlandish little town, "all but destitute of polished accomplishments?" The time was much too short in which to make such a poet as "pleasant Willy," who had beautified the "Comick sock" with "the sweete delights of learning's treasure."

In Dr. Ingleby's volume of *Allusions to Shakespeare*, this passage is mentioned among those "Mistaken for Allusions." We find here that J. W. Hales (Editor of the Globe Edition of Spenser) believed that this re-

ferred to Shakespeare, and he is supported by Mr. and Mrs. Cowden Clarke and Charles Knight.* The name of Rowe can also be added. Other critics have suggested John Lilly, Sir Philip Sidney, and Dick Tarlton the clown. Of these Lilly was still alive when Spenser's poem was published. Now it is clear for one thing that the unidentified poet was a writer of comedies, for the complaint begins :—

Where be the sweete delights of learning's treasure,
That wont with Comick sock to beautefie
The painted theatres, and fill with pleasure
The listner's eyes, and eares with melodie ?

" Our pleasant Willy " had supplied

All these, and all that els the Comick Stage
With seasoned wit and goodly pleasance graced,
By which man's life in his likest image
Was limned forth.

Therefore, neither Sir Philip Sidney nor Dick Tarlton can have been intended. With two of the candidates rejected, our choice is between Shakespeare and Lilly.

But most Stratfordians, to their credit, realize the impossibility of any allusion here to their demi-god. Willy's " accent is something finer " (as Shakespeare says) than " John Shakespeare's eldest son " " could

*Knight says (page 347 of his *William Shakespeare*), " We say advisedly that there is no absolute proof that Shakespeare had not written *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *All's Well*, amongst his comedies, before 1590 ; we believe that he alone merited the high praise of Spenser ; that it was meant for him. We cannot doubt that :—

He, the man whom nature's self had made,
To mock himself and Truth to imitate,—
was William Shakespeare.

purchase in so removed a dwelling!" Moreover, the name "William Shakespeare" was, in 1591, quite unknown to fame. The name first appears in 1593, when the dedication of *Venus and Adonis* is thus signed. No contemporary mentions the name before 1595. Nevertheless, all the evidence goes to show that Spenser was writing of the author of the Shakespeare Plays, viz., Francis Bacon. Thalia laments the low ebb into which the stage had fallen, for "ugly Barbarism and brutish Ignorance" had crept in and banished the right sort of comedy "with seasoned wit and goodly pleasance graced,"——

By which man's life in his likets image
Was limned forth.

This, she says, is "wholly now defaced," and

Instead thereof scoffing Scurrility,
And scornful Folly with Contempt is crept,
Rolling in rhymes of shameless ribundry
Without regard, or due Decorum kept.

Now, there was no dramatist then living who was better able to present a perfect picture of man's image than the writer of the Shakespeare plays, and his "purpose of playing" was "to hold as 'twere the mirror up to Nature; to show Virtue her own features, Scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time, his form and pressure." And it was Bacon who deplored that the stage abounded in "corruptions;" who wrote that "the discipline is altogether neglected in our times. For although in modern Commonwealth's stageplays be but esteemed a sport or pastime unless it draw from the satire and be mordant; yet the care of the Ancients was that it should instruct the minds of men unto Virtue." Sidney complains with

Spenser of the "grosse absurdities" which were applauded, and that what was called "Comedy" was "nothing but scurrility, unworthy of any chaste ears."

Two verses especially allude to "pleasant Willy," and there is a verse interpolated where there is no allusion to him. The first reads :

And he the man, whom Nature self had made
 To mock herself, and Truth to imitate,
 With kindly counter, under mimic shade,
 Our pleasant *Willy*, ah, is dead of late :
 With whom all joy and jolly merriment
 Is also deaded, and in dolour drent.

It may well be asked how a man can mock Nature and, at the same time, imitate Truth. Of course a true poet is able to mock Nature. As Sidney says in his *Apologic for Poetrie* :—

Only the Poet, disdaining to be tied to any such subjection, lifted up with the vigour of his own invention, doth grow in effect another nature, in making things either better than Nature bringeth forth, or quite new forms such as never were in Nature.

In his Sonnets Shakespeare says of Nature, "She carved thee for her seal." And when he addressed that imaginary "friend," he was writing of himself, as he tells us in Sonnet 62. In the twentieth sonnet we read that "Nature as she wrought thee (*i.e.*, himself, or "the better part" of himself) fell a-doting." Because, no doubt, with the force of his divine breath he brought forth things far surpassing Nature's doings. The poet only obeys the force of his imagination. He can turn to shapes "the forms of things unknown," and give to "airy nothing, a local habitation and a name." Bacon says that the poet may "at pleasure make unlawful matches and divorces of things."

And when we hear that Nature fashioned him also for the imitation of Truth, we surely come very near to Francis Bacon, who, in the Preface to the *Interpretation of Nature*, confesses :—

For myself, I found that I was fitted for nothing so well as for the study of *Truth*, as, having a mind nimble and versatile enough to catch the *resemblances of things*.

I turned to Sir Sidney Lee and other authorities without, however, enjoying any beams of knowledge from any of the literary gentlemen. The best that the writer of that remarkable "Life of Shakespeare" can do, is to tell us that "It may safely be denied that Spenser referred figuratively to Shakespeare."

Seeing that he means "John Shakespeare's eldest son," we can heartily agree with this. But our great authority declares that "A comic actor, 'dead of late' in a literal sense, was *clearly* intended by Spenser." The solution of the problem given is that Spenser had in his mind Dick Tarleton.*

Reading on, we perceive that the biographer presents a further problem by imagining a separate individual being alluded to in the 8th verse of Thalia's complaint :—

Similarly the "gentle spirit" who is described by Spenser in a still later stanza as sitting "in idle cell," rather than turn his pen to base uses, cannot be more reasonably identified with Shakespeare. (*Life*, p. 151.)

. In the first place, I wish Sir Sidney Lee would

*The representations of the clown, Dick Tarleton, with his tabor and pipe, and facial contortion, do not convey the impression of one (such as is the subject of Spenser's lines) who had laboured by his learning, culture, and wit to defend the stage for the encroachments of ignorance, barbarity, scurrility, of vulgar rhymers.

demonstrate how Spenser could have intended a comic actor and one "dead of late" in a literal sense. It may be *clear* to this great Shakespearean, but I have not come across any other literary "authority" who has so easily interpreted these allusions. Having read through Spenser's lines several times, I can only remark that the *Teares* are shed throughout for Poetry of various kinds, and for the scorn and derision levelled at poets. How can it be "clearly" shown that Spenser troubled himself about actors, comic or otherwise?

And when he declares that "pleasant Willy" was literally dead, he brings himself into conflict with most of his fellow "men of letters"—among them is Dean Church, who in his "Spenser" (London, 1902) says:—

The lines imply, not that he is literally dead, but that he is in retirement. The expression that he is "dead of late" is explained in four lines below as "choosing to sit in idle Cell," and is one of Spenser's common figures for inactivity or sorrow.

In proof of this last assertion, many instances might be quoted:—

And endless grief which *deads* my life,
Yet knows not how to kill.

Epitaph II., 38.

That in short space his wonted cheerful hew
Jan fade, and lively spirits *doaded* quite.

F. 2. Bk. IV., xii-20.

Therewith the cowerd *doaded* with affright,
Fell flat to ground, ne word unto him said,
But holding up his hands, with silence mercy pray'd;

F. 2, VI., vii-25.

Anybody not familiar with Spenser's lines would be misled by Sir Sidney Lee's remarks. The poet does

not write of the "gentle spirit," as if introducing a fresh individual (which is the impression now conveyed), but clearly speaks of him as one who has just been previously mentioned :—

But that same gentle Spirit from whose pen
Large streams of honey and sweet Nectar flow,
Scorning the boldness of such base-born men,
Which dare their follies forth so rashly throw ;
Doth rather choose to sit in idle Cell,
Than so himself to mockery to sell.

Here at least it is universally agreed that some contemporary poet is intended. From what has already been written in this *Complainte*, we understand clearly that he was a writer of comedies, and learned ones, in which was

Fine Counterfesance and unhurtful Sport,
Delight and Laughter deckt in seemly sort.

We can realise Spenser's ideal of what a comedy should be, and we know that the "gentle Spirit," whose retirement at the time, he deplores, supplied such plays :—

By which man's life in his likest image,
Was limned forth.

Spenser's poet will not prostitute his art to the declining fashion, "and with vain toys the vulgar entertain," so it is evident that he could not have been dependent upon the theatre for a livelihood, or he would have to march with the times. *Ergo*, he could *not* have been Shakspeare of Stratford, who would have had no scruples about such delicate matters being bent (as his biographers assert) upon serving the prosaic end of making attractive plays to fill his

theatre. He could not afford to sit in idleness:—

Scorning the boldness of such base-born men,
Which dare their follies forth so rashly throw.

What really makes these lines so suspiciously like a "Shakespeare" allusion is the mention of the "honey and sweet Nectar" which is said to flow from the pen of this mysterious poet.

When "Shakespeare" is named by his contemporaries we usually find his "vein" or "pen" or "muse" likened to honey or nectar, or sweetness generally. Thus Meres writes of "mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare;" Barnfield praises his "honey-flowing vein," while in *The Ghost of Richard III.*, Christopher Brooke (1614), in lines which are accepted as applying to Shakespeare, writes of him as:—

He that from Helicon sends many a rill,
Whose nectar'd veins are drunk by thirsty men.

It certainly looks as if Spenser's poet, "from whose pen large streams of honey and sweet nectar flow," is especially indicative of the poet Shakespeare. But we have shown that Spenser cannot allude to the Stratford player.

In 1619, Thomas Campion addressed an Epigram to Bacon, and although no Poetry had been published under Bacon's name, Campion (who was an excellent poet and writer of lyrics) praises Bacon's "sweet Muse" (*Dulcis Musa*), and says also:—

Et tota aethereo nectare lingua madens !

Meaning that the whole tongue is moist with celestial nectar.*

*One of the writers of the *Manes Verulamiani* (1626) asks :
Quo fugit ingenii nectar et esca tui ?
(Whither have departed the nectar and food of your genius ?

John Davies had previously noted Bacon's worth as a poet when he addressed (about 1606) that Sonnet to him, in which he says that all Bacon's "notes" are "sweetest airs."

Spenser would not be likely to describe the Stratford player as sitting in "idle Cell." This makes us picture a student's room at a University, or at one of the Inns of Court. Shakspeare is known to have lodged in surroundings uncongenial to meditation—a hair-dresser's in Silver Street. But Bacon, at the time of Spenser's poem, was confining himself to his "poor cell" at Gray's Inn; how occupied, we can only guess.

It was, as I have pointed out, against the corruptions of the stage abounding at that time that Thalia's complaint is directed, and these abuses were the cause of "pleasant Willy" abandoning, at any rate for a period, that style of poetry rather than sell himself to such mockery.

From *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), we learn that it was "a discredit for a gentleman to seem learned, and to show himself amorous of any good Art;" that the name of a poet had "become, if honourable, infamous, subject to scorn and derision, and rather a reproach than a praise to any that useth it." The author of the *Arte* writes from the point of view of a gentleman of the Court. He says that "The scorn and ordinary disgrace offered unto poets at these days, is cause why few gentlemen do delight in the Art." It would not bring any disgrace to the erstwhile "Stratford Rustic," who was but a player and, therefore, according to the Statute, a rogue and vagabond. The "gentle spirit" to whom Spenser alludes was a gentleman poet, and it is sheer nonsense to identify him with any person openly trafficking within the public theatres.

Those who maintain that this refers to the Stratford Shakespeare also point to the four lines in *Colin Clout's Come Home Againe*, describing a poet *Action*, of whom it is written :—

A gentler shepherd may nowhere be found :
Whose *Muse* full of high thoughts invention
Doth like himself Heroically sound.

As, however, the dedication of the poem is dated 1591, this can hardly have reference to the name Shakespeare. It is possible, of course, that the lines were inserted after 1593, when the name appeared for the first time. Might not Drayton, whose Heroical Epistles appeared in 1591, and whose name Michael has a most heroic sound and significance, be intended here? The poet who approaches nearest to Francis Bacon is not given any fancy name like the others mentioned—*Harpalus*, *Corydon*, *Alcyon*, &c.—but is introduced and dismissed in these four lines :—

And there that shepherd of the Ocean is,
That spends his wit in love's consuming smart :
Full sweetly temper'd is that *Muse* of his
That can emperce a Prince's mighty heart.

When we remember that the word "Beacon" was pronounced, as it is to-day in the West of England and in Ireland, it is not improbable that Bacon should be called "that shepherd of the Ocean." "Labeo," in Hall's *Satires*, stands for Francis Bacon and, in the sketch of Labeo's career as a poet, we find that his Muse had, for a time, been

. . . . in *Venus' chamber train'd*
To play with Cupid, till she had attain'd
To comment well upon a beauteous face
: That she was fit for an heroic place.

This is not the only poet among those mentioned in Spenser's poem whose poesy is commended for its *sweetness*, and this was found to be the special quality of Bacon-Shakespeare's vein. In conclusion, the well-known allusion to "pleasant Willy" refers not to Shakespeare of Stratford, but to Francis Bacon. The more I read into Spenser, the more does my faith become shaken in the Irish commissioner. One feels irresistibly drawn into the opinion that Edmund Spenser, who was at Cambridge with Francis Bacon, performed the office of stepfather to these poetic offsprings. But this agreement must have been entered into after the publication of *The Shepheardes Calender*, in 1579, as no author's name appeared and nobody knew who was the brilliant and courtly poet. It was not until after his death that it was title-paged to Spenser. As an instance how those who pose as authorities on Elizabethan literature throw dust in the eyes of the innocent public, the editors (J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt) of my edition of Spenser, say that with this poem "Spenser made his first bid for poetic fame." Well, he set about it in very queer fashion by withholding his name, and calling himself "Immerito," and under that name sending forth his poem with the introductory lines, beginning:—

Goe little booke : thy selfe present,
As child whose parent is unkent :

The intention of concealment is again insisted upon:—

And asked, who thee forth did bring,
A shepheard's swaine say did thee sing.

and the little address "To his Booke" concludes with the promise, "I will send more after thee."

I had hoped to point out some very palpable con-

nections between *The Tcares of the Muses* and the *Apologie for Poetrie*, stated to be written by Sir Philip Sidney, though not published until ten years after his death. Sidney died in 1586, having been abroad for the last year of his life; Spenser's poem appeared in 1591, and the *Apologie* in 1595. The former can hardly have been written before 1586, so we have to conclude that "Spenser" copied Sidney, and presumably carried the MS. of the *Apologie* to Ireland where, we are asked to believe, the *Complaintes* were written.

But as all authorities appear to be agreed that *Love's Labour Lost* was written prior to 1595, the MS. of the *Apologie* must also have been in "Shakespeare's" hands, for the Comedy is modelled upon the lines of Sidney's scheme for a comedy of the right "*sportfulness*," which would breed both delight and laughter, with "a busy loving Courtier, a heartless threatening Thraso. A self-wise-seeming schoolmaster. An awry-transformed Traveller." Biron stands for the first; Holofernes is a schoolmaster of this description, and Armado the peculiar kind of Traveller, combining a "thrasonical" and "heartless threatening" character.

Sidney remarks, "These, if we saw walk in stage names, which we play naturally, therein were delightful laughter, and teaching *delightfulness*."

This is particularly interesting, for Thalia, who mourns the degradation of Comedy, and the consequent idleness of "pleasant Willy," gives us to understand that this was a poet who provided:—

Fine counterfesance and unhurtful Sport,
Delight and laughter deckt in seemly sort.

R. L. EAGLE.

ACTION AND ELOQUENCE.

VOLUMNIA, mother of Coriolanus, counsels the latter to go to the public market place, and humbly crave the suffrage of the populace. She advises him to conceal his innate pride and scorn to gain their good grace ; saying, were she in his place :

“ I would dissemble with my nature.”

I prithee now my son,
Go to them with this bonnet in thy hand,
And thus far having stretch'd it, here be with them,
Thy knee bussing the stones, form such business.
Action is eloquence, and the eyes of the ignorant,
More learned than their ears.

Coriolanus strongly objects to this hypocrisy, which he considers akin to acting :

I will not do't
Lest I surcease to honour my own truth,
And by my *body's action* teach my mind
A most inherent baseness.

(*Act III., sc. ii.*).

Bacon says :—

“ What *action is to an orator*, the same is *boldness to a politic*—the first, the second, the third virtue. Impudence is good for nothing but imposture.”

(*Antitheta Rerum, Book VI. (Boldness), xxxiii., p. 316. Adv. of Learning, 1640.*)

Bacon writes :—

“ Surely as there are *mountebanks for the natural body*, so are there *mountebanks for the politic body.*” (*Essays of Boldness.*)

Coriolanus : Pray be content :—

Mother, I am going to the *market-place* ;
Chide me no more. *I'll mountebank their loves,*
Cog their hearts from them, and come home belov'd
Of all the trades in Rome.

(*Act III., sc. ii.*)

I'll win their love by tricks.

Doctor Pinch is another of the same *mountebanks*,
or charlatan order.

Doctor Pinch is described :—

A mere anatomy, a *mountebank*,
A threadbare juggler, and a fortune-teller,
A needy, hollow ey'd, sharp-looking wretch,
A living-dead man.

(*Act IV. sc. i.*)

Bacon says :—

" It is a trivial Grammar School text, but yet worthy of a wise man's consideration. Question was asked of *Demosthenes*. 'What was the chief part of an Orator?' He answered, *Action* ; what next ? *Action* ; what next again ? *Action*. He said it, that knew it best ; and had by nature himself, no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an Orator, which is but *superficial*, and rather the *virtue of a player*, should be placed so high above those other noble parts, of Invention, Elocution, and the rest : Nay, almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature, generally, more of the fool, than of the wise ; and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken, are most portent."

(*Essays of Boldness.*)

" Action upon the stage," said Francis St. Alban, " is one of the best qualities in the culture and manurance of minds in young and tender years." He emphatically points to it—" As that which strengthens memory, *moderates the tone and emphasis of voice and pronunciation, composes the countenance and gesture*

to a decorum, procures a good assurance, and likewise inureth to the faces of men.'

Discipline he found a deficient in the stage of his day, and procured the remedy by training the *Children of the Queen's Revels* more or less under his own eye."

(Page 80, No. 4 "Fly Leaves," by A. A. Leith.)

If I may be permitted, I should like to point out that Hamlet, in his instructions to the players, upon the art of acting, insists upon just *the same moderation, or temperance* in the delivery of speeches; and restraint, or decay, in the use of gesture as Bacon.

Besides this, we find Hamlet discussing with the actors, the art of stage delivery and gesture.

Hamlet:—Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounce it to you, trippingly on the tongue; but if you mouth it, as many of your players do, I had as lief the town-crier spake my lines *Nor do not saw the air too much with your hand*, thus; but use all gently; for in the very torrent, tempest, and, as I may say—whirlwind of passion, you must acquire and beget *a temperance*, that may give it smoothness."

(*Hamlet*, Act III., sc. ii.)

Polonius [to *Ophelia*.] Read on this book;

That show of such an exercise may colour
Your loneliness. We are oft to blame in this,
'Tis too much prov'd, that with devotions visage,
And pious action, we do sugar o'er
The devil himself.

(*Hamlet*, Act III., sc. i.)

* * * *

So smooth he daub'd his vice with show of virtue;

(*K.R. III.*, Act III., ss. 5.)

In Bacon's "*Colours of Good and Evil*," the seventh in order has this text: *Quod bono vicinum, bonum: quod a bono remotum malum.*

This statement: "That what is near to good, is good; or what is remote from good, is evil," is a fallacy,

and Bacon adduces three reprehensions of it. The third, or last, is as follows :—

“ A third reprehension is because *evil approaches to good, sometimes for concealment, sometimes for protection, and good to evil for conversion and reformation. So hypocrisy draweth near to religion for covert and hiding itself* :—

Sæpe latet vitium proximitate boni.

(*Essays, Aldis Wright.*)

“ There be some whose lives are, as if they *perpetually play'd upon a stage disguised to all others, open only to themselves. But perpetual dissimulation is painful, and he that is all Fortune, and no nature is an exquisite hireling. Live not in continual smother, but take some friends with whom to communicate.*” (*Essays, p. 358, Aldis Wright.*)

Polonius compels Ophelia to *put on a colour of piety*, in order to conceal his purpose, which is evil. In like manner, King Richard the Third pretends to be religious by being supported, on either side, by bishops, in order to impress the Lord Mayor of London with his piety.

It is important to observe that there is an essay upon simulation and dissimulation. Because Bacon classes the latter with the actor's art, in the above passage ; in the character of Richard the Third, who has been expressly depicted as an actor, we find repeated allusions to his dissimulation. King Henry the Sixth compares him to Roscius, the celebrated Roman Actor :—

(*Duke of Gloucester to Duke of Buckingham.*)

Come, cousin, canst thou quake, and change thy colour,
Murder thy breath in middle of a wood,
And then again begin, and stop again,
As if thou wert distraught and mad with terror ?

*Buck. : Tut : I can counterfeit the deep tragedian,
 Speak and look back, and pry on every side,
 Tremble and start at wagging of a straw,
 Intending deep suspicion : ghastly looks
 Are at my service, like enforced smiles ;
 And both are ready in their offices,
 At any time, to grace my stratagems.*

* * * *

Doubt not, my lord, I'll play the *orator*,
 As if the golden fee for which I plead
 Were for myself : and so, my lord, adieu.

(*King Richard III. Act III., sc. v.*)

After his speech to the citizens of London, pleading for Richard's claim to the crown, on the score of the bastardy of the late King Edward the Fourth's children, and Richard's victories in Scotland, which he relates, he concludes :—

Indeed, left nothing fitting for your purpose,
 Untouch'd or slightly handled in discourse ;
 And when my *oratory* drew toward end,
 I bade them, that did love their country's good,
 Cry " God save Richard, England's royal King ! "

(*The Act III., sc. vii.*)

This is an example of what Bacon calls, bringing or introducing the actor's art upon the stage of life, of which he exclaims. *Quid deformius quam scenam invitam transferre*, which is exactly what Buckingham, instigated by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, does. King Henry the Sixth recognises the actor in Richard the Third :—

What scene of death hath Roscius now to act ?

(*Third Part, K.H. VI. Act V., sc. vi.*)

In the case of Mark Anthony we have an excellent illustration of extreme boldness, combined with

eloquence and action, the three gifts claimed by Bacon as the outfit of an orator :—

You stay awhile ;
Thou shalt not back till I have borne this corse,
Into the market-place : there shall I try
In my *oration*, how the people take
The cruel issue of these bloody men.

(*Act III., sc. i.*)

Anthony, in his speech to the citizens of Rome, over the corpse of Julius Cæsar, exclaims :—

I come not, friends, to steal away your hearts ;
I am no *orator*, as Brutus is,
But as you know me all, a plain blunt man,
That love my friend ; and that they know full well
That gave me public leave to speak of him.
For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth,
Action nor utterance, nor the power of speech,
To stir men's blood : I only speak right on.

(*Julius Cæsar, Act III., sc. ii.*)

One of the greatest pieces of oratory in the Plays is the speech of Mark Anthony after the assassination of Julius Cæsar. It required extraordinary *boldness* to succeed in turning the tables against Brutus, and his faction, who had the advantage of already gaining the approval and acquittal of the citizens of Rome by justifying their action, by speech. Anthony had the difficult task of undoing the speech of Brutus, who had been acclaimed by the mob. And he had the double difficulty of saying nothing that should offend the faction, which would cost him his life, yet he succeeded in so exciting the feelings of his hearers, that directly they hear the terms of Cæsar's will, they are won, and ready to tear down or burn the house of the conspirators. Bacon makes the remark that the people are like the sea, that would be tranquil and quiet

were not the Orators to put them into agitation and trouble by stirring them up (with the wind of words). It is thus we find the Pope's legate, Pandulph, exclaiming of the troubles he had provoked :—

It was my breath that blew this tempest up
Upon your stubborn usage of the Pope.
(*King John. Act V., sc. i.*)

King Richard the Third describes himself as a consummate hypocrite and actor in the following words :—

Why I can smile, and murder while I smile,
And cry "content" to that which grieves my heart,
And wet my cheeks with artificial tears,
And frame my face to all occasions.
I'll drown more sailors than the mermaid shall,
I'll slay more gazers than the basiliske ;
I'll play the orator as well as Nestor,
Deceive more sliily than Ulysses could,
And, like a Simon, take another Troy.
I can add colours to the Chameleon,
Change shapes with Proteus for advantages
And set the murderous Macchiavel to school.
(*Third Part, K.H. VI. Act III., sc. ii.*)

Observe the perfect parallel to Bacon's coupling of *orator's art with the player's art* (in the Essay of Boldness), and the same connotation insinuated in the line, "I'll play the Orator," *i.e.*, borrow his *Action* and appeal to the eye by means of gesture, and all the arts of the professional speakers. The above lines describe a master of dissimulation and of simulation. Moreover, he is presented with an *epitome of boldness* at the very opening of the play; wooing and winning the widow of the King he had just murdered, on the way to his burial—stopping the funeral—holding up the coffin, and fascinating, in spite of his own deformity,

the woman who should have most loathed and spurned him.

Bacon's third *Colour of Good and Evil* has this text :— That which refers to Truth is greater than that which refers to opinion. The proof and way of that which belongs to opinion, is this, that if anything *had to be done secretly, it would not have been done at all.*

So the Epicures say of the Stoics *felicity* placed in vertue—That it is like the *felicity* of a Player, who if he were left of his auditory and their applause, he would straight be out of heart and countenance, and therefore they call vertue *Bonum, theatrale*. But of Riches the poet sayth :—

Populus me sibilat, At mihi plaudo.

And of pleasure :—

Grata subimo,
Gaudia corde premens, vultu simulante pudoerem.

“ The fallax of this colour is somewhat subtle, *though the answer to the example be ready*, for vertue is not chosen *propter auram popularem*. (On account of popular opinion.) But contrariwise, *Maxime omnium teipsum reverens*. (Chiefly of all, to reverence oneself.) So as a virtuous man will be vertuous in *solitudine*, and not only in *Theatro*, though percase it will be more strong by glory and fame, as an heat which is doubled by reflexion. But that denieth the supposition, it doth not reprehend the fallax whereof the reprehension is—allow that vertue (such as is joined with labour and conflict) would not be chosen but for fame and opinion, yet it followeth not that the chief motive of the election should not be real and for itself, for fame may be only

causa impulsiva, and not *causa constituens*, or *efficiens*."

The moving incentive of Julius Cæsar towards the Crown was ambition, and he play'd a part to achieve it :—

If the tagrag people did not clap him, and hiss him, according as he pleased and displeas'd them, *as they used to do the players in the theatre*, I am no true man.

(*Julius Cæsar*, Act I., sc. ii.)

This is a very interesting *colour*, in which we still perceive Bacon's constant comparison of life and action to a player and his audience in a *Theatre*. This alone makes it important, for it discusses just the very motives, we must all inquire about, as to the *why* of Bacon's concealed authorship? Most men, in all ages, are spurred on by ambition, or love of fame, to achieve notice. This colour declares the writer's complete independence of popular opinion, and self-seeking motive. Truth comes before all things. Bacon describes a man who secretly and in solitude, pursues for the sake of vertue, a path, that is apart from the theatre of life. That finds perfect parallel in the lines :—

And out of question so it is scmetimes,
 Glory grows guilty of detested crimes,
 When, for fame's sake, for praise, an outward past,
 We bend to that the working of the heart.

(*Love's Labour Lost*. Act IV., i.)

W. F. C. WIGSTON.

JOTTINGS ON SIR FRANCIS BACON.

BACON'S HEIR.

THERE has been a good deal of speculation concerning what lands and money Bacon owned at the time of his death in 1626, and as to who was his direct heir-at-law with a right to inherit his properties, considering that he left no children of his own.

As he had numerous relations, more than one man may have appeared as a claimant.

The puzzle has never been really cleared up, but the following "Inquisition Post Mortem" in the Record office may help a little.

The heir evidently worked to make his claim clear, and had this Inquisition taken at Chipping Barnett on 15th October, 1634, which was eight years after Bacon's decease, and the jurors swear to Bacon having died in 1626.

There are several interesting points to be noted in the Roll. In the first place, the jurors are on oath before the King's Escheator, Richard Luckin, Esq., who was an ancestor of the present Verulam family, most likely from the name. Other names recall Bacon's intimate friends in Gray's Inn. Sir Martin Barneham was either an uncle or cousin of Alice Lady Bacon; Sir John Constable was Lady Bacon's brother-in-law, and a close friend to Sir Francis Bacon.

We see that "Thomas Bacon, Esq.," is, and at the time of the death of Francis, *was* kinsman and next heir of the same, and that he was quite 26 years of age in 1626.

We have to make search to find out where a Thomas Bacon comes in the family, and he turns out to be

the youngest son of Bacon's youngest half brother, Edward, of the Alienation office, who married Helen Little, daughter of Thos. Little, of Shrubland Hall, Suffolk, and had five sons.

But it is quite uncertain if he ever inherited any of Bacon's possessions, in fact, everything points the other way.

It is evident that in 1608 Bacon, who was seized in his demesne as of fee of and in the Manors of Gorhambury, Westwicke, and Braye, with their appurtenances, etc., assured these estates to his wife Alice for life under trustees, but with the arrangement that after her death they should return to him or his heirs direct.

This arrangement was made in 1608 shortly after his marriage, but he left his wife much more than the foregoing when he died, and with her own inheritance from her father, and later on with her mother's land falling to her, she is said to have owned property in one way or another to the amount of £30,000 towards the end of her life.

Among other valuables, the Viscountess St. Alban inherited from her husband the Viscount, the lucrative gift he had received from King James, called "The Profits of the Great Seal for sixpenny Writs," which was one of her best possessions and brought her in £600 a year.

With her "portion," and some money added by Viscount St. Alban, she purchased land in Redburn, called "Butler's Farm." Then she inherited from her father land in Kent and Middlesex and Essex, which she left to her nephew, Stephen Soames, and her servant, Robt. Tyrell, or Turrell, in her will. She had also tenements in Kensington and Paddington, besides a good amount of jewels, plate, furniture, and household stuff.

It is evident that Gorhambury was tightly tied up

under trustees, and that she had only a life interest in it.

After Viscount St. Alban's death she lived on her Hertfordshire land, but let the mansion of Gorhambury in 1638 to George Redcliffe, Sixth Earl of Sussex and his Lady, née Miss Eleanor Wortley, of Yorkshire, and the new tenants remained in residence there for a good many years, till 1646.

The Viscountess most likely joined her niece in Eyeworth, Bedfordshire; for there, in the old parish church of All Saints, her remains lie under a slab in the chancel. She was buried the 9th July, 1650.

And now comes the question : who inherited Gorhambury ?

The estate came into the hands of Sir Harbottle Grimston after his marriage with the widow of Sir Thomas Meautys, who had been one of the trustees of Gorhambury. Sir Thomas died a few months *before* the Viscountess St. Alban departed this life.

It is said that Sir Harbottle Meautys bought the estate from Henry Meautys, the eldest brother of Sir Thomas, but there for the moment we must leave the matter in its uncertainty, for we hear nothing further of Bacon's heir, Thomas Bacon, and the land passed to the Grimstons for ever.

A. CHAMBERS BUNTEN.

THE "AUTHORIZED TEXT" OF SHAKESPEARE.

THE Cambridge Edition of Shakespeare has come frequently, if not always, to be referred to as the "Authorized Text," but it is not easy to say upon what authority. It is, in fact, a very bad text and there is no more pressing want than a really satisfactory text of the Plays—the Sonnets and the other poems. It is, however, to be feared that there is little hope of our getting such a text so long as it is thought a sign of intelligence to believe that these works which are, and will always be, regarded as the supreme wonder of the human mind are from the hand of an uneducated man and that genius can supply a knowledge of facts which could not possibly have been otherwise within the knowledge of the supposed author. It is not here proposed to frame an indictment of the Cambridge Edition as a whole, but only to draw attention to a particular instance which seems to display a lamentable want of intelligence in considering the relation of the great Folio of 1623 to the earlier Quartos. No better illustration could be formed of the truth of the saying that none are so blind as those who will not see.

In the dedication of the Folio Hemminge and Condell are made to say of the plays: "We have but collected them and done an office to the dead, to procure his Orphans, Guardians; without ambition either of self-profit or fame: only to keep the memory of so worthy a Friend and Fellow alive as was our Shakespeare by humble offer of his plays."

And in the address "to the great variety of Readers" appears the following passage: "We pray you do not envy his Friends the office of their care and pain, to have collected and published them (the plays) and so

to have published them, as where (before) you were abused with diverse stolen and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealths of injurious impostors, 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. Who as he was a happy imitator of nature, was a most gentle expressor of it. 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 to you, to praise him."

In these passages Hemminge and Condell are put forward as the responsible editors and producers of the Folio, and if we assume their sincerity, we must accept their statements as true to the best of their knowledge. They do not suggest that they have amended, improved or altered the plays in any respect. Some they say, had been published by "injurious impostors" by whose "frauds and stealths" they had been maimed and deformed." These they profess to give "cured and perfect" of their limbs" in the form, it is to be presumed, in which the author created them. All the rest of the plays they say are presented "absolute in their numbers as he conceived them" and they profess to be in a position to guarantee this because they have before them the original manuscripts in the author's own handwriting so clearly written and in such condition that there is scarce a blot upon the paper. And they reiterate the statement that their province is only to "gather his works and give them" to the public.

Now, before the date of the Folio, Hamlet had appeared in Quarto dated 1603, 1604, 1605 and 1611, and perhaps also in a Quarto issued somewhere

between 1611 and 1637. The 1604 Quarto is commonly known as the Second Quarto, and it is substantially identical with all the subsequent Quarto is referred to above. The Folio omits a good many passages which are to be found in the Second Quarto and contains various passages not included in any of the Quartos. The Cambridge Edition takes the Folio as a basis and reintroduces the passages in the Second Quarto which are absent from the Folio, and the Temple Edition follows this text.

A satisfactory explanation of these omissions from and additions to the Folio would, it is conceived, throw great light upon the question of the authorship of the plays. In settling the text of the Cambridge Edition no attempt seems to have been made to ascertain or explain the reason for these omissions and additions, beyond the futile suggestions to be found in the introduction to the play in the Temple Edition that the Quarto and the Folio "represent in all probability two distinct acting versions of Shakespeare's perfect text," which having regard to the conditions of the Elizabethan stage, their length alone makes manifestly absurd—or upon scholarship lines to consider whether the omissions and additions may not serve the purpose of making the play as it stands in the Folio more perfect as a work of art. Such a consideration was of course not open to the Cambridge Editors, for they were no doubt good orthodox Stratfordians, perfect in their faith, and it would never have done for them to countenance even the possibility of an author living at the date of the Folio, who might have settled the text of the Folio.

There are in the Folio a good many omissions and additions, but it is only requisite here to draw attention to two or three of the principal ones. The reader who desires to pursue the matter further will find all

the omissions and additions indicated in the notes to the Temple Edition.

In the Cambridge Edition in Act I, Sc. IV., appears the following passage—the lines printed in roman type being common to the Folio and the Second Quarto—and those printed in italic being in the Quarto, but not in the Folio :—

Horatio : —————Is it a custom ?

Hamlet : Ay, marry, is't :

But to my mind, though I am native here
 And to the manner born, it is a custom
 More honour'd in the breach than the observance.
 This heavy-headed revel east and west
 Makes us traduced and tax'd of other nations :
 They clepe us drunkards, and with swinish
 phrase
 Soil our addition ; and indeed it takes
 From our achievements, though perform'd at
 height,
 The pith and marrow of our attribute.
 So, oft it chanches in particular men,
 That for some vicious mole of nature in them,
 As, in their birth—wherein they are not guilty,
 Since nature cannot choose his origin—
 By the o'ergrowth of some complexion,
 Oft breaking down the pales and forts of reason,
 Or by some habit that too much o'er-leavens
 The form of plausive manners, that these men—
 Carrying, I say, the stamp of one defect,
 Being nature's livery, or fortune's star—
 Their virtues else—be they as pure as grace,
 As infinite as man may undergo—
 Shall in the general censure take corruption
 From that particular fault ; the dram of eale
 Doth, all the noble substance of a doubt,
 To his own scandal.

The omitted passage is in itself a very wonderful disquisition on the manner in which one lapse often suffices to destroy the effect of many virtues in the world's estimation of a man. Further, it foreshadows the first three of Bacon's Idols—the Idol of the Tribe—

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the Idol of the Den—and the Idol of the Market. The second Quarto in which it appears was open to the producers of the Folio and yet it is omitted. What intelligible explanation is there of the omission? Is it suggested that the Editors had before them the Author's original MS. in which it did not appear? And are we invited to assume that the passage is spurious and either not by the Author or deliberately struck out by him? In either alternative what justification had the Cambridge Editors for restoring it to the text? That it is a very wonderful passage no one can deny. That it is not spurious but by the Author of the play no one can doubt. No one else could have written it. That it is inappropriate to the occasion and interrupts the action and so tends to mar the play as a work of art seems obvious, and on that ground its omission in the final form in which the play was to be handed down to posterity is fully explained and justified. But who would have had the courage to cut out such a passage? The Editors themselves disclaim any such thing. They were only producing the plays as they found them. It is inconceivable that even Ben Jonson should have done such a thing. The only possible person is the Author himself. But then, forsooth, he had been dead seven years—and even if he had been alive do we not know that he was only intent upon making money and did not care what became of his plays and did not think it even worth while to refer to them in his Will? The only intelligible explanation is that the man who died in 1616 was not the author—that the real author was alive in 1623 and that he himself revised the plays for publication and made the excisions and additions.

This passage appears in the Scene in which Hamlet is on the platform expecting the Ghost to appear. They hear the revels going on and Hamlet makes his

comment upon them and that comment serves its purpose in enhancing the horror of the murder which is about to be disclosed. But it is inconceivable that a man in the position in which Hamlet then was—his mind full of anticipations of the secret he was expecting to have revealed to him—should go off upon a subtle disquisition on a topic quite alien to the serious matter in hand. Such an inappropriate digression is, however, such an error as a comparatively youthful author, fully conscious of his great intellectual gifts might indulge in before he came under the influence of that restraint which comes only with maturity. His mind was caught by the idea and he could not resist the temptation of pursuing and developing it. In his maturity when he was making a final revision of the play he realised that it was inappropriate and struck it out. And this criticism will be found to apply to all the excisions.

Taking all the omissions and additions together it can hardly be doubted that they enhance the unity of the play and so improve it as a work of art. That they were made deliberately and not inadvertently or as the result of the carelessness of the editors or in the setting up of the type appears clear from the omitted passages in Act III., Sc. IV., 161-165 and 167-170.

The Cambridge text stands as follows—the words common to both Folio and Quarto being printed in roman type and those printed in italic (with the exception of the words "Refrain to-night" at the end of line 165) being in the Quarto but not in the Folio.

Hamlet : O, throw away the worser part of it,
 And live the purer with the other half,
 Good night : but go not to my uncle's bed ;
 160 Assume a virtue if you have it not, *refrain*
to-night,

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- 161 *That monster custom, who all sense doth eat,
Of habit devil, is angel yet in this,
That to the use of actions fair and good
He likewise gives a frock or livery,*
165 *That aptly is put on—Refrain to-night
And that shall lend a kind of easiness*
167 *To the next abstinence ; the next more easy ;
For use almost can change the stamp of nature,
And either—the devil, or throw him out*
170 *With wondrous potency. Once more goodnight
And when you are desirous to be blest
I'll blessing beg of you.*

In the Second Quarto and in the Cambridge text line 160 ends with the words, "If you have it not." In the Folio the words, "Refrain to-night" are added to this line entirely upsetting the metre. Then in the Folio lines 161-165 (including the words at the end of line 165 "Refrain to-night") are omitted. The Folio then proceeds with lines 164 and 167 to the word "abstinence." It then omits all down to the word "potency," leaving an incomplete line which is completed by the last words in line 170, "Once more good-night."

Now the words, "Refrain to-night" had to come in in order to make line 166 read as sense. The addition of them to line 160 was clearly not by inadvertence. The whole of this alteration must have been made deliberately and who but the author could possibly have done it? And it is to be noted that the subject of the omission is the same as that of the omitted passage previously referred to, namely, "Custom."

These omissions in and additions to the Folio seem to point conclusively to an author living at the date of the Folio who could not have been the man of Stratford and could have been no other than Bacon.

A. J. BECKETT TERRELL.

A FEW QUESTIONS.

ELIHU Yale (1648-1721) was a great-grandson of George Lloyd (1560-1615), a fellow-student with Francis Bacon.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDENTS AND OTHER LITERARY PEOPLE TO READ AND CONSIDER.

Q.1. If "willm" Shaxsper (as baptized) or "willm Shagsper" (as married) ever acquired the education that had to be acquired by him to possess the ability to write poems and Plays of "Shake-speare," where and when did he acquire it?

On Sept. 27, 1564, of 19 prominent men of Stratford, over two-thirds signed an official document with a mark-signature; "willm's" father was one of these men who could not write. On Jan. 20, 1588-9, of 27 prominent men, over one-half could not write their names.

Q.2. Prominent Shaksperite followers, such as Halliwell-Phillipps and Grant White state that there were scarcely any books in Stratford at that time, as "willm" did not leave Stratford until nearly 1588, how, without any books, did he acquire the knowledge that Shake-speare evidently possessed?

Q.3. Where and when did he get acquainted with the college terms and phrases that are peculiar to Cambridge University, and that are used in the Shake-speare Plays? Not even the most rabid Shagsperite has ever dared to maintain that "willm" was a student in a University.

Q.4. Why should that Stratford peasant be called "William Shakespeare when up to 1593 (in which year Sir Francis Bacon 'invented' the name and signed it to a letter of dedication in 'Venus and Adonis') the name so written and spelled had never

been found in the Stratford records in relation to "willm Shagsper" of Stratford.

The name was always written "Shax" or "Shag," but never Shakespeare. On the tablet in Trinity Church it is "Shak."

R. A. SMITH.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

INQUISITION POST MORTEM. CHANCERY SERIES II.

VOL. 515. No. 75.

INQUISITION indented, taken at Chipping Barnett, in Co. Hertford, 15 October, 10 Charles I. [1634] before Richard Luckin, Esq., Escheator of the King, by virtue of a writ of mandamus, after the death of Francis Lord Bacon, late Viscount St. Alban, deceased, by the oath of Roger Marshe, gent., and other jurors, who say that Francis Viscount St. Alban, long before his death, was seized in his demesne as of fee of and in the manors of Gorhambury, Westwicke and Braye with their appurtenances, and of and in 12 messuages, 3 mills, 6 dovecotes, 12 gardens, 1,200 acres of land, 100 acres of meadow, 500 acres of pasture, 400 acres of wood, and the view of frank-pledge, with appurtenances in the parishes of St. Michael, St. Stephen, St. Peter, St. Alban, and in Redburne and Hemsted in Co. Hertford, and of and in the advowsons of the Vicarage of the Churches of St. Michael and Redburne aforesaid. And that Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban, so thereof being seized by his indenture tri-party bearing date 9 May, 6 James I. [1608] between the said Francis Viscount St. Alban and Alice his wife by name of Francis Bacon, of Grayes Inn, Co. Middlesex, Knight, Solicitor-General of the King, and Lady Alice Bacon, his wife, of the one part, and

Thomas Underwood and John Younge, of Grayes Inn, gent., Ralph Youarte, Christopher Travene, gent., of the second part, and Michael Hyper, Knight, Martin Barneham, Knight, Richard Godfrey, of Chancery Lane, Esq., and William Gerrard, of Gray's Inn, Esq., of the third part, levied in consideration of the marriage then lately solemnized between the Viscount St. Alban and Alice his wife, also for the love and affection which the Viscount then enjoyed towards Alice, and to the intent that all the manors and premises should be well and sufficiently assured by jointure to Alice for her life, he has assured the manors and premises to Ralph Youarte and Christopher Traverse their heirs and assigns, to the use of Alice during her life for her jointure, and after her death, to the use of Francis Viscount St. Alban, by the name of Sir Francis Bacon, and the heirs of his body begotten upon the body of Alice, and for default of such tail issuing to the use of William Cooke, of London, Knight, John Constable, of Grayes Inn, Knight, Thomas Crewe, of Grayes Inn, Esq., Thomas Hetley, of Grayes Inn, Esq., and Roger Fenton, Bachelor of Theology, and their heirs and assigns for ever, as in the said Indenture a fine and recovery, more fully appears.

And the jurors say that Francis, being seized as aforesaid of and in the manors and premises at Gorhambury, 9 April, 1626, DIED, of such his estate so seized without heirs of his *body lawfully* begotten, and that *Thomas Bacon, Esq.*, is and at the time of the death of Francis was kinsman and *next heir* of the same Francis, and was aged at the time of the death of Francis, 26 years and more, and that Alice Viscountess St. Alban is still alive.

And the jurors say that the manors of Gorhambury, Westwicke and Bray and all the other premises in Herts. are held, and at the time of the death of Francis were

held of King Charles in Chief by Knight's service, and are worth by the year in all issues beyond reprises, £25.

And the jurors say that from the death of Francis unto the taking of this Inquisition, Alice Viscountess St. Alban and John Underhill, Knight, in the right of the Viscountess, occupied the premises and received the issues and profits.

And Francis had no other manors or premises at the time of his death. v

—Copied by A. Chambers Buntcn

CORRESPONDENCE.

19, Burghill Road,
Sydenham, S.E. 26.

To the Editor, BACONIANA.

SIR,—In view of the interesting article in BACONIANA (October, 1917) upon the origin of the characters in "Twelfth Night," may I call attention to a passage in "The Arte of English Poesie" (Anon. 1589), which seems to be closely connected with the chief of the *Dramatis Persona* of that play? In Book III., Chap. 24, the unknown author observes:

All *singularities* or *affected* parts of a man's behaviour seem undecent, as for a man to march or *jet* in the street more stately, or to look more *solemnly* or to go more gaily and in other *colours* or *fashioned garments* than another of the same *degree* and estate.

Rushton ("Shakespeare and 'The Arte of English Poesie,'" p. 160) quotes this passage and demonstrates Shakespeare's use of the word "jet" in "Twelfth Night" (II., 5):—

Fabian. O! peace. Contemplation makes a rare turkey-cock of him: how he *jets* under his advanced plumes!

Mr. Rushton might have carried the argument much further and have shown how Malvolio seems to have been shaped under the influence of that passage in "The Arte."

Malvolio is said to be "an affectioned ass," and in the

feigned letter prepared by Maria he is advised to put himself into the "trick of singularity."

Puttenham (?) is discoursing upon "singularities or affected parts of a man's behaviour."

Malvolio affects a "sad and civil" demeanour, and thinks to impress the Countess by putting on "a sad face, a reverend carriage, a slow tongue, in the habit of some sir of note, and so forth."

In other words, he tries to appear "more stately, or to look more solemnly . . . than another of the same degree and estate." Moreover, he strutts about "more gaily and in other colours or fashioned garments" than becomes another of his degree:—

"I will be strange, stout, in yellow stockings, and cross-gartered."

When he begins "to march or jet" before the Countess in these strange colours and oddly "fashioned garments" ("a *fashion* she detests"), she imagines he has lost his wits and says, "Let this fellow be looked to!" Malvolio thinks it a good omen that she should refer to him "Not Malvolio, nor after my *degree*, but fellow."

It is certainly an extraordinary coincidence, if it be one, that so many of the words used in this brief extract from "The Arte" should have found their way into the dialogue either spoken by, or alluding to, Malvolio, who is an "actual type and model" (as Bacon says) of what the anonymous author of "The Arte" describes in words.

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

R. L. EAGLE.

DID BACON DIE IN 1626?

The Editor.

It is up to the orthodox, and Mr. Harold Hardy, who believe this, to *prove* that he did die in 1626, and that he was buried in St. Michael's Church, Gorhambury.

This should be quite simple, and would *silence* those who think otherwise.

In the absence of proof, such as registers, etc., let the other side have their say.

"FAIR PLAY."

SIR,—I suppose most Baconians know that the word "weed," in the phrases "despised weed" of Bacon's prayer,

and "noted weed" of Sonnet 76, means a disguising garment. I have recently met with two contemporary instances of the use of this word with the same meaning, which may interest your readers. The one is found in the notes to "The Abbot" by Sir Walter Scott, where he quotes a letter from Drury, the English Ambassador, in Scotland, addressed to Cecil, giving an account of Queen Mary's attempted escape from Lochleven Castle. The following is the passage:—

"But after upon the 25th of the last (April, 1567) she enterprised an escape, and was the rather nearer effect, through her accustomed long lying in bed all the morning. The manner of it was thus: There cometh in to her the laundress early as other times before she was wonted, and the Queen according to such a secret practice putteth on her the weed of the laundress, and so with the fardel of clothes and her muffler upon her face, passeth out and entreth the boat to pass the loch." The letter proceeds to describe how the boatmen when out on the lake discovered that their passenger was the Queen, and at once rowed her back to her island prison.

The other passage illustrating the same use of the word occurs in a contemporary sketch of the life of Thomas Bushell, Bacon's servant, by Abraham de la Pyme, printed in the year 1880 in the "Manx Miscellanies." The story tells that after Bacon's fall from office, Mr. Bushell "got away in disguise and went into the Isle of Wight, and turned a poor fisherman there." Further on we read—"as it happened, Mr. Bushel was set there too, with his fisher's weeds on, by his master, where he lodged."

E. BASIL LUPTON.

Cambridge, Mass.,
April, 1918.

THE 76TH SONNET.

The newspapers have been fussing about a suggestion made by Dr. Arthur Lynch in the *Book Monthly* of July.

He finds in sequence in the 7th line letters H—E—RYW—R—OTH—S—L—Y, which suggests to him Henry Wrothesley was the W. H. of the Sonnets. Mr. James Douglas can extract Hy. Wriothese from the 5th line. It is curious (if this sonnet was important) that it was left out of the second edition. Dr. Lynch probably did not notice that the 6th word of the 1st line begins with B, the 9th word of 3rd line begins with A, the 6th word of 4th line begins with C, the 6th word of the 5th line begins with O, and the 6th word of the 6th line begins

with N. The addition of the words, 33, is the numerical equivalent of the letters in the word Bacon. That is no new discovery, but is entitled to as much notice as the suggestion made by Dr. Lynch. The Sonnet writer says, "every word doth almost sel my name." The word "sel" is usually corrected to "tell." If "tell," then the writer probably meant to hint obscurely that the count of the letters in "sel my name" is 100—Francis 67 and Bacon 33. total 100.

PARKER WOODWARD.

SIR,—There is not much use in continuing the correspondence with Mr. Harold Hardy over the letter, Meautys to Bacon that was published in the July, 1916, *BACONIANA*. His mind is plainly one that does not investigate mysteries or hidden things, but is content to rest with any superficial explanation.

When Mr. Hardy undertakes to "recall the undisputed facts," as he does in his last letter, he does not do so, but recalls merely the facts that this letter was entered in the Lambeth Catalogue as a letter from Meautys to Bacon, and was accepted as such by Montagu in his "Life of Bacon." The much more important fact to which I drew attention—but which Mr. Hardy does not recall—is that this letter is among the documents and papers of Bacon that were gathered by Archbishop Tenison, who was aided in this work by the son of William Rawley, whom he had for some time as his Secretary. Tenison, when Archbishop, and when at Lambeth Palace, had there as his Librarian, Edmund Gibson (afterwards Bishop of Lincoln and Bishop of London, and to him he gave, for the Lambeth Library, all the Bacon MSS. that he had collected, and they were arranged by Gibson. The letter having been among these papers and having passed through the hands and examination of both Tenison and Gibson, it is strong *prima facie* evidence that it was a letter to Bacon, or it would not otherwise be included in the Bacon papers. The contents of the letter are exactly such as Meautys would be likely to write to Bacon—though Mr. Hardy seems to have been more impressed by the P.S. dealing with the character of the "maid Mary," than any other part of it.

As to the fact of Bacon having made a will, and that will having been executed after 1626 as though he had died in 1626, Mr. Hardy is welcome to the satisfaction he may derive from sneering at it as a "bogus will." If Bacon had planned

a sham death in 1626 for the purpose of making a " holy and humble retreat into the cool shades of rest " (as Molloy says) it is quite certain that part of the plan would have to include a will left behind him on the occasion of his supposed death, and a will that could be properly carried out. Bacon was no simpleton, and was not ignorant of " policy " and " devices " for the attainment of his ends. If Mr. Hardy thinks a will left, in order to cover up the fact of a sham death, was inconsistent with Bacon's character, I can only advise him to study Bacon's character.

What I said about the marriage that the world understood had taken place between Lady Bacon and her gentleman usher after 1626, was that it " was simply a fiction palmed off upon the public," and I showed that William Rawley's remarks about Lady Bacon in his " Life of Bacon " (1657) were absolutely inconsistent with any such marriage having taken place. To convince the world that Bacon was dead, a fictitious marriage was therefore " enacted." Mr. Hardy makes play with my word " enacted," and says that I gave it as my opinion that Lady Bacon committed bigamy. What I said, in addition to my words above quoted, was : " Therefore a " fictitious marriage with her ' gentleman usher was enacted. " But it was only a fiction, and Lady St. Alban endured the " sneers of the world in order that she might help her husband " to carry out his great work ; a work that was in his eyes " the greatest thing in the world, and of the greatest benefit to " humanity. Well might Bacon invest her with a " Robe of " Honour " * which she wore until her " dying day " * ; she " done her most to help him, and deserved all honour " for it."

Mr. Hardy quotes from the above passage only as far as " enacted "—and then proceeds to make play with that word. He is welcome to such a style of controversy.

I hope this correspondence may have the effect of inducing Baconians to read and study the letter of Meautys to Bacon, as given in the July BACONIANA, 1916. It is a very important document in the unravelling of the mysteries that surround Bacon. There is much that took place after 1626 that becomes clear and has irradiating light thrown on it, if we understand that Bacon did not die in 1626.

GRANVILLE C. CUNNINGHAM.

* Rawley's Expression.

BACONIANA

MARCH, 1920.

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(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 his authorship of the plays commonly ascribed to Shakspeare, and to investigate his connection with other works of the Elizabethan period.

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This Magazine is 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 Editors of the Journal.

“WHEN I WAS ALIVE.”

MR. HARMAN, C.B., in *The 19th Century Magazine*, of April, 1918, said:—

“When authorship has been concealed—as Baconians contend—the only method of discovery lies in the examination of the internal evidence and in inferential argument therefrom.”

Francis Bacon half-concealed many indications of his extensive authorship in books not openly claimed as his, and mostly title-paged as the writings of other persons.

After his death the secret literary fraternity of the Rosicrosse, of which he was the founder and leader, scattered in books they published, information about their former leader. This was done in such a way as to enable any diligent student to collect the information, place it in order, and thus pierce the veil. In the “*Opuscula*” Bacon claimed to have made use of a method of communicating knowledge which should select, and, as it were, adopt a fit and worthy reader for itself. In fact Bacon and his fraternity set a number of exercises in the art of reasoning by induction. The sentence “When I was alive” evidently constituted an arresting statement intended to put enquirers on the track of discovery. It appears in a letter in “*Matthews' Collection*,” 1660. The words could only have been used in a very strictly private letter from one close intimate to another; Bacon to Tobie Matthew for example. When in 1702 Stephens printed a book

of Bacon's letters he commented in his preface on "Familiar and Feigned letters compelled to live and die in obscurity." Many of the mutilated letters in "Matthews' Collection" answer to that description. The obscurity is there waiting for a diligent student to extract the true elucidation. For another instance, the letter on page III is most probably the one conveying to Bacon his wife's refusal with scorn of an offer made by him, that she should accompany him into retirement abroad. This refusal, if made early in 1625, probably decided him to set his wife free by leading her and others to believe that he had actually died. The letter from Meautys to Lord St. Alban of October, 1631, is superabundant proof that St. Alban (Bacon) was still alive in 1631, although his wife and everybody, except those in his strictest confidence believed him to have died on 9th April, 1626. It shows that he was at that date living incognito in Holland under the shelter offered to him by "his affectionate friend," Elizabeth, ex-Queen of Bohemia.

In October, 1631, the ex-Queen's husband was away at the wars taking service under Gustavus Adolphus. She had the company of some English ladies of title, and was supported by funds supplied by the English Government. A concluding sentence in Meautys' letter has already been the subject of comment in this journal. It runs:—

"So praying your lordship to believe that I have more room in my heart than in my paper for my devotion and service to your lordship my most honoured lord, and lady, and all my noble ladies and especial friends, I rest your lordship's to serve you.—
T. M."

Thomas Meautys, at that date administrator of St. Alban's Will, was Clerk to the Council, and would have had exceptional opportunities of sending his commu-

nications privately to Holland in charge of a King's Messenger.

The references in his letter would be (1) to Francis Viscount St. Alban, (2) to the ex-Queen of Bohemia, (3) to the English ladies of title with her, and (4) to his namesake and cousin Sir Thomas Meautys, the soldier, then with his wife on service in Holland. This letter to Bacon well deserved being placed, as Dr. Rawley suggested, in some private shrine or library, and it was with other of Bacon's correspondence deposited in the Lambeth Library of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Palace.

The internal evidence of its genuineness is excellent. It acknowledges a certain handsome promised gift to Meautys in reward for services. Bacon had only the reversion to Gorhambury to give away. If in 1631 he promised Meautys the gift of it at his (Bacon's) death, and if Bacon, as it seems, died in 1637, it is significant to find in 1638 Meautys treating Gorhambury as his property. The letter referred to gave Bacon information about the English Judicial Offices and Bench of Judges and particularly about his *protégé* Finch. The external evidence of its genuineness consists in its preservation by Bacon, its custody by Rawley, who would know the handwriting, and that it has been passed as an authentic document by Archbishop Tenison, Bishop Gibson, Robert Stephens, Dr. Birch, and Basil Montagu. It took Meautys several years before he found a purchaser of Bacon's Hertfordshire estate, and in 1634 effort was made to find an heir-at-law to the supposed deceased Bacon, so that presumably he could convey the freehold reversion. The Crown Escheator and a jury summoned to pronounce upon the matter found as a fact that one Thomas Bacon was heir-at-law. As none of Sir Nicholas Bacon's first family (being of the presumed half blood) could by

law inherit, Thomas Bacon would have been descended from a brother of Sir Nicholas. There may, however, have been some custom of Borough English, and some special custom as to the half blood applicable to these lands, but one would like further particulars as to how (if the half blood inherited) Sir Edmund Bacon, eldest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon's eldest son, was passed over. He lived until 1649.

Bacon's former Secretary and friend, the Thomas Meautys already mentioned, appears to have married Anne, the daughter of his cousin, the widowed Lady Jane (Cornwallis) Bacon some time in 1640, or earlier, as the only child of the marriage was baptised in April, 1641, Meautys having in the previous February obtained the honour of knighthood. The soldier cousin of the same name was knighted much earlier. By 1639 Meautys was contemplating selling Gorhambury House (see the Verney Memoirs). Early in that year Lady St. Alban and her second husband, Sir John Underhill, had agreed to live apart. Meautys obtained Gorhambury House by a conveyance (says the History of Gorhambury) after St. Alban's death from the trustees of Viscount St. Alban's Marriage Settlement to trustees for his (Meautys') sole use. If St. Alban died in 1637 as indicated in the Great Historical Dictionary of 1691, then all these happenings are in proper sequence. Although Lady St. Alban had a life interest in Gorhambury, and did not die until 1650, it is clear that Meautys had a strangle-hold over her, as he could have proved she had committed bigamy, an offence then punished with death.

About 1639, after her separation from Underhill, Lady St. Alban seems to have lived in privacy at Eyeworth with her niece, the heiress of Sir John Constable, and other members of the Barnham family.

Francis Bacon early in his life contemplated living

abroad. He announced his intention to do so in 1595, after Queen Elizabeth had refused to make him either Attorney-General or Solicitor-General. His mind had more than once considered the question of obscuring the date and place of a man's death and even of counterfeiting death in order to die obscurely.

The only play with the production of which the name of Francis Bacon has openly been associated, namely, "The Misfortunes of Arthur," performed by the Grays Inn Students in 1595, has the line:—

"Yet let my death and parture rest obscure."

Francis, moreover, was a most observant student of the best methods of keeping himself well (see Rawley's life and Baconiana, 1679). As "Hamlet" he rejected the idea of suicide. As "Claudio" in "Measure for Measure" he demonstrated great fear of death, if death could be delayed at any cost. When made Viscount he remarked "I can now die in St. Alban's habit."

In the early play of "Lochrine" is introduced a Clown (Strumbo) who pretended to be dead.

In the play of "Henry IV." Falstaffe said: "But to counterfeit dying when a man thereby liveth is to be no counterfeit, but the true and perfect image of life indeed."

To a man like Bacon who really loved a dramatic situation, the Queen of Bohemia's invitation to take shelter with her in Holland opened up a glorious opportunity for a secret dramatic exit. I infer that the offer to take his wife abroad, which she angrily declined, had been made many months before the Queen's invitation. Thenceforth his preparations for an obscure exit under cover of a pretended death were elaborated with the method and completeness of detail of a Clerk of Works. Elsewhere I have mentioned how he prepared the small interested public of that day to expect to hear of his death. His letters

from Gorhambury complained of illness. His two little books printed in 1625, namely, "Apophthegms" and "Version of Psalms," alluded to his sickness." The 1625 edition of his Essays contained a new Essay of Simulation and Dissimulation. These practices, he said, had advantages: the first was to lay asleep opposition and to surprise; the second to reserve for a man's self a fair retreat.

His Will of December, 1625, must be considered in the light of its being a further step in his preparations for a secret retirement abroad. By it he set the property he had free from the priority of the Crown Debt held in trust for him. It showed that he had treated his wife with liberality and had broken with her for just cause. It contrived that his MSS. should, as a natural circumstance and without suspicion, be packed up, sealed and forwarded to the care of his friend, Sir William Boswell, the English resident agent in Holland. He maintained the pretence that he was a son of Lady Ann Bacon. His remarkable indifference about the old lady during the last ten years of her life was remarked upon by Mr. Spedding. The will shows that he had actually forgotten that she was not buried at St. Michael's Church, St. Albans!

I plead for research, further searching about this matter. "Research," said a recent reviewer (*Nation*, October 4th, 1919, page 16)—"whether analytic or constructive—depends, as its name implies, upon the internal stress which urges men to seek below the obvious, to doubt and criticise previous searches and to set about a research."

Then I ask that the Arundel letter (Bacon's supposed death-bed letter) and the various suggestions as to the cause and manner of his death given by "L'Histoire Naturelle," 1631, by Rawley (who "would not tread too near upon the heels of truth") and by Aubrey, be examined afresh upon this new hypothesis.

Particularly is this necessary in Bacon's case as he reiterated that the Glory of God was to conceal a thing, and the glory of the King (meaning “of man”) is to find it out.

Bacon, in 1625, was a broken man, with many literary aims uncompleted. He avowed that he had considered himself more suited to hold a book than to play a part. He desired the cool shades of rest and did not wish to perish in a storm,

In April, 1626, the (generally speaking) emotional Meautys gave out the bare information: “My Lord St. Alban is dead and buried.” Although the will empowered £300 to be spent, there is no register of burial or record of “Funeralls.”

Then followed many curious sequels:—

The Executors declined to prove the Will.

The original Will was taken away from the proper custody a few days after Grant of Administration to Meautys and another.

Wolstenholme, the principal creditor, as if Bacon were not dead, tried to attach a pension granted to Bacon for his life. Ben Jonson, in his “Masque of the Fortunate Isles,” was very supercilious as to the alleged death of the Father of the Rosicrosse Society.

Some writers of the “Manes Verulamiani” were very ambiguous on the subject of Bacon's death.

There was further ambiguity in the discourse prefaced to “L'Histoire Naturelle,” 1631.

Sir Henry Wotton, in his inscription on Bacon's Monument at St. Michael's, Gorhambury, only stated that on 9th April, 1626, Bacon sat in the posture of his effigy; as much as to say on that date was sitting up, occupied in thought, and presumably capable of taking nourishment. That rather traverses Rawley's “relation” of what happened to Bacon in the early morning of the day in question.

As there is indication of the number 81 under the St. Alban portrait in the *Operum Moraliū*, 1838, and also under the newer portrait of St. Alban in the *Ad : of L : 1640*, it is clear 81 did not refer to the year of Bacon's death. But 81 is the numerical value of the letters in "Messias," mentioned in "Count Gabalis, etc., or Rosycrucians Exposed" (an old book of the 17th Century). The averment of the *Great Historical Dictionary*, 1691, that Bacon was Lord Chancellor for 19 years should be a hint as to his death having occurred in the year 1637. But the point is an open one, though re-incarnation theories are beyond my ken. If I even half-believed them I should instantly drop the subject of Baconian research and become a doubting looker-on. It is, of course, easily possible that Bacon lived to a greater age than 77, but I doubt if he had the stamina to have reached 90, or upwards, as some think. The rumour about his having attained the age of 106 or 108 may have arisen from the fact that his age at the date his body was exhumed abroad and reburied in England would have been about that had he been alive. The reason I press the argument that Bacon lived for some years after 1626, and probably until 1637, is because it harmonises many facts. Meautys' interferences as owner of Gorhambury followed in 1638-9 a probable death in 1637, and a conveyance of Gorhambury after Bacon's probable year of death from the Bacon trustees to the Meautys trustees, as related in Grimston's "History of Gorhambury" was the fulfilment of Bacon's presumed gift to Meautys (to take effect after his, Bacon's, death), which Meautys acknowledged, with great joy, in the letter of October, 1631. It also goes some way to explain the separation in February, 1639, of Viscountess St. Alban from her second husband, Sir John Underhill, and her somewhat hasty retirement to the village of Eyeworth and company of her niece.

It elucidates Rawley's 1657 reference to the “Robe of Honour” of the Viscountess which St. Alban “invested her with all which she wore until her dying day.” Had Bacon disclosed the fact that he was alive when she married Underhill (20th April, 1626) the lady would have made the horrifying discovery that she had committed bigamy, a felony then punishable with death, and the robe of honour would have gone.

The observations in Powell's “Attorneys Academy,” the “Repertorie of Records,” and in “Mercury or the Swift and Secret Messenger” are in that way capable of meaning. The cryptic remarks of Sir Julius Cæsar's biographer and Molloy's words in 1671 about the “cool shades of rest” thus also become explicable. So do the references in “Baconiana, 1679” to a later will by Bacon of which John Selden and Herbert were the literary executors.

If Francis Bacon lived until 1637 or after one can almost find much of the literary work he was engaged upon. It has become convenient for many persons to ignore and discredit Mrs. Gallup, and the story told in biliteral cypher. I do not share that attitude, and am satisfied the biliteral story has been on the whole correctly and certainly honestly deciphered.

After his arrival in Holland Bacon seems to have finished his “*Sylva Sylvarum*” and “*New Atlantis*” and sent them back to Rawley in 1626-7 to publish. Rawley appears to have been in such a flutter that he wrote the preface as though Bacon was not then dead, so that he had to write a correction in the margin. The 1627 *Sylva* may contain biliteral cipher, probably the same cipher story as that deciphered from the 1635 edition, which gives a rather full account of Bacon's royal parentage and of his difficulties. Another work prepared abroad would seem to have been the “*De*”

Augmentis" of 1624, which was printed in Paris and contains the argument of the Odysseys at great length in biliteral cipher. One's theory is that 1624 is not the real date of the edition, but was an ante-date, so as to seem to come next to the 1623 edition. There is considerable incongruity between the plate of biliteral example in the "1624" and that in the 1623, as though St. Alban had, by way of precaution, had a new plate prepared in Paris for the "1624" edition. The 1628 edition of the "Anatomy of Melancholy" would find him considerable occupation, as in it is a very long cypher of the "Argument of the Iliad." St. Alban next devoted his time to writing in French the "Histoire Naturelle," printed in 1631 in Paris. It contains a first and very important monograph on his own life and a shadowy suggestion of the "cause" of his "death." This natural history gives information about St. Alban which only he himself could have supplied. It will be noticed that the writer was vexed with Rawley for having published (a few papers he had found in his, the Chaplain's, cabinet) the "Miscellany Works" of 1629. The duty of publishing for St. Alban seems to have been taken out of Rawley's hands and discharged by Aelius Deodate, a French lawyer specially sent over in 1632 to deal with matters.

Coincident with his visit, the "Essays" 1632, "Anatomy of Melancholy," 1632, "Montaigne" translation 1632 (with a Droeshout frontispiece), "Shakespeare Folio," 1632, and the "Lyly Court Comedies" 1632, were published. Towards the end of his visit Deodate arranged with Rawley that the latter should prepare a Latin edition of certain of St. Alban's writings. This was printed about five years later.

Diodate was also spelt Diodati.

It is rather significant that the 1628 "Anatomy of

Melancholy" is for the first time in Folio form, and provided with an emblematic frontispiece engraved by a foreigner, "C. le Blon." On this frontispiece is a miniature engraving of an old man in the garb of a scholar described as Democritus Jr.—in fact, a much older man than shown in the portrait of Robert Burton at Brazenose College. The Democritus Jr. engraving is believed to have been a portrait of St. Alban, and is slightly altered in the later editions of 1632 and 1638. These portraits would possibly be for the information of St. Alban's English brethren of the Rosycrosse. It is uncertain whether the 1635 Sylva was a repetition of the cypher in the 1627. That in the 1635 edition has been deciphered and contains the blunder about Davison which caused considerable comment when Mrs. Gallup printed her decipher. I regard it as just one of those failures of memory which often occur in an overcrowded brain. Davison's life was declared forfeit, but he was, as a fact, let off. Bacon must be excused. He did not even remember where the remains of his foster mother, Lady Ann Bacon, had been laid to rest. In the preface to a book of Emblems published by Bandoin in 1638 the latter says: "The great Chancellor Bacon having awakened in me the desire of working at these emblems has furnished me the principal ones." It may be possible to infer that by 1638 Bacon was dead, and there was then no reason for concealment by Bandoin from the members of the circle of Frenchmen in Paris who had known the Lord Chancellor in exile.

I have a little work claiming to be the second edition, dated 1658, of "Three Sermons," written by an undisclosed author, though preached by a certain Dean of Westminster named Dr. Stewart. The address to the reader begins: "What the Great Viscount St. Alban said." Later on it states: "I here present

unto them three drops from that pious Head which the cloven fork of our pampired Jerusun (? Assembly) had kicked into an Helicon of Tears. If I tell you our grave author's name (and it will not be convenient (yet) to tell you his descent) I hope the Truths he here delivers, will not suffer because of his Invisum Nomen. Truth, as it doth not fear, so neither begs an Auditor. And therefrom whether ye will heare or whether ye will forbear (Ezel. 2, 7), the three Sermons next following were preached by Richard Stuart, Dr. of Civil Law &c." The latter part of his (the author's) life was spun out in a kind of banishment: *for what cause let his first Sermon tell you* (my italics). He had now learnt to be at home abroad; as he lived, so he died, in exile and lies buried at *Paris in France*. And though we could not afford him a place to rest his head on here, yet we may bestow an Epitaph and let it be without flattery:—

{ Magna est veritas.
 Hic { Invicta jacet Pietas.
 { Illae sa manet Patientia.

The funerall being over, let us now see what the party deceased hath left behind him. These orphan sermons were not (for ought I know) trusted to the care of either Executor or Overseer. The first of these three is concerning "Scandal." The second is an "Easter" Sermon. The third is a "Funerall" Sermon.

The text of his first sermon is "Give no offence neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God."

The writer said: "Good carriage is as well a point of Religion as of Civility, and must be learned no less in the Temple than in the Court—yea, he is best bred who gives no offence (page 37)." Nor is it enough to forbear vice onely; in case of *Scandall* a Christian Statesman must forgoe his *Liberty*, he must be content

to cast himself into bonds that he may free his neighbours.”

“We stumble by an offence, but we fall by a Scandal.”

No one with any knowledge of Bacon's writing could fail to see that these sermons came from his pen.

Here are a few excerpts :—

“The whole world is made its Theatre.”

“Old age is rather an emblem of Mortality.”

“The goodly fabrick of this world.”

“God hath made this life a pilgrimage.”

“Each Spectator becomes an Agent and acts a part by seeing Actors play.”

“Our late planted Colonies, whether in Virginia or in other places.”

“Sea of Distractions.”

“Each night is the last day's funeral. Then what is the morning but a resurrection ? ”

In the Sermon on Funeralls the writer discourses most learnedly on the law of *Actione Funeraria*.

At the end of the 1664 Latin Edition of Bacon's works, printed at Frankfort-on-Maine, are some sharp comments on the conduct of James I. The comments conclude by referring to Bacon in Latin words which may usefully be compared with the Epitaph above given. They are : *Virtutis Omnis Pietatis, Humanitatis Patientiae, In Primis Exemplum Maxime Memorabile*.

PARKER WOODWARD.

ON SHAKE-SPEARE'S "BETTER ANGEL."

THERE is a passage in *The Arte of English Poesie* (Anon. 1589) which is instructive as explaining the possible origin and motive of the love of the author of "Shake-speare's Sonnets" for the "man right fair." In Book I., Chapter III., it is written :—

Poets are of great antiquity. Then forasmuch as they were the first that entended to the observation of nature and her works and specially of the Celestial courses, by reason of the continual motion of the heavens, searching after the first mover,* and from thence by degrees coming to know and consider of the *substances separate* and abstract, which we call divine intelligences or *good Angels* (*Demonos*) they were the first that instituted *sacrifices of placion*, with invocations and *worship to them, as to Gods* ; and invented and established all the rest of the observances and ceremonies of religion and so were the first priests and ministers of the holy mysteries. And because for the better execution of that high charge and function, it behoved them *to live chaste*, and in all holiness of life, and in continual study and contemplation ; they came by instinct *divine*, and deep meditation, and much abstinence (the same *assubtiling* and *refining their spirits*) to be made apt to receive *visions both waking and sleeping*, which made them *utter prophecies*, and *foretell things to come*.

Now the Being whom the poet speaks of in most of the first seventy-eight sonnets, or makes the subject of his "invention" is referred to in Sonnet 144 as his "better angel," in contrast to the "woman coloured ill," who is said to figure Shake-speare's "worser" part :—

* O thou eternal mover of the heavens ! 2 Henry VI, III-3.

Two loves I have of comfort and despair,
 Which, like two spirits, do suggest me still :
 The better angel is a man right fair,
 The worser spirit a woman colour'd ill.
 To win me soon to Hell, my female evil
 Tempteth my better angel from my side,
 And would corrupt my saint to be a devil,
 Wooing his purity with her foul pride.

Firstly we see how Shake-speare "searching after the first mover," or inspirer of his art, has come to consider of the "substances separate and abstract,"

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

In Sonnet 39, he has made a "substance separate" from himself of what he calls "the better part of me." It is made for the purpose of being able to praise with some pretence at modesty, his own *genius* (or "divine intelligence," as it is put in "The Arte") :

Even for this let us *divided* live,
 And our dear love lose name of single one,
 That by this *separation* I may give
 That due to thee which thou deserv'st alone.

"INVOCATIONS AND WORSHIP."

So oft have I *invoked* thee for my Muse,
 And found such fair assistance in my verse.

* These "strange shadows" are in the nature of "forms, figures, shapes, objects, &c.," which, says Holofernes (*Love's Labour's Lost*, IV.-2) are "begot in the ventricle of memory, nourished in the womb of *pia mater*, and delivered on the mellowing of occasion." The actors whom Prospero conjures up "upon the mellowing of occasion," to perform the masques and visions of his fancy, are described as "strange shapes." The "actors" are "all spirits," and the whole vision "a baseless fabric," and "*insubstantial* pageant."

Whilst I alone did *call upon thy aid.*

Sonnets, 78-79.

A *god* in love to whom I am confined.

Sonnet 110.

"OBSERVANCES AND CEREMONIES OF RELIGION."

How many a holy and obsequious tear
Hath dear *religious love* stol'n from my eye,
As interest of the dead, which now appear
But things removed, that hidden in thee lie !
Thou art the grave where buried love doth live, &c.

Sonnet 31.

CHASTE LIFE.

O never say that I was false of heart,
Though absence seemed my flame to qualify,
As easy might I from myself depart
As from my soul, which in thy breast doth lie.

Sonnet 109.

"STUDY" AND "DEEP MEDITATION."

When in the chronicle of wasted time
I see descriptions of the fairest wights,
And beauty making beautiful old rhyme
In praise of ladies dead and lovely knights,
Then in the blazon of sweet beauty's best,
Of hand, of foot, of lip, of eye, of brow,
I see their antique pen would have express'd
E'en such a beauty as you master now.
So all their praises are but prophecies
Of this our time, all you prefiguring ;
And for they look'd but with *divining* eyes,
They had not skill enough your worth to sing.

Sonnet 106.

Shakespeare seems to be conjuring up in his imagination the writings of those poets "of great antiquity" referred to in "The Arte."

"REFINING OF THE SPIRITS."

Now all is done, save what shall have no end :
Mine appetite I never more will grind.

* * * *

Then give me welcome, next my Heaven the best,
Even to thy pure and most, most loving breast.

Sonnet 110.

"VISIONS BOTH WAKING AND SLEEPING."

Weary with toil, I haste me to my bed.
Then . . . my soul's imaginary sight
Presents thy shadow to my sightless view.

* * * *

Lo, thus, by day my limbs, by night my mind,
For thee and for myself no quiet find.

Sonnet 27.

How would, I say, mine eyes be blessed made
By looking on thee in the living day,
When in dead night thy fair imperfect shade
Through heavy sleep on sightless eyes doth stay!

Sonnet 43.

FORETELLING THINGS TO COME.

Not mine own fears, nor the prophetic soul
Of the wide world dreaming on things to come,
Can yet the lease of my true love control.*

The question that arises is, have we, in this anonymous classic, printed by Richard Field, in 1589, hit upon the very source of the theme upon which Shakespeare spent his "invention" in his Sonnets, and in the allegorical poems, *A Lover's Complaint*, and *The Phoenix and Turtle*? I have only drawn attention to the parallels between this passage in "The Arte" and the Sonnets, but the other poems are also significant and productive. There are allusions to "the observances of religion" in the *Complaint* where the nature of the love is said to be "religious" (250). Reference is made to a contemporary poet who appears in the allegory in the weed of "a nun, a sister sanctified of holiest note" (231-266). There are other veiled

* His "true love" (*viz.*, his Poesy) has already enjoyed a "lease" of more than 300 years. Like the Phoenix, it never allows itself to become withered with age, but seems to be ever born anew. It is assured of immortality—"so long as men can breathe, or eyes can see," and nothing can "control" its "lease."

allusions to the sacred nature of Poesy. The simile drawn in verses 32 and 38 upon the subject of pagan "invocations and worship" (as the author of "The Arte" puts it) offered up to the youth who represents Poetic Genius, or "Divine Intelligence," should also be noted. The verses where this Apollonian being to whom the Priestesses of his Temple yield "tributes" of jewels ("paled pearls and rubies red") clearly bear an allusion to Poets acknowledging the source that inspired their poems both chaste and passionate :—

Figuring that they their passions likewise lent me,
Of griefs and blushes, aptly understood,
In bloodless white and the encrimsoned mood.

Surely the diamond, with its "invised (*invisible*) qualities," and the other precious jewels, mentioned in verse 31 of the *Complaint*, signify Poetic Works—both comedy and tragedy. There is no sense otherwise in the concluding words of this stanza :—

Each several stone
With wit well blazon'd, smiled or made some moan.*

In line 225 of this poem, the Youth tells the Shepherdess that he is "their altar," that is, the god to whom the holy sisters tender up these jewels and the "deep-brained sonnets" praising their value and qualities.

Shakespeare's "beauteous and lovely Youth" is his "god," and he acknowledges that all his inspiration is due to that influence :—

* The "jewel metaphor" occurs also in the Sonnets (*viz.*, 52, 65 and 75). Shake-speare was well aware that his imperishable Poesy was a jewel of the "first water," and calls it his "sweet treasure," and "Time's best jewel."

Yet be most proud of that which I compile
 Whose influence is thine and born of thee :
 In others' works thou dost but mend the style,
 And arts with thy sweet graces graced be ;
 But thou art all my art, and dost advance
 As high as learning my rude ignorance.

Shakespeare's familiarity with *The Arte of English Poesie* has been ably demonstrated by Mr. W. L. Rushton.* He proves not only that Shakespeare mastered all the elaborate technicalities of his art, but also that he was gifted with a phenomenal power of memorising. Mr. Rushton says that, "Shakespeare not only introduces in his plays many of the figures which Puttenham describes, but he also frequently *uses the same words* which appear in the examples Puttenham gives of the Figures." He rightly concludes that "without the aid of 'The Arte' many passages in the works of William Shakespeare would be obscure for ever."

R. L. EAGLE.

THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF COMMON SENSE.

(HERBERT LAWRENCE, 1769.)

The title of the above book gives a clue to its varied contents, but it is only lately that Baconians have become aware by means of its pages, that a hundred and fifty years ago, doubt was then thrown on William Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon's authorship of the series of wonderful plays which are attributed to him.

* *Shakespeare and "The Arte of English Poesy."* (Liverpool, 1909.)

The writer of this little book of adventures had evidently handled and read Sir Francis Bacon's common-place book called "Promus* of Formularies and Elegancies," which is now in the British Museum, and been struck by the similarity of its contents to phrases in the plays; so he states his conviction that Shakespeare stole many of his materials from this common-place book which, he says, "contains an infinite variety of Modes and Forms to express all the different sentiments of the human mind, together with Rules for their combinations and connections upon every subject or occasions that might occur in dramatic writing."

The fact that "William Shakespeare" was a *nom de plume* does not seem to have occurred to Henry Lawrence, but he seems quite convinced that the Stratford man was not the real or sole author of the works in question, and that the compiler of the "Promus" was.

Since the year of its publication in 1769, old lists have been searched in an endeavour to trace the anonymous author of this Allegory, but without much success, and Lowndes' Bibliographer's Manual had evidently not discovered the book.

It seems clear that the author was a physician, besides being a great lover of the stage, and he was probably a relation of the Lawrence named in the title page which runs as follows:—

"The Life and Adventures of Common Sense: An Historical Allegory. London. Printed for Montague Lawrence, Stationer, at the Globe, near Durham Yard, in the Strand, 1769."

So far, it has been discovered that there was a doctor, Herbert Lawrence, living at that time, who was supposed to be an author, and he was probably also

* Promus means "Storehouse."

the writer of another anonymous book called "Adventures of an Author."

The hero who calls himself "Common Sense" is the physician, and "Truth" is his mother.

Under a thin veneer of allegorical titles, such as "Wit," "Humour," "Genius," "Prudence," etc., he writes about various historical characters, though he boldly names Shakespeare, Mary Queen of Scots, Queen Elizabeth, and the Spanish Armada. We are led to the conclusion that "Wisdom," who is the highest character in the book, is intended for Francis Bacon, as he is constantly in attendance on Queen Elizabeth, who consults him on many occasions, and his Common Place book is clearly indicated.

"Truth" goes through many vicissitudes. She was about to be married to "Wisdom" when the latter was kidnapped by his jealous rival in love called "Wit," who, by a ruse, manages to go through the marriage ceremony with "Truth" and the offspring of this union is "Common Sense," who describes his father "Wit" as a clever, attractive man, but unscrupulous and selfish. "Wit" is a writer of stage plays, but has only varied success, and is constantly stealing other people's brains to help his own. He is extravagantly vain, and fond of flattery. "Vanity" is one of the best drawn pictures, and her illegitimate son "Humour" is intended to be an amusing character.

But "Wisdom" interests us more than the others, and he is described as "*a person of singular gravity and distinction*" and throughout the book he is the friend and helper of "Truth" and "Common Sense," and finally adopts the latter as his son, who calls him Father.

The descriptions of "Wit's" effort at dramatic writing for the stage are interesting, and a great point is made of the ill-usage "Truth" receives, and that she often has to wear a mask. "Vanity" is

22 The Life and Adventures of Common Sense.

represented as the intimate friend of kings and commoners, and she ruins every one who becomes her friend.

The adventures of Common Sense include travels abroad, and in Florence he gets imprisoned for a short time on some trifling charge.

In Chapter IX. he explains :

“ At the time of my imprisonment in Florence it seems my father and ‘Genius’ and ‘Humour’ made a trip to London, where, upon their arrival, they made an acquaintance with a person belonging to the Playhouse.

“ This man was a profligate in his youth, and some say a *Deerstealer*, others deny it, but be that as it will, he certainly was a thief from the time he was first capable of distinguishing anything.

“ My father and his friends made a sudden and violent intimacy with the man, who, seeing that they were a negligent, careless people, took the first opportunity that presented itself to rob them of everything he could lay his hands on, and the better to conceal his thefts, he told them that they had been actually informed against as persons concerned in an assassination plot carried on by Mary, Queen of Scots, against the Queen of England, and that nothing but quitting the country could save them.

“ They took his word, and marched off forthwith to Holland. As soon as he had got fairly rid of them, he examined the fruits of his ingenuity.

“ Amongst my father’s baggage he presently cast his eyes upon a Common-place Book, in which was contained an infinite variety of Modes and Forms to express all the different sentiments of the human mind, together with rules for the combinations and connections upon every subject or occasion that might occur in Dramatic writing.

“ He found, too, in a small cabinet, a glass possessing very extraordinary properties, belonging to ‘ Genius ’ and invented by him.”

“ By the help of this glass he could not only approximate the external surface of any object, but even penetrate into the deep recesses of the soul of man, and could discover all the passions and note their various operations in the human heart.

In a hat-box, wherein all the goods and chattels of ‘ Humour ’ were deposited, he met with a Mask of curious workmanship. It had the power of making every sentence that came out of the mouth of the wearer appear extremely pleasant and entertaining.

“ The jocose expression of the features was exceedingly natural. In what manner he had obtained this ill-gotten treasure was unknown to everybody but my mother, and ‘ Wisdom ’ and myself, and we should not have found it out if the Mask, which upon all other occasions is used as a disguise, had not made the discovery.

“ The Mask of ‘ Humour ’ was our old acquaintance.

“ With these materials and with good parts of his own, he commenced Play-writing.

“ How he succeeded is needless to say when I tell the reader that his name was Shakespeare ! ”

The above extract from “ The Adventures of Common Sense ” will excite the curious to read the book for themselves, and perhaps they may come to the conclusion that it would be well worth while to reprint the whole book and show the world what was the author’s opinion of Bacon in 1769.

At that date, and in the years following, the book was so popular, that a third-edition was published in Dublin by R. Moncrieffe, and in 1777 a translation

into French was printed in a handsome manner at Avignon, "Vie et Aventures de Sens Commun."

It was reviewed in Griffiths' *Monthly Review* in February, 1770, and elsewhere. On some slight evidence the author was considered to be a physician called Herbert Lawrence, and he is so named in the Bodleian Catalogue.

Many have been the speculations as to who the allegorically named characters were intended to represent, more especially as the chronology of "Common Sense" is rather mixed, and we would be glad to hear the views of readers of BACONIANA as to whether Cecil, Essex, Lily, Southampton, Bacon, Dr. John Dee, Bushell, Dr. Rawley, or Buckingham, were satirized by Herbert Lawrence.

The book must have been written at different periods of a long life and towards the last, Don Quixote and Sancho Panza seems to have seized on the author's imagination with delight, while the French King is talked of freely in connection with "Vanity."

Mrs. Pott writes that the "Promus" has been written by Bacon with a special view to enriching his vocabulary, and of helping his "invention," or imagination, in writing plays, and she quotes passages from the Promus which she found in the plays. This is exactly what the author of "The Adventures of Common Sense" did a hundred and fifty years ago, and what has struck many other students of the Shakespeare plays.

The various plots and adventures of "Common Sense" cannot be set forth here, but there are some clever saws and sayings which are worth repeating, such as :

"Wit" never loved "Truth."

"Wit" calumniates his friends and "Truth" also, to gain a reputation of being "clever."

The needy and profligate among "Wit's" friends, expected to be entertained by him in reward for their applause.

When "Truth" once loses her character, she finds it very difficult to recover it.

"Wisdom" has often to disguise his person.

Father Time, who always lingers with the absent lover, flies away when lovers meet.

"Wisdom" is never perfectly easy when out of sight of Truth.

"Genius" has an excellent knack of reconciling paradoxes, and though he is ready to settle the family affairs of others, he is rather negligent of his own.

"Genius" often obtrudes himself where he is not invited, and is always ready to give advice, but advice unasked is always ill-received.

"Genius" always strives to appear on good terms with "Truth" before the world.

"Wisdom's" handmaid is "Prudence."

In the book "Prudence" is made to keep a diary consecutively made up every day to the end of her life; and the author remarks "Many ladies have since attempted this, but their registers never exceeded a fortnight. God knows why."

This and many more remarks make the book interesting, besides the outstanding fact that the writer was a student of the inward meaning of the plays called Shakespeare's, and the earliest "Baconian" in that light, which we have as yet heard of. Present students will do well to give it their attention for an hour or two in the British Museum. It is a rare book, and a copy lately sold in New York brought over 900 dollars.

ALICE CHAMBERS BUNTEN.

A DUOLOGUE.

BETWEEN AN ENQUIRER AND LORD VERULAM.

Enquirer : Why does Ceres in " The Tempest " say :
" The many coloured messenger, the
watery bow, the heavenly bow," Iris,
" with her saffron wings diffuses honey
drops, refreshing showers ? "

Verulam : " The gentle dew of the Rainbow doth draw
forth sweetness, and the like do soft
showers—for they also make the ground
sweet, but none are so delicate as the dew
of the Rainbow when it falleth."

Enquirer : Why does Belarius in Cymbeline say : " The
art o' the Court, whose top to climb is
certain falling, or so slippery the fear's as
bad as falling ? "

Verulam : " The rising into Place is laborious, the
standing is slippery."

Enquirer : The man you designate in Henry VII. as
" the great Prelate Thomas Wolsey," says
in Henry VIII. : " Fling away ambition,
by that sin fell the angels." Explain.

Verulam : " The desire of power in excess caused the
Angels to fall."

Enquirer : Shake-Speare is an expert in the Angelic
Order ; are you ? He speaks of the
" Powerful Spirit that instructs," " The
inward Spirit that teaches," " the Spirits
that tend on mortal thought," the "Spirits
of Light," the " Spirits of Love," " the

ministering Angel," the "Ministers of Grace" that "defend," and he specially notes "That Angel Knowledge."

Verulam : "The Angels of Knowledge and Illumination are placed before the Angels of Power. Angels' and Spirits' power is next God's. In the Order of Angels the first place or degree is given to the Angels of Love, the second to the Angels of Illumination, the third to the Angels of Power and Ministry."

Enquirer : Lenox, in "Macbeth," asks that "some holy Angel fly to the Court of England." Do you believe in Angel Messengers ? "

Verulam : "A Christian is one who believes the Angels to be more excellent creatures than himself, and yet accounts them his servants. He believes that he receives many good things by their means."

Enquirer : In Richard III dying Edward says : "I every day expect an Embassy from my Redeemer to redeem me hence." Explain what is this Embassy ?

Verulam : "Ministrations of Angels—the ways and Embassy of God." "God worketh still and resteth not from the work of Redemption." "His Angels Spirits are that wait His Will."

Enquirer : Hamlet, when in fear of "goblin damned," and "airs from hell," cries : "Angels and Ministers of Grace defend us ! " Have you ever made a like petition ?

Verulam : "O Lord, let Thy holy Angels guard and defend us from the malice of Satan, and from all perils both of soul and body."

Enquirer : Shakespeare is full of gratitude and "noble

Thankfulness." He addresses thanks to God twenty-nine times in the Plays, and also never forgets to thank the "friendly knave" and "fellow." In Timon's mouth he declares "Thankless natures—Oh! abhorred!" and in Romeo and Juliet he speaks of "Rude unthankfulness." Do you share this noble quality?

Verulam : "A Christian is one who does not disdain to offer thanks to the meanest Christian." For the Liturgy, first, there must be a set form of Prayer, secondly, that it consists as well of Lauds, Hymns, and Thanksgivings, as of Petitions."

Enquirer : In prayer Henry V cries : "O Lord, that lends me life, lend me a heart replete with Thankfulness ; for Thou hast given me a world of earthly blessings." Have you framed a like petition ?

Verulam : "O Lord, Pardon all our Unthankfulness, make us daily more and more Thankful for all Thy Mercies and benefits daily poured down upon us."

Enquirer : In *Measure for Measure* we are told that : "Heaven doth with us as we with torches do, not light them for ourselves." Please explain.

Verulam : "It is a poor centre of man's action himself." "I have held out a light to posterity by a torch."

Enquirer : Why does the Duke infer that Angelo lights a torch for himself? What was Angelo's character? Describe it.

Verulam : "One who had rather give a lustre to his own name than Light to the minds of others."

Enquirer : Have you any other remark to make about a Torch ?

Verulam : " Matters should not hang upon one's man's shaking Torch."

Enquirer : Or shaking Spear ? Do you ever use another word to express a torch ?

Verulam : " Brand or Torch."

Enquirer : Prince Hamlet makes his two friends take an oath of secrecy, what have you to say about this ?

Verulam : " As to secrecy : Princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors, but extract and select. There be some affairs that require extreme secrecy which will hardly go beyond one or two persons."

Enquirer : Hamlet says, with regard to following the ghost :—

" Why, what should be the fear !

I do not set my life at a pin's fee :

And for my soul what can it do to that,

Being a thing immortal as itself ? "

Do you agree with his views ?

Verulam : " A Christian makes account he has a death to pass through. A Christian believes his death makes not an end of him, and that . . . his mortal part shall become immortal.

Enquirer : Do you, like the author of the Plays, speak of " The Dove and very blessed Spirit of Peace ?"

Verulam : " The blessing of the Prince of Peace and of the Holy Dove be upon thee."

Enquirer : Hamlet binds his friends by oath to secrecy about himself. Do you share his desire for silence ?

Verulam : “ I find deficiency in silence. I will teach by my own example.” *Mihi Silentium!* ”

Enquirer : One says in “ *Much Ado* ” : “ Silence is the perfectest herald of Joy.” What do you say ?

Verulam : “ Silence were the best celebration of that I mean to commend, for who would not use silence where silence is not made ? ”

Enquirer : We know you for an expert in Archery, why does *Coriolanus* say : “ How *Love's-bow* shoots ? ”

Verulam : “ The attribute of this same *Cupid-Love* is Archery. The *Turkish bow* gives a very forcible shoot, inasmuch as it hath been known that the arrow pierced a steel target.”

Enquirer : You, like *Shakespeare*, connect *Cupid's bow* with the *Turk's*, or the *Tartar's bow* ? *Benvolio* does so in *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Puck* says in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, “ Look how I go, swifter than arrow from the *Tartar's bow*.”

Verulam : “ *Tartar's* or *Parthian's Dart* shooteth backward.”

Enquirer : Do I understand you to mean that *Puck's* words are arrows that have a reflex action ?

Verulam : “ Words as a *Tartar's bow* do shoot back upon the understanding of the wisest.”

Enquirer : *Henry V.* commends the *Chief Justice* for his boldness and wisdom ; are these the qualities you deem essential in a *Judge* ?

Verulam : “ An ignorant man cannot, a coward dare not, be a good *Judge*.”

Enquirer : *Hamlet* says : “ *Virtue* cannot so inoculate our stock, but we shall relish of it.” Why ?

Verulam : " Goodness in men is derived from their stock."

Enquirer : Do you condescend to pun? In *Love's Labours Lost* a Lady says : " My lips are no Common."

Verulam : " I reckon myself a Common, and inasmuch as is lawful to be enclosed of a Common."

Enquirer : Holofernes in the same play puns on the word ass. He says : " Adieu, sweet Jude, as he is an ass, let him go ! Jud-as away ! " Have you perpetrated the same pun ?

Verulam : " A rough-hewn sailor was brought before a wise Just-ass for some misdemeanour."

Enquirer : Do you agree with Hamlet that " The Everlasting fixed his Canon against Self-slaughter ? "

Verulam : " A believing Christian is one that counts Self-Slaughter a grievous sin."

Enquirer : Clarence uses that same term " grievous sin " in *Richard III*, for that he says " Christ's dear blood is shed."

Verulam : " O Lord, for Thy dear Son Christ Jesus sake in His precious blood-shedding, free us from the guilt of all our sins ! "

Enquirer : Shake-Speare describes " Pity, as a New-born Babe." Why ?

Verulam : " Pity—that *tenderest* of all affections."

Enquirer : Do you hold up to ridicule a Justice who mangles Latin. Shake-Speare does.

Verulam : " That wise Just-ass to show the strength of his learning took him by the shoulder and said, " Thou shalt go *Nogus vogus* instead of *Nolens Volens* ! "

Enquirer : Let's have more punning, haven't you the same jest as Dame Quickly—" Hang Hog is Latin for Bacon ? "

Verulam: " Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, told a prisoner in Court, called Hogg, that Hog wasn't Bacon till it was hanged."

Enquirer: Shake-Speare constantly uses the expression, " God's good Grace," " God give him Grace ! " And you ?

Verulam: " I shall by the Grace of God ! " " As far as God will give me Grace ! "

Enquirer: In the Plays we find " God give you Joy ! "

Verulam: " God give you Joy ! "

RESEMBLANCES BETWEEN THE FIRST 14
LINES OF " LOVE'S LABOUR LOST," AND
THE SPEECHES OF THE SIX COUN-
SELLORS IN THE CHRISTMAS REVELS
KNOWN AS " GESTA GRAYORUM."

THE latter (speeches) are contained in Spedding's " Life of Francis Bacon." Volume I, pages 325 to 343.

The lines in the play forming part of the King of Navarre's opening speech are as follows:—Act I, scene i.

" Let fame, that all hunt after in their lives,
Live register'd upon our brazen tombs,
And then grace us in the disgrace of death ;
When, spite of cormorant devouring Time,
The endeavour of this present breath may buy,
That honour which shall bate his scythe's keen edge,
And make us heirs of all eternity.
Therefore, brave conquerors—for so you are,
That war against your own affections,
And the huge army of the world's desires—

Our late edict shall strongly stand in force :
 Navarre shall be the wonder of the world :
 Our Court shall be a little Academe,
 Still and contemplative in living art."

In setting apart three years for study with his three companions, the King of Navarre desires to gain the following endowments :--

Line 1.—"Fame." In life and Death (or Memory).

Line 6.—"Honour." Present and Future.

Line 7.—Immortality. "Heirs of Eternity."

Lines 8, 10.—"Conquerors." Conquests over the world and themselves.

Line 12.—Himself to be the "wonder of the world."

Lines 13, 14.—His Court a little Academe for "Contemplation."

(1) The speech of the *First Counsellor*, advising the Exercise of War.

For the purpose of gaining *Fame* and reputation, he recommends *Conquest*. By embracing the wars, the Prince of Purpoole would enjoy reputation in his later years, and after his own time would *eternize his name*.

(2) The *Second Counsellor*, advising the study of Philosophy.

He recommends the *Conquest* of the works of Nature.

"When all other wonders and miracles shall cease by reason that you shall have discovered their natural causes yourself shall be left the only miracle and *wonder of the world*."

[For the meaning of the expression "*Wonder of the World*," read chapter 6, "Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light," by R. M. Theobald. "Miracles and wonders are in Bacon's view phenomena whose cause is not known."]

The King of Navarre reckons that after three years study and contemplation, he shall have discovered the

natural causes of wonders and himself remain the only *wonder of the world*.

Thus Bacon's philosophy of *wonder* is the same as Shakespeare's view.

(3) The speech of the *Third Counsellor*, advising *Eternizement* and *Fame* by Buildings and Foundations.

He has the same object in view as the two previous Counsellors—to cure mortality by *Fame*, but by a safer and more dignified process than war or mystical philosophy, viz., by buildings, institutions, or other creations—and instances even great *Conquerors* who followed the course he proposes to win *Fame* and Memory. In one point they well agreed that both counselled his Excellency to win *Fame* and *Eternize* his name.

(4) The *Fourth Counsellor* advising absoluteness of State and Treasure.

He finds fault with the three previous speakers for seeking to gain *Fame*, *Honour* and *Conquests* by means of war, *contemplations*, and foundations, and advises the Prince to gain these objects by means of State Policy.

Wars make doubtful *Conquests*. He is to conquer factions at home.

Contemplations and studies will make him retired and disused with his business.

This seems to agree with Biron's warning. Act 1, i, 143 :—

“ So study evermore is overshot,
While it doth study to have what it would,
It doth forget to do the thing it should,
And when it hath the thing it hunteth most,
'Tis won as towns with fire, so won, so lost.”

(5) The *Fifth Counsellor* advising him virtue and a gracious government.

The previous Lords have taught the Prince

refer all things to himself. Greatness, *memory* and advantage.

Fame is too light. Profit and surety too low. He shows how he may benefit his people with good laws, education, health, etc.

(6) The *Sixth Counsellor* finds fault with the first three for being careful to continue the *fame* and *memory* of the Prince, as if recommending him immediately after his coronation to make himself a stately tomb.

The two other Lords' lessons were as if they "would make you a king in a play who when one would think he standeth in great majesty and felicity he is troubled to say his part."

"What! nothing but tasks? Nothing but working days? No feasting, no music, no dancing, no triumphs, no comedies, no love, no ladies?" Leave your wars, works, and buildings, your books and state matters to your counsellors and use the advantage of your youth.

There are some correspondencies here with parts of the play.

In Act 5, ii., Sir Nathaniel playing the part of Alexander the Conqueror is put out of countenance by Biron, and retires, as Costard puts it, "A Conqueror and afraid to speak! Run away for shame, Alisander—an honest man and soon dashed."

In Act 1, i., Biron objects to the King's strict observances.

Not to see a woman for three years,
 One day in a week to touch no food,
 One meal on every day beside,
 To sleep but three hours in the night,
 And not be seen to wink of all the day—
 "Oh! these are barren tasks too hard to keep,
 Not to see ladies, study, fast, not sleep."

Act 4, iii., 292. "To fast, to study and to see no woman, flat treason 'gainst the kingly state of youth."

The *Prince of Purpoole's answer* to the speeches of the Six Counsellors.

He thanks them all for their good opinions. They all require deliberation, but meantime it shall not be amiss to make choice of the last.

The Prince having ended his speech, arose from his seat, and took that occasion of revelling—so he made choice of a lady to dance withal, so likewise did the Lord Ambassador, the Pensioners and Courtiers attending the Prince. The rest of the night was passed in these pastimes, to the great delight of the nobles and other auditory.

Thus ended, says Spedding, one of the most elegant Christmas entertainments probably that was ever presented to an audience of statesmen and courtiers.

The progress of the play of "Love's Labour's Lost" appears to reproduce the above entertainment with great exactness.

Act 4, iii., The King of Navarre neglecting his oaths, resolutions, and studies, proposes some entertainment for the girls in their tents.

Biron proposes—Line 376 :—

" In the afternoon,
We will with some strange pastime solace them,
Such as the shortness of the time can shape,
For revels, masks, dances and merry hours,
Forerun fair love strewing her way with flowers."

The Masks, Plays, and Merry hours follow in the same manner as the Prince of Purpoole's party in Gray's Inn Hall, on the night of Friday, the 3rd of January. 1594-5

R. H. ROBERTSON,

164, Pitt Street,
Sydney, October, 1918.

A careful study of the speeches makes the resemblances much more impressive than the above bold notes indicate.

The Prince of Purpoole warns his Counsellors in giving advice not to guess what is most agreeable to his disposition.

On the other hand, the names of the six gifts prayed for by the King of Navarre occur more than 30 times in the speeches of the six Counsellors of the Prince.—
R. H. R.

R. H. ROBERTSON.

BACON'S DEATH IN 1647.

IN BACONIANA, July, 1916 and July, 1917, G. C. Cunningham and Parker Woodward wrote articles in which they assert that Francis Bacon did not die in 1626, but lived a long time afterwards on the Continent, in the company of Rosicrucians. With the intention of proving this, I made a thorough search in the old Rosicrucian works which the library of the Masonic Society of the Netherlands contains, by kind permission of the Directors. The results of my investigations I published in a series of papers in the *Masonic Weekly*.* I explained the different secret methods by which the Rosicrucians concealed in their works their true meanings, and also the marks by which their anonymous authors could be identified. I proved that their methods were founded on the Kabbalah of the Jews, and were also assumed in the

* 1/ *Maconniek Weekblad, Amsterdam*, 1918, No. 49 and 50; 1919, No. 6, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 50.

cryptographic works of Christian authors in the 15th and 16th centuries. And it was interesting to find that the Rosicrucians made use of a method of the Cabala, named *Gematria*, which Bacon also used. This method, which consists in adding up the numerical values of the letters of a word, and replacing the word by the sum of the numerals, is explained in the work of Sir Edwin Durning Lawrence, entitled "Bacon is Shakespeare."

The first books which informed the public of the existence of a *Rosicrucian* brotherhood were the *Fama* and the *Confessio* (1614). They were published anonymously and till now there was no evident proof who was the author. Recent investigators have drawn the conclusion that it was Joh. Valentin Andreas, although he never has acknowledged his authorship. Andreas was born in 1586, studied theology in Tübingen, where he had a scholarship, and became afterwards pastor in Vachingen, Kalw and Stuttgart. But he was also tutor to young nobles, and among these were the sons of the duke Augustus of Brunswick, who was also duke of Lüneburg and wrote under the pseudonym of *Gustavus Selenus*. Andreas was the author of many books on various subjects. He expressed in a book, entitled "Christianopolis" (the city of the Christians), the same opinions as Bacon did in his "New Atlantis." He wrote a Rosicrucian work, "*Die Chymische Hochzeit*" (The Chemical Marriage), that could only be understood by initiated Rosicrucians, and which was afterwards, by his own intention, misinterpreted. In my papers, mentioned above, I proved that Andreas made use in his books of the same cipher methods as are to be found in the Bacon-Shakespeare works. But he also made use of methods described in the Cryptographic books of his time *which are now entirely forgotten*, and which cipher methods I have

found in the works of Bacon. THESE METHODS REVEAL UNDENIABLY BACON'S AUTHORSHIP OF SHAKESPEARE.

Andreas was not only intimate with Bacon, but also with Augustus, duke of Luneburg, who became duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel in 1634. His copious correspondence with the duke he published in his later years, honouring him as his patron and benefactor. The duke of Luneburg wrote in 1624 a book on Cryptography (cipher-writing) under the pseudonym of Gustavus Selenus. Andreas was well posted up in this branch of learning, as he has given abundant proofs in his works.

Every Baconian knows the title-plate of the Cryptography of G. Selenus, a reproduction of which with explanation is to be found in Sir Edwin Durning Lawrence's "Bacon is Shakespeare." At the top is an isle in a *tempest* with flaming *beacons*, on the left is a *gentleman*, giving a manuscript to a *spearman*; on the right is this *spearman* on horseback, with a *great spur* at his right foot, and at the bottom is a *nobleman*, holding a *mitre* above a *philosopher*, writing a book. The whole is a cryptographic picture to reveal that the *Man with the Spear* is a deputy of a Nobleman, *Bacon*, who wrote under the mask of *Shakespeare*. That the duke of Luneburg was indeed the author is revealed in one of the laudatory poems that accompanies this book, as was the custom at that time. In this poem are written two *lines in cipher-writing*, which contain, as this verse says, the names of the author of this book and of the poem, "which names, if known, will fly through the mouth of all the learned persons of the entire world." I have deciphered these lines in a Dutch literary periodical.* The name

* The principles of Bacon's cipher writing, Dr. H. A. W. Speckman, Neophilologus, The Hague, III, 3, 2.

Cipher writing in a laudatory Poem, by H. A. W. Speckman, Het Boek, Jan., 1920, Hague.

of the author of the book is "*Gustavus, Duke of Lunenburg the Younger.*" See the note at the end of this paper.

The book of Selenus contains an abridgment of the divers methods of cryptic writing in use and known at that time. But in the first place there are revealed in it the methods of the abbot Joh. Trithemius as is said on the title-page of the book. Now there is found by Mr. E. J. O'Brien in the Boston Library a book, "*Fælix Consortius,*" London, 1663, containing biographies of learned persons. On page 125 we read: "*John Baconthorpe, a Trithemius and others call him Bacon.*"

This means that Bacon is a trope for Joh. Trithemius. In the work of Selenus are explained the different methods of cipher-writing of *Bacon*. We have developed these methods in *Neophilologus*, and found them again in the works of *Shakespeare* and other of *Bacon's masks*, where they undeniably affirm Bacon to be the author of those works.

Andreas was, as we have mentioned, in his later years tutor to the young princes of Brunswick, sons of G. Selenus. After their education was completed, an extensive correspondence was kept up between them and Andreas. More than 400 letters were exchanged between them in the years 1643-1649 and published in 1654 by Andreas under the title: *Joh. Val Andreas. domus Augustae Selenianae princ. juventutis, utriusque sexus, pietatis, eruditionis, comitatisque exemplum, Ulmae, 1654.* i.e.* "The most illustrious princes of the House of Augustus Selenus, examples of piety, learning and good breeding." They refer entirely to literature, theology and private

* In another copy is written on the title-page: *Augustalia Seleniana incepta Anno. 1643.*

matters. Andreas himself is well read in all the cipher methods of the *Cryptography of G. Selenus*, because he composed a little book on this matter, *Opus Selenianum*, which he forwarded to the princes. On 26th February, 1647, Andreas wrote that he had bought a house at Stuttgart, which he named *Domus Seleniana*. Now, it is very strange that he wrote on 22nd December, 1647, a letter to the three princes simultaneously, the contents of which differed totally from all the other letters. It treats entirely of a particular person, never named in any of the *other* letters, and yet who must have been *very well known* to the Princes. This letter contains a complete biography of a friend who ended his days at his house in Stuttgart 18th December, 1647, and who was, of *high birth*, a man of *great learning and fame*.

The following is the original text of the letter in Latin and of the translation, only omitting a prayer for the prosperity of the House of Luneburg, ended by Amen, and an invocation to the Lord to bless the Princes and their House.

CXC.

Illustrissimi Fratres, Principes et Domini, mei longe clementissimi,

Diem tandem apud nos supremum clausit *Paulus Jenischius*, longaevus Senex, nonagesimi aetatis suae medietatem emensus 18 Dec., olim Antwerpiae 1558, 17 Junii natus. Vir varia literarum et linguarum, raraque Musicae peritia excultus, autor *Thesauri animarum*, non inglorius, cuius tamen invidia, et alienae culpae poena, *excilium* amplius *quinquagenarium* tulit, perpetua animi tranquillitate, et corporis valetudine firma cum orexi et suavi somno usus, *sacris studiis*, *Musicis* recreamentis, et *Mechanicis* exercitiis ad hoc aetatis se produxit, 19 *liberorum*

(quorum quatuor supersunt) Pater, amicus mihi jam a *quadraginta* annis minime vulgaris, integris quidem sensibus, sed postremo anno, afflictiore corpore, demum exulcerato uno pede, inter exquisitissimos dolores, extinctus. Vir fortunam ut pridem munificam, ita post tenacem expertus, qui subinde tamen, ut viveret et famam tueretur, pertinaci et infatigabili studio atque labore extorsit, foris quam domum conspectior. *Epitaphum* ipse sibi jam a multis annis scripsit, literis eleganter (qua arte plurimum polluit) pictis, et *confessionis* suae sinceritate, causaeque innocentia, propter quam passus est, testata, qui post labores quietissimos et quietem laboriosissimum, solida et æterna quies esto.

Stuttg. 22 Decembr.
Anni labentis 1647.

III. C.C.C.V.V.V.
Clientem humill.

(In the original text Andreas's letter is printed entirely in Italics, and the words printed by us in Italics are in Andreas's letter in Roman type.)

The translation is:—

Most illustrious brethren, Princes and Lords, to me by far the most merciful,

*Among us on the 18th December *Paulus Jenischius*, has ended his days as an aged man, having lived out half the 90th year of his age, as he was born long ago at Antwerp, on the 17th June, 1558. Of varied attainments in literature and languages, author of the *Treasure of Souls*, one not inglorious but who nevertheless suffered through envy, and through the wrongdoings of others, an *exile* of more than *fifty* years. In unflinching peace of mind and strong bodily health, with a good appetite, and accustomed to sound sleep, he kept himself alive to that age by means

* Or "in our house."

of *sacred studies*, *musical* recreation and handicraft work. The father of 19 *children* of the intellect (*liberorum*—books) of whom four are left; a most rare friend of my own for now forty years, with the full use of all his faculties, but during the last year with a most afflicted body, one foot being badly ulcerated.

A man to whom Fortune had been first munificent and then niggardly, but who, after that, exerted himself by means of persevering and indefatigable study and toil, to live and preserve his good name—more highly honoured in foreign countries than in his own. He had written himself an epitaph many years ago, in letters (or ciphers, *litteris*) artistically painted, an art in which he greatly excelled. In this he testified to the sincerity of his *confession* as well as to his innocence of the supposed deeds for which he suffered. After most quiet labours and most laborious quiet, may he find rest, blessed and eternal!"

Your obedient servant,

JOH. VAL. ANDREAS.

Stuttgart, 22nd December, 1647.

Surely there are many of his contemporaries, in his birthplace or land of exile, who could bear witness to the splendid position of this man before his fall; to his learning and strenuous life. But, strange to say, there is *not a single trace* of such a person *under the name of Paulus Jenischius*. I have made a thorough search in all the biographical dictionaries, and found that *nobody knew him except J. Val. Andreas*.

In the "*Dictionnaire Critique*" of *Petrus Bayle*, first edition 1697, *this name is not to be found*. Bayle, born 1647 in France, Protestant, an exile in the Netherlands after 1681, professor of history and philosophy at Rotterdam, dismissed on account of liberal theological opinions 1693, published 1697 his great dictionary. He was famous for his learning and

thorough critical acumen. In the second edition of 1702, he mentions under the name Paulus Jenischius "Jenischius (Paul), naquit à Anvers, le 17 de Juin, 1558, et mourut à Stuttgard le 18 Decembre, 1647. Il était savant, et entendait plusieurs langues. Son livre intitulé *Thesaurus animarum*, l'exposa à une facheuse persécution ; il fut banni et son exil dura plus de cinquante ans. Il le supporta fort tranquillement et il jouit d'une tres bonne santé jusqu' à la dernière année de sa vie, mangeant bien et dormant bien, et s'occupant à la musique qu'il savait a perfection, et à l'étude des saintes lettres, et à la mécanique. Il eut dix neuf enfants, dont il ne restait que quatre lorsqu'il mourut. Sa santé fut rudement attaquée la dernière année de sa vie et il expira dans de très vives douleurs (C). *Il a été inconnu aux bibliothécaires des Pays-Bas.*"

Bayle here declares that he has quoted from the 190th letter of Andreas in Augustalia Seleniana, and that this Paulus Jenischius was entirely *unknown to bibliographers of the Netherlands*. Moreover, he gives an entirely wrong translation of the 190th letter by suppressing important facts and adding fictitious ones.

Not only was the name of this person entirely unknown in both the Netherlands, though Holland was a refuge for the exiled of the world, but the same is the case in Germany, though he died, as Andreas says, in Stuttgart. In *none* of the *German biographical dictionaries*, is this Paulus Jenischius to be found. He was unknown to H. Witte, born 1634 and deceased 1696, who wrote a "*Diarum Biographicum*," and studied at 20 different universities. He was unknown to Paulus Freher, a physician at Bamberg, born 1611 and deceased 1682, who wrote a "*Theatrum virorum eruditione clarorum*." G. C. Jöcher, in his "*Gelehrten Lexicon*,"

(C) CXC lettre de Valentin Andreas.

1733, and *A. Moreni*, in his "*Grand Dictionnaire*," vol. v., 1740, mention the name of this Paulus Jenischius, but they tell us positively that they have taken excerpts from the dictionary of *P. Bayle*, who himself quoted the 190th letter of *Andreas*.

A curious case presents itself. There did exist a person of the name of Paulus Jenischius, but he was a *totally different* person from the friend of *Andreas*, with whom he *cannot be identified*. His biography is given by Paulus Freher in his *Theatrum virorum eruditione clarorum, Noribergae*, 1688, p. 541.

PAULUS JENISCHIUS.

"Born at Augsburg 25th October, A.C. 1602, father Wolfgang, a distinguished citizen, mother Anna Remia.

A. 1620. Went to the University of Jena to study Theology, then to Leipzig, Wittenberg and Altorf, where he took his degree of Magister A. 1625. Went to Strasburg, where he finished his studies.

A. 1627. The Earl Wolfgang of Hannover appointed him as preacher to the village of Hayn, near Frankfurt.

Soon afterwards he married Regina Reiser, had 6 sons and 5 daughters, but only 2 sons and 3 daughters survived him. In 1631 was appointed pastor at Rudelsheim on the Neckar.

A. 1632. Was appointed Deacon of the Church of the Franciscans by the Senate of his native town.

A. 1633, Archdeacon of the same church.

A. 1634. Augsburg changing of religion, he was, with Ph. Weber, ordered to remain, as Deacon of the Lutherans.

A. 1648. Receiving on 2 Nov. the news of the Peace of Westphalia, concluded 24 Oct., 1648, he said: Now I am happy to die. The next day, he got a fever and closed his days, 14 Nov., aged 46 years.

He published *A Treasure of the Soul*, words of consolation for all the Christians in trouble and anxiety, and some sermons.

PAULUS JENISCHIUS.

Anagram of his name: *Hic spe nihil suavius.*
(Here is nothing sweeter than hope.)"

This Jenischius of Freher cannot be identical with the Paulus of Andreas. No reasonable person could take one for the other.

We therefore conclude that J. Val. Andreas mystifies us intentionally; that his so-called biography of Paulus is true in the main points; that the mistakes are made on purpose; and that Jenischius is not the personage's true name. He could do this work with impunity, because the real Jenischius died 14 Nov., 1648, and could not protest against this use of his name in the year 1654 when Andreas published this letter.

But who then was the real person at whom Andreas is hinting? None other than Francis Bacon, Grand Master of the Rosicrucians, about whom he gives in his letter to the Princes revelations of utmost importance.

There is none but Francis Bacon with whom the biography of Paulus agrees. We may therefore expect to find within this letter some signs by which initiates can read its true meaning. And this is indeed the case. Andreas says: "Paulus was born 17th June, 1558, in Antwerp." This was a blind. He could hardly say London, for Jenischius is not an English name, nor has there ever existed a learned man of high standing of that name in England, and neither in Antwerp, nor indeed in Holland, is found any trace of a person of this name.

Now Francis Bacon is said to have been born in London, 22nd January, 1560-61. In his later days

he was Viscount St. Alban. But St. Alban was the Christian Saint, the proto-martyr of England, born at Verulam, who is the reputed legendary introducer of Freemasonry into England, to whom the Emperor Carausius granted a charter, and who also presided over the Masons as Grand Master, A.D. 287. The 17th June is St. Alban's day, and this was the birth-day of Paulus. I will revert again to the would-be birth-year, 1558, when discussing the number 19, the number of the letter 19(0).

It was Bacon who was a man of rare skill, who knew many languages, and "performed in our tongue that which may be compar'd, or preferr'd to insolent Greece or haughty Rome, so that he may be nam'd as the mark, and acme of our language." (Ben Jonson, Discoveries, 1641). Let us note the words in italics of Andreas's letter. They are: *Thesaurus animarum excilium, quinquagenarium, sacris studiis, Musicis, Mechanicis, liberorum, quadraginta, Epitaphum, confessionis.*

They form a remarkable series, there being a close connection between them. They hint at the *secret* and *sacred books* of the *Rosicrucians*. Andreas says that Paulus was in his 90th year, though his real age was 86 years and 5 months (1561-1647). The number 9(0) is to be read 3. 3 or 33. And 33 is the num. val. of *Bacon*. This may also be deduced from the two numbers 40 and 50, written in italics. Their sum is 90. But there is still another reason. The number 50 or 5 is the great Rosicrucian secret number. In the old Rosicrucian works it constantly occurs. The word *Rosa* (Rose) was their password. The Rose had 5 leaves, and is always, with 5 leaves, to be found on their badges, and is alluded to by Bacon as "The five brethren of the Rose." The number 5 was, too, the

secret number of the secret Christian societies (*Gnostics*) of the first centuries after Christ, many of whose rites were adopted by the secret societies of the 17th and 18th century (Rosicrucian and Masonic). The number 50 was used instead of 5. The num. value of Rosa is 50. On the title page of the *Fama* (1614) are written two lines in italics:—

Arcana publicata vilescunt ; & gratiam prophanata emittunt ; 50. Ergo : ne Margeritas objice porcis, seu Asino substerne rosas. 50. Each line has exactly 50 letters. Together 100 letters. And 100 is the num. value of *Francis Bacon*.

The translation is :

“ *Secrets that are revealed become degraded, and being profaned, give up their perfume ;
Also : Cast not pearls before swine, nor strew Roses beneath asses.*”

The *Fama* and *Confessio*, the author of which is unknown, contain the so called origin of the Society of the Rosicrucians. And it is very striking that these words occur, too, in the 190th letter of Andreas, viz., *Famam* and *Confessionis*. In these books we read that Christian Rosenkreutz was born in 1378, and that he journeyed in the Eastern Counties where he learned all the wisdom and the Kabbala of the Magi.

He translated the book M, that contained all the learning in Magic, Physic and Arithmetic. The *Liber M*, or *Liber Magicus*, was the secret book of the Rosicrucians. According to the *Fama*, Rosenkreutz died in 1484, and his crypt was discovered in 1604. On the Altar, erected above the grave, the letters A.C.R.C. were written. They are to be read : *Altare Christiani Roseae Crucis*. The grave contained the corpse of Rosenkreutz in a wonderful state of preservation, and on his breast was written in gold letters on parchment the liber M or liber T (*librum Testamentum*),

more honoured by the Rosicrucians than the Old and New Testaments. The letters A.C. and T. were from this time inscribed on their badges, with a Cross and Rose. The numbers corresponding with these letters, viz., 1, 3 or 3.1, and 19 were their secret numbers, whereto the cipher 0 can be joined, forming with them the numbers 103 and 190. By this life of Christian Rosenkreutz; Francis Bacon, together with Val. Andreas, known to him for more than 40 years (also before 1607), as Andreas says, mystifies us. In the last words of the Fama (1614) these words occur:—

Sub umbra alarum tuarum, Jehova!

Translated: Beneath the shadow of thy wings, O Lord! Theologians of all times have sought by these words to identify the author, but have not found the true solution. Bacon used the cipher-method of Trithemius, completely explained by Gustavus Selenus.⁽¹⁾ I can only give here a brief explanation of this method to be found in lib. III. and IV. of the book of G. Selenus.*

IF WE FOLLOW THE METHOD OF TRITHEMIUS, THE INITIALS OF THE WORDS OF THE TEXT ARE THE SECRET LETTERS. And these letters are themselves written in cipher. They are to be *transposed* in *one, two, three* places, etc., in the alphabet, to reveal the hidden sense. The alphabet of Trithemius contains 22 letters. The I and J are treated as identical, also the U, V and W, while the Y is missing. This method of transposition is the principal method of the Cabala. Julius Cæsar, Emperor of Rome, used it in his correspondence with the tribunes of the people.

If we transpose the initials of the words:

Sub umbra alarum tuarum, Jehova!

1. Den Haag, Oct., 1917, and Jan., 1918. See Neophilologus.

viz., the letters S, U, A, T and J, 5 places to the right, they will turn into A, C, F, B and O.

These 5 letters form the anagram: F. BACO.

Here comes to light the signature (Latin) of Francis Bacon, whose Latin name was Baco, the real author of the *Fama*.

I find these words form part of a prayer written on the fly-leaf of an old Rosicrucian book: "*Sub umbra alarum tuarum, Domine, certanti corona datur.*" Or: "Beneath the shadow of thy wings, O Lord, to him that strives is given the crown." This line is therefore intentionally abbreviated, and the word *Domine* is changed to *Jehova*.

But by the arithmetical methods of the Kabala Bacon has also hidden his authorship in all the numbers found in the *Fama*. The birth-year of Chr. Rosenkreutz is 1378. Now, it was a well known method of the Cabala also used by Trithemius in his *Polygraphie* (1506), to conceal a number by a *multiple* of it. He calls such a secret number *pylorus* (gate) and a multiple of it *polypylorus*. The number 1378 is the product of the multiplication of 106 by 13. And 106 is 2 by 53. Now the numbers 53 and 103 are known to all Baconians. Rosenkreutz died 106 years after his birth. Anew appears 53. The crypt was discovered 120 years after his death, therefore in 1604. Now 1604, read 4601, is 131.31, or A.C.A.C.A., or 10310301.

In this number are again, in a beautiful manner, concealed the letters AC or CA. After this digression we return to the 190th letter of Andreas. Here 190 or 19 is T, or the *liber* T. There had been 19 *liberorum* (books), and among them the *Thesaurus animarum*. This book is none other than the *liber* T, mentioned in the *Fama*. The so-called birth-year of Paulus was 1558. This is 19 by

82. If we add together the numbers 1, 5, 5, 8, the sum is again 19. If we subtract this number from 1558 (a well-known method in the Cabala), we have 1539—19 by 81. Now 81 was one of the head numbers of the Rosicrucians, and still is of the Freemasons. The 18th degree of their order is in France still the Rosicrucian degree. Members have on their badge the letters E. R. (*Eques Roseae-crucis*). In the year number 1558 are therefore concealed the numbers 19 and 81, or the letter T and the Rosicrucian seal 81.

Andreae says the true reasons for the exile of Paulus were the envy and guilt of other people. I copy Thos. Bushell's letter to his friend, Mr. John Elliott, Esq. (BACONIANA, April, 1917), which absolutely corroborates this :

“ The ample testimony of your true affections toward my Lord Verulam, 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 virtues into a dark eclipse ; had not we, whom his bountie nursed, laid on his *guiltless* shoulders our base and execrable deeds, to be scand and cursed by the whole Senate of a State, etc.” This, and the *envy* of his political adversary, Coke, were the true reasons of Bacon's self-willed exile. The 50 years of his exile is a blind, and shows that the disappearance of Bacon in 1626, from the stage of the world, was a Rosicrucian death. (*Rosa* = 50). Andreas says that Paulus wrote his Epitaph in elegant picture-writing (*litteris eleganter pictis*). He means that the Epitaph of Paulus (Bacon), teaches in cryptic cipher that he was the author of various pseudonymous works. Now there are different epitaphs of Bacon. First, one on the monument in St. Michael's Church at St. Albans. Every one will grant

that this is a very curious and strange inscription. As if it were the most striking feature of Bacon's life is that he sat as an old dotard in an armchair (*sic sedebat*). But a key is given by the information that he *unfolded* all the *arcana* of civil wisdom (*evolvisset omnia arcana sapientiae civilis*). The word *arcana* was in the 16th century especially used for the methods of cryptic writing. Trithemius says that his methods were founded on the *Arcana Mosaica*, which is the Cabala of the Jews. The words "*composita solvantur*," of the inscription indicate that the *composing parts* (of the words) *must be separated*, or that the various letters of the words, which are cryptic letters, must be dis-united. THIS IS INDEED THE CASE. I have been successful in deciphering by the methods of Trithemius this epitaph in St. Michael's Church, St. Albans. Also the hidden sense of the Latin inscription on page 18 of the *Advancement of Learning*, Ed. 1641 of G. Wats, mentioned by Mr. C. Cunningham on page 229 in BACONIANA. I have read the inscription beneath the bust at Stratford, that on the Shakespeare monument in Westminster Abbey (1741), and that on the monument of Edmund Spencer. They all reveal, by the same method, that these inscriptions are in honour of Francis Bacon, and that he was the author of the works of those persons. It would take too much space to reproduce the decipherings, but I hope, by kind permission of the Editors, to do this in a future number of BACONIANA.

The principal aim of Bacon, after the year 1626, was to preserve his *fame* (*ut famam tueretur*).

"Far fly thy Fame, most, most beloved,
Whose silent name one letter bounds,"

as Marston says in his epigram.

It was the Rosicrucian book, the *Fama*, that Bacon wrote (probably in co-operation with Val. Andreas) before the year 1610. It is the word *Fama* that is to

be found in the Latin motto prefixed to the *Advancement of Learning* of Bacon :—

*Crescit occulto velut Arbor aevo
Fama Baconi.*

That is : The Fame of Bacon grows, like a tree, with the hidden lapse of time.

It is interesting that in the initials of these Latin words is an anagram. The letters are : C. o. v. A. a. F. B.

The deciphering is easy. Av' F. BACO.

Hail, Francis Bacon.

The word *Ave* was a password of courteous recognition with the brothers of the Rose. In meeting, the first said : *Ave Frater* ; the second answered *Roseae et Aureae*, whereat the first closed with *Crucis*. But in this Latin motto is concealed, too, the num. value of the word Bacon, viz., 33, because the initial B of Baconi is the 33rd letter of this motto.

It was the death and biography of the author of the Rosicrucian books, *Fama* and *Confessio*, the Founder of this Society and their Grand Master, that Andreas communicated to the most illustrious brethren of the Rose, the Princes of Brunswick-Lunenburg.

(DR.) H. A. W. SPECKMAN.

Arnhem (Holland).

NOTE.

The laudatory poem in the *Cryptography* of G. Selenus (1624) contains two lines in cipher-writing in which are concealed the true name of the author of this book and also that of the author of the poem. These lines are :

Hakul Gavoseti, Visodrum Xydreal Uvyn,
Zehnablu Progodset Rhidue Nagdeory.

If we write the letters of even number next to one another they form the line:

AUGUSTUS DUX DE LUNENBURG DER JUNGER.

This is the true name of Gustavus Selenus.

The name of the author of the poem is hidden in the *initials and final letters* of the three first words of the first line, viz., *Hakul Gavoseti Visodrum*. The letters are: H.L.G.I.V.M.

These letters are to be transposed 6 places to the left. They become: B.E.A.C.O.F. or F. BAECO.

The letter E is a superfluous letter (*litera otiosa*). It occurs many times in secret cipher to impede deciphering. The author is therefore F. BACO. But the E in BEACO (n) is a hint, too, at the Beacons of the title page. The numeral value of F. BEACO is 31 or CA, the Rosicrucian Seal.

[A very interesting old portrait of Duc Auguste as Faust was lent to the Bacon Society for some time by Miss Alicia Leith, "Faust before Faust was written." See "Wolfenbuttel and its Players," vol. i., 3rd series, Baconiana.—Ed. Note.]

OF TRUTH.

THE few faithful to the claims of Francis, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Alban, to very extensive authorship will be wise to confine effort to ascertaining, rather than proclaiming, the truth of his concealed life and work. To obtain even a moderate acceptance by the general public of the actual achievements of the great poet philosopher is not practical politics.

Mankind on this subject is disdainful and unbelieving

but mostly indifferent. The literary pundits are bitterly hostile.

In "My Life of Adventure," A. G. Hales relates, that having, as a press reporter, succeeded in examining a mine alleged to be rich in ore he rode back to the town whose inhabitants were busy buying and selling the shares. "Boys," he shouted: "she is a damn swindle." In vain he waited for the cheers. "I was too young to know that mankind hates truth; that knowledge comes by experience. I got black looks, and hard words as I swung homewards in my saddle, though I had saved a community from being robbed and duped."

Anatole France in his novel, "The Amethyst Ring," shows why mankind prefers falsehood.

"Do you not think?" said M. Leterrier, "that truth contains a power that renders her invincible and sooner or later ensures her final triumph?"

M. Bergeret: "On the contrary, I opine that in the majority of cases truth is likely to fall a victim to the disdain or insults of mankind, and to perish in obscurity. . . Nations live on mythology, monsieur; from legends they draw all the ideas necessary to their existence. They do not need many, and a few simple fables suffice to gild millions of lives."

The Stratford actor authorship myth has become universally accepted. "Please leave us with our illusions, even if they are illusions," say many. Others without investigation will affirm oracularly that Bacon did not write the plays, but they were the work of a combination of writers whose names never will be known at this distance of time. Even many Baconians close up the gates of their minds at various points on the road. Convinced that he wrote the plays, the suggestion that he did not die in 1626 excites vehement opposition.

Bacon seems to have had expectation of the danger of concealment. In his "Essay of Truth," he remarks : " A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt that if there were taken out of men's minds, vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations, as one would, and the like ; but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition and unpleasing to themselves."

Again he remarks :—" but no pleasure is comparable to standing upon the vantage ground of truth (a hill not to be commanded and where the air is always clear and serene) and to see the errors and wanderings and mists and tempests in the vale below ; so always that the *prospect be with pity*, and not with swelling or pride."

In the "New Atlantis" he described one of the fathers of Solomon's House as "a man of middle stature and age, comely of person, and had an aspect as *if he pitied men.*"

Long before he wrote the "New Atlantis," Francis Bacon had begun to look upon himself as a superman, and from that attitude to regard men with pity.

His mind had been developed by intensive culture. He read Latin at an early age with the facility with which a present day University student reads English. His tutors, before he was eighteen, included Paulet for French, Florio for Italian, Dr. Whitgift for Divinity, Gabriel Harvey for Rhetoric and Poetry. Duncombe was his resident tutor while in France with Paulet. Most of these tutors were enthusiastic reformers with regard to the respective subjects they taught.

By the time he was eighteen Francis had been two years in France, mostly at the French Court whether in Paris, Blois, Poitiers or elsewhere. Back in England in 1579 we know from the "Immerito Letters"

that he was living either at the English Court, or at the Earl of Leicester's house in the Strand, writing either poetry or masques for the Chapel children to perform at Court, or stage plays for the men-players in the inn yards.

In October, 1580, however, he complained to his guardian Lord Burleigh at being put at Gray's Inn to study the common laws, "forsaking likely success in other studies of more delight, and no less preferment." The following year was devoted by young Francis to travel in France, Italy and Spain.

Returning once more to England he resumed his literary pursuits, particularly the composition of poetry and plays. No one can carefully read Spedding's "Life and Letters of Bacon" without seeing that, beyond desiring to be one of the Law Officers of the Crown for the sake of its emoluments, Francis had no interest in the law. Except "serving the Queen in place," that is to say looking after her legal business (as her special private lawyer and counsel), he did not think the ordinary practice of the law "would be admitted for a good account of the poor talent which God hath given me."

The great task to which he had devoted himself was the education of his Age and Nation. When only 31 years old he wrote to Burleigh to say he had taken all knowledge for his province. And he was hard at work doing it. Poems, nouvelles, tales, essays, controversies and plays were regularly published from his pen. Yet of himself he was silent. His writings printed before 1597 were anonymous or masked in pen-names or the names of paid assistants. The Queen knew of much of his published literature. He wrote the "Faerie Queene," and the "Arte of English Poesie" at her desire. She often employed his pen in public writings of satisfaction (as he told Earl Northumberland).

Burleigh also knew. So did Sidney, Walsingham, Vere and Essex. Anthony Bacon knew (see his letter to his mother of April, 1593). Sir Thomas Bodley knew and regretted, but wished Francis success (see his letters.) Tobie Matthew was greatly in his confidence,—in fact, Francis called him his "alter ego." There are indications that Francis rather got beyond himself. The Greeks regarded their deity as dwelling in the clouds round Mount Olympus. The Hebrews were of implicit faith that their God was in the clouds of Mount Sinai. Francis began to regard himself as having God-like qualities, but the clouds in which he enshrouded himself were clouds of ink. In 1598, Hall, the Christian satirist, wrote of Labeo :—

Gird but the Cynick's helmet on his head
 Cares he for Talus or his flayle of lead ?
 Long as the crafty cuttle lieth sure
 In the black cloud of his thicke vomiture.
 Who list complaine of wronged faith or fame
 When he may shift it to another's name."

"Labeo" was the name of a prominent lawyer of ancient Rome. It is one of the few names, the letters of which by simple count total 33 and by kaycount total III—the numerical equivalents of the letters in the word "Bacon."

Marston about the same time attacked Hall for his spite against "Mediocria Firma," which was one of Bacon's mottoes.

In 1612 a book of Emblems, "Minerva Brittanna," was published title-paged to Henry Peacham, who was probably the engraver.

On the front page is an Emblem showing a hand pushed from behind a curtain and writing the words "Mente Videbor." Surely Powell alluded to this

in the Attourney's Academy, 1630, when addressing, Lord Chancellor Bacon as though still alive, he wrote —

Oh give me leave to pull the curtain by
That hides thy worth in such obscurity.

On page 32 of the Emblems of 1612 is a hand from the clouds holding a heavy, and, therefore, shaking speare, the point of which is also in cloud. On page 33 is a portrait of Bacon.

Mr. Smedley has pointed out the Bacon-Shakespeare inference of the first emblem in the Plempii Emblem book of 1616, which is the date of the year the actor died. On the top of a mountain the goddess Fortune is depicted thrusting from it a man in actor's garb, and assisting to the place a man uncommonly like the pictures of Francis Bacon, so far as can be judged from a back view. The text of the Latin words indicates clearly that Bacon was meant.

Francis must have doubted if people would ever understand the significance of the Emblems of which he seems to have been the instigator, and often the designer. He had learnt, too, and said in his "De Augmentis," that people readily pass over the easiest cipher communications.

Was it then, perhaps, that he decided to caricature the errantry upon which he had himself set out, as the gentle Red Cross Knight of his Faerie Queene? Some sixteen years after the publication of that poetical narrative he would seem to have depicted himself as the mad philosopher, the Knight Errant Don Quixote. The name would intend Francis himself. D'on (of one) qui (who) s'ote (hides himself).

The multitude after three hundred years have accepted the mythical and rejected the true.

Emblems are brushed aside. Ciphers are ignored.

Mr. Robertson, the confuter of Baconian heretics, remarked in his book: "I have drawn the line at ciphers." Truth may be in the Well, but I shall not bother to look. The False has settled on the throne, The only progress to be marked at the present time is in the frequent indications of an uneasy suspicion that Bacon cannot altogether be disassociated from the literary mystery of the Elizabethan Age.

"Mente Videbor":—By my mind I shall be seen:—"What is Truth? said Jestling Pilate, *and would not stay for an answer.* In those words Bacon commenced his "Essay Of Truth." In re-reading the Shelton "Don Quixote" recently, I was impressed with that sentence which I met with three or four times: "Would not stay for an answer."

PARKER WOODWARD.

SONNETS, 153-154.

SEVERAL critics have pointed to the fact that the last two sonnets (153-154) are paraphrases of a Greek epigram from the *Palatine Anthology* of Marianus, a Byzantine, probably of the 5th century, The epigram is attributed to a certain Zenodotus of uncertain date.

No English translation is known to have existed, but a Latin version is given in *Selecta Epigrammata* (Basel, 1529), and there is an Italian rendering in Tolomei's *Versi et Regole* (1539.) Credit for the discovery of Shakespeare's original source was claimed by Professor Hertzberg in 1878; but, as Churton Collins pointed out, Dr. Wellesley of New Inn Hall, Oxford, in *Anthologia Polygotia* (1849) quotes Shake-

Shakespeare's lines for a version of this epigram. On page 133 of Dr. Wellesley's book, "Lord Bacon" is mentioned for his versifying of another Greek epigram, *viz.* the poem "The World's a Bubble," and it is not a little significant to find the "unlearned" Shakespeare (as some speak of the poet who has taught the world!), figuring with the universal genius who left Trinity College at the age of eighteen, without taking a degree, as a protest against the methods of study prevailing there.

To his versification of the epigram, Shakespeare has added a reminiscence of a visit to the warm waters of Bath, in the train of Queen Elizabeth ("a maid of Dian's") :—

I, sick withal, the help of bath desired
And thither hied a sad distempered guest,
But found no cure.

The term "valley-fountain," in Sonnet 153, has been thought especially appropriate to the Bath Spa.

The spring, whither Shakespeare hied, is said to be "a healthful remedy for men diseased," but there is nothing about curative powers in the Greek original, which, literally translated, reads :—

Here beneath the plane-trees, overborne by
gentle sleep, Love slumbered, giving his torch to
the Nymphs' keeping; and the Nymphs said one
to another, "Why do we delay? And would that
with this we might have quenched the fire in the
hearts of mortals." But now, the torch having
kindled even the waters, the amorous Nymphs
pour warm water thence into the bathing pool.

The lines of sonnet 154 corresponding to the epigram appear thus :—

The little Love-god lying once asleep
 Laid by his side his heart-inflaming brand,
 Whilst many nymphs that vow'd chaste life to keep
 Came tripping by ; but in her maiden hand
 The fairest votary took up that fire
 Which many legions of true hearts had warmed ;
 And so the General of hot desire
 Was, sleeping, by a virgin hand disarm'd.
 The brand she quench'd in a cool well by,
 Which from Love's fire took heat perpetual.

It will be seen that there is no mention in the original of this " fairest votary " (said in the previous sonnet to be " a maid of Dian's "), and there must be some purpose for introducing her. She is doubtless, as Sir George Greenwood has suggested, the same as that " fair vestal throned by the west " at whom young Cupid loosed his fiery love-shaft, but which being

Quench'd in the chaste beams of the watery moon,
 The imperial votaress passed on
 In maiden meditation, fancy-free.

Midsummer's Night Dream 1. II-

The evidence that there is an allusion to the Queen in these two sonnets is strengthened by the description of the fountain as that

which yet men prove.
 Against strange maladies a *sovereign* cure.

The Queen, therefore, appears from this to have been successfully treated by these medicinal waters, and, according to Nichols' *Progresses* (Vol. III., 250), she was at Bath in 1592, and seems to have been a frequent visitor.

There is certainly no evidence that the Stratford player suffered from any of those "strange maladies" requiring treatment at the Spa, and it is out of the question to suggest that this, doubtless, "deserving man" would have been invited upon such an auspicious occasion, and gone there as "a sad distempered guest." This is only another example of the imbecility of thinking to fit this rude fellow into the great Shakespeare frame. It is quite impossible to allow him a line of the Poems and the Sonnets, for they are throughout the work of the most polished and cultured intellect of that period. Had this exquisite poetry been handed down to posterity without any name to it, the obscure actor of Stratford would be about the last person in the realm to claim consideration; and Bacon would have been among the first, and easily established by universal consent.

Everything points to Francis Bacon as the author of these verses. Greek epigrams were within his reach, and as for the references to the poet's journey to Bath, here is a gentleman who was always somewhat of an invalid, and who might have accompanied the Queen. "Shakespeare" seems to have been favoured upon some other occasion for, in Sonnet 125, he speaks of having honoured some royal "progress" with his presence as a canopy-bearer. Gerald Massey was a staunch Stratfordian, but he admits that here "the speaker is a person who has borne the canopy of state as a lord-in-waiting. This is not Shakspeare." From his youth upwards the state of Bacon's health was the subject of considerable discussion and correspondence. In 1590, Lady Bacon writes to Anthony "I think verily your brother's weak stomach to digest hath been caused and confirmed by untimely going to bed, and then musing *nescio quid* when he should

sleep."* Writing to Anthony in 1594 from Twickenham, Francis, in recommending a physician to him, alludes to his complaint as "want of digestion."

In 1600, he writes at the age of thirty-nine, of "my last years, for so I account them, reckoning by health not age," and three years later (Preface *De Interpretatione Naturae*) says :

"When I found that my zeal was mistaken for ambition, and my life had already reached the turning-point, and my breaking health reminded me how ill I could afford to be slow," &c.

There was no improvement at the latter end of his life.

Chamberlain writes to Carleton in 1617 with reference to Bacon's absence from his court owing to indisposition :

"But in truth the general opinion is that he hath so tender a constitution both of body and mind that he will hardly be able to undergo the burden of so much business as his place requires."

Bacon speaks of himself (*Novum Organum*, 1620) as "a man of no great share of health."

"Shakespeare" travels to Bath, "a sad distempered guest." To Bacon's infirmity there was added a disposition to melancholy. As early as June, 1595, we find Lady Bacon writing to Anthony about Francis :—

* The abnormal activity of "Shakespeare's" brain was the cause of similar nightly musings :

Weary with toil, I haste me to my bed,
The dear repose for limbs with travel tired ;
But then begins a journey in my head,
To work my mind, when body's work is done.

Sonnet 27.

Crosby told me he looketh very ill, he taketh still inward grief I fear.

On 5th August of that year she again harps upon his "distemperature" and sadness :

I am sorry your brother with inward secret grief hindereth his health. Everybody saith he looketh thin and pale."

In his *Comentarius Soluthus* Bacon repeatedly refers to "a symptome of melancholy," which had long oppressed him with strangeness in beholding and darksomeness." Further on he records : " I was taken much with my symptome of melancholy and doubt of present peril." It is quite clear that the author of Hamlet and the Sonnets suffered from depressed spirits, and it is not surprising to find such depression to have afflicted Bacon from time to time. Of himself he notes further a "disposition to melancholy and distaste specially the same happening against ye long vacation when company failed and business both," making him grow "indisposed and inclined to superstition." This refers to the time of life when he occupied the Solicitor's place, and this indisposition recurred even when he advanced further in the State, for, he continues :

Now upon Milles place I find a relapse into my old symptome as I was wont to have it many years ago, as after sleeps ; strife at meats, strangeness clowdes, &c.

Surely a particularly "sad distempered" man !

Bacon hints pretty strongly that he had been taking the waters of the Spa and had also been spending his time drinking from Apollo's goblets at the Castalian

spring, like the "William Shakespeare" who placed that Ovidian couplet at the head of *Venus and Adonis*. In a letter which Spedding dates to 1595, Bacon writes to Essex :

As for appetite, the waters of Parnassus are not like the waters of the Spaw, which give a stomach ; but rather they quench appetite and desires.

From every point of view, Bacon's authorship of these sonnets appears highly probable, and by no stretch of fact or imagination is it possible to bring the Stratford maltster into contact with a line of the Shakespeare poems and sonnets. As a forlorn hope Sir Sidney Lee says that "the references to travel in the Sonnets have been reasonably interpreted as reminiscences of early acting tours." But he rather spoils the calculated effect of this by his frankness about the wide reading revealed in Shakespeare's verse. He finds the poet borrowing from Plato, Ovid, Petrarch, Ronsard, Desportes, Sidney, Watson, Constable, and Daniel. This list is far from complete, but is sufficient to show that Shakespeare was familiar with French and Italian literature, and could draw upon the representative poets and philosophers of "insolent Greece and haughty Rome."

R. L. EAGLE.

OBITUARY.

THE Editors regret to record the death of Major Benjamin Booth Haworth-Booth, of Haworth Hall and Rolston Hall, Yorkshire. Major Booth died in London, after a very short illness, on the 8th November. He was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, and was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1886. He was a Magistrate for the East Riding of Yorkshire, and had served in the Yorkshire Imperial Yeomanry and the Yorkshire Militia Artillery. He was for many years a member of the Bacon Society, and made some interesting contributions to BACONIANA. His chief interest was in the endeavour to elucidate the mystery surrounding Bacon's literary work, of which, as some think, the amount issued under Bacon's own name was but a fraction. Some of the cryptograms that he discovered in works of the Bacon period were remarkable, and almost startling in the evidence of their design.

LIFE OF ALICE BARNHAM, WIFE OF SIR FRANCIS BACON.

MOSTLY GATHERED FROM UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS.

BY A. CHAMBERS BUNTEN,

With Portraits.

[Published by Page & Thomas, Ltd., 131, Finsbury
Pavement.]

THIS little book abounds with evidence of much original research, and the results are presented in an attractive and readable form. Deep interest attaches itself to everything connected with Bacon, but of his married life, says the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, little or nothing is known. So far as the character of the child wife of the great philosopher and her conduct after widowhood are concerned, Mrs. Buntten throws some light into this obscurity. Led to the altar at the age of 14 by Francis Bacon, who was more than thrice her age, Alice Barnham finds herself eleven years later called upon to do the honours at York House as the Lady of the "trusty Counsellor," in whose hands the King had vested the management of public affairs during his absence in Scotland. Mrs. Buntten gives, as the *frontispiece* of her book, a portrait of the Viscountess St. Alban which was formerly believed to be that of Lady Bacon, the mother of the Lord Chancellor. The features are those of a woman of strong character, who could by no means have played the part of a cipher in her husband's career. Probably she inherited some of the temper of her mother, who was called "the little violent lady." Extravagant and fond of finery, Bacon's wife had not the disposition to

guide him into a course of economy which he himself lacked. The spectacle of the middle-aged and sober-minded philosopher attired in a wedding dress of purple velvet, with cap and shoes to match, may have been occasioned by the desire to match the cloth of silver, with ornaments of gold, worn by the girl whom, it is evident he fondly loved.

What a contrast to the feelings with which, fallen and forsaken, he penned the year before his death a codicil to his will, utterly revoking *for just and great causes* the ample provision he had made for his wife. What these causes were is sufficiently revealed by her marriage, within a fortnight of becoming a widow, to John Underhill, who was probably identical with a gentleman-in-waiting at York House, named Underhill. Nemesis, however, pursued him. The ill-starred union ended in unhappiness and judicial separation, apparently on account of Underhill's jealousy of Robert Turrell, one of her ladyship's household. Mrs. Bunten traces a relationship between the second husband of Lady St. Alban and the Underhills from whom W. Shakspeare purchased New Place at Stratford-on-Avon. The sadness of the story is relieved by bright incidental sketches, notably by a humorous description of "Lusty Pakington," the father-in-law of Alice Barnham. The book contains, in addition to wills and pedigrees, a copy of the Inquisition taken after the death of "Francis, Lord Bacon, late Viscount St. Alban," and forms a valuable contribution to Baconian literature.

JOHN A. COCKBURN.

A PONDERATION.

Not without honour, but in his own country.

Volume II. English Literature, an Illustrated Record from the Age of Henry VIII. to the Age of Milton, by Richard Garnet, C.B., LL.D., and Edmund Gosse, M.A., LL.D. Heinemann, 1913. Frontispiece, a coloured "Copy from original Portrait of Shakespeare, in oils, 1609, accepted as the Portrait engraved by Droushout for the 1623 Folio."

A CCEPTED by whom? Years since Mrs. Stopes stated publicly that all originals were now given up; and a lecturer in the "Birth Place," Stratford, gave as her reason that there was no portrait painter in England at the time to paint Shakespeare! When it needs such a "big one" as that, a cause must be in a very bad way. Pages 6—28 of this work are devoted to Francis Bacon.

The same old story! The garment of detraction instead of the garment of praise; the solid determination that, whatever proof is found to the contrary, Francis must and shall be shown a man of little moral rectitude and less honour; devoid not only of warm affections but even of a good and honest heart.

The I-am-holier-than-thou-ism of the authors of these pages provokes laughter from its arrogant absurdity. The "Idol of the Market-place" is to be made attractive and popular; so the cart is put before the horse. The plate issued by Isaac Jaggard and Ed. Blount, 1623, is accounted the copy—not the original—though the graver, with no little skill, has cut absolutely different buttons, eyes, forehead, hair, ear. He conveys, as he meant to do, a Mask, both by the

double facial outline and by the attachment of the false hair.

Now for the text. The Poet who, Shelley says, satisfies his senses as his superhuman wisdom satisfies his intellect ; the " Great man," whose " glory " Gassendi prophesies : " far from perishing with the lapse of time, is destined to increase throughout all the ages of the world." The Historian, whom Hallam compares favourably with Aristotle for his moral and political wisdom, and with " all the writers most celebrated for their deep insight into civil society and human nature," is not openly defamed but insulted by a sort of " back-hander " which is meant to stick, and does so, alas, in minds lazy and shallow.

For instance, Francis is quoted with reference to Essex, p. 8 : " I held my Lord to be the fittest instrument to do good to the State, and therefore applied myself to him in a manner which I think happeneth rarely among men."

Read dispassionately, this presents Francis as a keen lover of his country and a true believer in his friend, Robert Essex.

Far from conveying this idea to Drs. Garnet and Gosse they say : " This was probably as high an ideal of friendship as Bacon was capable of attaining. He could not entertain an entirely disinterested affection, but could love for a consideration."

This criticism is preposterous, but the next sentence goes one worse—" which, in this instance, was not of a sordid or self-interested character." Then why, in the name of Justice, pen those shameful words ? Without a shadow of evidence brought to bear upon their accusation ; by inference, used by these special pleaders for the object of damaging the character of a man unable to defend himself, they prejudice not the mind of a judge in one small Court, but the world at large.

There is inconsistency in these pages which puzzles one. After mocking at Francis as Essex's counsellor, this sentence occurs, p. 11: "Bacon seemed exactly the mentor such a sovereign as James requires; and happy would it have been for the kingdom if James could have accorded him unlimited confidence." Here is no sneer at his ideas, or doubt thrown on his love for king and country. Indeed, hints are given of Francis being *unappreciated* in his day. "The condition of his own times left him no other part than that of a secret counsellor, commonly disregarded." And again: "The circumstance of his age also deprived him of much of his renown." If they feel thus, how strange is it that these authors should rob him of what a man holds most dear—his honour, and of other things not less justly his—loftiness of spirit, self-devoted high-mindedness magnanimity—no, this odd book actually admits him to be "a magnanimous man!" On p. 18 we read this:—

"The extraordinary point . . . is the alliance of mere self-seeking with so ample an endowment of the wisdom from above."

The extraordinary point is that our critics think they can gather figs from thistles, and that the same fountain pours out sweet waters and foul.

With their pen still wet from the last sentence, they condemn Francis for "moral nature not the most exalted," and "for wisdom not from above."

Blind leaders of the blind, they quote, on p. 19, The Essay of Fortune to prove this: "Extreme lovers of their country, or masters, were never fortunate; neither can they be, for when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way." Fine satire, which is quite lost upon his critics, though the preceding words might have illuminated them. "Certainly there be not two more fortunate properties

than to have a little of the fool and not too much of the honest." To be fortunate, as this world goes, was certainly not Francis' fate ; but to aim at something much higher, with Divine wisdom and strict honesty of purpose, and so lose caste, position, friends, is the destiny of Reformers and Patriots, among whom stands great Verulam, not in the rear, but in the van.

As usual with detractors of Francis, his part played in the Essex trial is a fruitful source of invective. Happily in the eyes of patriotic men of Law who know, he stands scathless in this matter, but these author enemies would have us think he had a stone where his heart should be, and that not only did he leave Essex to his fate, but did his level best to see that his head came off.

In proof that Francis was all head, and that his lofty ideas on paper were the efforts of brain, not heart, his Essays of Friendship and Love are cut up. Contrariwise we see a panegyric on the " noble fruits " of friendship, written so spontaneously that we hear the wounded heart once suffocated by its secret sorrows joyfully beating in time to the music of his words, because comforted and healed by the sovereign medicine of a friend's sympathy and love ; we see a mind darkened and oppressed by the storms and tempests of an unfortunate life sweetly eased of its burden by the " dearness of Friendship," by the " comfort of Friendship " that makes for it a " fair day out of a black one."

We ask, when Verulam's view of Love as " the perturbing force that overthrows wisdom and turns counsel into foolishness " is so harshly condemned, how is it that the author of *Troilus and Cressida*, and *Romeo and Juliet* goes unreprieved ?

Verulam : It is well said that it is impossible to love and to be wise.

Cressida : To be wise and love exceeds man's might,
that dwells with gods above.

Friar Lawrence : Violent delights have violent ends.
Love moderately. Fond madman . . . I see that
madmen have no ears. Art thou a Man? . . .
Thy wild acts denote the unreasoning fury of a beast.

Truly we see in *Romeo and Juliet* the "perturbing
force" pictured as passionately as anywhere in literature.
Truly is it "like a Syren, like a fury."

"Characteristic it is that Bacon should regard love
as an inconvenient and irrational passion," says
Garnet & Co. Suppose he does, as the writer of the
Plays does, what then? May we not therefore believe
he, too, has been lifted to Heaven by its power only to
be hurled in his turn down to hell? This Essay is the
warning of a man of sorrows acquainted with heart-
break to his fellows, not to play the part of passion's
slave, or tear the heart-strings to tatters, but give
Divine Love a chance to govern the soul—the Love
that admits no impediment to the marriage of minds.

Francis Bacon is further described as the "Intel-
lectual Man," not the Poet.

Edouard Shuré in his delightful book on "Pytha-
goras and the Delphic Mysteries" places "Intellectual
Persons in the third and rare class of men who have
set free the intelligence from the tyranny of the pas-
sions," and so prove the height of spiritual evolution to
which they have attained. Far from describing them
as cold-hearted and cold-blooded, he says: "They
include such heroes as perish in martyrdom for their
country, the highest types of poets, and especially
true philosophers and sages, those whose mission it is,
according to Pythagoras and Plato, to govern human-
ity. In these men passion is not extinct, for without it
nothing could be effected; it constitutes fire and
electricity in the moral world." We have in these

words (page 151) an exact portrait of the National Poet of England, the advanced Philosopher-Initiate, and the Proto-Martyr St. Alban.

Possibly Dr. Garnet and Edmund Gosse, poets themselves, argue from the personal experience standpoint rather than from that of Shuré the Mystic. He says : " In the *second* degree of human development passionate people are fitted to become . . . poets. The great majority of savants and literary men belong to this class. *They live in relative ideas, modified by passions or limited by a fixed horizon, without rising to the height of pure Idea or Universality.*"

The glove is thrown down in *English Literature* on the score of Bacon, the man of Intellect, being incapable of producing in his acknowledged writings lines instinct with the innermost spirit of poetry as :—

" But that wild music burdens every bough."

" Bare ruined choirs where late the sweet birds sang."

I accept the challenge, quite content to range myself on the side of Shelley rather than on that of Gosse and Garnet. What does an unbiassed mind think of these lines as instinct with poetry ?

" Is not the quivering upon a stop in music the same with the playing with light upon the water ? ". !

What about the translation of

Splendet tremolo sub lumine pontus ?

" The silver splendours tremble o'er the tides."

And again :—

" The breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air Where it comes and goes like the warbling of music than in the hand."

" The excellencies of her person . . . do make so sweet a wonder."

" Send the boar to the fountain, the south to the flowers."

" Ethereal dew of the sciences gathered from so many flowers."

" Her Majestie's Mercy an excellent balm, that did continually distil from Her Sovereign hands and made an excellent odour in the senses of her people."

Last but not least :—

" The world's a bubble, and the life of man a span ;
In his conception wretched, from the womb so to the tomb.
Nurst from his cradle and brought up to years with cares
and fears,
Who then to frail Mortality shall trust but limns on water or
but writes in dust."

That great Verulam was a poet, though a concealed one, is amply proved by the Latin Elegies or **Manes Verulamiani* written at his supposed death in 1625. Dr. Garnet, finding me in despair at the British Museum over the impossibility of discovering anything about his interment and death, pointed out to me Thomas Randolph's Elegy to the " Incomparable Francis Verulam " among his collected Poems. It is the finest of all the *Manes* dug out for us by a German Professor from the unpublished Posthumous collection of MS. left by Thomas Rawley. Dr. Garnet makes no allusion to this collection in this Article on Bacon, nor mentions he is apostrophised in it as Apollo, is mourned by Melpomene the Tragic Muse, and is called Quirinus the Spear-Shaker. If not, why not ?

One bit of insight illuminates *English Literature*. It says Bacon's " soul was like a star, and dwelt apart, even more than Milton." This criticism unravels the secret of the Sonnets, or of some of them. The description there of his " Love " describes ideal " Love," that " elder Cupid " which Bacon has spoken of in words so full of import. Truly his Ideal Love had beauty " that ne'er touched earthly faces." His later Sonnets picture false or inconstant love which in

*See BACONIANA, Vol. 3, New Series, pp. 140-151, 242-251.

Vol. 4, ,, ,, pp. 56, 110, 194, 266.

the person of his child-wife stabbed once again his much-wrung heart.

We have yet to realise him as a man of sorrows. Perhaps the following words of Zimmerman on Saint John of the Cross may best express what I wish to emphasise: "The keenest sufferings, that of being 'despised,' especially by those to whose respect he was entitled in the highest degree, were reserved for the later years of his life. So far from striking an insensible stoic soul, these tribulations are the lot of most refined and therefore most sensitive hearts."

Page 201 is devoted to the Baconian theory and must not be left out of this review. Of all perfectly silly questions is one asked to prove that Bacon could not have written *Hamlet*, or *coached the players*—"Did he go down to the Theatre for the purpose, taking boat or riding over London Bridge, or did he drill the players at his chambers?" It breathes the same spirit that induced Dr. Garnett (R.I.P.) to read a paper at a meeting I was at to prove: "That Bacon could not have written the Plays because he had no sense of humour." Had Dr. Garnett any?

With regard to one Editor of this wonderful Volume we can only hope that he has *now* learnt to understand and appreciate the sublime mind he has so disparaged. With regard to Edmund Gosse, he still has time to recant and do full justice to our Emperor of men.

One comfort is that it can matter very little now to a great soul like Verulam what men have chosen to say ill of him. I close with some words of his on Death:—

"What is more heavy than evil fame deserved?
 I have laid up many hopes that I am privileged
 from that kind of mourning, and could wish the like
 peace to all those with whom I wage love."

ALICIA AMY LEITH.

(Reprinted from "*Fly-Leaves*," No. 7.)

PHENOMENAL LITERARY OUTPUT.

IT is not likely that the problem of the authorship of much of the Elizabethan literature will ever be completely solved, any more than it will ever be known how much of the plays of " Terence " was written by the emancipated slave and how many of them by the patricians Lælius and Scipio. Those, however, who regard it impossible that Francis Bacon could have found time to produce the works which many keen literary critics have attributed to him, would do well to scan the output of Lope Felix de Vega (1562-1635). He, during a varied career as soldier, priest and poet, fought in the Spanish Armada, was secretary to the Spanish Inquisition, and ended his days as a penitent amid severe self-inflicted flagellations. Nevertheless he is credited with having written 1,800 ordinary plays and 400 mystery plays ; while his poetical works are published in an edition of 20 volumes. 21,300,000 of his lines are said to have been actually printed, yet he asserted that the unprinted lines were still more numerous. Some of his poems were published anonymously, and some under an assumed name.

His versatility and many sided disposition exposed him to much adverse criticism. He received large sums as presents from his admirers, in addition to his income, which was princely, but his improvident and indiscriminate charity ran away with these gains and rendered his life unprofitable to his friends and uncomfortable to himself. Vast as was his genius,

his services to mankind bear no comparison to those rendered by Bacon. Yet how different was the treatment accorded by Spain and by England to these two great contemporaries. De Vega was held in almost idolatrous reverence during his life, and the honours paid to him after death surpassed even those accorded to kings ; while the memory of the greatest of Englishmen was, and is still, a reproach to the ignorant and unthinking mass of his fellow countrymen, whose lives are enriched by his labours.

JOHN A. COCKBURN.

On Thursday, the 22nd January, a few of the more ardent members of the Bacon Society lunched together at Jules' Restaurant, in Jermyn Street, to celebrate Francis Bacon's birthday. The President of the Society, Sir John Cockburn, took the chair, and the other end of the table was occupied by Mr. Crouch Batchelor, the Vice-Chairman. A charming feature of the proceedings was a number of large cards bearing a photogravure of Bacon in his study, around which Miss Alicia A. Leith had executed most artistic floral decorations. The guests to whom these souvenirs fell were very fortunate. Parallelisms between Bacon's works and "Shakespeare's" plays were also printed at the foot of the cards, and some of them constituted striking evidence of the identity of the writer.

A toast to "The Immortal Memory" was drunk in reverent silence. Miss Alicia A. Leith made a very interesting speech. The health of the President was

proposed by Mr. Crouch Batchelor, and responded to by Sir John at considerable length with much instruction to his hearers. It was altogether a bright and cheerful function and all present went away delighted.

On the same evening Mr. W. T. Smedley, whose devotion to the cause of honouring and enhancing the fame of this greatest of Englishmen is well-known, gave a very large dinner party at the Lyceum Club, at which many distinguished guests were present, including Sir John Cockburn, Sir George Greenwood, Mr. Clement Shorter, the American professor, Dr. Maclaine, Mr. Harold Hardy, Miss Alicia A. Leith, etc. The speeches were of a high order.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE POET KEATS.

To the Editor of BACONIANA.

SIR,—Sir Sidney Colvin's recent publication on "The Life and Works of Keats" should finally silence the nonsense which likened the upbringings of Keats with those of the deserving man-player, William Shaksper, of Stratford-on-Avon.

Keats was adduced as another genius who, like the actor, needed no education, and practically had none. His mother was the educated daughter of a rich livery stable keeper in London at a date when that occupation was a most important and profitable one.

Born in 1795, at a house adjoining the stables, his parents in a year or two removed to a house in Craven Street. Keats was educated at a first-class school, carried on in a house of such excellent Georgian classic architecture that, years afterwards, the building was reconstructed at South Kensington Museum.

The school, which had a large garden, was carried on by John Clarke, the father of the literary man, Charles Cowden Clarke.

During the last year and a half of his schooling Keats' time was taken up almost wholly with reading and studies. Books he read comprised "Mavor's Universal History," histories of Scotland and America, "Edgeworth's Tales," Shakespeare's Works, Burnet's "History of His Own Times," and so on. Keats appeared to *learn* by heart Lempriere's "Classical Dictionary," so fond was he of it.

Leaving school close on his 16th year, he was apprenticed to a surgeon, and studied to pass the examinations. He retained his companionship with Cowden Clarke, and together they studied Spenser's poems, particularly the "Faerie Queene." Sir Sidney Colvin vouches his own experience that for a boy there is no poetical revelation like the "Faerie Queene." Keats tried his hand at writing poetry at the age of 18.

Two years later he was a close personal friend of Leigh Hunt and of Haydon, the artist, and met most of the poets of that day. Colvin remarks that Keats was the lineal descendant of the Elizabethans.

He had modest private means, mixed in intellectual society, and possessed an excellent library of classics and

poets. Mr. Robert Lynd recently alleged, in a criticism in the *Nation* of Sir Sidney Colvin's book that :—" Practically all the fine gold of Keats' work was produced in the months in which his passion for Fanny Braune was consuming him as with fire." Keats died of consumption in February, 1821.

During his short life his admiration centred on poets : his passion was to become a great poet at an age when there was even fortune to be made out of writing poetry.

To use his name to bolster up the Stratfordian myth is to desecrate Keats' memory.

PARKER WOODWARD.

London, January, 1920.

DEAR EDITOR,—The *Detroit Free Press*, of March 2nd, 1919, has an instructive article by Fred. Ranney on the connection of Shakespeare with the founding of liberty in America. He reviews a work by Professor Charles M. Gayley, Dean of the University of California, on this subject, and disagrees with the conclusions drawn by him. Ranney pleads with all lovers of our National Poet to investigate this absorbing field of thought, that whereas Shakespeare of Stratford is only *supposed* to have been connected (through friends of his) with Virginia, Francis Bacon without any matter of doubt was legal adviser to the King in the founding of the Colony, and not only a member of its Council, but an intimate friend of all its members, one of whom was his kinsman. Ranney suggests that Gervinus' famous parallel between Bacon and Shakespeare should be extended so as to cover this question. May I refer your readers to *BACONIANA*, Vol. 12, Third Series, pp. 127-8, 177-9, where I prove indisputably Bacon's connection with Virginia. Also to a recent number of *The Landmark*, Organ of the English-Speaking Union (Lennox House, Howard Street, Strand), in which is a paper by me on Ranney's article, with a portrait of Lord Verulam. Both articles supply exact details of his connection with America. In *BACONIANA*, Vol. 14, in my article on *Othello*, I showed how in all likelihood much of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* was written by Bacon. This is interesting, as Gayley makes a point of Hooker's religious and moral ideas greatly influencing the administration of Virginia. I may add Ranney believes Pembroke and Southampton to have been partners in business with Lord Verulam in the iron and wire works on the borders of Wales.

Faithfully yours,

ALICIA AMY LEITH.

(To the Editor of BACONIANA.)

DEAR EDITOR, — A folio by Peter Heylin, D.D., entitled *Cosmography in Four Books containing the Chorography and History of the Whole World Improved with an Historical Continuation to the Present Times by Edmund Bohun, Esqre*, was printed in MDCCIII. On page 246 in the account of Britain after a list of Divines comes a list of "Men of other Studies," among which is "Sir Francis Bacon, the learned Viscount of S. Albans"; then, "and finally for Poetry," 1 Gower, 2 Lydgate, 3 The famous Geofrey Chaucer, 4 Sir Philip Sydney, 5 The renowned Spencer, 6 Sam. Daniel, 7 Michael Drayton, the Ovid of the English nation, 8 Beaumont, and 9 Fletcher, not inferior unto Terence and Plautus, with 10, my friend, Ben Jonson, equal to any of the Ancients for the exactness of his pen, and the decorum which he kept in the *dramatick* poems, never before observed on the English Theatre."

Where is our National Poet, Shake-speare? The Rev. D. Heylin wrote in 1684. Why have he and Edmund Bohun both deliberately excluded him from the long list of celebrated Englishmen? It may be mentioned that under the Description of Scotland the whole story of Macbeth is given, after a remark on a former page as follows:—"Macbeth of whom there goeth a famous story, which shall be told at large anon."

No reference whatever is made to the Play. This is yet another instance of a mysterious "omission" of Shake-speare as a poet in a fine literary work.

Yours faithfully,

A STAUNCH BACONIAN.

(The Editor of BACONIANA.)

SIR,—There has always been a great discussion over Ben Jonson's lines to Shakespeare in the 1st Folio as follows:—

"The figure that thou here see'st put
It was for gentle Shakespeare cut.
Wherein the graver had a strife
With Nature to outdo the life."

Perhaps it is not generally known that these lines were copied by Jonson from two in "Venus and Adonis," and can, therefore, hardly be considered original on their appearance under Ben Jonson's name in the 1st Folio.

The rhyme of "strife and life" has been used twice in the long poem, and in verse 49 occurs the following:—

" Look, where a painter would surpass the life,
His art with Nature's workmanship at strife."

These two lines caught the poet's fancy, and were played upon by others than Jonson, for Dryden used them, and Cumberland harps upon the same idea in his play of "The Brothers."

In each case the difficult rhymes are cleverly used.

Yours obediently,

A. CHAMBERS BUNTEN.

DANTE AND BACON.

To the Editor.

May I through your columns invite anyone who kindly will, to send me quotations on the subject of Dante from any of Bacon's works, acknowledged or vizarded, or from Ben Jonson, with exact reference to title, author, edition, or year of publication, volume and page?

E. FRANCIS UDNY.

8, Colville Gardens, London, W.11.

BACONIANA

MARCH, 1921.

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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 his authorship of the plays commonly ascribed to Shakspeare, and to investigate his connection with other works of the period.

Annual Subscription. For Members who receive, without further payment, two copies of BACONIANA (the Society's Magazine) and are entitled to vote at the annual General Meeting, one guinea. For Associates, who receive one copy, half-a-guinea.

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It should be clearly understood that the Bacon Society does not hold itself responsible for the views expressed by contributors to "Baconiana."

FRANCIS BACON AS A GREAT IMPERIALIST.

AN article by Sir John Cockburn, on Francis Bacon as a Great Imperialist, appeared recently in the *Morning Post*. We quote the opening and closing paragraphs.

In these days of Empire Evolution it is strange that so little mention is made of the part played by the great English statesman, who at the commencement of the era of British expansion laid down sound lines on which Colonies might be successfully founded, and who pioneered the path of Empire. Many grave mistakes which have recently imperilled our national existence would have been avoided had more heed been taken of the sage counsels of Francis Bacon. In his letter to the King on the True Greatness of Britain, in his advice to Sir George Villiers, and in his Essays, he maintained that defence should be commensurate with the increase of riches ; he laid stress on the necessity of command of the sea ; he contended that every subject should be fit to be a soldier, and that a good store of ammunition should always be kept on hand ;

he recommended the encouragement of agriculture, and discountenanced the importation of articles which could be made at home. For the purpose of dealing with the affairs of the Colonies he advocated the formation of a Committee of Plantations, which has been regarded by some as containing the germ of a much-desired Imperial Council.

Although Bacon always spoke of himself as one who was by nature better fitted for contemplation than for action, still when he did descend into the field of action he out-distanced the so-called practical men. He was one of the principal promoters of settlement in Virginia. In a short space of time after he was made Lord Chancellor, with the title of Lord Verulam, he cleared the Courts of long-standing arrears, and in spite of the rapidity of his decisions such was their soundness that all attempts to reverse them failed.

The debt civilisation owes to Bacon both in the realms of thought and action is incalculable. His philosophy is a synonym for the experimental method by which modern discoveries have been made and the forces of Nature subdued. Yet by some unaccountable perversity his name has been regarded by many of his fellow-countrymen as a byword and a reproach. He has been charged with sycophancy, cruelty, faithlessness, and corruption. Abundant evidence rebutting these accusations has been brought to light by Basil Montagu, Spedding, Hepworth Dixon, and others; yet the manifest inaccuracies of Macaulay and Lord Campbell still pass current.

* * * * *

Surely, in justice to the memory of the mighty dead and for the reputation of the British ermine the time has arrived when, with the evidence now available, the vindication of Verulam should be regarded as complete and due honour be paid to the memory of

the man who did such good service to England, to the Empire, and to the world.

Since the article was written, a Newfoundland postage stamp, here reproduced, has been brought to our notice. This stamp clearly shows that Virginia was not the only Colony in the founding of which Francis Bacon took a leading part, but that Newfoundland also is eager to acknowledge its debt of gratitude to him. Shall his native land hang back from doing as much?—
EDITORS.



The small printing beneath "Lord Bacon" reads,
"The Guiding Spirit in Colonisation Scheme."

OBSERVATIONS ON
THE LIGHT AND DARK A.
WITH OTHER MATTERS.

BY E. NESBIT.

There are some of us to whom it does not seem probable that Francis Bacon, that Past Master of subtle secrecies, should have constructed a treasure-chest of the most cunning wrought work in which to conceal a secret whose discovery in his lifetime would certainly have cost him his head; that he should have spent years in the task of hiding his secret; and that he should then have delivered up the

key of the chest, nicely oiled and ready for use, to the first comer! Yet, if Mrs. Gallup is to be believed, this is what he did, by placing his secret history in works published during his lifetime, and publishing, also during his lifetime, the plainest directions for reading this same secret history. And this in an age when a knowledge of cypher was part of the complete varnish of a gentleman, and when people played cyphers in their after-dinner hours of relaxation, even as we play bridge or billiards. See "The Chymical Marriage."

Yet it is certain that Bacon would not have written about cyphers, as he did, without a reason. He wished, beyond doubt, to draw the attention of his readers to the possibilities of cypher. He enumerates some cyphers, and he adds a warning which should be always present to the minds of those who wish to become Decypherers. He suggests that *the obvious cypher will not be the important cypher.*

These are his words:

"As to the shifting off of Examination, there is ready prepared a new and profitable invention . . . that you have two sorts of *Alphabets*, one of *true Letters*, the other of *Non-significants*. . . . Now if the Messenger be strictly examined concerning the *Cypher*, let him present the *Alphabet of Non-Significants*, for true *Letters*, but the *Alphabet* of true *Letters* for *Non-significants*; by this Art the Examiner falling upon the *exterior Letter* and finding it probable, shall suspect nothing of the *Interior Letter*."

Now, if this be intended to apply to the biliteral cypher, it is, to say the least, very loosely expressed. The biliteral cypher has not "two sorts of Alphabets, one of true letters and one of non-significants." The bi-literal has only one alphabet. The arrangement of the signs A and B in various combinations does not

constitute an alphabet which can be "presented instead of the true Alphabet."

The AAAAA, AAAAB, and so on, are not an alphabet that can be "presented" as the true Alphabet. They are *signs* (IIIII IIII2 would do as well) which are to be translated into letters by the Decypherer. But they cannot be "presented as the *true Alphabet* to the Examiner."

Now it was not Bacon's way to express himself loosely. Therefore I take it that the quotation which I have given from the *Advancement of Learning* is intended to refer to some *other* cypher. The first principle of this other cypher must be a *double Alphabet* (of true letters: of non-significants). Baptista Porta shows us how to manage this. You write the letters of the Alphabet on a disc of cardboard (Porta suggests metal) and write them again in the reverse direction on a smaller disc placed upon the first. A pin joins the two in the centre, and you can so move the discs as to bring any letter on the larger disc into line with any letter on the smaller disc. As there are twenty-four letters to the Alphabet you now have ready to your hand 24 different double Alphabets.

Thus if A equals D, B will equal C, E will equal Z, F will equal Y. And so on.

Thus CDBPQ would equal BACON; and by putting the A and D of the two dials together you can read off the letters of one into the letters of the other.

I have described this particularly, but it was hardly necessary that I should do so, for I suppose we all used this particular form of cypher—changing all letters by a dial or disc—in our schooldays. What we did *not* use (at least I did not) is the variation of it suggested in Gustavus Selenus, p. 17, wherein *some* letters are changed and some are *not* changed.

Example—BABPQ—BACON.

Change— CON.

6 Observations on the Light and Dark A.

A refinement of this is the double Alphabet, in which each letter is itself *or* its corresponding letter. This can again be done in 24 different ways. For example :—

A is A or D	I is I or V	R is R or M
B is B or C	K is K or T	S is S or L
C is C or B	L is L or S	T is T or K
D is D or A	M is M or R	U is U or I
E is E or Z	N is N or Q	W is W or H
F is F or Y	O is O or P	X is X or G
G is G or X	P is P or O	Y is Y or F
H is H or W	Q is Q or N	Z is Z or E

W is composed of VV and is often so printed. H is composed of I I.

Therefore if $H = W$, $H = VV$ and

$H = II = VV = W$

$W = VV = II = H$

And any of these are equal to any one of the others.

It is this double Alphabet which is meant by the "light and dark A" with which we are all so familiar in the head-pieces of countless books of the 16th and 17th century. And it appears to me quite plain that this double Alphabet, each letter of which is itself and not itself, is the only explanation of that neglected puzzle, *The Phoenix and the Turtle*.

The double alphabet—of light (or obvious) and dark (or concealed) letters is shown on a circle on many of the pages of Du Bartas, but only the first eight letters of the Alphabet are given there. Underneath are the words, ACCEPTAM REFERO.

If you want to understand exactly and without any trouble what is meant by a letter being A *or* D, get a child's box of "Word-making and Word-taking" letters, and write on the back of each lettered square the letter which corresponds to it in the Alphabet I have given.

Write D on the back of A. C on the back of B. A on the back of D. Z on the back of E, and so on. Then pick out a name—say the name, B.A.C.O.N., with all the letters right way up, as for the child's game. On the obverse side will be C D.B.P.Q. But if you reverse some of the letters and not all you may get B.A.B.P.Q. or some other variation, but you know that *on the right side of the lettered square there is always the same name*, B.A.C.O.N.

As I have said, there are 24 ways of making simple double Alphabets. But I have chosen this particular mutation because the sonnets are dedicated to Mr. W. H. and in this double Alphabet M = R, W = H.

In "The Mind of the Frontispiece" (Agalus & Parthenia F. Quarles) the nouns are Reader, Frontispiece, Argument, Book, Muse, Curtain. The initials R.F.A.B.M.C. give us M.R.F.B.A.C.

There are many other reasons, but I cannot give these without dealing with numbers, a subject which I do not propose to touch in this article.

This double Alphabet is not, in itself, a complete cypher, but it is one of the foundations, or constituents, of cyphers. And I hope that readers will experiment with it themselves.

No cipher code is needed to enable us to read the familiar F. BACON near the beginning of "The Tempest," nor the almost equally obvious F. BACON at the end of "Lucrece."

The Motto of the advancement of Learning

Crescit occulto velut Arbor aevo Fama Baconi
gives us plainly F. BAC in capitals. And so forth.

But we soon come across examples slightly less simple, where "every word doth *almost* spell the name," where you feel that there is something to be read, but you cannot quite read it.

I will give two examples, and will then explain the

very simple device by which the name is spelt not *almost* but *completely*.

I. At the beginning of Napier's Logarithms, 1620, is a Latin poem, signed Andreas Junius.

It looks as though it began with the word BUCHANAN, but when you look closely you see that the U is a A wrong way up. And the words ANDREAS IUNIVS, by a simple anagram, confirm this.

BVCHANANE tibi NEPERUM adscisce sodalem,

Floreat & nostris *Scolia* nostra viris :

Nam velut ad summum culmen perducta Poesis

In te stat, nec quo progrediatur habet :

Sic etiam ad summum est culmen perducta Mathesis,

Inque hoc stat, nec quo progrediatur habet.

ANDREAS IUNIUS.

The U of Buchanan being an A as it certainly is, the first three letters of each line taken together "almost spell" Bacon's name. The anagram jumps to the eyes.

BACFLONAMINTSICINQ

FANCIS BACON.

But the name is not complete. The letters left unused are LMITINQ.

II. In the chapter on anagrams in Camden's Remaines (1623), p. 157, is what purports to be an anagram on "Sr. Francis Bacon, Lord Keeper." (twenty-four letters). This anagram is:—

"Is born and elect for a rich speaker" (twenty-nine letters).

Now an anagram is a re-arrangement of the letters of one word or sentence so that they make another word or sentence. And a twenty-four letter sentence cannot be made into an anagram of twenty-nine letters.

IS BORN AND ELECT FOR A RICH SPEAKER
has five letters more than SR. FRANCIS BACON

pursue, going on where the little black hand in the margin points to the line

WALLIS ES IN ANIMA.

So much for the double, or "light and dark" Alphabet, which turns *almost* into *quite* and will make many rough ways smooth for the decipherer.

* * * *

The purport of this article is, however, not merely to explain the light and dark A, but to urge Baconians to experiment for themselves with Elizabethan and Jacobean books; to strike out their own paths, not following for ever a stale scent—if indeed it be the scent of the fox and not a red herring drawn across the track of his scent by the most wise and cunning of men. If ciphers are to be sought in sober earnest the cipher books of the period, especially Porta and Selenus, should at once be translated, and at least a typed copy should be obtainable by every Baconian who takes deciphering seriously.

Meanwhile the puzzles in "Love's Labour Lost" cry out for consideration. The one that bid you "add yeres to the word three" and ends up "A fine Figure. To prove you a cypher." Solve that, dear friends! And the one about the Fox and the Ape and the Humble Bee, from which you can get Shakespeare's name and date, and very much beside.

The poem which begins:

"The Preyfull Princessse" will teach you abundantly if you experiment with it in the right spirit. Among other things it gives the signature F R. A N D. A. BACON.

Then there is the long word: H O N O R I F I C A - B I L I T U D I N I T A T I B U S

There is a pleasant little counting puzzle with M (12) which results in the segregation of the seven letters I. Most of us, I suppose, are accustomed to

show this at the after-dinner hour, when people show puzzles with matches and corks and numbers.

Having eliminated the I's, you take the letters which are left, use the double alphabet, changing only three letters, and you will have

I, FR. BACON, T O W I T, S T. A L B A N.

These few examples and indeed all that I have written, can but touch the fringe of this mighty subject. A vast field for research remains wholly unexplored. Problems of the deepest mystery, the most poignant interest, crowd upon us. For instance, what is the nature of the extreme importance attached to the words, "Fair Kind and True?" They occur, three times, in sonnet 105; but also in all sorts of books, on the pages 16, 101 and 287 these words occur. If there are not 287 pages in any book you will often find the third word on the 287th page, counting to the end of the book and then back. If the book is in Latin you will have "*pulcher*" or "*bella*" for "fair"; *verus* for true, and, in a very characteristic jest "*gens*" for kind. I subjoin a few examples of this, and I wish that Baconians would try to add to this list, by searching every book of the period for these words, on pages 16, 101 and 287.

On these pages 16, 101 and 287 you will find Faire, Kind and True, or some Latin equivalent, or else air inde (Indian) and rew. These occur, I believe, in books published before Bacon's birth and certainly after his death, as late as 1724

I give some instances:—

1623 Folio ..	..	p. 16	Ayre.
		p. 101.	Kind.
		p. 287.	True
Nouum Organum ..		p. 16.	Vero.
		p. 101.	Pulcherinæ.
		p. 287.	Genus (Kind).

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Henry VII.	..	p. 16.	From end True
		p. 101.	From end Kind
		p. 287.	From end Faire.
Wootton's Reliques		p. 16.	Ayre.
		p. 101.	Indian (K) ind.
		p. 287.	True.
Camden's Remaines		p. 16.	Indian (K) ind.
		p. 101.	True.
		p. 287.	Parem (of the same kind).
Daniel's History	..	p. 16.	(From end) Faire.
		p. 101.	(From end) True.
		p. 287.	(From end) Un(kind)ness.
Emblemata Horatiana		p. 16.	Schonheit (mispage).
		p.	Vera.
		p. 287.	True.
Sidney's Arcadia	..	p. 16.	Kind.
		p. 101.	Faire.
		p.	Faire (the rest is Greek)
Burton's Anatomy		p. 16.	Kind.
		p. 101.	Pulchritudine.
		p. 287.	True.
Beaumont and Fletcher. The Coxcombe		p. 16.	Fair.
		p. 101.	True.
		p. 187.	Kind.
History of Life and Death	.. ..	p. 16.	True.
		p. 101.	Aire.
		p. 287.	Kind.
Du Bartas	.. ..	p. 16.	(From end), True.
		p. 101.	(From end), Fairer, Ayre.
		p. 287.	(From end), Mankinde, Fair Kind.

Napier's Logs	..	p. 16.	Line 16.	Uerum.
		p. 101.	K.33.	805. 196
			K	I N D
Imitatio Christi	..	p. 16.	Faire.	
		p. 287.	True	
Lives of the Fathers		p. 16.	True.	
		p. 101	Faire	
Rochester's Works		p. 16.	Truth.	
		p. 101	Beauty.	
		p. 287.	Kind.	
Sydney's Arcadia	..	p. 16 (from end).	Indian.	
		p. 101 (from end).	True Faire.	
Spenser	.. ..	p. 16.	Kindness and Faire	
			Kinds.	
		p. 16.	Fairest, faire and faire.	
		p. 101.	Faire, faire, Beacon.	
Sylve Sylvarum	..	p. 16 (from end).	Folum Indum	
			Air.	
		p. 101 (from end).	Kinde.	
New Atlantis	..	p. 16 (from end).	True.	
		p. 101 (from end).	Fair.	
		p. 287 (from end).	Kind.	
History of Life and Death	.. ..	p. 16.	True.	
		p. 101.	Aire.	
		p. 287.	Kinde.	
Camden's Remaines		p. 16 (from end).	Benignne.	
		p. 101 (from end)	Faire.	
		p. 287 (from end).	True.	

The words Fair, Kind and True are the beginning of a very elaborate and complicated cipher, the Key to which appears to be the secret name of God. To Bacon, I believe God and Nature were one.

I want to see Baconians break new ground, and the examples I have given here will, I hope, show as a

few of the scattered coins, stamped with the name of the Master, which will reward the digger who comes to his work as a discoverer, and not as one who desires to confirm or refute the discoveries claimed by others.

SIR FRANCIS BACON AND VIRGINIA COLONY.

BY ALICIA AMY LEITH.

THE *Detroit Free Press* of March 2nd, 1920, has an Article by Mr. Frederick Ranney well worth noting. He reviews an Analysis by Dr. Charles Gayley, Dean of the University of California, and late Professor of the University of Michigan, of the close relationship of the greatest of all poets, Shakespeare, to the founders of liberty in America, and more particularly to the Colony of Virginia. "This delightful work," says Mr. Ranney, "shows an exact connection also between Richard Hooker, the great ecclesiastical Philosopher, and the first officers and council of Virginia—Sir Edwin Sandys, the Earls of Southampton and Pembroke, Sackville, Neville, Gates, Brooke, Selden, Digges, the Ferrars, and Sir Francis Bacon who" (as Ranney points out) "was both a Member of the Virginian Council of 1609, and one of the two eminent lawyers employed to revise the charter of the council which took effect that year; while he also prepared it for the king's signature."

Professor Gayley, perhaps, has hardly grasped the scope of broad-browed Verulam's influence on the early life of the colony, though he wrote that: "social political, and religious principles were so planted in Virginia that they may be traced, not only in many

judicial decisions of the early days of America and in the constitution of the United States, but they may even be found among the fourteen articles of President Wilson." Mr. Kanney, on the contrary, finds Bacon's influence strongly marked, and that is to him a very exhilarating thought—one which opens out a significant line of investigation. Full of admiration for the political and social character of Bacon, he asks whether there "was any greater idealist on government reform than he? Twenty-five years in the House of Commons, and twenty years Leader there, he was ever on the side of reform, and the most powerful supporter of Monarchy with constitutional limitations." Our enthusiasts points out that all the noblemen and gentlemen on the Virginian Council were his friends, some of them his business companions, and one (Sir Henry Neville) his kinsman.

When, as Attorney General, Bacon was elected for three Boroughs (a most unprecedented return) the patriotic and poplar Sir Edwin Sandys sat in the same Parliament. Lord William Pembroke of Baynard's Castle, Blackfriars, was not only a personal friend, but also his coadjutor and ally in laying out Gray's Inn garden, which abutted pleasantly on the mansion of their mutual friend the Earl of Southampton. Another close friend of Bacon on the Council was Sir Edward Sackville, who with noble ardour rode down to Gorhambury to offer Alice, Lady Bacon, an interview with the Prince of Wales, at a moment when such an act of friendship from such a man was balm to the broken-hearted Chancellor.

Perhaps among all the friends in the Virginian Council the one nearest Bacon's heart was John Selden, who proved his veneration for the great man by taking notes when they sat at table of all the witty and wise words that fell from his lips. John

Seldon, statesman and jurist, was indeed a true and chosen friend. Rather than part from his master Seldon followed him into his retirement.

Mr. Ranney notes another important link between Bacon and Virginia. This was William Strachey the first Secretary of the Colony. Strachey's first literary work was "The True Repertory," which described the wreck of the Sea Venture on the Isle of Devils (the Bermudas), with Sir George Somers on board, on his way to assume the Governorship of the Colony of Virginia. His second work was "History of Travel into Virginia Brittania," and this was dedicated to Sir Francis Bacon. He wrote with his own hand two copies; one of these was deposited in the British Museum, the other attached to the collection of Elias Ashmole, is therefore probably to be found in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. These interesting documents were unearthed by Mr. R. H. Major in 1849, and printed for the Hakluyt Society.

The Dedication to Bacon runs as follows:

"To the right Honorable Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, Baron of Verulam, Lord High Chancellor of England, and of His Majestie's most honourable Privy Counsell. Most worthely Honor'd Lord.

Your Lordship ever approving yourself a most noble fautor of the Virginian Plantation, being from the beginning with other lords and earls of the principal Counsell, applyed to propogate and guide yt, and my poore self (bound to your observance, by being one of the Grayes-Inn Society) having bene there three years, thither imploied in place of Secretary so long there present; and setting down with all my well meaning abilities a true narration or Historie of the countrie; to whom should I submitt so aptly, as to your most worthie and best-judging Lordship? who in all vertuous and religious endeavours have ever bene as

a supream encourager so an inimitable patterne and perfecter ; nor shall my plaine and rude composition any thought discourage my attempt, since howsoever I should feare to appeare therein before so matchless a maister in that facultie (if any opinionate worth of my works presented me) yet as the great Composer of all things made all good with his own goodness, and in our only will to his imitation, takes us into his act, so be his goodnes your Lordship's in this acceptation: for which with all my poore service I shall bide ever

Your Lordship's most humbly

William Strachey."

Bacon's own words on Plantations are valuable and show how much thought he gave to the subject.

"Consider what commodity the soil where the Plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the Plantation, so it be not as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business, as it hath fared with Tobacco in Virginia Let not the Government of the Plantation depend upon too many Counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number ; and let these be rather noblemen and gentlemen than merchants for they look ever to the present gain If you plant where savages are do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles

. . . but use them justly and graciously . . . and send oft of them over to the country that plants that they may see a better condition than their own and commend it when they return." That King James took this advice we see by the following statement in the Colonial State Calendar of January 18th, 1617.

"Pocahontas, Virginian woman with her father have been with the King and graciously used—both were well placed at the Mask."

18 Sir Francis Bacon and Virginia Colony.

Lord Bacon's connection with America may also be seen in the Extract from a Patent, quoted from the Colonial State Calendar of May 2nd, 1610.

“ To Henry Earl of Northampton, Sir Francis Bacon, and others for the Colony or Plantation in Newfoundland, from 46 to 52 North Latitude, together with the seas and Islands lying within ten leagues of the coast ; reserving to all manner of persons to what Nation soever as well as English, the right of trade and *fishing* in Latitude aforesaid West.

John Smith to Lord Bacon enclosing description of New England, the extraordinary profits arising from the fisheries there, and great facilities for Plantation. To show difference between Virginia and New England. Statute afterwards to “ certain parts of North Virginia ” called New England.”

(December 15 1621).

In connecting Bacon with the founding of Virginia we would do well to remember that his biographer Mallet has called him :

“ The great asserter of human liberty.”

THE BACON FAMILY.

AN odd little pamphlet, curiously entitled, "The False Pedigree and Arms of the Family of Bacon of Suffolk, the ancestors of Sir Nicholas Bacon, of Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam), and of the present Premier Baronet," by Walter Rye, has recently been published in Norwich, and the author claims to have exposed not only a "fictitious pedigree," but even a fraudulent grant of arms made by the Heralds of the Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon. To those who are seeking for information relating to the family of Francis Bacon the pamphlet is disappointing, as the text, which purports to be "an exposure," is for the most part a confused medley of extracts from documents loosely strung together without any idea of arrangement or intelligible design. An attempt is made to trace the pedigree of the Bacons of Baconsthorpe, but for some unexplained reason it is carried no further than John Bacon, who died in 1462. The author alleges, however, that so far as his researches go, in no single instance can any property belonging to the Baconsthorpe family be traced to Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper. This is what he calls an "exposure," and he refers to the "spurious pedigree" and "their forged descent." A tabular statement, "The Pedigree showing the Lord Keeper's Real descent," is set out at some length, but the author also describes it as "The Tabular alleged Pedigree," as if he was uncertain whether it was real or only alleged. It is all very bewildering and not very accurate. For instance, Thomas Bacon of Northaw, Herts., who was one of the brothers of the Lord Keeper, did not die without issue as stated in the tabled pedigree. There is some authority for the mistake, no doubt, but an examination of the will of James Bacon, the other

brother of the Lord Keeper, has proved that the statement is incorrect. By his will James Bacon, Alderman of London, who died in 1573, bequeathed a sum of £100 to Robert Bacon, "son of my brother Thomas Bacon." It is also noticeable that the Lord Keeper's uncle, John Bacon, is omitted from the pedigree.

But perhaps the greatest disappointment is that there are many appendices to the treatise containing long lists of names belonging to the Bacon family, with references to their wills, and we expected to find in an account of "the Bacon family of Suffolk" at least some mention of Thomas Bacon of Faversham, Suffolk, who was sergeant of the acatry in Queen Mary's reign. It was this Thomas Bacon who was the father of Matthie Bacon, the owner of the house in Blackfriars, which was purchased by William Shakespeare; and the omission is all the more surprising because Mr. Walter Rye appears to be an ardent Shakespearean. For although he somewhat naively states that he "intended the work to be a serious contribution to local genealogy," he has gone out of his way to make a clumsy attack upon the Baconian theory of the authorship of the Shakespeare plays, and it is evident that he approaches the subject with a bitterly aggrieved mind. After a contemptuous reference to the "stupendous folly" and "plausible rubbish," with which he credits Baconians, he makes a fatuous attempt at parody in what he calls "the true Delia Bacon style." But the value of his contribution to the problem may be measured by the depth of judgment revealed in the following criticism:—

"Much has been said of the improbability that a man who is supposed to have risen from the ranks could write as Shakespeare did. But one has heard of a Scotchman named Burns and of our local man

Porson, both of whom were by birth of an infinitely lower rank than Shakespeare, but who was (*sic*) the one the most popular poet of his day and the other the greatest Greek scholar in Europe. There is much snobbery in views like these. Even Byron, who prided himself on his high descent, thought it unnecessary to mention the fact that he only came from a bastard of the real Byrons."

Mr. Rye misses, of course, the point of the argument, when he refers to the "inferiority of birth," and the false analogy between the poet Burns and the author of the Shakespeare plays has been explained so often that it is tedious to mention it again. The poetry of the Ayrshire ploughman was inspired by his surroundings and nobody would suggest that it was the result of wide reading and extensive knowledge. But the instance of Porson is equally unconvincing. History is crammed with examples of men who have been born in a humble condition of life and by their own industry have achieved distinction. A student's life, hard work, and a thirst for knowledge combined with opportunities and natural ability have been in keeping with their attainments. In the case of Porson, we have a great scholar who led the life of a scholar, though his father was parish clerk and a weaver by trade. The son, however, displayed great ability at school which attracted generous patrons who paid for his education at Eton, and he became a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. He won the Craven scholarship and the Chancellor's medal, became fellow of his college and Greek Professor of the University. We know that he had the ability, the training, and opportunities which made him one of the greatest scholars of his time. If the Stratford yeoman had been a scholar, nobody of course would suggest that his humble condition of life would necessarily be a bar to literary achieve-

ments. But the difficulty, which must be faced by those who desire to criticise the Baconian theory, is that there is no record at Stratford or elsewhere, no tradition among his contemporaries and no reason to suppose that William Shakespeare was a student or had any literary attainments. All that we know of his life and surroundings is wholly inconsistent with the idea that he had any opportunities of acquiring or was in the least equipped with those vast stores of knowledge and learning which are a predominant characteristic of the Shakespeare plays.

But the passage from Mr. Rye's treatise continues as follows:—

“ Anyhow, Shakespeare's father was a well known and successful local man at Stratford, and his mother was of gentle blood, and when the family was in a position to bear arms they applied for them in a straightforward way.

“ But Bacon's father (Sir Nicholas) when he took a grant took a lying one, which untruly alleged his descent from the great Norfolk family of Bacons of Baconsthorpe, and got a grant of their arms, though his forbears had on two occasions applied for and used a totally different coat.

“ When we come to the relative positions of the two families there is little to be said in favour of the great (?) Bacon's family. His grandfather, Robert Bacon, was certainly only the sheep reeve of the Abbot of Bury—no doubt a very respectable and undoubtedly remunerative position, but which socially and as a matter of precedence inferior to that of Shakespeare's father, who had filled the posts of Chamberlain and Auditor of Stratford.

“ It was not till Sir Nicholas Bacon had become a very big man indeed, the year before he opposed the Duke of Norfolk's marriage with Queen Mary, that he

thought of tacking on to the old Norfolk family and getting a grant of their arms (gu. on a chief arg., 2 mullets sa.) under cover of a fictitious pedigree set out in such grant, and which will not bear investigation for a moment, for the reasons I have set out in detail in the text."

Again it is necessary to call the attention of Mr. Rye to the point of the argument. There is nothing "snobbish" about it. It is not a question—as Mr. Rye seems to think—whether Bacon's grandfather, who was a farm bailiff, was in a superior position in life to Shakespeare's father who was bailiff of Stratford, such an inquiry as that would be senseless and stupid. But it is a far cry from keeping the town accounts of Stratford to the literary attainments of the author of the Shakespeare plays. On the other hand, we know that Bacon's father was educated at Cambridge, became a member of Gray's Inn, and rose to the highest eminence in his profession by his industry and study combined with natural abilities.

His son, Francis Bacon, followed in his father's footsteps with the additional advantage of a home training under his mother, one of the most accomplished women of her time, and an early education under Sir Anthony Cooke, the tutor of Edward VI., whose fine library at Gidea Hall was always at his disposal. After a university career he spent two years on the continent in an ambassador's household, and on his return to England he was engaged in state service and literary studies long before he began to practice at the Bar, and yet the suggestion of Mr. Rye seems to be that in the matter of education there is nothing to choose between William Shakspeare and Francis Bacon, because the grandfather of the latter was sheep reeve to the Abbot of Bury, and the father of the former was Town bailiff of Stratford.

BACON AND SHAKESPEARE PLAY- MATES.

BY HENRY SEYMOUR

A MOST exhaustive and profusely illustrated quarto, entitled, "Shakespeare's True Life." was written by Mr. James Walter, of St. Margaret's, Middlesex; the illustrations were done by Mr. Gerald E. Moira, and the book was published, *for strictly private circulation*, in the year 1890. The cost of its production must have been very great, judging from the beautiful paper, faultless typography, and the gorgeous illustrations, of which there are at least one, and in numerous instances two on each page. It was dedicated to Sir Theodore Martin, K.C.B., and to Helen Faucit, Lady Martin. I regard it as the most elaborate life of the Stratford Shakespeare ever written, being crammed with the most painstaking research, even though much of that may amount only to traditional gossip, while the sincerity of the author is manifest throughout—his evident design being to remove the many injurious aspersions made by earlier biographers of the actor, and to make some attempt to vindicate his moral character as not being altogether inconsistent with the thesis that he was the author of the great Plays and Poems. To what degree of successful special pleading he reaches in making the actor's callous desertion of his wife and habitual drunkenness square with the lofty sentiment revealed in the sublime love story of "Romeo and Juliet," must, for the nonce, be left out of account. What I would rather dwell on, in connection with the publication of this important book is the frequent catchphrase of the

Stratfordian apologists that Bacon could not have written "Romeo and Juliet," for example, because he was, pre-eminently, a philosopher (which they construe to be a man without passion), and that, moreover, he had no experience in stagecraft, nor possessed the dramatic instinct. If, therefore, we may with propriety assume from the book under notice that Bacon was, as a matter of fact, not only connected with plays, but players, and particularly with Shakespeare himself, then this must assuredly outweigh the negative assumption. If we turn to page 333 of this interesting volume, there is a fine representation of the "Hall of the Inner Temple," and under which is recorded that "Lord Bacon is traditioned as assisting with Shakespeare in a performance in this hall." Referring, further, to "Twelfth Night" as "the perfection of English comedy and the most fascinating drama in the English language," the author tells us that "it is on record that this play was performed before the benchers in the hall of the Middle Temple, and conjecture points to Shakespeare's intimacy with Bacon at the time, as both are reputed to have aided in its production, and that most likely Shakespeare took a part in its performance." And, further, "prior to the production of either of Shakespeare's plays at the Middle Temple, Old Gray's Inn Hall had made his acquaintance, and can boast of him as a frequent guest. One of his early plays was first produced there, but it is not known which. Lord Bacon is said to have joined him on the occasions of his visits to the hall."

From the foregoing there appears to be ample presumptive evidence of Bacon being interested in and closely associated with the histrionic art, as well as being intimate with the actor whose name, if nothing more, will go down to posterity. The custom

of actors to don false names continues largely to the present day, but an actor in the reign of Elizabeth was little better than "a rogue and a vagabond" in the eye of the law, and therefore some cogent excuse existed for the practice of this partial concealment of identity. The question arises—Was *Shakespeare* the real name of the Stratford actor? Or was it a borrowed *nom de plume*? Or a colourable imitation?

Referring to later events, the author proceeds to state that "Bacon's connection with Richmond dated early in his life, prior to his accession to titles or honours, and, therefore, before his degradation. He came into possession of the St. Margaret's, Twickenham, estate through Queen Elizabeth's favourite Earl, Robert Essex, who is said to have presented the property to him, although there appears to have been a lease of it in the Bacon family as early as 1574, when it was demised to Edward Bacon, third son of Sir Nicholas, the Lord Keeper, by his first wife. In 1581, a lease was granted for thirty years to Edward Garrett, and in 1595 a further lease to Francis Bacon and John Hibberd. In 1592, Bacon seems suddenly to have taken refuge here with several friends, among whom was Field, author of a noted treatise, 'Of the Church,' consequent on a pestilence having broken out in Gray's Inn, and which dispersed the law men of the inn—a community of which Bacon was at the time a prominent member. It was just shortly before this plague-fright that Shakespeare and Bacon had been jointly engaged in getting up one or more of his plays at Gray's Inn; and it comes with the saying they should be frequently together in the eminently charming retreat just acquired by Bacon at the munificent hand of Elizabeth's favourite. Catholic traditions assert that Bacon wrote the first portion of his great Essays under the cedars of Twickenham

Park ; others go further, and say, our information is that Shakespeare and Bacon had a special fondness for the two old cedars, and spent much time, on occasions of Shakespeare visiting and resting with his friend at Twickenham, in reading and converse under the shade of those wide-spreading venerable trees."

This lengthy quotation presents us with a pretty picture, but much surmise apparently enters into it. We know that there is another story of Bacon's acquisition of the Twickenham property ; and that Essex was a debtor to the Bacons, of which certain adjacent lands were given by way of set-off to the many obligations under which Essex had become beholden to Francis and Anthony. It is also improbable that Bacon and Shakespeare were ever *friends* in the fullest sense of the word. The attendance upon Bacon at Twickenham as a guest is not incompatible with the *role* of an actor taking his " coaching " and other necessary cues from his prompter. If they *were* great friends, and not mere business-contracting parties, it is surely a most remarkable circumstance that, assuming also that they were the greatest intellects the world has known, neither should have made the slightest reference to the other in their published works. Yet this should be said with a saving reservation, for the author of " As You Like It " has left us a pen-picture of the Stratford actor to the life in the character of the chaw-bacon, *William*, and in his brief encounter with *Touchstone*.

“THE TEMPEST.”

AN ALLEGORY.

BY R. L. EAGLE.

BEFORE entering upon any argument as to whether or not there be any autobiographical, symbolic or allegorical purpose intended by that curious play, which was to mark Shakespeare's exit from the sweet delights of dramatic poesy, it would be as well, I think, to quote some wise words which impressed me very greatly when reading the Introduction to “The Tempest” in the Arden Shakespeare. The Editor (Mr. Morton Luce, who has contributed many valuable works of Shakespearean criticism) says:—

“Critics who contend for an absolute objectivity in the dramatic work of Shakespeare forget that they are making the man into a machine; that they are offering an insult to the wisdom of one who was the very wisest of their kind; that they deny him those attributes of a fully-endowed mind which at other times they are over-anxious to concede. The great artist puts into his work the best part of him; and in a long series of creations the spirit of his life will consciously or unconsciously become manifest. The strikingly high moral tone of ‘The Tempest’ must alone make it autobiographical; if such a play was written without any personal feeling or personal interest on the part of its author, then it is false, wrong, mischievous. It is a dramatic imposture; we must feel great truths before we can tell them. But apart from these considerations, if there be no connection between Shakespeare's abandonment of

the drama, and the character of Prospero which he sketched when his mind must have been full of the coming change, then we have in ‘ The Tempest ’ a most astonishing literary coincidence.”

The play is clearly, to some extent, an allegory which invites enquiry as to the meaning concealed beneath the surface of the poet’s lines. Many learned commentators have suspected that the dignified figure of Prospero represents the poet’s conception of his own magnificence. It is when they come to match this great philosopher and magician with the Stratford player that the theory becomes unworkable. But the character fits Francis Bacon to the very life. Through the mouth of Prospero Bacon talks not only of his dream of the future, but gives a brief outline of his own experience of life. As a young man, he embraced the prospect of succeeding to his father’s place as chief minister of the State. He was encouraged by the notice the Queen took of him, and was sent abroad in 1576, at the age of 16, to observe the government and customs of foreign nations. But he was unsuited by temperament for the management of State affairs. In his own words he was “ fitter to hold a book than to play a part ”—thus resembling Hamlet who enters reading a book when he should act. Carried away by contemplations, he absented himself from Court in favour of the solitude of his “ poor cell ” at Gray’s Inn, or retired to his delightful retreat at Twickenham. Other men were appointed to the offices which might have been his. Like Prospero he “ to his state grew stranger, being transported and rapt in secret studies.” Macaulay observes that “ Much of Bacon’s life was passed in a visionary world as strange as any that are described in the Arabian tales, or in romances.” The pursuit of law was distasteful to him because, as he says, “ it drinketh too much time which I have devoted

to better purposes." To his uncle Burleigh he confesses his unfitness for office in his remark, "The contemplative planet carrieth me away wholly." That poetry was the chief pre-occupation of his mind is attested by a letter to the Earl of Essex in 1594 concerning the Earl's promise of assistance in obtaining office for Bacon. Bacon here admits that he has been drinking from the Muses' well—that Castalain fount at which the author of "Venus and Adonis" claims to have been inspired. Bacon writes :

"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."

In October, 1594, he writes to his brother Antony : "I am well pleased at my being here, for solitariness collecteth the mind, as shutting the eyes doth the sight."

This period when Bacon grew a stranger to the Court to devote himself to studies and contemplation corresponds with the beginning of Prospero's story. Prospero belongs to that type of man noted by Bacon in *The Advancement of Learning*, where he observes that :

"Men eminent in virtue often abandon their fortunes willingly that they may have leisure for higher pursuits."

That very sacrifice was made by Bacon, and it was the greatness of Prospero's intellect (he, like Bacon had "taken all knowledge to be his province") that forced him to abandon worldly pursuits for the sake of "that angel Knowledge." The story is told in these lines :

Being reputed.

In dignity and for the liberal arts
Without a parallel, these being all my study,
The government I cast upon my brother,
And to my state grew stranger, being transported
And rapt in secret studies.

Now I claim that poetry comes within the scope of “secret studies,” for in Sidney’s “Apologie for Poetrie” (1595) it is written, “There are many mysteries contained in poetry, which of purpose were written darkly, lest by profane wits it should be abused.” In “*The Teares of the Muses*” (1591), Spenser speaks of the divine art as “That secret skill.” Like the poetry of the Ancients, there are many mysteries contained in the poetry of Shakespeare, and commentators have not yet solved the meaning of his Sonnets, or “The Phoenix and Turtle,” or “A Lover’s Complaint.” Prospero has been represented on the stage as a sorcerer of the traditional kind, furnished with skull, hour-glass, etc. But this is to miss the whole point of the play which deals solely with the magic of Shakespeare’s own creative art which had enabled him to conjure up the Kings, Princes, Soldiers and other famous heroes of Greece and Rome, of Britain and France, in a more gorgeous state than they probably existed in actual life. So the poet casts his eye backward and exults over the performance of his genius :

Graves at my command.

Have waked their sleepers, and let them forth
By my so potent art.

Professor Boas (“Shakespeare and His Predecessors,” 1902) quotes the passage above, and observes that “the sleepers re-summoned to the upper world are the bloodless phantoms of the past thrilled by the elixir of genius into a second and more splendid life.”

In the Sonnets, the poet speaks to “the better part” of him—his own genius—in the shape of the

beautiful youth, and in the sixty-eighth verse again expresses his pride in the power of his art to re-create the heroes and beauties of antiquity—"To live a second life on second head":

Thou art the grave where buried love doth live . . .
Their *images* I loved I view in thee.

Thus is his cheek the map of days outworn . . .
In him those holy antique hours are seen,
And him as for a map doth Nature store
To show false art what beauty was of yore.

These lines emphasise the actual representation before the eyes of these images. Sidney says that Poetry "Yieldeth to the power of the mind an *image* of that whereof the Philosopher bestoweth but a wordish description." It was in Sidney's "Apologie" that I came across a probable explanation of the garment which Prospero puts on when there is "magic" to be performed. Here it is said that "The Philosophers of Greece did very often borrow the masking raiment of Poesie" when they desired to make use of the stage to communicate the knowledge of human nature, and to set virtue and vice together before the eyes that even the uneducated masses may learn to admire the one and hate the other. Indeed, the Drama is the only vehicle by which this branch of philosophy can be successfully transported.¹

¹When the philosopher, Prospero, puts on his magic garment and wields his staff, he has the power and art to make himself invisible at will. A stage-direction in Act III., Sc. 3, reads: "Solemn and strange music; and Prospero above invisible." The garment was, therefore, 'a masking raiment,' such as Sidney mentions, was often borrowed by the Philosophers of Greece. It has been pointed out by the Baconians that Bacon refers to himself as a "concealed poet" in a letter to Sir John Davies, upon the latter setting out to welcome King James to England. Bacon practised the art of concealment from a very early date. He declared dissimulation to be "a compendious wisdom."

Among those Shakespeareans who have declared that the play is autobiographical I would especially name the famous Danish commentator, Dr. George Brandes. He writes in a critical examination of the play that "Prospero, Duke of Milan, absorbed in scientific study, and finding his real Dukedom in his library, imprudently entrusted the direction of his little state to his brother, Antonio." But did the Stratford man ever take an interest in any book, scientific or otherwise? There is no mention of a single volume in his will, and yet the author of the immortal works had read widely into the literature of all ages and climes, and had absorbed all the learning that was obtainable. Did the player ever neglect worldly ends for the sake of bettering his mind, or for any other noble cause? The facts of his life prove that he was just 'a man of business, and almost a Shylock in his hard dealings. But here is another picture to compare with Dr. Brandes' illustration of Prospero. Montagu, in his "Life and Letters of Lord Bacon," describes that great philosopher:

"Conscious 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."

This tragedy of Bacon's life is reviewed in the Sonnets (Nos. 109-120) telling of the absence from his "friend," when his soul became a stranger to him and many "errors" were committed.¹ Bacon had many enemies at Court, and chief among them was his

¹In the course of this sonnet-sequence, Bacon relates that his nature was subdued to public work not willingly, but of necessity. He blames Fortune (S. 111) that had provided no better a lot for him "than public means," so that he could have given all his time to studies and literature for which Nature had fitted him.

cousin Robert Cecil, the son of Lord Treasurer Burleigh. He was a fitter man both by training and temperament for the business of state affairs. It was said at the time that in the *Essay Of Deformity* (which appeared in 1612) Bacon expressed his own feelings against Sir Robert, who was deformed in body. I am of opinion that the allusion to "one deformed" ("Much Ado," III-3), who is said to have been "a vile thief this seven year," is a hit at Cecil. This play is supposed to have been written in 1601 and seven years before, his cousin had defeated Bacon in the appointment to the place of Solicitor-General. The author of the Sonnets had beheld, among other abuses, "strength by limping sway disabled," and probably the reference is not so obscure as has been declared. It was the great "tempest" of state in 1606, over the Bill of Union to unite the Scots and English on terms of equality, which brought several of Bacon's enemies into disgrace. Bacon, who had been a mere onlooker during the crisis, emerged from the storm with the king's written engagement for the office of Solicitor-General. Prospero's final triumph over his enemies represents, as I think, the position in which Bacon found himself after these events.

In the last scene of all, Prospero decides for himself that on retirement "every third thought shall be my grave." Francis Bacon endorsed this outlook on death and the beyond—"Spes omnis in futuram vitam consumenda," he writes in *Meditationes Sacrae*. Indeed, how entirely Baconian is the philosophy of Prospero. Take the noble lines on the virtue of forgiveness:

Though with their high wrongs I am stung to the quick,
 Yet with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury
 Do I take part. The rarer action is
 In virtue than in vengeance. They being penitent
 The sole drift of my purpose doth extend
 Not a frown further.

This duty of forgiveness is ever the teaching of Shakespeare and is fully exemplified in the life of Bacon. In the *Essay Of Revenge* published in 1625 (a year before his death) Bacon says that “ In taking revenge a man is but even with his enemy ; but in passing it over he is superior.” It is this precept that Prospero carries into effect. Sir Tobie Matthew (one of the few friends that Bacon grappled to his heart) says of Francis Bacon : “ I may truly say that I never saw in him any trace of a vindictive mind whatever injury was done him, nor never heard him utter a word to any man's disadvantage proceeding from personal feeling against the man.”

In his Introduction to the Arden Shakespeare edition, Mr. Morton Luce sees Prospero as “ Looking down from an Olympian height on mortal affairs,” in “ the mood of the Creator in his creation.” Now this is precisely the point of view from which Bacon regarded his life work. He divided his labours into six divisions, in imitation of the Divine Architect, and makes frequent comparison between the works of the Holy Philosopher and his own self-imposed task to confer on the human race the benefit of that beam of knowledge he derived from God. I should imagine that Prospero had a similar object in abandoning himself to his studies and books, and making the sacrifice of personal gain and worldly power that such a life entailed.

Yet one more parallel must be made between the character of Prospero and of Bacon. “ Superhuman man of spirit,” writes Dr. Brandes, “ he embodied nature within, and overcame the bitterness caused by his wrongs in the harmony of his own richly spiritual life.” How admirably do these words comply with the close of Bacon's life ! The storms that passed over his head towards the close of his life left

him physically a wreck. Among his letters, written after those unhappy events, is one addressed "To my Lord of Buckingham after my trouble; I thank God." he says, "I have overcome the bitterness of this cup by Christian resolution, so that worldly matters are but mint and cumin."

The other important characters of "The Tempest" fall easily into the allegorical setting of the play. Miranda is Prospero's beloved offspring, and the name signifies, of course, "wonderful things." Surely she must figure the wonderful poems and plays created by Shakespeare. Professor Boas describes her as "The wonder child of the enchanted island, well-nigh too ethereal to be mated to any of the sons of man." She is essentially a child of Nature, and in the encounter of those two most rare affections—the marriage of Ferdinand and Miranda—we have Truth and Beauty brought together—the consummation of which is the subject of so many of Shakespeare's Sonnets. Ferdinand, who is *Truth*, may be described as a piece of truly noble strain graced alike in form and soul. The secret of the perpetual vitality of Shakespeare is, as Coleridge pointed out, the unlimited store of wisdom and logic wrapped in the beauty of his lines. He has assured immortality for "the heirs of his invention" by this marriage of the Poesy of nature with the learning and philosophy he had acquired. In his works we have indeed "Truth in Beauty dyed" (Philosophy clothed in Poetry) which the author of the sonnets claimed should endure "so long as men can breathe or eyes can see." We have yet to arrive at a just estimate of his intellect.

I come now to Prospero's trusty spirit, Ariel, whom he delivered from confinement in the bark of a tree. I take this spirit to represent Poetry itself, revived to its ancient glory by the magic of Shakespeare

Ariel is compounded of two elements—Air and Fire. He is called “an airy spirit,” and on the King’s ship he becomes a flame or flames burning “in many places.” He acts as quickly as Prospero can give his commands :

For nimble thought can jump both sea and land
As soon as think the place where he would be.

Sonnet 44

Ariel seems to me to personify the very genius or art of Shakespeare. Physically, he resembles the “Master-Mistress” of the poet’s passion, who is apostrophized in the Sonnets, for both have something effeminate in their appearance. The young man of the Sonnets is said to have the face of a woman, though the form of a man. Ariel is always presented as a female, and the only indication of sex is in the line, “Ariel and all *his* quality.” Turning again to Sonnets 44 and 45, we see that the poet makes the two elements “slight air and purging fire” the composition of his thought as the former, and his desire as the latter. These are the elements which, as he says, “with swift motion slide,” and he takes some consolation in the absence of his “friend” in the knowledge that they are swift messengers to bear his embassy of love, although his body, being of the duller elements, Earth and Water, remains where he is. Ariel must stand for the poet’s own thought. He is like thought and desire in his speed, for he will “drink the air” before him and return “or ere your pulse twice beat.” The following passage from Bacon’s “De Augmentis” explains more fully the purpose of this delightful creation :

Let us now proceed to the doctrine which concerns the human soul. The parts thereof are two : the one treats of the rational soul, which is divine; the other of the sensible, which is common with brutes. The latter is itself only the *instrument* of the rational soul, and may be fitly termed not soul but spirit. It is compounded of flame and air.

Ariel is the instrument of Prospero's mind or rational soul. We have seen that he is "compounded of flame and air." He is, moreover, sensible, for of the suffering of the King and the shipwrecked company he has "a feeling of their afflictions." Through the instrumentality of Ariel, Prospero fills the Island with music and enchanting sounds. Ferdinand enters following the music, drawn by some gentle yet irresistible force :

Sitting on a bank,
Weeping again the king my father's death,
This music crept by me upon the waters,
Allaying both their fury and my passion
With its sweet air : thence I have followed it
Or it hath *drawn* me rather . . .
This is no mortal business, nor no sound
That the earth owes. I hear it now above me.

This divine harmony ("no mortal business") I interpret as meaning Poesy, which, as Sidney says, "did ever seem to have some divine force in it." In the *Apologie* he goes on to tell how Poesy leads and draws men by its gentle insinuation, "giving so sweet a prospect into the way as will *entice* any man to enter into it." This power of moving men was, he says, "partly the cause that made the ancient-learned affirm it was a divine gift; and *no human skill* ("no mortal business") : sith all other knowedges lie ready for any that hath strength of wit." He speaks of "the sweet mysteries of Poetry." There is certainly a sweetness and mystery about the atmosphere of the magic Island. The anonymous author of "The Arte of English Poesie" (1589) dwells upon the "harmonious and gallant accents" of Poetry, describing it as "a kind of utterance . . . delicate to the ear . . . and withal tuneable and melodious as a kind of Music." It is to "the golden cadence of Poetry" that we must look, I think, for the explanation of the sweet sounds that fell upon Ferdinand's ear.

We come to the earth again with Caliban. I find this monster serves at least two purposes. Just as Ariel represents the swift elements, Fire and Air, so Caliban embodies the slow ones, Earth and Water. Prospero addresses him as “thou Earth” and “thou tortoise.” The other idea is that of the fickle democracy. It is an interesting study to set down the aspersions which the poet dropped upon the ignorant masses, and then to contemplate the character of Caliban. We see clearly that he is a reflection of what Dekker terms “the wild--beast multitude”—that “wide-throated beast” of the dramatist Middleton. One of Shakespeare’s familiar allusions to the crowd, on whose pennies, we have to assume, he existed, appears in “Coriolanus” as “The mutable rank-scented many.” Caliban is a “wide-throated beast” when he shouts his drunken catches. He is mutable in his readiness to change his master; and he is so rank-scented that he offends Trinculo’s nostril with an “ancient and fish-like smell.” His drunkenness illustrates “The staggering multitude” of Marston, and “The unsteady multitude” of the dramatists Ford and Beaumont.

That the other heavy element, Water, is an ingredient of Caliban appears from this monster being mistaken for a fish

Caliban’s late mother, the witch Sycorax, signifies gross matter, but especially in connection with the history of Poetic art. I should say that what is intended by her description is a reflection of the depraved taste of the previous generation, who welcomed mere rhymsters and ballad-mongers, and delighted in vulgar shows and puppet-plays. From such foul abuse the greater Elizabethan dramatists, with Shakespeare at their head, rescued the sacred art. Such an interpretation is warranted by Prospero’s words touching

the rescue of Ariel from the torments of confinement in the bark of the pine where this spirit had lingered, imprisoned by Sycorax, until delivered by Prospero to serve him :

Thou, my slave
As thou report'st thyself, wast then her servant ;
And, for thou wast a spirit too delicate
To act her earthy and abhorr'd commands,
Refusing her grand hests, she did confine thee,
By help of her more potent ministers,
And in her most unmitigable rage,
Into a cloven pine.

Caliban's attempt to murder Prospero is symbolical of the efforts made by the forces of Ignorance and Barbarity, in all ages, to stamp out superior wisdom and logic. Perhaps Caliban's African origin—the land of Barbary—is purposely mentioned in order to dissociate him from the Virginian native, and to hint that "Barbarity" is his name.

As for the conspiracy of Antonio and Sebastian to murder King Alonso, it illustrates the perils and uncertainty of exalted position in a State.

The courtiers and lords in the train of Alonso do not appeal to me as being more than mere types to be met in the court of King James, but they help to make "The Tempest" a good entertainment.

If the Stratford player figures at all in this allegory, it can only be as Stephano, the drunken butler of the King's company. Shakespeare and his associates became the King's players in 1603, and were ranked as Grooms of the Chamber. Trinculo the Jester—called by Caliban "a pied ninny" on account of the jester's costume which he wore—may be Will Kemp of the King's players. An incident in the play which has troubled the commentators, is that where Prospero commands Ariel to fetch, what he calls, "the trumpery of my house," and to hang this "glistening apparel"

on a line in order to catch the thieves and murderers, viz., Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo. Stephano finds one of the costumes irresistible, and it is evidently designed for one playing the part of a king. He puts on the robe, and Trinculo mockingly cries, “O King Stephano!” Stephano thereupon proclaims himself “King of the Country.” Now these garments are surely part of the wardrobe of the theatre in which the concealed and “invisible” magician calling himself Prospero in this allegory, was the real guiding-star, and the players mere instruments to perform his works in the language he had taught them. Not only does Bacon, as Prospero, present himself as one who “set out to conquer the kingdom of nature and carried that victory very far,” but he draws himself as the reformer of the English language. To Caliban he says :

I pitied thee;

Took pains to make thee speak; taught thee each hour
One thing or other: when thou didst not, savage,
Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like
A thing most brutish, I endow'd thy purposes
With words which made them plain.

Now according to Professor Craik—a recognized authority on this branch of knowledge—Shakespeare made use of a vocabulary of 21,000 words (inflexion forms not counted.) It is computed that a country labourer uses about 500 words; an average business-man about 3,000. Milton, who Macaulay declared, “carried the idiomatic powers of the English language to their highest perfection,” wrote his poems with 7,000 words.

There may be something in Caliban and Stephano intended as a satire upon the “vulgar rhymers” of the time. Sidney refers to them as “base men with servile wits” who abused the sacred art with their

doggerel. Both these characters give examples in the play of vulgar rhyming. In the "Teares of the Muses" (1591), Spenser similarly protests against :

The base vulgar that with hands unclean
Dares to pollute her hidden mysterie.

Prospero alludes to an occasion when Caliban had sought to violate the honour of his child, by whom we understand Shakespeare's own poetic offspring.

In 1608 appeared Dekker's "Bellman of London" in which he makes a vigorous attack upon the Calibans who trespassed into the sacred regions of Parnassus. He calls them "the base brood that make the Muses harlets. . . Thieves of wit, cheaters of Art, traitors of schools of learning, murderers of Scholars" who—

Being drunk in their own wit, cast up their gall
Only of ink ; and in patch'd beggarly rhymes,
As full of corruption as the times,

dragged down the name of scholar. It is Prospero's secret art which protects Miranda from the abuse of Caliban, and it is his magic which saves him from being murdered by that traitor. And it is the universal knowledge, the culture, and the irreproachable style and language of Shakespeare which places him far above his contemporaries. It is so obvious that a man of such limited education and such low moral character as the Stratford player could not, as Ben Jonson affirms in his epigram on "Poet-ape," have contributed more than a few "shreds" or "locks of wool" to the "whole fleece," that it is astonishing that any intellect above the average can lend him support. Yet this broker of plays, this "thief" of other men's wit (I still rely upon the evidence of Ben Jonson's epigram) has indeed been made a king of the magic island and is worshipped by the many as a god. Will they, in time to come, confess as Caliban :

What a thrice double ass

Was I, to take this drunkard for a god,
And worship this dull fool?

By means of allegory and dissimulation (both of which are approved of by Bacon) it was possible for a poet to place his offspring beyond the grasp of the “profane vulgar.” It is admitted that a whole library of Classical and Continental literature, besides innumerable works in his own tongue, contributed to Shakespeare’s store of wisdom. Like his poetry, Miranda—“so peerless and so perfect”—is truly described as “created of every creature’s best.” A learned critic has said of her, “She is the consummate flower of the highest culture, impossible to be found, no doubt, on the earth, but blooming in matchless beauty in the ideal world of Shakespeare.” Caliban’s reference to Prospero as “a sorcerer” forges another link with Bacon, for the latter was known as the “sorcerer” when he was Treasurer of Gray’s Inn. In the account of the Gray’s Inn Revels given in the “Gesta Grayorum” (declared by the best authorities to be from Bacon’s pen) where mention is made of a performance of “The Comedy of Errors” on Innocent’s night, 1594, resulting in the famous “Night of Errors,” the stage manager is referred to merely as a certain “sorcerer.” The allusion has been accepted by Spedding and all other authorities as appertaining to Francis Bacon who was, at the time, master of the Gray’s Inn revels. One of the charges in the mock trial of the “sorcerer” was that he had “foisted a company of base and common fellows” (professional players, including presumably Shakespeare himself since these common fellows were of the company to which he belonged)¹ on the fair assembly.

¹In the charge ‘bought by the revellers against the “conjurer or sorcerer,” it is contained how:

He had caused a stage to be built, and scaffolds

A few words, in conclusion, upon the subject of Shadows, or, as these insubstantial forms are often called, "strange shapes." The stage direction in Act. III. Sc. 1 of "The Tempest" is "Enter several strange shapes." These are the actors conjured up by the magic of Prospero. Now it is the art of Poetry which, as we read in "Love's Labour Lost," begets "forms, figures, shapes, objects," etc. They are conceived in the "ventricle of memory, nourished in the womb of *pia mater*, and delivered on the mellowing of occasion." (Act. IV., Sc. 2.) Such shapes as these attend upon the "master-mistress" of the Sonnets who, in Sonnet 20, is said to be "A man in hew, all hews in his controlling." Again, in the opening lines of Sonnet 53, the poet asks :

What is your substance, whereof are you made
That millions of strange shadows on you 'tend ?

One might ask how such a question could be addressed to Lord Southampton or applied to anybody or anything apart from the poet's own creative genius.

In Bacon's Masque "A Conference of Pleasure," the Hermit, who advocates the gifts of the Muses as

to be reared to the top of the house, to increase expectation. Also how he had caused divers ldieas and gentlemen, and others of good condition to be invited to our sports. . . . Also that he had caused throngs and tumults, crowds and outrages to disturb our whole proceedings. And, lastly, that he had foisted a company of base and common fellows to make up our disorders with a play of Errors and Confusions; and that night had gained to us discredit, and itself a nickname of Errors.

Part of [the "prisoner's" defence was that "those things which they all saw and perceived sensibly to be done, and actually performed, were *nothing else but vain illusions, fancies, dreams and enchantments.*

Undoubtedly [that "sorcerer" was Prospero who, as a young man, had written "A Midsummer Night's Dream."

the most delightful of all recreations, is addressed by his opponent—“Your mind is of water which taketh *all forms* and impressions, but is *weak of substance*.” Bacon speaks of Poetry as a “dream of learning,” because in Poetry, as in Dreams, the mind is at work shaping “strange forms.” Does not Shakespeare repeat Bacon’s idea in “Antony and Cleopatra”?—

Cleo : Think you there was, or might be, such a man
As this I dream’d of ?

Dol : Gentle madam, no.

Cleo : You lie, up to the hearing of the gods !

But if there be, or ever were, one such

It’s past the size of dreaming : Nature wants stuff

To vie *strange forms* with fancy ; yet to imagine

An Antony, were Nature’s piece ’gainst fancy

Condemning *shadows* quite.

In the youthful comedy “A Midsummer Night’s Dream,” Shakespeare discusses this subject in a familiar passage. He observes how the imagination of the poet “bodies forth the forms of things unknown, and gives to airy nothing a local habitation and a name.” And does not Prospero by his art body forth the forms required by his “present fancy” to enact the masque for the entertainment of Ferdinand and Miranda, giving these “airy nothings” not only names, but words to speak and actions to make ? In the “Dream” and in the “Tempest” he speaks with some disparagement of his art, frequently reminding us of Bacon :

The use of this feigned history hath been to give some shadow of satisfaction to the mind of man in those points wherein the nature of things doth deny it.

In both these plays, the poet dwells, especially in the epilogues, of the illusory character of the poetic drama ; on its powerlessness to please unless aided by the sympathetic imagination of the spectator. He regarded the evolution of a play as a mere recreation—

"Some vanity of my art"; "to enact my present fancies"; "this rough magic."

Bacon says of Poetry, "It doth raise and erect the mind by submitting the shows of things to the desires of the mind; whereas Reason (by which he means the precepts of the philosopher or historian) doth buckle and bow the mind to the nature of things." Poetry, he observes, "filleteth the imagination and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie." The thought of the speech beginning, "Our revels now are ended" (Act V.) is thoroughly Baconian, for it is of "the lie that passeth through the mind" leaving—we may now add the words of Shakespeare—"not a rack behind"; and we may also add the significant last words of Bacon on the subject, "It is not good to stay too long in the theatre,"

"The best in this kind are but shadows."

SOME AFTERTHOUGHTS.

It will be observed from a study of the play that Prospero was seemingly powerless to perform "magic" without the service of his trusty spirit. It was by Ariel's aid that he raised the tempest and it is on Ariel's performance of his ideas that he relies for the completion of the drama beginning therewith. This work is to be achieved within two days, after which the spirit is to be finally dismissed:

Prospero: After two days,
I will discharge thee.

So quickly and effectively has Ariel worked in the past for his master, that a year had been gained upon the time reckoned to complete the series of dramatic works which Bacon intended to form the Fourth Part of his "Great Instauration." The Fourth Part is "missing." But we learn that it was to be a Natural History of the Passions, and was not to

appear in the usual form of Bacon's works. It was to be presented in a manner so delightful that he feared many people would be so carried away by the outward show that they would "miss the precepts of it." The demonstration of the working of the passions was to be made by means of "actual types and models," and these "set before the eyes." That this missing section of Bacon's *Instauratio Magna*, is indeed the book which Prospero said he would "bury certain fathoms in the deep," I am convinced after collecting all the references in Bacon's writings to the nature of contents, and the method of communicating this knowledge.

Now Prospero's mention of "two days" is significant. He requires Ariel's services for this additional time ("The Tempest" is supplementary to the series of Comedies, Histories and Tragedies) to bring his "project to a head." This raises the interesting question of the time occupied by Shakespeare in the composing of a drama. I certainly do not see any reason to suppose that he could not have written such a play as "The Tempest" in a couple of days, and the longest of his dramatic works within a week. Lope de Vega put down his output as 1,500 plays, and his early biographer talked of three or four hundred more. Shakespeare's contemporary, Thomas Heywood, claimed 220 plays to his credit, and was also responsible for a vast and varied output of non-dramatic productions and translations from the Classics. He was also an actor, and when at the height of his activity is said to have performed almost every day. The Plays and Poems of Shakespeare account for very little of his time, but we look in vain for any other writings, either in prose or verse, which must have been conceived and executed long before "Venus and Adonis"; for that poem is too perfect to be any man's

"first heir." Shakespeare's verse runs so smoothly that there could have been little or no "labouring for invention." In the spontaneity of his lines lies the secret of their charm upon the ears and senses of his auditors. The effect even moves Caliban, proving that "the natural depravity and malignant disposition of the vulgar"¹ is not unaffected by sweet sounds:

Be not afeard ; the isle is full of noises,
 Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not,
 Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
 Will hum about mine ears ; and sometimes voices.
 That, if I then had waked after long sleep,
 Will make me sleep again ; and then, in dreaming,
 The clouds, methought, would open and show riches
 Ready to drop upon me ; that when I waked
 I cried to dream again.

(Act III., Sc. 3.)

That this sweet music and the riches contained in the dreams refer to the enchanting strains voiced from the stage through the art of Shakespeare, we can admit of no doubt. Under this spell the hearers abandon all thoughts of realities, and live in an ideal world of illusions, dreams and visions. In the Epilogue to "A Midsummer Night's Dream" the poet states his case through the mouth of his most delightful spirit:

Think but this . . .
 That you have but slumbered here,
 While these visions did appear,
 And this weak and idle theme,
 No more yielding but a dream
 (Gentles) do not reprehend.

Of Poetry, as the only means of uplifting the mind and manners of the ignorant multitude, Sidney says, "If ever learning come among them, it must be by having their hard dull wits fostered and sharpened with the sweet delights of Poetry."

¹ Bacon (*Wisdom of the Ancients*, 1609). The "rooted malignity" of Caliban is especially noted by Coleridge.

The anonymous author of "The Arte of English Poesie" observes that theatres were built in the form of a musical bow, the auditorium answering to the wood, and the stage to the catgut. Speaking of the stage, Bacon says that it was carefully watched by the ancients that it should improve mankind to virtue, "indeed," he adds, "wise men and great philosophers have accounted it as the archet or musical bow of the mind."

THE DAVISON MISTAKE.

BY PARKER WOODWARD.

THE story in biliteral cipher was intended to disclose historic facts which powerful personages would garble or suppress.

That the Mary Queen of Scots account in biliteral does not conform to history as compiled by Lingard over two hundred years later, does not alter its truth. Camden, who was alive and observing during the Queen of Scots' affair dared not in his "Annales" relate the whole truth.

Francis in his biliteral story affirms that had she taken warning by experience she might have avoided calamity, "for the divided mind of Her Majestie (Elizabeth) swaying now here now there, at no time long clung to revengeful intents."

"But," wrote Francis, "that was not Burleigh's manner." For matters of State and Protestant Church necessity Burleigh was not only determined that a warrant for Mary's death should be signed but "likewise that th' harsh sentence should not linger in execution."

Francis affirms in his biliteral story (probably he

had Elizabeth's word for it) that Burleigh and Earl Leicester "so threatened the Queen's Secretary, Davison, on pain of death et cetera, that he signed for the Queen and affixed the Great Seal to the dreadful warrant."

On the information supplied to him Francis was accordingly correct in writing that the life of the Secretary was "forfeit to the deede."

Mary having been executed, however, it was in accordance with Elizabeth's methods that she should make a great fuss about it and have Davison sent to trial.

History correctly shows that Davison was only arraigned and punished on a *minor* charge of contempt and misprision in allowing Burleigh to take charge of the Queen's signed warrant without first obtaining Her Majesty's consent.

A major charge (punishable by death) of forging signature and seal to the Warrant would have brought Leicester and Burleigh in as accessories before the fact.

History shows that Davison kept back the Warrant for six weeks after the Queen had refused to sign it, and that he was threatened by Leicester and Burleigh for not getting it signed.

A. M. S., in the Bodleian entitled "Iuridici," describes Davison at his trial as "feeble in health and voice," and making no real defence beyond quoting that Elizabeth at first delivery of the Bill said, "Now you have it, let me be troubled no more with it."

Other obscure versions are that Davison obtained Elizabeth's signature by trick, putting it with other less important documents for her to sign. Also that he obtained the Great Seal to the Death Warrant by another trick leading Lord Chancellor Bromley to think it related to Ireland.

Francis would have concluded correctly that these

proceedings by Davison would have rendered Davison's life "forfeit to the deede."

The intimation in the biliteral story that "life hung in the ballance" would allude to Queen Mary's life. It proceeds: "Blame doth fall on those men (Burleigh and Leicester) great and noble though they be who led him to his death."

Assuming "his" to have been the correct word ciphered, and that it referred to Davison who was not punished with death and lived in obscurity for twenty years afterwards. Herr Weber joins in the old hue and cry that the biliteral story is the concoction of a self-illuded or fraudulent person and asks Baconians to throw up belief in the biliteral cipher.

In the article to which Herr Weber refers I had regarded the words "forfeit to the deede" as a failure of Bacon's memory, instancing the mistake in his 1625 Will which stated erroneously that Lady Ann Bacon was interred at St. Michael's Church, Gorhambury.

But there are other solutions of the mistake.

1. Dr. Rawley ciphered the Davison story in the belief that Francis was then dead. The secret of his flight abroad appears to have been kept from Rawley.

2. Bacon may have written "his" by accident, in the manuscript Rawley ciphered from.

3. Rawley may have misread "her" as "his" in the manuscript referred to. Rawley was a youth when Davison died in obscurity, and so would not have detected a mistake or thought he was ciphering one.

4. Rawley announced that his ciphering had been badly done, and that he had unwittingly used a third of the letters of the alphabet wrongly. This would create considerable difficulty even to an expert decipherer such as Mrs. Gallup. Three wrong fount letters out of ten would have yielded "his" instead

of "her." A hash of ten types after "h" would have needed a guess on the part of the decipherer who, knowing nothing of Davison, might have guessed the word intended to be "his."

The jeer at my friend, the Hon. Phinny Baxter, is quite undeserved. For there are five reasonable explanations of the mistake. So Herr Weber on such slight grounds would deny that Bacon ever used the biliteral cipher which he invented in 1578 and elaborately explained in his *De Augmentis*, 1623.

Evidently Herr Weber accepts "au pied de la lettre" the "In Felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ," published by Francis to the French in 1607 to counter certain French calumnies about Queen Elizabeth, his deceased mother.

In it Francis made denials of matters which did not concern the people of that generation. Why? Because it was no business of theirs.

Truth he reserved for the next ages and foreign nations and for his own countrymen after some time be passed over.

As if to indicate that he had previously used dissimulation in the "In Felicem," he added: "But *to say truth* the onely commender of this lady's virtue is time."

Herr Weber might usefully read Bacon's "Essay of Simulation." That he can prove Francis to have been the son of Queen Elizabeth by other researches and thus indirectly confirm the most important revelation of the biliteral story is another testimony to its general accuracy.

I am not prepared to relieve doubting Baconians by agreeing to abandon as untrue these wonderful biliteral cipher revelations because they have either no time nor sufficient aptitude to thoroughly test it. Let us have Herr Weber's discoveries by all means.

Yet if to obtain them one must first with bell, book and candle solemnly abjure the biliteral cipher story I would be content to do without.

SHAKESPEARE'S ERRORS.

BY TACO H. DE BEER.

OUR highly inventive opponents, the Stratfordians, find a great pleasure in pointing out that Bacon cannot have been the author of the dramas because he was too learned to have committed so many errors. Now it may be generally acknowledged that among the anti-Baconians there are a great number of (prejudiced) exceedingly clever though prejudiced men, but their study is limited to subjects not in the least related to the question the solution of which they try to prevent. They try by these assertions to lead us away from the main point; and even if what they say be true, and there be errors in the plays of Shakespeare, what does it matter?

Admit that in the plays there *is* a fleet stranding in Bohemia, that Hamlet *is* studying at Wittenberg before there was a university there. What then?

These eminent critics have probably never visited a museum else they would have seen how many painters dressed their figures in the costumes of their own times. In a museum in Berlin we see a picture by Paul Veronese, "Moses Saved." The banks of the Nile have become an Italian landscape, the Egyptian princess and the ladies of the court are dressed in the style of Louis XIV., and at a distance there is a coach waiting under the guard of royal halberdiers. It can hardly be supposed that Paul Veronese did not know that such was neither the

attire nor the coach nor the guard of Egypt in the time of Moses.

In the eighteenth century, as engravings from that time prove, Vondel's "Gysbrecht van Amstel" was performed in Amsterdam in the Municipal Theatre by persons wearing periwigs and carrying three-cornered hats. We cannot admit that the managers of the Municipal Theatre should not have known that these costumes did not fit the persons of the tragedy, who lived in 1296!

In the Museum at Basel the "Judgment of Paris" is represented by three ladies dressed as a barrister, a counsellor and a court-lady, and behind every lady stands a young lady splendidly attired as a lady's maid. Paris himself is dressed as a French courtier.

Authors are accustomed to the flowers and beasts they need for their art, without much regard to botany or zoology. Prof. Dr. Burgersdijk, the Dutch translator of Shakespeare, wrote or translated a voluminous book about birds, and he added an appendix in which he quoted hundreds of lines from poets and novelists who saw birds on trees where these never sat and eating food which such birds never enjoyed, and who culled flowers at times and seasons when these flowers are nowhere to be seen.

It is true that in *Coriolanus* cannons are spoken of, though in his time they had not yet been invented, but in Goethe's "Faust" we read about periwigs and champagne, which were unknown in the time of the Reformation. Should this be a proof that "Faust" is not Goethe's work because Goethe was so learned that he could by no means commit such a blunder? But then "Götz" is not Goethe's work either, as therein is mentioned cauliflower, unknown in the days of the thirty years' war. "Wallenstein" and "Fiesco" are not Schiller's works, for in "Wallenstein" we find

the ring of Saturn mentioned, which in Wallenstein's time had still to be discovered and the famous chocolate scene in "Fiesco" is anything but historical, for chocolate had not yet been discovered by the Western world. This is also true of the time-pieces spoken of in Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream." But if these facts are to count for anything, Scheffel cannot be the author of "Der Trompeter von Säckingen," nor of "Ekkehard," for in the "Trompeter" we read that on the 7th of March a nosegay of roses, primroses and pinks was offered. And Scheffel was too clever and well-educated not to know that at such a date such a nosegay could not be produced, and he was too learned not to know that there were no forks in Ekkehard's time, as he seems to wish us to believe.

A noteworthy chapter on Shakespeare's "Errors" is to be found in Paul Stapfer's work "Shakespeare et l'Antiquité." The author mentions Douce, and further points out that Shakespeare's contemporaries present innumerable anachronisms, though already less than the authors in former periods. The works of Hans Sachs and of Heinrich von Veldeke swarm with anachronisms. Racine's heroes speak and act like Louis XIV.'s courtiers, and that is why the auditorium perfectly understood the meaning of the tragedies. So it is clearly shown that Shakespeare's anachronisms, often quoted with great importance, give not the slightest proof from which to deduce that the author of the plays was not a highly educated man.

In the world of letters a great number of authors make their personages speak the language of their contemporaries, but give them the names of persons sometimes even from the remotest times.

As I began by saying, these criticisms of the little lapses common to all great authors, are not to be taken seriously. They are the dust raised by those who do

not desire us to see clearly. They are vexations and non-pertinent points frivolously brought forward to obscure the real issue. The question of the authorship of the plays bearing Shakespeare's name will not be settled by the sea-coast of Bohemia or the cannons of Coriolanus.

Amsterdam.

PORTRAITS OF CERVANTES.

BY PARKER WOODWARD.

A FANCY "portrait" in the English edition of Don Quixote (published by Jonson, in 1738) was drawn by William Kent and was the first of two alleged portraits of Cervantes.

Kent, in association with the 3rd Earl of Burlington, Pope and Dr. Mead (the great authority on Bacon's works) designed the statue of "Shakespeare" erected the following year in Westminster Abbey.

One other "portrait" painted on wood was first brought to notice in 1911. Although of doubtful authenticity it has been placed in the Royal Spanish Academy. It bears on its face the words "Don Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra," and at foot it purports to be signed by "Juan de Jauregui," and dated 1600. It was presented in 1911 to the Spanish Academy by Professor Albiol who (according to Sr. Sentenach) was formerly a "restaurateur de tableaux anciens à Madrid"

Mr. Fitzmaurice Kelly, in his Life of Cervantes, 1913, gives several good reasons for doubting the authenticity of the portrait, one being that Jauregui the alleged artist, was only fifteen years old in 1600. Jauregui was an engraver of illustrations to Spanish

books during the period 1607—1625. He always spelt his surname "Jauregui."

But in "Novelas exemplares," 1613, "Viage del Parnaso," 1614, and "Don Quixote," second part (Spanish), 1615, all three titles, pagged to Cervantes, the artist's name is referred to but mis-spelt as "Xaurigui." Thus "J" is turned to "X" and "e" to "i."

The prologue to "Novelas" describes its author as according to a portrait of him by Juan de Xaurigui to have looked as follows:—

"A man of aquiline visage with chestnut hair, smooth and unruffled brow, sparkling eyes, a nose arched but well proportioned; a beard that was golden twenty years earlier, but had turned to silver; a long moustache that shaded a small mouth containing few teeth—height above the average, neither tall nor short; complexion bright, more fair than dark; somewhat bent and not very quick on his feet." One would almost have thought this a portrait of Francis Bacon at the age of 53, it is so uncommonly like the full length portrait of Bacon as Lord Chancellor in which the head is uncovered.

The simple count numbers which represent the respective letters in "Juan de Xaurigui" are 9, 20, 1, 13, 4, 5, 22, 1, 20, 17, 9, 7, 20 and 9. They total 157, which is the total of the letters on the title page of the Shakespeare Folio play, 1623, and also the simple count of the letters in "Fra. Rosicrosse." It may be recalled that Bishop Wilkins in "Mathematical Magic," 1641, has an allusion to Francis Rosicrosse. "Fra is equally short for "Francis" and for Frater.

WEEVER'S FUNERAL MONUMENTS, 1631

By A. A. L.

" (P. 112) Culworth, in Suffolk, House built by Sir Nicholas Bacon, 1st Baronet, son of Sir Nicholas of singular wisdom and most sound judgement, rightly esteemed one support of the Kingdom, who was entombed in St. Paul's with his two wives, d. 1578." If Weever's news is true, then Lady Bacon lies neither in St. Michael's, Gorhambury, nor in St. Stephen's, S. Albans, as we have been assured, the one by Bacon's will, the other by Register, and Francis lies also in St. Paul's, for he elected to be laid by his Mother, Lady Anne. The tomb of Sir Nicholas is in the Crypt of the present Cathedral, and also that of his first wife. Is Anne's body beside her? And do Francis's remains lie in the monument with those of his father? Let this be discovered. Where did Francis lay Lady Anne? Where did Bushel lay S. Alban's bones after that long sojourn abroad? It is quite possible that by the silence of night some quiet work-shop may have seen their interment after the fire, and before the rebuilding of the Cathedral. No single trace of any interment of the great Philosopher has yet been found.

(P. 812) " Sir Clement Heigham " appears one of a family from whom Michael d'Eyquem, Sieur de Montaigne says he comes. " Olton Church, in the Diocese of Norwich, John Falstaff." The next person mentioned is " Prior Baconthorpe, The Resolute Doctor. A Dwarf, little-Great-Man." *Hic Bachone* in Epitaph (p. 798) Then " Great Grandfather of Elizabeth, Jeffrey Bolen." (P. 804) " John Bacon 1461," (p. 808) Attilborough, " Mary Falstoph, wife to Sir Thomas Mortimer." In " Nacoton, Nicholas Falstaff." In " Denington, Henry de Bello Monte, son of John Viscount Beaumont and Elizabeth, his wife,

daughter and heir of William Philipps, Lord Bardolff, 1443."

Did the Great Weaver of Bottoms of Thread introduce these names into the magic web of his Plays as a clue to their author ?

A FRENCH APPRECIATION OF LORD VERULAM.

LE COMTE VITZTHUM, alluding to Shakespeare's "Tempest," in a brochure dated 1888, puts into the mouth of a character named Prospero the following words concerning Bacon : " It is to his genius that humanity owes its deliverance from scholasticism. He was the first to discover in experience the sole source of science. His motto, *Amicus Plato, amicus Aristoteles, sed magis amica Veritas*, is still our own. The abuse which gratified his contemporaries, after he had become the victim of an infamous cabal, reached not the loftiness of his intelligence. Spedding, in his *Evenings with a Reporter*, long since refuted the absurd words of Pope and Macaulay's biassed and superficial essay. Newton and Harvey, Lyell and Darwin, Descartes and Cuvier, Dubois-Raymond and Virchow have all followed the method of this English philosopher.

Modern science, whether it knows it or not, rests on the pillars raised by this Hercules of the intellect. He was the first to declare that *Savoir c'est pouvoir* ; and like the phrase of his contemporary *E pur si muove*, the dictum of Francis Bacon reverberates across the centuries as a prophetic call—' KNOWLEDGE IS POWER.' "

FROM THE BODLEIAN QUARTERLY,
1917, VOL. II., NO. 16, PAGE 102.

“ THE SHAKESPEARE-BURTON THEORY.

“ About 25 years ago Mr. M. L. Hore, of America, came over to Oxford for the purpose of finding any evidence to support the theory he had for some years held that Robert Burton wrote the Plays attributed to Shakespeare.

“ With the help of my father—the late Mr. George Parker, of the Bodleian Library (who became a firm believer in the Burton-Shakespeare Theory)—a considerable amount of investigation was made at The Bodleian, at Christ Church, and at Stratford-on-Avon. But, unfortunately, Mr. Hore took away with him any notes of evidence they obtained, and, as he died a few years after, it is not known what became of them.

“ All that can now be found on the subject is, firstly, a small pamphlet published in America, entitled, ‘ Who wrote Shakespeare,’ by ‘ Multum in Parvo’ (the name under which Mr. Hore wrote), dated June 2nd, 1885.

“ This not only says that Shakespeare was Burton, but also that Hamlet was Burton’s (or Shakespeare’s) own character.

“ Secondly, some photographs taken for Mr. Hore (Bodleian Shelf Mark 2,693, c. 1) from MSS. relating to Burton, among which is a photograph of a page of the List of Books he bequeathed to the Bodleian (MS. Seld. supra 80) giving the entry :

“ ‘ Venus and Adonis,’ by Wm. Shakespeare Lond. 1602,’

against which is written in the margin :

“ His Book.”

“ This list and marginal note are in the handwriting of John Rous, elected Bodley’s librarian in 1620, to whom Mr. Hore supposed Burton’s secret was known, so that

“ ‘ *His Work* ’

“ implied ‘ *Burton’s Work.* ’ Thirdly, an alphabetical index of the chief words of ‘ *The Anatomy of Melancholy,* ’ made for the purpose of comparing them with those used in Shakespeare, which is now in the hands of the editors of the English Dictionary. I have in my possession a letter from the late Sir James Murray, dated November 22nd, 1894, thanking my father for the offer of this index.

“ Mr. Hore also gave my father a framed photograph of Burton’s portrait at Brazenose College, and one of his tomb at Christ Church, on the former of which is inscribed :

“ ‘ Presented by M. L. Hore (who under the *nom de plume* of “ *Multum in Parvo* ” advanced the Burton-Shakespeare theory) to Mr. and Mrs. Geo. Parker, Oxford, 17th, 1891.”

E. G. P.

HUGO GROTIUS AND THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

BY A. CHAMBERS BUNTEN.

IN reading about the marvellous precocity of the Dutchman, Hugo Grotius, the young Englishman, Francis Bacon, is brought to mind, and they both show what active brains the youth of the 16th century displayed in early life. At an age when our present boys are developing their muscles at sports, the lads of the Elizabethan period were studying and reading in preparation to enter the University at the age of twelve.

We meet with much similar force of individuality in these two men, who became friends, and there are several parallel lines that can be considered, and especially one remarkable incident in Grotius' career.

The Dutchman, who first saw the light at Delph, in 1583, was a contemporary of "Lord Bacon," though twenty years his junior, and he must have begun his studies very early, as we hear of him having made "good Latin verses at nine." His Latin evidently helped him to other languages, and English would come easily to him.

When only twelve he entered a University, at which age we remember Bacon also went to Trinity College, Cambridge.

We are uncertain what the exact curriculum was in those days, but understand that theology and

philosophy were prominent studies, with instruction in ancient classic writers, etc.

Three years of this education enabled young Grotius to edit the encyclopædic works of Martianus Capella, and that such a work should be entrusted to a boy of fifteen sounds astonishing.

With this foundation, after a visit to France, Grotius was ready for greater works, and he took up his father's profession of the law when only fifteen.

He then became Doctor of Law at Leiden, and entered into practice as an Advocate.

In this we are reminded of young Francis Bacon, who, at his father's death, in 1579, turned to the law, and entered his chambers at Gray's Inn, London.

But here a mysterious veil falls over the Englishman who sported the oak most assiduously for a year or two. What was he doing? Writing plays?

One thing is certain; both these men loved the drama, and were eager to try their hand in constructing and translating plays when quite young.

Grotius at the age of twenty-one became famous for his Latin treatise, "De Jure Prædæ," which quickly spread, and became a standard book, though the enlarged and extended edition of it called "De Jure Belli" is considered his *chef d'œuvre*.

These books are still considered authorities on the Jurisprudence of War and Peace.

On looking at the fine and impressive portrait of Grotius, painted by Reubens, which has been exhibited lately, we are struck by the eager intelligence which shines in the youngish man's face, above his Elizabethan ruff. Here is a head, not large indeed, but the domed forehead shows intellect and constructive force, with a well formed mouth, which seems ready to break into a smile, blue eyes and sparse hair of a light brown. Good looks and vivacious expression.

64 Hugo Grotius and Merry Wives of Windsor.

Perhaps Reubens found his famous sitter a little impatient at having to keep still, while thoughts crowded to his mind and a pen was longed for. No wonder Isaac Casaubon wrote of him in a letter :— “ Grotius was a wonderful man. This I knew before I saw him, but the rare excellence of that divine genius, no one can sufficiently feel who does not see his face and hear him speak.”

What was it Hilliard the Miniaturist wrote round the frame of young Francis Bacon's portrait ? “ If I could only paint his mind as well as his face ? ”

The Dutchman married in the same year as Bacon did, 1606, and Madam Grotius proved herself a worthy mate, resourceful, and clever.

It was in 1613 that Bacon probably made the acquaintance of Grotius, when the latter landed on our shores as one of a deputation to settle some grievances of Holland, and King James received him with every mark of distinction, and carefully considered his mission.

Bacon at that time was Attorney-General, and deep in the confidences of the King, and his favourite Villiers, and he probably had a good deal to do with the Dutch Embassy in putting the matter before Parliament.

Grotius would find in Bacon a learned brother in the law, and an appreciative friend.

In fact, the two would have much in common, for the Dutchman's reputation was high both in Literature and the Law, and Grotius would be entertained by the Court, and Noblemen, and have every chance of seeing plays well acted.

We next hear of Grotius trying to arbitrate between the Catholics and the Protestants in his own country, which led to his undoing. Such a prominent man always has many enemies, and theological questions

rose to such a pitch that the two parties became at enmity.

Grotius found himself in opposition to Prince Maurice, who succeeded in arresting him at Utrecht, and caused a sentence of *life long* imprisonment to be passed on the famous genius, when he had reached the age of thirty-six, in the year 1617.

To his credit be it said, that his spirit was not broken by this disaster, and with the help of his wife who shared his imprisonment as much as possible, he turned to the study of books and dramatic works which were allowed him, and he calmed his mind by translating Greek Tragedies into Latin.

Among the books, there may have been some English plays, and one in particular called "The Merry Wives of Windsor," which interested Madame Grotius greatly, and she persuaded her husband to attempt to escape from prison in the following manner:—

The prison basket in which the soiled linen was conveyed to the laundry was large, and permission was granted that the books which had to be returned should be sent in the same basket with the linen and conveyed to the library

The Warders gradually relaxed vigilance, and ceased to examine the inside of the basket, and Madame Grotius, observing this, one day persuaded her husband to take the place of the books, even though the weight would be greater.

Grotius being a small man, thought the attempt was worth the risk, and in this way he successfully found his way to a friend's house, and in the disguise of a mason, with hod and trowel, he later on escaped over the border and reached Paris.

So by the happy idea of repeating Sir John Falstaff's trick his wife saved him years of unhappiness.

What did Bacon think when he heard of the success

of the amusing scene in the "Merry Wives" being carried out in real life?

Mrs. Page: "*Look, here is a basket; if he be of any reasonable stature he may creep in here; and throw foul linen upon him, as if it were going to bucking; or it is whitening time. Send him by your two men to Datchet Mead.*"

We have only space now to add that in 1623 Grotius was enabled to bring out his celebrated work, "De Jure Belli," and that he also wrote three dramas in Latin "Christus Patiens," "Sophomphaneas" and "Adamas exul," which later work Milton is thought to have copied a great deal.

His life was cut short, though the exposure he suffered during a storm at sea when the ship in which he travelled was driven on the coast of Dantzic. After struggling on as far as Rostock, he gradually sank and died on the 29th August, 1645.

It would be of much interest if any letter between Grotius and Bacon turned up, to see the terms on which this friendship was carried on by two men who resembled each other in character.

REVIEWS

- (I.) "Der Wahre Shakespeare." By Alfred Weber, Author of "Bacon—Shakespeare—Cervantes."

Queen Elizabeth, Amy Robsart, Lady Sheffield, Lettice Countess of Essex, the Earl of Leicester, Walter Devereux Earl of Essex and Robert Devereux, the son who succeeded him, Bacon, and Shakespeare, these are the principal characters in the life drama of Francis Bacon which Herr Weber seeks to build up before us. Leicester (1533-88) we know had relations with three of these ladies. Did Queen Elizabeth escape? Proof positive of his criminality is wanting; but he was hated throughout England, and believed guilty by all Europe. He, then, it is who appears as the arch-fiend in this drama. He had known Elizabeth from youth. His father had taken him on visits to Hatfield, when she was there with her brother, Prince Edward, at the age of fifteen. He married Amy Robsart in 1550. But his visits to court continue though he is not accompanied by his wife. He is confined in the Tower at the same time as Princess Elizabeth. Finally, on her accession in 1558, he is made master of the horse and accompanies her in her regal procession through London. Throughout 1559-60 he is hardly ever away from her side. In the autumn of 1560 Anne Dowe and others are imprisoned for saying that the Queen was with child by Leicester. All Europe looks upon him as the King Consort to be. On 8th September, 1560, his wife, Amy Robsart, meets her tragic death, and it is rumoured and reported that Elizabeth had secretly married Leicester in Pembroke House and is "a mother already" (January, 1560-61).

Following this, Francis Bacon is born at York Place (not House) (where Queen Elizabeth is known to have visited), on January 23rd, 1560-61. The register of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields merely records his baptism, and Sir Nicolas Bacon at his death leaves him alone of his sons, unprovided for. Was Francis Bacon the living Hamlet in this life drama, knowing his parentage, walking on this stage of Queen Elizabeth's Court, watching these actors and the concealed and meretricious proceedings of parents, who would not, and dared not, recognise him as their child?

This is what Herr Weber, a citizen of one of our recent enemy countries, viz., Austria, is asking us to believe, and,

till corrupted by Germany, Austria was a pronounced lover of Britain. Nor is Weber a superficial observer. His researches extend over many years. His methods are scientific, though his book is painfully full of repetitions. He writes with the firm conviction that F. Bacon and Robert Earl of Essex were Elizabeth's sons by Leicester, and that the plays of Shakespeare are from the hand of Bacon, who there holds up the story of his own life as in a mirror for the benefit of mankind, and who disappeared in 1626 after his "fall," to carry on his great work of writing in secret on the Continent. Thus when Timon of Athens says, "Timon hath done his reign," he retires to his cave. Soldiers come and find his grave, with an inscription, and Alcibiades states "Dead is noble Timon: of whose memory more hereafter," but no real search is made for his body, or any enquiry as to who buried, or saw him dead.

To establish his case every possible source seems to have been searched by the author, and though Weber gives few references he has clearly appropriated everything written on the subject in England. Not a locality, museum, record office, archive, book, letter, emblem or paper but what is called on to contribute. Denmark and Holland have been ransacked. The conclusion he comes to is, that Bacon was the author not only of the plays, but of a great deal more of the contemporary literature of the age. Don Quizote, Spenser Greene, Marlow, Lilly, Gascoigne and many others are to *some extent* merely pseudonyms under which he conceals yet reveals his identity, and so tells his story. "Leicester's Commonwealth" and "Leicester's Ghost" are alluded to.

"One cannot put down the plays of Shakespeare," says Weber, "without feeling the keenest desire to know more of this great master—this wonderful man and prince of poets, the greatest of all times and all peoples. Who was he? How did he live? What school and what influences produced him? What were his relations with his contemporaries and what his opinions on the great questions of his time?" Weber comes to the conclusion that Shakespeare is a mere shadow and scarecrow; Bacon's life and the dramas clearly tally, and "the keys to the whole question and to a right understanding of the plays are to be found in the facts that (1) Bacon wrote under many pseudonyms besides Shakespeare, and (2) Bacon was the elder of the two sons of Elizabeth by Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, her marriage with whom was kept secret for political reasons, but with whom she

lived, and shared adjoining chambers for thirty years." The likeness between the Hilyard portrait of Bacon at eighteen and Queen Elizabeth is unmistakeable. He admits that it may take several more generations to establish this. "Then however, a new Shakespeare will arise, who will tower high, and beyond all comparison above, any conception that we now have of the wonderful author of these marvellous works, in such a manner that the world will look back in astonishment on the poor picture that we now have of him." The immeasurable value of the Treasure Trove that lies hidden in the literature of the 16th-17th centuries under all these many pseudonyms has yet to be brought to light. It is still undreamt of by a world which knows not what it owes to the greatest man of all time, whom his own country dishonoured. He, who was at the same time author of the scientific methods to which we owe so much to-day, and of the most beautiful verse and plays mankind has ever read, remains still very largely unknown to the world. He who, like Prospero in "The Tempest," succeeded in showing mankind how to command the forces of Nature at will, is still a victim to man's ingratitude. He has been so ever since the day when, like Timon of Athens, he hid himself away from his country in sorrow, yet continued to shower benefits upon it, in the most truly Christian spirit of humility and forgiveness. Frailties he may have had, but no man ever loved mankind more or effected and achieved so much for it. In Prospero, Bacon shows in poetry what he announces in prose in his *Magna Instauratio*, his Essays, and his New Atlantis.

Should Weber's contention be correct that Francis Bacon was the son of Queen Elizabeth, the plays stand out in a new light, more brilliant than ever. They become at once intelligible as never before. They are the history, biography and sufferings of the greatest man the world has ever known, living under circumstances the most strange. That he erred and had human frailties makes him no less great. For he is at the same time the man who has bestowed more benefit upon his kind, and has done more to depict and thereby reform life than any other. It was the task he set himself at Cambridge when young; and he was true to himself to the bitter end; and in spite of every temptation. He was great even in his errors, even in the reckless liberality that drove him into debt. He admits it all. He records it all—and how grandly—in his plays, as no man ever did before or is likely to do again. Hamlet | Henry VIII. | and Timon of

Athens! What are they but the history of the sufferings and agony; ambition and fall; reckless generosity; debt and fictitious death; of him who by right of birth was Francis Tudor and heir to the British throne. It is a foreigner, the founder of the Austrian "Bacon-Shakespeare Society," who is now putting this so forcibly before the world. It was among foreigners, he affirms, that Bacon died. It was to foreigners that he himself bequeathed his works in the first instance, and to his countrymen only when some time shall have passed.

(II.) Weber, for investigation's sake, divides Bacon's life into three periods—that preceding his active official career (up to 1605). His official career (1605 to 1621) the period from his "fall" in 1621, till his death. He shows that he produced very little during his official career, which began shortly after the pseudonym of Shakespeare had been adopted. As is well known, Bacon as a young man was anxious to avoid being regarded as a dreamer or poet. This was Cecil's pretext for excluding him from office, and Cecil probably knew, quite as well as the Queen, who Bacon was by birth. Shakespeare, therefore, was adopted as a scarecrow, a dummy, a decoy to put the nose of the man, or men in power, off the scent, and he was packed off to Stratford to hide his woeful ignorance. The plays nearly all appeared before or after Bacon's official career. During it he was fully occupied straining every nerve to fit himself for, and distinguish himself in, and "active" life, for which he confessed himself less fitted than for a "contemplative" life. The lack of signed original works produced during this official period (1505 to 1621) is itself evidence, or an indication, of Bacon's authorship of the plays. For this official career was hardly over, when not only the history of Henry VII. with its concealed verses, appeared, but in 1623 appeared the *De Augmentis*, containing the cipher and also the first Folio of the famous plays. Further in 1603 Bacon had written the famous letter to Davies asking him to beseech the King "to be kind to concealed poets."

Bacon's anonymous and pseudonymous works therefore constitute the biography of Francis Tudor. He is Gascoigne, Lyly or Lilly, Spenser, Shakespeare, Marlowe, Greene, Cervantes, and others all rolled into one harmonious whole, their works all emanating in spirit and suggestion from his all-powerful pen. This is the solution of the riddle, this the key to the most colossal literary fraud ever perpetrated, to conceal

the life and sufferings of the greatest man that ever lived, to hide his identity from that very humanity whose life he sought to improve and embellish. This is what he holds up the mirror for us to see—his life. As might be expected his precocity is pronounced. He is a prodigy of prodigies. Beside him J. S. Mill studying Greek at the age of three is a pigmy. He can speak five languages. His versatility is superlative. At the age of eight he writes the "Visions of Bellay" and "Theatre of Worldlings" (Spenser). At twelve the "Glass of Government" (Gascoigne). At fifteen he initiates a new system of Philosophy. At sixteen he witnesses the festivities prepared by the Earl of Leicester for Queen Elizabeth (his parents) at Kenilworth, and describes them in "Laneham's Letter" and in "Princely Pleasures," and Oberon emerges later in the "Midsummer Night's Dream." It is at this age that he is assumed by Weber to have discovered his parentage, and is packed off to France, where he falls in love with Margaret, the beautiful Queen of Navarre, who is Juliet and Rosalinde. Sir Nicolas Bacon dies, and leaves to him, alone of his "sons," no living. He returns to England in 1579. "Argenis" (Barclay) and "The Shepherd's Calendar" (Spenser) appear. In 1586¹ the French Academy is founded to elaborate the French language. Bacon resolves to do the same for England. Anthony Bacon returns from Navarre in 1594 and "Love's Labour Lost" appears, evincing the author's love of study. "Winter's Tale" is the history of his grandparents, Henry VIII. (Leontes) and Hermione (Anne Boleyn), Perdita and Florizel being Elizabeth and Leicester. "Measure for Measure" and the "Merchant of Venice" testify to his legal abilities, and so on.

Pseudonyms being once admitted, the historical plays form a complete history of Francis's Tudor and Plantagenet ancestors. He is still in his first period. He is the Chancellor of Parnassus. He is associated in a literary areopagus with Sir Philip Sidney, Pembroke Dyer and others. He has an industrious scrivenry at Twickenham. All the talents of the day secretly obey his nod. Henry III. appears as the "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay" of Greene. Peele is made responsible for Edward I., Marlow for Edward II. and Edward III. appears anonymously. The rest of the

¹ The French Academie de la Poesie et de la Musique was founded in 1570 by Charles IX.

series is foisted on Shakespeare, except that Bacon's own history of Henry VII. later fills the gap between the plays of Richard III. and Henry VIII. This, however, is not till after Bacon's official career is over. Cymbeline, The Tempest, Pericles, Henry VIII. and Timon of Athens, all highly biographical plays, especially the last, belong to this third period. Meanwhile, however, Queen Elizabeth has died, and during the last few days of her life is, to all appearances, mad. Then it is that those sad tragedies appear in which madness plays so prominent a part. It was a life tragedy indeed that we see in Hamlet, Macbeth and Lear. Ophelia is Bacon's muse, driven mad under the awful impression made on him by family events which he has had to witness, and been helpless to remedy, the fatal poisoning of his criminally minded father, the Earl of Leicester; the execution of his brother, the Earl of Essex, and the mad death of his mother, the Queen. What heart-rending events parallel to these can the Stratfordians produce, as having affected the mind and experience of the scarecrow, William Shakespeare, a country clown, the true "William" of "As You Like It." Such a theory, however improbable, at least explains the plays, as nothing in the Stratfordian's life does.

III. The picture that Herr Weber presents to our view is powerfully painted from an æsthetic point of view. The technique is good, though patchy, and it is rich in detail. The setting is new, but it is painted upon an old canvas and the materials and models from which it is composed are old. It is founded upon old stories so far as this country is concerned, and the amount of new material is insignificant. Though there is much that is new in the point of view, there is still no conclusive evidence, and this point of view will be distasteful to many until more positive proof is forthcoming. Even if Queen Elizabeth, in her infatuation for the Earl of Leicester, did momentarily contemplate restoring the Roman Catholic religion, provided the Pope and Spain would support her marriage with Leicester, she was too wise to do so, or perhaps too loyal and true to her countrymen; for she leaned on Burleigh for support whilst she toyed and fooled with Leicester. Womanly instinct made her feel the strength of the former, and in politics we learn that the great Minister could do more with her in an hour than Leicester could accomplish in years. Thus, whatever her secret was, she kept it to herself, and except perhaps by cipher we have nothing substantial yet to show that she was

married to Leicester. Moreover, even if Francis Bacon knew or suspected his origin and birth, nothing transpired during his life to show that he was her son—nothing, that is, which has so far come to light unless anonymously. The modern world therefore has been unwilling for the most part to accept the well-known reports quoted by Herr Weber as fact. They are admitted only as giving expression to the gossip which the undoubted and historic intimacy of Leicester and Elizabeth gave rise to. The two had known one another from youth. Elizabeth's tendency to carry flirtation very far began historically when she was very young. She kept many strings to her bow for years without committing herself. Did she abandon herself to Leicester? We still ask for proof. Herr Weber seems to admit the difficulty, and concedes that his case may yet take years to establish. His stronger point is rather that there is artistic *prima facie* evidence for the case he advocates. The gossip, together with what Bacon seems to have written under many pseudonyms, suggests, at once and without doubt, a solution which brings all the literature of that period into harmony and solves the mystery which surrounds it; for it was an age full of mystery.

As regards facts, he seems to give greater weight to the despatches of the Spanish Ambassador than is warranted. Thus he says, "the history of the secret marriage of the Queen with Leicester is clearly to be traced from (geht deutlichst hervor aus) the despatches of the Spanish Ambassador," in Simancas Castle, at Valladolid, and from documents at Hatfield; and he asserts as a fact that after the second marriage at Pembroke House, spoken of by de Quadra, "the Queen allotted to Leicester, who had previously lived on the ground floor below her, the room next to her own bedroom, and lived with him as man and wife according to the universal intelligence (Berichten) of all Europe." What authority de Quadra and others had for the statements they made is, however, not known, though de Quadra himself was, he states, a witness to the indelicate intimacy of the pair on a certain river expedition.

It is therefore on the ground of æsthetic unity that Weber's theory appeals most strongly. "In charge of the company of the children of the Royal Chapel, Bacon learnt all details of the actor's art and of theatre effects. These he practised at court, observing their working on his parents in a manner which he brings to a catastrophic climax in Hamlet." Weber asks the reader to see in Bacon the begotten and unrecognised

son of Queen Elizabeth and Leicester living thus in and about the court ; and to read the famous plays and other literature of that period from this point of view. The mere conception confers at once a strange and wonderful artistic unity upon his works as a whole. It makes them pregnant with meaning, in a manner which nothing else can, and clothes them with a grandeur unparalleled in literature. Ciphers, emblems, vignettes, merely confirm the deductive argument. The works thus viewed fulfil the sublime and purposeful aim of a man who, amid every obstacle and the most tragic environment, set out to do wonders which he is seen to achieve. He cannot and does not seek at every step to give hints and indications of his identity. This would defeat his very object which is to remain hid from his countrymen for some time to come. And the manner in which he has so successfully achieved his end is nothing short of miraculous. For, when the eyes are really opened, the light thrown on the design of the works, by the evidence on them of inherent unity of purpose, seems all sufficing to convince. To the artistic mind little else is needed ; and there are in addition many indications of their true authorship even in detail.

Thus taken as a whole Bacon's proseworks show the means and methods by which he would direct man towards the improvement of science and life and the control of the forces of nature. In the plays we have life as he saw it, the history of his ancestors, and the story of his life and sufferings, all held up for man to see. By showing what life might be made and by comparing it with what it is, he fervently hopes to make it more worth having, as he never ceases to say. That there may eventually be no mistake, moreover, as to the authorship of pseudonymous work, each has, contained in its detail, one or more clues by which his handiwork can be traced by the searcher. Hamlet indeed, under such an assumption as now made, needs no amplification. Bacon tells us in the play that " I lack advancement," but he is here too clearly himself contemplating the terrible actions attributed to his father Leicester, for his person to need further elucidation. In Henry VIII. Bacon is, of course Wolsey ; and accordingly a commission of *four* State officers is made to relieve him of the seal in place of the *two* officers, who alone were historically sent to relieve Wolsey. Moreover the Lord Treasurer and Lord Chamberlain actually did form two of the four actually sent in Bacon's case, but these two were absent in Wolsey's case when the Earl Marshal and High Steward

(the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk) alone were sent. Both Francis and Anthony Bacon frequented the Court of Navarre and, as discovered by Mrs. Buntin, on his return Anthony Bacon's passports, which may be seen in the British Museum, were signed by Biron, Mayenne, and Boyresse, three of the principal characters in "Love's Labour Lost." Timon of Athens is Bacon's self as clear as crystal. We can fancy we see him, as actually occurred, quaffing a silver goblet to the King's health and handing it to the King's messenger as a gift, with the well-known exuberance of his generosity. Timon's debts are calculated at £25,000, or as nearly as possible what Bacon owed at this fall. Flavius is Bacon's faithful secretary, Thomas Meautys, who after his fall wrote to him, "My heart says, or rather swears, for me; namely, that what addition soever (by God's good providence) come at any time to my life a fortune, it is in my account, but to enable me the more to serve your lordship in both, at whose feet I shall ever humbly lay down all that I have or own never to rise from thence other than—your Lordship's in all duty and reverent affection. T. Meautys (Sept. 15, 1622)." Timon is not shown to die in the play. His body is not found, but a grave is found with an inscription, even as, at a later period, Thomas Meautys wrote the famous inscription to Bacon's monument. Following in this way the method of our author (Weber) we may convince ourselves by going all through the plays, each of which has a bearing on Bacon's life easily recognised, and has besides its own specific clue to his handiwork. "Measure for Measure" and the "Merchant of Venice" particularly betray the finger of the skilled lawyer whom learning and experience alone could enlighten, never the unsophisticated genius of the most brilliant country school bumpkin, or Shakespeare, not even a Robert Burns! So, too, Queen Elizabeth's many foreign flirtations are humorously represented by Titiana's infatuation for a man with an ass's head. What a touch of Don Quixote! In "Julius Cæsar," Essex is Cæsar, Bacon is Brutus, etc., etc. The character of Cassius is an illustration of the essay on Envy.

To show life as it is, and to rebuild it as it never was before, by making mankind master of all knowledge on the one hand, and on the other by holding up to him his own character and bitter experience as in a looking-glass, by proceeding inductively from the particulars to the general, to expound the true relation between exact science and the highest art

in the life of man, both so important to invention and progress, this was Bacon's great two-fold aim. This, as Weber shows, is the true interpretation of the Magna Instauration and the Folio of 1623 viewed together as one great whole. What greater aim did man ever set himself, or so closely attain.

The view that Herr Weber takes of the manner in which the Shakespearian Legend gradually gained credence will be found particularly interesting. He maintains that during Bacon's lifetime there was no question of Shakespeare at all. Bacon was the centre of a powerful and extensive literary league, not confined to England, but extending to France and Holland, not to say Spain and Italy. He was the Chancellor of Parnassus, looked up to and adored by the whole literary world of that period, and was openly celebrated as such after his death, in the Manes Verulamiani, to conceal which every possible step was taken. But his emblems, vignettes, pen-names, etc., were widely known to the initiated, and in the original editions are invariably to be found at the head of the works, put upon paper for him, by men who in most cases were merely his scribes, employed by him to set together, and copy out his notes. Works often published anonymously at first, appeared collected under some pen-name later. Thus the Shepherd's Calendar of "*Immerito*" appears later under "Spenser's" works. And the Fairy Queen appears under the famous emblem with the light and dark "A" at its head. Similarly all the famous plays of the 1623 and also of the 1632 folios have indications of Bacon's authorship all pretty plainly recognisable "by the initiated" of his day.

IV. "But if Francis Bacon was Francis Tudor, the political and dynastic interests of England's rulers would demand the obliteration of all signs of his origin as the last Tudor olive branch. It thus became necessary to Royalty to create a false scent and to convert the Shakespeare scarecrow into the ghost of the real poet. Everything possible was therefore done to effect both ends, by means of all the resources of the dynasty, through Church and State officials, and all English Society, for some 250 years, during which endless forgeries took place, to treat fully of which would take a whole volume."

"I must therefore confine myself to the more important," adds Weber, and proceeds to describe the falsification of the monument on the Stratford's grave, which "Bacon had had put up (in about 1623), in a humorous spirit, in Stratford

Church." All other Stratford relics, portraits, death marks, etc., are fakes, making Stratford the greatest monument of fraud in the world. Following the falsification of his monument, portraits, house, and other historical memorials, came the falsification of the edition of the works attributed to Shakespeare and others, but really Bacon's, the original editions of 1623 and 1632 being laden with indications of Bacon as the true author, by which all the initiated would know him. "Here the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660 is the evident turning point. The Folio edition of 1664 no longer contains the speaking book-prints, vignettes initials, etc. Their place is taken by quite other drawings all of which aim at putting the uneducated actor in the place of Bacon. All the old illustrative indications are swept away. Henceforth the source and origin of the dramas is lost as in a fog!" Nevertheless the falsification goes on. The deliberate alteration of the text makes further strides in the 1709 edition of Rowe. This is the first real attempt to foist the authorship of the plays on Shakespeare, and we get for the first time a miserable so-called life of the Stratford straw-man. Pope, in his 1725 edition, further misrepresents the picture of the Stratford bust; continues the biographer of Shakespeare, and even alters the plays altogether, "introducing a completely false version of the text." He went so far, in fact, as to invite opposition, especially from Theobald, and his edition had to take a back seat. Nevertheless, all signs and memories of Bacon's authorship having been wiped out the efforts of future editors were now concentrated on making the text agree with the supposed life of Shakespeare. "An endless tale of commentaries and so-called improvements followed, many of the most ridiculous kind." Absurd efforts to produce specimens of Shakespeare's hand-writing, etc., were made, including John Jordan's discoveries, and those of Ireland, and culminating in the frauds and wanton misreadings of Payne-Collier, "the greatest sinner of all," whom Weber fully exposes. "Even the Stratfordians had to admit the fraud, though the believers in the Stratfordian continued to extend even to Germany."

Official Germany partly through ignorance, and partly under the influence of powerful English suggestion, recklessly accepted these forgeries, not being in a position to refute them, or to get at the real truth. "There, too, the poet Shakespeare came to be represented as a half-educated comedian of academic power, inspired with supernatural

wisdom, learning, philosophy and insight; and was so celebrated by Professor Morsbach at the Tübingen festival. The pamphlet which ensued is indeed an excellent example of the way in which it is sought to endow the illiterate 'Shaxpere' with the gift of colossal academic genius. Unfortunately this instance does not stand alone, and we have to listen to similar effusions at every Shakespeare lecture. The press alone might effect a change by exposing these despoilers of Shakespeare, and warning the public against the defamers who are seeking to set up the bust of a butcher boy upon the pedestal of a statue of Quirinus. . . . The Bacon theory will not be upset by such brochures as that of Smith entitled 'Shakespeare's Dramas and His Calling as an Actor. The mighty aim of the great archer Bacon of Verulam is no more to be turned aside by such, than was that of William Tell. He takes no notice. He hardly observes them.' All editions both of Bacon's acknowledged and of his pseudonymous works tell the same story of concealment and the suppression of all original signs and symbols of recognition; Speddings publications containing an endless list of such sins of omission, so that it may well be said that the forgeries which surround the greatest of all masterpieces constitute a literary fraud the like of which the world has never seen before, nor is likely to see again." Nevertheless, the high purpose of the great man, whose works have thus become shrouded in mystery, shines through all attempts to hide away their real author, defying concealment.

What a picture of life as he saw it Bacon according to Weber paints for us to see! What a terrible revelation of murder, intrigue, deception and treachery! Was this the outcome of Tudor tyranny? Was it to reform these appalling conditions of life, due to his own ancestors, that he formed and controlled a great secret Literary Society? How brilliantly he makes the jewels he so greatly admired shine out amid the general dross that surrounds them—the wisdom, mercy, justice, love of knowledge and truth, the vanity of human ambition!!

If the assumption made further that he was Queen Elizabeth's son be true indeed, and the belief that he was grows as examination proceeds—what temptations must have been his in youth. Yet, having bent his powerful bow in early youth, he took his unerring aim, and never allowed himself to be turned aside from his higher purpose, even when at his fall he was betrayed by the Judas, his kinsman the King.

True to himself and to that great purpose of his, and regardless of earthly punishment, he plodded on "content to live unknown and die unfound."¹ Born as he himself realised with intellectual powers unsurpassed, he schooled himself in early youth to aspire, in its very best sense, to the highest human ambition, the improvement of life in the interests of mankind. Suddenly, before reaching manhood, he discovers that he is, by birth, heir to the highest earthly position—a Crown. He is Cæsar. For a moment temptation allures him, a great passion makes him hope to be a King that he might marry a Queen. He is Romeo, the beautiful Margaret of Navarre is Juliet. But circumstances call on him to thrust aside this temptation to aspire to earthly power. Thus Bacon remained true to the higher divine calling. He failed indeed to persuade his brother Essex to do the same. He had to witness behind the scenes the tragic death by poison of his heartless father; the lewdness and the political flirtations and feigned coyness, the hypocrisy, as well as eventually the mad and remorseful death of his Queen mother, the *virgin mother* who held his life in her hand. He suffered, in short, as he tells us in Hamlet, the most terrible mental agony that could be devised for a sensitive man. He fell and was degraded in the eyes of his countrymen. Yet through it all he pursued the even tenor of his youthful way. He could hope for no earthly reward, and like Timon he died sorrowfully hidden away in obscurity. It is a tragic and terrible fate, which Weber and an increasing number of expert researchers are believing will be effectually revealed some day. It makes the famous plays themselves even less wonderful than the very life of the man who penned them. What a life! What faith! What a purpose! Will the man himself some day shine forth recognised in his true light?

* * * *

In Part III of this interesting book the author confronts his opponents more especially with regard to the Manes Verulamiani and Jonson's Discoveries, etc., and shows how the essays give the motive of the plays—Hamlet is "Revenge," "The Merchant of Venice" is "Usury," and so on; and the Appendices A.B.C.D. are further answers to attacks which Herr Weber dealt with in a highly vivacious and withering

¹ A favourite principle of the "mystic" churchmen, such as Thomas a Kempis, and "the brothers of the common life."

manner. Direct evidence in proof of Weber's theory is, however, still wanting. Even if Elizabeth had a son or sons, was Bacon that son? Many will still insist that Bacon, living at court behind the scenes, might have witnessed or suspected what was going on and have exercised his great talents thereon without being her son. Unfortunately Weber does not give many references, and seems to have gleaned a good deal from the cipher story and other speculators. Nevertheless his view is striking, as coming from a foreigner of an enemy country, whom ordinarily, one would hardly expect to hear maintaining an Englishman to be "the greatest poet of all times and peoples." He passes all details of the circumstantial evidence through the press and criticism of an enlightened and vigorous mind, and makes his points with great force and at times eloquence and enthusiasm. His analysis of the historical plays is suggestive and satisfying.

Particularly interesting is his interpretation of "The Tempest," which will form a fitting conclusion. He says, "As Goethe's Faust is a divine comedy, founded upon man's strivings and strayings in the sense of Dante and the middle ages: so Prospero, the hero of 'The Tempest,' is the Faust of to-day, as Bacon conceived him three hundred years ago. Yet so little is this grand conception of Faust, this great drama on the progress and culture of mankind, understood that it is generally looked upon as merely an innocent fairy tale, full of ghosts and goblins, meant to entertain the spectator pleasantly for a while. Surely it is time that our eyes were opened, and that our antiquated ideas about the Stratford 'Shakspeare' were swept away. As Dulac's masterly picture paints them, Prospero and Miranda, standing on the sea-shore of the island of Truth, represent Experimental Science and modern Ethics, and they are seen looking seaward, and watching the ship containing the royal party lashed by the ocean waves. They are witnessing the great 'Tempest' of Spiritual and material Reformation, as Bacon conceived it in his *Instauratio Magna*, *i.e.*, the refounding of Science and Ethics on experience."¹

Thus is belief in Francis Bacon as the real author of the plays of "Shakespeare" taking root in Europe, and the

¹ NOTE.—See also the essay on Truth, with its quotation from Lucretius which occurs, also in the Advancement of Learning.

great mystery of this sixteenth century inviting attention there. Many will as yet still prefer to believe that Queen Elizabeth was incapable of bearing children. It has not yet been proved that she did. We know indeed that she was vain, licentious-minded, unscrupulous, cruel and tyrannical. If he were her son, why did not Francis Bacon inherit these characteristics ?

The answer is clear, F. Bacon was not brought up in the environment of a Prince. He knew nothing of his real crigiu until he had passed seventeen years. His great aims, his lofty ideals, were then formed. The Tudor's ability he might well have in abundance. He might have all their inborn strong characteristics. But he had none of their *acquired* characteristics, reared as he was under the tender hands of Lady Anne Bacon. So he remained true to himself and his own youthful ideals.

What a study for the student of heredity is here ? How cleverly Bacon himself has compared the part played in forming character by the " dear goddess Nature " and by " the Tyrant and Monster Custom " respectively ; alike in Hamlet and Lear, and in the Essays of " Nature in Men " and " Custom and Education."

S. A. E. HICKSON, Brig.-General (ret.).

" Sir Francis Bacon." By Parker Woodward. (London : Grafton & Co., Coptic House, 1920.)

Mr. Parker Woodward has written a life of Sir Francis Bacon that is of much value to all Baconians. He clearly and definitely accepts the truth of the cipher story of Bacon's life, as revealed in the deciphering of the bi-literal cipher. The book is valuable in that it gives in chronological form the writings that Bacon put forth under various " masks," and enables one thus to see in a condensation the mass of work that is due to him. There is no attempt to *prove* the truth of the statement made as to Bacon's authorship—to do this would tax the capacity of many volumes ; but the cipher story is frankly accepted, and the results of this acceptance set down. But this of itself is of much use to convinced Baconians ; for it gives them at hand facts for reference or remembrance. For those who are *not* convinced the book is outside their cognizance, and for them to reach conviction a mass of literature has to be studied. Some of Mr. Woodward's points are established by the cipher counting of letters or words—a system well understood by advanced students of Bacon ; but this again is " caviare to the general," and of little import

to the uninitiated, who would require long and patient study of recondite works to bring themselves to the point of acceptance.

It will thus be seen that this book has its limitations. It cannot be said to be controversial—the controversy must be outside the book; upon the statements therein set down as facts, which run counter to general belief. The book itself enters into no controversy, but confines itself in the main to categorical statements. It is, however, this categorical form that is of use and value to the Baconian. The proof—if he desires it—he knows he can find elsewhere

GRANVILLE C. CUNNINGHAM.

"Shakespeare's Handwriting." By Sir George Greenwood.
2s. net.

Mr. John Lane has just published Sir George Greenwood's summing - up of the evidence of Shakespeare's handwriting supplied by the so-called "signatures" (amounting to five)—the only examples of his penmanship which have been left us. In this book he mercilessly exposes the nonsense that the expert "paleographers" and "graphonomists" have written upon the subject of these famous scrawls. As the opinions and conclusions of these learned gentlemen are widely different, Sir George asks, "What can the poor ordinary mortal do?"

It is certainly made clear in this little book that Shakespeare's signatures to the Blackfriars conveyance and the mortgage-deed were actually written on the same day. Yet there is a great difference between them, as even Sir E. Maunde Thompson is obliged to admit. Is it possible that the great dramatist who admired "the sweet Roman hand" can have written his name, or rather something resembling it, with such clear proof of helplessness in using a pen?

The signatures look very much as if the hand had been guided by somebody else in making them. Shakespeare must have written with great facility to keep pace with the instantaneous wit and genius of his most fertile mind. No labouring hand ever penned graceful and spontaneous verse.

"Shakespeare and the Earl of Oxford." By J. Thomas Looney. Cecil Palmer. 21s. net.

"Shakespeare Identified" is the proud title of a recent publication in which it is sought to demonstrate that the real Shakespeare was Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford (1550-1604).

Mr. Looney deserves our thanks for bringing into prominence

the personality of this courtier-poet and the charming lyrics associated with his name. He was reckoned highly by Webbe who, in his "Discourse of Poetrie" (1586), commends him "for the rare devices of Poetry" as among "the most excellent of the noblemen at Court." The unknown author of "The Arte of English Poetry" (1589) puts his name first among the "courtly makers." Then Meres, in 1598, mentions him first when he comes to those who are "best for comedy."

Carried away by his enthusiasm, Mr. Looney makes a very reckless assertion when he says (p. 142) :—

"We have in these words a contemporary opinion that he was the *best* of the poets."

Meres would not have dared to have put the name of the Earl of Oxford in any other place than the first, seeing that the other poets he names were all inferior in rank. It is also quite clear that whatever comedies Meres knew to have been written by Oxford, he did not identify them with any of those known as "Shakespeare's," for Meres had just mentioned the titles of twelve plays in support of his contention that Shakespeare "is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage." Then why, since he makes no attempt to conceal the Earl's name as a maker of comedies, should he have mentioned the name of Shakespeare at all? Meres was not thinking of any Shakespeare plays when he included the Earl as among "the best for comedy."

There was a company of children, known as Earl Oxford's, who are recorded to have performed a play called "The History of Agamemnon and Ulisses" before the Queen at Greenwich in 1584. The play is lost, but Mr. Looney does not hesitate to proclaim that it was written by Oxford, and would have us accept it as the early draft of "Troilus and Cressida." The Stratfordians are not alone in relying upon their imaginations for their facts. If the Earl wrote "Histories," then Meres would have recorded it; but it was for comedy alone that he was known.

The parallels between certain verses known to have been written by De Vere and certain lines in the Plays appear to Mr. Looney to be highly significant. On examination, however, the examples do not argue more than this—that both writers employed certain "Ornaments" or "Figures" of speech which are named and explained in "The Arte of English Poesie." Indeed, the extracts from Shakespeare, quoted by Mr. Looney, are actually exemplified by Mr. Rushton in "Shakespeare and 'The Arte of English Poesie.'"

Mr. Looney finds many identities of character and experience in De Vere and the author of the plays. But Baconians can claim that there is no knowledge displayed, nor anything that can safely be called a personal revelation in "Shakespeare," that cannot be accounted for in the life and works of Francis Bacon. Moreover, Bacon had a definite purpose in view when he prepared the dramas. The Folio supplies in every detail the "missing" Fourth Part of the "Great Instauration," which was not to appear in the usual form of a philosophic work. This section of his scheme was to form a treatise of the working of the Mind and the Passions, and it was to be set forth:—

"By actual types and models, by which the entire process of the mind, and the whole fabric and order of invention, in certain subjects, and those various and remarkable, should be set as it were before the eyes."—*Distributio Operis.*

What purpose De Vere could have had in writing the plays is not suggested by Mr. Looney. Few of the poet's masterpieces can be considered good acting plays in the form in which they are printed, and least of all for children. Who can imagine a "squeaking" child "boying" the greatness of Lear, Hotspur or Coriolanus? That the author of the plays was not favourably disposed towards the children-players is revealed in the familiar scene in "Hamlet" (II.-2). Mr. Looney argues in another place that Hamlet is Oxford; yet how can that be when Hamlet's players are *men*, and much pitied by the prince, because they are forced to travel owing to these children being the fashion of the moment?

Among other facts telling against this theory are the dates of Oxford's birth and death. He was born in 1550, and was forty-three when "Venus and Adonis" was published. Certainly the poem is far too perfect to be any man's first-born, but the choice of subject, its treatment, and the freshness of the poet's "invention" stamps the work as that of a much younger man. Since De Vere was not a "concealed poet" and had already put his name to verses, there is no reason why its publication should have been stayed, had he been the parent of this masterpiece. It is significant that Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been Bacon's tutor at Trinity, should have given special authority for a poem on such a subject to be printed. Moreover, all the plays mentioned by Meres in 1598 betray the hand of a youthful genius. After the death of Oxford, in 1604, there is no trace of any falling off in the

output of plays. Mr. Looney is alive to the necessity of smoothing over this obstacle, and the plays which must have been written after the Earl's death he assumes to have been left in rough draft and completed by other pens. But the plays of this period, *Lear*, *Coriolanus*, *Othello*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, etc., are no more under suspicion of being the work of one master-mind and the assistance of other "good pens" than are some of the earlier plays. Edwin Reed, in "Francis Bacon our Shake-speare" (pp. 103-119) shows the great extent to which some dozen plays were revised and enlarged in the years leading up to the printing of the Folio in 1623. In every case the additions are made to Quartos printed after Oxford's death and, in some cases, to additions printed after the death of Shakespeare. Several of the alterations are made for no other apparent reason than because various opinions which were at one time held by Bacon were found to be incorrect, and were being subjected to similar revisions in his philosophical works.

The best part of Mr. Looney's book is his statement of the main anti-Stratfordian arguments. In this department he acknowledges his indebtedness to Sir George Greenwood's work. His studies of the Baconian case do not, however, appear to have been carried beyond the writings of the earlier investigators, such as Donnelly, Judge Webb and Lord Penzance. Had he extended his knowledge of the subject to the results of newly-unearthed data, there would have been no mention of Edward de Vere in connection with the Shakespeare Problem.—R. L. E.

NOTICES.

THE BILITERAL CIPHER.

There have been many discussions recently regarding the biliteral cipher, and much difference of opinion exists as to the accuracy of the alleged deciphering. Some accept in its entirety what is known as the cipher story; some are of opinion that there is no foundation in fact for the allegations it contains, while others are undecided and are seeking further light on the subject. In order to provide ground on which a sound judgment may be formed, it is proposed to publish in *BACONIANA* a *facsimile* reproduction of a page of some work believed to contain the cipher, with a mark to distinguish the letters of the *a* from those of the *b* alphabet. Readers who have had any personal experience in reading the cipher are requested to communicate the result to the undersigned for the information of the Editors.

E. FRANCIS UDNY,

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer.

8, Colville Gardens, London, W.II.

The Warwickshire Bacon Society, of which Mr. Horace Nickson is president, and Mr. W. A. Dalley hon. secretary, is making good progress, and doing excellent work. An audience of about 250 listened with keen interest to a lecture by Mr. Smedley, which was delivered at the Chamber of Commerce, on October 21st. The lecturer, after giving an account of the boyhood of Francis Bacon, traced his career in France, when between 16 and 19 years of age. There, as an "Admirable Crichton," he may well have challenged the doctors at the University. Emendations in his

handwriting in the 1580 edition of Montaigne's essays are suggestive of collaboration in that work. The matchless poetic diction of some parts of the authorised version of the Bible seem also to bear the impress of Bacon's marvellous genius. King James originated and closely supervised the work of producing that monument of the English language, and it is highly improbable that he would have allowed it to go to press without passing through the hands of the great master who beyond all others framed our speech. In every way Mr. Smedley's lecture was a great success and left a deep impression.

FRANCIS BACON BIRTHDAY COMMEMORATIONS.

The 360th anniversary of Francis Bacon's birthday was commemorated by a luncheon at Jules' Restaurant, Jermyn Street, Piccadilly, on January 22nd, at 1.30 p.m. The president, Sir John Cockburn, was at the head of the table, and an excellent menu was provided. Following the customary toast to "The King," the toast to the memory of Francis Bacon was proposed in rich and glowing terms by the president, whose eloquence was punctuated by applause at intervals in no uncertain manner. Mr. Granville C. Cuninghame responded in an admirable and interesting review of Bacon's life, causing no little amusement by an incidental reference to a charge of four pence, in the register of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, by two servants for attendance at Francis Bacon's christening! Miss Marion Coleman, a rising contralto vocalist, next rendered in fine form Mr. Henry Seymour's musical setting to a two-stanza song ascribed to Bacon, "To Marguerite," (the first stanza of which appears, curiously, in the fourth act of "Measure for Measure") the

rendering being much appreciated. A toast was given to "The Society," and vigorously spoken to by Mr. Horace Nickson (president of the Birmingham Bacon Society), who pointed out the rapid progress of the movement in Birmingham, and urged greater organising activity in London. A toast was also proposed to "The Guild of Francis St. Alban" (our London sister society), by Mr. E. Francis Udny (hon. secretary), who spoke gracefully of the wonderful activity of the ladies' movement, the publishing of a separate magazine, and of the whole-hearted zeal of its hon. secretary, Miss Alicia Leith; after which this lady cordially responded with much earnestness of feeling, and paid a warm tribute to the memory of the immortal poet, and to help rendered to the Guild by Lady Durning Lawrence, widow of Sir Edwin D. Lawrence, late President of the Bacon Society. Miss Ramsden next gave a most interesting recital of Elizabethan melodies on the piano, which elicited great applause; one of the airs was known to have been frequently played by Queen Elizabeth herself on the spinet. Lady Durning-Lawrence followed, proposing a toast, "To the Visitors," in a speech full of sympathy and welcome to all who felt an interest in the all-embracing and all-absorbing problem of literature which a study of Bacon engendered. Mr. T. Curzon (a visitor) responded with an amusing recital of his attempts to snatch a single hour out of a working-day of 16 hours in order to study the profound and important problem of the authorship of Elizabethan literature, but hoped to be able to do so in the future on account of its literary and historic importance, of which he was already fully conscious. Miss Coleman rendered an encore song, and was enthusiastically applauded. After which Mr. Henry Seymour proposed a toast "To the Artistes," in a few witty and felicitous

observations, which concluded the enjoyable proceedings.

Mr. Horace Nickson graciously presented everyone present with a large lithographic reproduction of the title-page of the 1623 folio, containing Mr. Nickson's description of his discovery that the " front and back " coat-sleeves of the mask portrait read " Fr. Bacon, Kt.," anagrammatically. Copies of this most interesting sheet can be obtained for 2s. each, from Mr. H. Nickson, 34, Cannon Street, Birmingham.

Mr. and Mrs. W. T. Smedley entertained a company of nearly 100 guests at dinner in the evening, at the Lyceum Club, Piccadilly, in honour of Francis Bacon's birthday. Among those present were Sir George and Lady Scott, Sir George and Lady Greenwood, Sir F. and Lady Clark, Sir John Cockburn, Mr. Clement Shorter, Professor and Mrs. MacLean, Dr. Cato Worsfall, M.P., and Mrs. Worsfall, Mr. G. Reeve Smith, Dr. Yorke Trotter, Mr. H. and Mrs. Harold Bayley, Mr. George Gregory, Mr. Crouch Batchelor, Mrs. A. Chambers Buntin, Mr. Horace and Mrs. Nickson. Proposing " The Memory of Francis Bacon," Mr. Smedley said that he had collected hundreds of books with Bacon's annotations in the margins, his collection including manuscripts of Bacon's boyhood, in which he set out a list of his sins; amongst those books there were at least 100 which had been annotated by Bacon, doubtless before he was 12 years old. That Bacon had been brought up in the Latin tongue was evident from the fact that all these early manuscripts were exclusively in Latin, and that nothing was in English. The assumption, which was a product of modern opinion, that the Elizabethan period had produced such a galaxy of literary stars, the like of which had never been known in the world's history,

was to be explained very easily on the supposition that one man alone, Francis Bacon, contrived almost the whole of this revival. Mr. Smedley supported this supposition by historic references and literary parallels, which showed that Bacon wrote Shakespeare, the poems of Edmund Spenser, Barclay's "Argenis," and numerous other works under other names. For a solution of this great literary problem, facilities ought to be provided, he argued, for a thorough examination of the literature of Bacon's period; the literature should be gathered into a single library, with the provision of scholarships for students to take up that examination, for Bacon's books were to be reckoned, not by scores, but by hundreds.

C. MOORE.

THE ORIGIN OF DON QUIXOTE.

Some interesting facts in reference to the origin of this masterpiece have lately been brought to light. It appears that the plot of Don Quixote was taken from a prior publication called "Entremes de Romances." The episodes in both of these books are in many cases similar, and sometimes the very words are copied. Details of this most interesting discovery are to be found in *The Times* Literary Supplement, March 3rd, 1921, under the heading of the "Birth of Don Quixote."

The article reviews an inaugural address delivered in 1920, entitled, "Un Aspecto de la Elaboración del Quijote," by Señor Menéndez Pidal, Presidente del Ateneo, Madrid. The author of the address which the article reviews erroneously attributes the "Entremes de Romances" to the pen of Cervantes. It seems therefore that in Spain, as in England at this period, we have an example of a work published in the first instance anonymously and afterwards elaborated and brought before the notice of the public under the name of an author real or assumed.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

DEAR SIR,—The following facts translated from p. 233, *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de Francois Bacon*, par J. B. Vauzelles, may interest you :—

Thos. Tenison, born 29th September, 1636, at Cottenham, Cambridgeshire, was the friend and condisciple of W. Rawley, only son of Dr. Rawley (Bacon's chaplain), who died a year before his father 3rd July, 1666.

John Rawley, the Executor of the latter, committed the Bacon papers (BACONIANA) to the friend of the Testator's son, and probably all those of the illustrious Chancellor which Dr. Rawley had in his possession. But Tennison, promoted to the Bishopric of Lincoln and to the Arc-Bishopric of Canterbury, had no leisure to continue the revision of the MSS. of his favourite author, and left them by Will of 15th April, 1715, to his Chaplain, Dr. Ed. Gibson, Keeper of the Bibliographies of Lambeth Palace.

I note that de Vauzelles differentiates between MSS. in use for BACONIANA and certain ones in Rawley's possession at his death. Knowing, as we Baconians do, that Rawley withheld some of Bacon's works from publication, may it not be well to make further research at Lambeth?—Yours truly,

ALICIA AMY LEITH.

THE BI-LITERAL CYPHER.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—In the course of my investigations into the bi-literal cypher of Francis Bacon, I have come across an interesting and important fact which should be published, if it is not already known, for the benefit of other students.

I possess a copy of what is considered by antiquarian booksellers to be the only impression of the 1622, or original edition of Bacon's "Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seventh"; and after grappling for some time with the cypher which it contains, to harmonize it with the transcript already published by Mrs. Gallup, I began to wonder if there were more than one "original" edition issued in 1622, and so set out to see by a visit to the British Museum Library. I found one edition only entered in the catalogue for that year. That didn't look very hopeful. But I had

my own copy with me and was able to make a close comparison of the two. From all external indications, even to the commencing and concluding words in the same pages, the impressions were identical ; but in applying the comparison to the italic letters of peculiar forms there was a remarkable difference in the placings, which involved a different setting, a different printing, and which, I have no doubt, reveals a different cypher communication.

I noticed, also, from this cursory examination that the title-page and epistle-dedicatory were unchanged in the two impressions, in respect of the italic forms, and that the changes are made in the body of the book. The opening words of the cypher message in both impressions are, therefore, alike.—Yours truly.

HENRY SEYMOUR.

THE MEMORIAL TO FRANCIS BACON.

TO THE EDITOR OF "BACONIANA."

SIR,—In Part 3 (The Lost Manuscripts) of Mrs. Elizabeth Gallup's "Francis Bacon's Bi-literal Cypher," there appears a photographic reproduction of the Memorial to Francis Bacon, in St. Michael's Church, St. Albans. On page 6 the authoress says: "A curious fact is developed by a study of the letters of the inscription on the pedestal. They have been re-cut upon an earlier inscription. Parts of the original letters appear in places, protruding slightly beyond the others—above, below, or at one side. A long bar over the *a* in *Verulam* (or *Verulamio*) abbreviates the word to VERVLA ; but not entirely hidden by the great *tilda* are the letters MIO of the former inscription. The letters SEV originally stood lower than at present and were differently formed, the V being shaped U and showing very distinctly. This makes it impossible to translate the cypher message which it undoubtedly contained. It seems impossible to determine the date at which these changes were made. In 1869 the church was 'restored,' and at that time the statue was removed from its position well out in the chancel, and set in the niche it now occupies—a large crack in the pedestal showing injury in the removal."

In a quarto edition of "The Works of Francis Bacon," bearing the date 1778, there is a fine engraving, which forms the frontispiece to the third volume, of this Memorial ; and it is just possible that this may furnish the text of the original inscription, if not any cypher. The inscription is, of course,

in Latin ; and I have noticed that it is in Roman type throughout, without a single italic letter. Over the niche are these lines :

Tumulus

Prænob : FRANCISCI Baronis VERVLAM, Vicecomitisq,
S. ALBAN

In Cancellò Ecclesiæ S. Mich : apud S. ALBANVM.

Underneath the niche there are two tablets, the upper containing :

FRANCISCVS BACON BARO DE VERVLAM, St. ALBANI
VIC. MES

SEV NOTIORIBVS TITVLIS
SCIENTIARVM LVMEN, FACVNDIÆ LEX
SIC SEDEBAT

The lower :

QVI POSTQVAM OMNIA NATVRALIS SAPIENTIÆ
ET CIVILIS ARCANA EVOLVISSET
NATVRÆ DECRETVM EXPLEVIT

COMPOSITA SOLVANTVR

ANº DNI M.DC XXVI.

ÆTATIS LXVI

TANTI VIRI

MEM

THOMAS MEAVTYS

SVPERSTITIS CVLTOR

DEFVNCTI ADMIRATOR

H.P.

I have looked closely into the formation of the letters for trace of bi-literal cypher, but can find none ; nor, indeed, could it be expected, inasmuch as the illustration is an engraving and not a photograph. Even supposing the original inscription to have been done in bi-formed letters, it is only reasonable to suppose that any peculiar character would not be faithfully reproduced, and would be lost if the copyist were not an initiate. At any rate, in this engraved inscription there is no long bar over the *a* in *Verulam*, the letters SEV appear in perfect alignment with the succeeding letters, and do not appear in a lower position than their normal one. But I may call attention to the very small letters *m e s* at the right-hand top corner, the last of the three letters abutting closely to an ornamental drop in the moulding of the tablet, as though it belonged to a word containing still more letters, hidden behind a fold. May I suggest that any cypher upon this monument is possibly *anagrammatic* ?

The posture of the statue itself is very significant, being precisely that which is indicated in the opening sentence of the great *Word* cypher, which is the anagram of words, lifted from the soliloquy of Bastard in King John, Act I., Sc. 1 :—

“ My dear sir,

Thus leaning on mine elbow, I begin.”

Mrs. Gallup herself claims to have deciphered the announcement of this then new and later cypher in her bi-literal transcript of Bacon's “ Reign of King Henry VII.” (1622). Dr. Orville W. Owen claims to have discovered the clues and joining key-words appertaining to this cypher independently ; and whether their claims are well-founded or not, the result of their decipherings, so far given to the world, is as startling in its moral consistency as remarkable in its historical plausibility.—Yours faithfully,

HENRY SEYMOUR.

“ St. Maur,” 544, Caledonian Road, London, N.7.

TO THE EDITOR OF “ BACONIANA.”

SIR,—Have any of your readers come across the following enigma “ ascribed ” (I don't know by whom !) to Ben Jonson ? And has any reader found any answer to the enigma, beyond the obvious one ? I shall be very grateful to anyone who can throw any light on this singular poem. Here is the “ enigma ” :

“ My Altitude high, my Body foure square,
My foot in the Grave, my Head in the Ayre,
My Eyes in my Sides, five Tongues in my Wombe
Thirteen Heads upon my Body, four Images alone.
I can direct you where the Winde doth stay
And I turne God's Precepts thrice a day,
I am seen, where I am not
I am heard where I is not
Tell me now what I am,
And see that you miss not.”

I have only seen a manuscript copy of this, and I should like to see it as it was originally printed (or graven).—Yours faithfully,

E. BLAND TUCKER.

Well Hall, Eltham, S.E.9.

Cervantes, Lagos, Dante, &c. (editions of 16th to 18th centuries), Hofrath Weber of Valérie Strasse 44, Vienna II., has a collection of 300 volumes, of which he will send a catalogue on application.

