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BACONIANA

JUNE, 1936.

CONTENTS.

LONDON:
THE BACON SOCIETY INCORPORATED
17, GORDON SQUARE, W.C.1.

The Bacon Society

(INCORPORATED).

47 GORDON SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1

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 Shakspere, 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.

For further particulars apply to Mr. Henry Seymour, Hon. Sec. of the Bacon Society, 47 Gordon Square, W.C.1.

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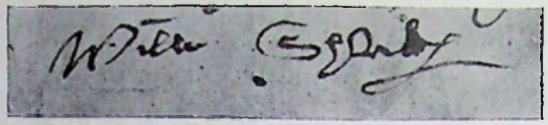
This is mainly due to gifts of books made to the Society by various Donors during past years, or left to it by will, with the object of assisting its research work and rendering the collection still more complete.

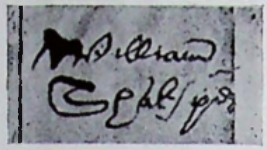
The Bacon Society Inc. appeals to those who have accumulated books (whether few or many) bearing on the Bacon-Shakespeare Problem and the Elizabethan-Jacobean period generally, and who would be unwilling that such books should be dispersed in the future or remain unappreciated. It is suggested that bequests of collections, or gifts of individual books especially early editions), as well as donations or bequests of money, would very much benefit the Society, and would be gratefully accepted.

Members of the Council will gladly give advice and assistance in the selection of any books which may be proposed by prospective donors.

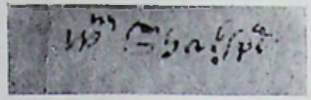
THE SIX SUPPOSED AUTHENTIC SHAKSPERE SIGNATURES.

1 

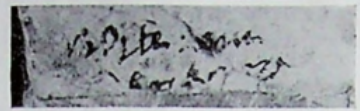
Record Office, London.
11th May, 1612.

2 

Guildhall.
10th March, 1613.

3 

British Museum.
11th March, 1613.

4 

Will.

5 

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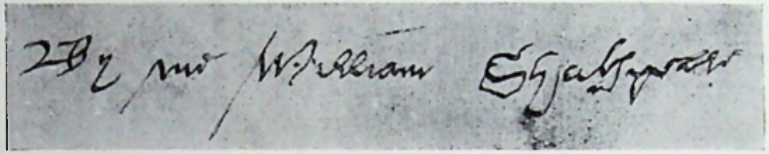
Somerset House.
25th March, 1616.

6 

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BACONIANA

VOL. XXII, *Third Series*. JUNE, 1936. No. 84

It should be understood that "Baconiana" is a medium for the discussion of subjects connected with the Objects of the Bacon Society, but that the Society does not necessarily accept responsibility for opinions expressed by its contributors.

FRANCIS ST. ALBAN.

PHILOSOPHER AND LITTERATEUR.

BACON SOCIETY'S JUBILEE DINNER.

A SPECIAL significance attached to the annual dinner of the Bacon Society, held at the Langham Hotel, Portland Place, W.1. It marked the jubilee of the foundation of the Society, mainly at the instigation of the late Mrs. Henry Pott, who, in the course of her literary research, was convinced that Sir Francis Bacon, the great Elizabethan Chancellor and literary and scientific genius, was the true author of the plays attributed to William Shakespeare.

Mr. Bertram G. Theobald, the President, who is a nephew of one of the founders of the Society (Dr. Robert M. Theobald), presided over a company of about sixty, which included, as special guests, the Minister for Bulgaria and Madam Radett. Lady Sydenham of Combe, the Dowager Lady Boyle and Sir Edward Boyle were also among those present.

"To the Immortal Memory."

When proposing the toast of "The Immortal Memory," the President invited those present to consider with him how, when and why the name of Shakespeare first came to the public notice. It was agreed, he said, that "Will Shakspere" came up from Stratford-on-Avon in or about 1587. It was also known that the first appearance of the name of Shakespeare was on the front sheet of "Venus and Adonis" in 1593. The other date to bear in mind was 1598, because up to that time all the Shakespeare plays were anonymous. One of the little incidental problems he had often tried to solve was whether Francis Bacon took the pen-name of Shakespeare before he ever heard of the man from Stratford, or whether he adopted it on his own account as being a suitable and proper pen-name for himself. The question of dates was very important here. He could not altogether settle the point; but he desired to pass on some ideas which bore upon it. For Bacon, there could be no more appropriate pen-name than "Shake-speare," referring quite obviously to Minerva or Pallas Athene, the Greek Goddess of Wisdom, who was repre-sented in mythology as wearing a helmet and brandishing a spear, with the symbol of ignorance lying slain at her feet. In 1594 the "Comedy of Errors" was first produced. About that year Francis Bacon and his associates formed a Society, which they called The Order of the Helmet, and he (the President) did not think that was simply for the amusement of the students of Gray's Inn and as a jest. He thought it had a more serious purpose. In addition, there were references in the literature of the time which seemed to point in the same direction. In 1640 came Bacon's "The Advancement of Learning" and there, on the very elaborate and beautiful title page, would be found among the symbolism, two little owls, each holding a torch, again pointing to the owl (Bacon) as Pallas Athene. These were some of the reasons which seemed to suggest that the name Shakespeare was a peculiarly appropriate one for Bacon, if taken on his own account, without any reference to the Stratford man.

Shakspere—a Half-Educated Young Man.

Another point which was often overlooked, even by Baconian students, was that the man Shakspere, the actor, was first heard of officially at Christmas, 1593. In May, 1593, his name was not on the official list of actors, so one had to ask one's self whether, when "Venus and Adonis" came out in 1593, Shakspere could be sufficiently well known to be regarded as author of that work. Again, only two years after Shakspere came up from Stratford-on-Avon, a half-educated young man, "Love's Labour Lost," one of the most learned and pedantic of the Shakespeare plays, was supposed to have been written. The writer of this play showed an intimate knowledge of the English and still more of the French Court. How was a poor yokel from Stratford to have gained such knowledge? It was impossible. He could not have done it. On the other hand, Francis Bacon had travelled extensively, and his brother, Anthony, had been staying for years at the Court of Navarre as an honoured guest.

Keen interest was aroused among those present in a typewritten copy of the tenth stanza of the first edition of "Venus and Adonis" which the President handed round, and proceeded to trace how, in that one stanza alone, by means of numerical reckoning and clever word-play, Bacon signs himself no fewer than seven times as its author.

The toast of "The Immortal Memory" was then drunk, the entire company upstanding.

Looking Back Fifty Years.

Miss Alicia A. Leith, one of the Vice-Presidents, proposed the toast of "The Bacon Society." She spoke as one who was a close friend of the Founder of the Society, Mrs. Henry Pott, who, having made a great discovery, decided to pass it on. For the past fifty years, therefore, the Society had been doing its best to encourage the study of the life, works and character of that hidden man, Francis Bacon, so that the whole world should know him unveiled, unmasked, for what he was—a monument of

spiritual culture and heaven-born genius, or, as the late Dr. Theobald had described him, "The brightest luminary in the firmament of poetry and literature." Miss Leith also spoke of the work of the Ladies' Guild of Francis St. Alban during the past twenty-five or thirty years and claimed that Francis Bacon was, in reality, the architect and builder of the Worshipful Company known to-day as Freemasons.

Miss Mabel Sennett made a novel reply to the toast. It consisted of appropriate selections from the plays ingeniously woven into a composite speech, which was received with amusement and appreciation by those present.

The toast of "The Visitors," proposed by Mr. Percy Walters, was responded to by Mr. Edmund C. Blunden, who is a professor of literature at Oxford.

Bacon's Reputation Never Stood Higher.

When proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Bertram Theobald for presiding, Sir Edward Boyle declared that the reputation of Francis Bacon never stood higher than it does to-day. That was due to many causes, no doubt, but not least to the work of devoted men and women in the Bacon Society for half-a-century. Science, metaphysics, social and political investigation to-day were all based on the Baconian method. Another thing they could say was that it was realised to-day that Bacon never bothered himself with abstract metaphysics. What he set out to do was to find out how philosophy could help mankind. His philosophy was based on a desire to be useful to his own and future generations. He supposed that Bacon was a lonely man; he imagined that his ideas did not fit into the scheme of philosophical development of his day. Yet he considered the Bacon Society might feel happy at the great progress which had undoubtedly been made and that to-day scientific induction lay behind all investigation in almost every department of public activity. He thought they could sum up fairly the work of the Bacon Society by saying that it had brought the Baconian method to the consideration of the Bacon-Shakespeare question.

The President briefly replied.

MRS. GALLUP'S COMPETENCE.

By B. G. THEOBALD.

KNOWING that most readers of BACONIANA are but slightly interested in cipher work, I do not wish to inflict an article on them, but merely to suggest a few points for consideration in reference to Mr. Ewen's article in the last issue.

As Mrs. Gallup is unhappily no longer here to defend herself and explain, as she could otherwise have done, we will grant, for the sake of argument, that the criticisms by Mr. Ewen are justified. But even so, it by no means follows that all her work is to be laid under suspicion; still less, that she was either dishonest or incompetent, since every known fact about her strongly negatives any such opinion. It would therefore be well to bear in mind the following points at least:—

1. Had she wished to invent a story, she would never have published many things which obviously invited antagonism.
2. It is incredible that anyone could have deliberately fabricated the cipher narrative, had there been no foundation for it.
3. If Mrs. Gallup had been either dishonest or incompetent, she would not have dared, as she did, to offer herself for strict test and examination by an independent committee.
4. When publishing her results, she must have realised that any mistake or fraud might be discovered forthwith by some person who had mastered the technique of deciphering. She was not so foolish as to risk this.
5. Whenever she was given a fair chance to meet objectors, she was always able to defend herself and her methods.
6. In his articles in the *Mercure de France*, Sept., 1922, General Cartier, chief of the cryptographical staff of the Allies in the Great War, stated, inter alia (I translate his French): "we think it right to insist on the fact that from the standpoint of cryptography we

have personally undertaken the work of checking a considerable number of passages, and that we are of opinion that the discussion should leave on one side the cryptographical point of view, which seems to us unassailable."

7. General Cartier further pointed out that in given passages, errors on the part of a decipherer would be possible, leading him to form other words, and even other phrases, than those adopted by the decipherers who had done the bulk of the work.
8. In another article (*Fly-Leaves*, Nov. 1923, p. 319) General Cartier stated, among other conclusions: "I consider the decipherings accomplished by Mrs. Gallup and verified by the cryptographers of Riverbank Laboratories under the direction of Colonel Fabyan to be authentic." And again: "I express no opinion concerning the other decipherings made by that lady, whose good faith in any case appears to me to be above all suspicion."
9. Mrs. Gallup was subjected to stringent tests by Mr. J. P. Baxter, author of *The Greatest of Literary Problems*, and came out of those tests with flying colours. See pp. 530 et seq. of that book. Mr. Baxter himself was acquainted to some extent with the technique of deciphering, and was able, for example, to decipher a message from the eulogy by J.M. in the 1623 Shakespeare Folio. I myself have followed up the instructions given in this message, and have found the results which that message indicated; thus indirectly confirming the accuracy of Mr. Baxter's decoding. It is reasonable to infer that Mrs. Gallup, with her long experience, patience, and skill, could do far more than Mr. Baxter with his very limited knowledge.

In view of these and other considerations, my own opinion is that judgment should be suspended on the validity of Mr. Ewen's findings, and certainly that no case has been made out for distrusting Mrs. Gallup's work as a whole.

THE GALLUP DECIPHER.

[We have received a number of letters from our readers on the above subject raised by Mr. C. L'Estrange Ewen in our last issue. Many of these express belief or disbelief in Mrs. Gallup's deciphering and contain nothing of evidential value in the elucidation of this vexed question. Space at our disposal prevents us from printing these, or indeed, any of the letters *in extenso*, but we give a few extracts below from some which are typical].

Mrs. Prescott.—"Mr. Ewen's conclusions rest on a false premise."

Mr. W. Donald.—"I think Mr. Ewen's case is made out and that he has caught Mrs. Gallup napping."

Mr. J. Fitch.—"I have found by a microscopic examination that most of the 'identical' italic letters in the Lodge poem have distinct differences in form, which strikes at the root of Mr. C. L. Ewen's criticism of Mrs. Gallup's method."

Miss A. Forsyth.—"I was astonished to find that in the Sonnet under review there were not two definite forms in most letters, but numerous forms. The small letter *e*, for instance,—it occurs 33 times, but not two of the forms in which it appears are precisely the same."

Mrs. G. Smith.—"Perhaps Mrs. Gallup was clairvoyant and was able to see small but familiar differences in the shapes of the letters which the average person cannot. I remember she once said that she could go on deciphering at a good pace sometimes and then suddenly be stopped, having to spend much time in order to satisfy herself of the correctness of her classification of a single letter. I do not think the biliteral cypher is so mechanical or easy as Mr. Ewen assumes."

Mr. G. T. Moulton.—"Readers who accept Mrs. Gallup's *bona fides* will pause to wonder if that practised expert would be likely to fall into the self-contradictory trap as that suggested by Mr. L. Ewen. For my part I see another innocent explanation. If the Lodge sonnet was kept standing as is surmised, only a comparatively few of the *b* fount letters would need to be 'lifted' and changed to make the two differing transliterations possible."

Mr. Edward Sinclair.—"Bishop Wilkins, author of an essay entitled *Mercury*, dated 1641, points out how two or more biformed alphabets may be used together in the operation of Bacon's Biliteral, or 'Omnia per Omnia,' cypher . . . . a possible hint how this should be worked. If so, it would negative the value of Mr. L'Estrange Ewen's case against Mrs. Gallup, although I must say that his careful and impartial examination of the whole question is very different from the usual criticisms levelled against that self-sacrificing lady. 'For better secrecy,' says Dr. Wilkins, 'it were safer to mix them (the double letter forms) both by compact, that they might not, in themselves, be distinguishable.' "

Mr. T. Green.—"Is it true, as reported in the American *Baconiana* of Feb., 1923, that Général Cartier of the French Intelligence Department, had checked a portion of Mrs. Gallup's deciphering and had vouched for its authenticity?"

SHAKSPERE'S HANDWRITING.

By Henry Seymour.

IT is well known that not a single letter written and signed by the comedian, Will Shakspere, has hitherto been found. This simple truth is astonishing enough. More astonishing still have been the puerile and clumsy attempts by the Stratfordians, on more than one occasion, to bolster up the baseless presumption that he was really able to write with a pen. The latest "discovery" was proclaimed on the eve of the usual Birthday Celebrations, by Capt. W. Jaggard, one of the natives, who professed to have found some specimens of Shakspere's handwriting in odd marginalia and other sundry jottings made in an old copy of Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles*. The *Daily Telegraph* became so excited about it that it had the temerity to say that "it is believed by experts to bear notes and jottings in the handwriting of Shakespeare (*sic*) and to be the actual copy he used as the source of many of his historical plays." But the *Sphere*, of April 4th, published *facsimile* reproductions of this "priceless treasure," and these have afforded no little amusement to all and sundry, inasmuch as the bulk of the alleged handwriting consists only in several unsuccessful efforts by the penman (or school-boy) to merely copy out the words of the adjacent printed text on the blank space of the page itself. Even these can be seen to be in different handwritings and to belong to a later period.

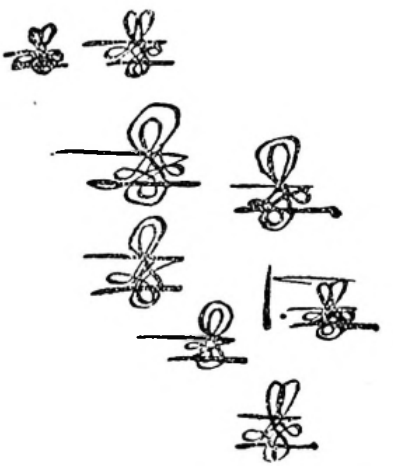
In still another and obviously different hand there is a scribbled memo. of a veterinary recipe on the top of the opening page, said to be but unlikely to be contemporary with the book (1587), in the following immortal words:—

"Blacke soape, pigge meale and honny, mingled together, good for a horses legge swollen."

There is also a motto and an epigram scribbled about the

book, which have no more point or significance, about which Capt. Jaggard says, "a full analysis is being prepared with the various experts' judgments, but already it is recognized that the veterinary recipe, the Holy Ghost motto, and the epigram distinctly proceeded from our national poet's pen."

There are other tell-tale straws on the colophon page, which the *Sphere* describes as "elaborate flourishes" and "the scribblings of a man deeply engrossed with his thoughts." It would take an extremely facile penman, without any other thought in his head, to execute these peculiar devices. Some of them, indeed, exhibit themselves very plainly to be but feeble attempts to copy the others. It is evident that the Stratfordian pundits are quite unaware of the pedigree of these "elaborate flourishes." By a curious irony they happen to be Bacon hall-marks and have always been associated with books



FULL-SIZE FACSIMILE OF WRITTEN ORNAMENT IN "LES TENURES DE MONSIEUR LITTLETON," ANNOTATED BY FRANCIS BACON.

and manuscripts belonging to or written by Francis Bacon! The three examples on the top of the cover or outer sheet of the famous Northumberland Manuscripts, immediately below the ascription "Mr. ffrauncis Bacon," are probably the earliest designs of this secret device. The

examples herewith, in the accompanying illustration, are almost identical in form with those of the Holinshed specimens, and the Littleton book is dated 1591. I have another very fine example on the title-page of an original impression of Haywarde's *The First Part of the Life and Raigne of King Henrie the IIII* (1599), and I have seen a number of others in books known to have been Bacon's.

We must not, however, be too hasty in our judgments, as to whether the Holinshed examples are genuine seals, or mere forgeries. When Bacon's library was dispersed long after his death, the presence of these "elaborate flourishes" would hardly have escaped notice by bookmen. About the end of the 18th century Malone exposed the notorious forger, William Henry Ireland, a barrister's clerk, who subsequently confessed that he had forged "Shakespeare's" handwriting, not only in plays, manuscripts, deeds and wills, but had introduced Shakespeare autographs and notes into a large number of old books of the period. Before this bare-faced confession was exposed, the "experts" of that time declared with one accord that the handwriting was entirely authentic. It was written in brownish ink, made from a formula supplied to Ireland by an unsuspecting fellow law-student. Apart from the imposition which Ireland practised on his own father—an exceedingly zealous and credulous Shaksperean, even such astute "authorities" as Chalmers and Wharton were completely duped, and James Boswell was taken in to such an extent that he fell upon his knees and kissed the supposed relics!

In the Lehigh University of Research at Bethlehem, Pa., U.S.A., there is a characteristic Ireland forgery of the autograph of "William Shakespeare" on the title-page of another impression of Haywarde's Henry IV of 1599, but in venturing to add a note of six lines, on the back of the title-page, in order to give the forgery an added interest, he completely gave himself away. This note is as follows:

> "ffromme thys lyttle booke I have made | manye notes thatte be profytable | forre mye Playes of Henrye the | fourthe and Richarde the Seconde | I doo muche commende the wryterre | for thys historye."

Thus the writer, masquerading as the author of the Plays, was supremely unconscious of the chronological fact that *Richard II* was published in 1597 and Haywarde's book not until two years after.

It transpires that Captain Jaggard acquired this edition of Holinshed as long as eleven years ago from the executors of the late Mr. A. H. Bullen, the well-known Shakespearean, who certainly did not share the credulity of its present owner about its antecedents and the authenticity of Shakespeare's handwriting. Apparently, it has taken Capt. Jaggard just eleven years to make up his own mind about it, or we should have heard of it before.

The presumption that the author of the Plays used either this copy, or this second and emasculated edition, of Holinshed, as the source of his information is utterly gratuitous. It is more than probable that Bacon's Twickenham scrivenry had something to do with its actual production. The pages of the original edition dealing with Elizabethan England had to be re-written to meet the approval of the authorities. These were reprinted later (about 1750) when the nature and extent of the suppressed version were revealed.

How can it be possible to identify Shakspere's handwriting, if there is none with which it can be compared? The Stratfordians easily jump that insuperable difficulty. I again quote the *Daily Telegraph*. It is claimed that "experts" in various parts of Europe have declared unanimously that the marginal notes and sundry phrases jotted down are in "the same hand as the signatures to Shakespeare's will, the deeds of his Blackfriars property, the Mountjoy law case, the Bodleian copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and the Florio *Montaigne* at the British Museum." These unnamed "experts" are evidently in blissful ignorance of the fact that the two latter items, at least, were proclaimed as forgeries by no less an authority than Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, who was the Principal Librarian and Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, and who was regarded as the greatest palæographer of his time.

All these attempts to identify supposed handwriting of Shakspere completely beg the question. They are perforce driven to assume, in the final analysis, that the so-called six signatures attached to legal documents having relation to the domestic or private affairs of the actor, are, in matter of fact, authentic signatures, with which specimens of all other alleged writing must be compared and judged. But in this the Stratfordians overlook a very important snag, for no two of these supposed signatures are in any way alike. These very signatures, which are taken as criteria, are themselves suspect and always have been. The only definite feature about them, apart from their general peculiarities and abbreviations of the law script of the period, is that they were written by different persons. The alleged signature attached to the Answers to Interrogatories in the Mountjoy case has a definitely-marked *dot* beneath it, and it was a common practice then to substitute such a mark for a signature when a legal instrument was signed by another, in the presence of witnesses, for either of the parties who was unable to write. This small detail furnishes strong presumptive evidence that William Shakspere could not even write his own name.

The other five "signatures" are in the same uncertain category. The two endorsements on the Blackfriars purchase and mortgage deeds were so fundamentally different in character that the late Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence persuaded the Guildhall Librarian to carry the purchase deed in his custody to the British Museum, which held the mortgage deed, for the single purpose of comparing its signature with that of the other. Sir Edwin, who was present on this occasion, publicly declared that, after thorough inspection, both the Librarian of the Guildhall and the authorities at the British Museum agreed that neither of the names on the deeds could be supposed to be a signature of Shakespeare's. This negative conclusion applies equally to the three supposed signatures of the will, each of its three sheets being endorsed in a very different style. The more legible "signature" at the end

of the will has been shewn to be that of Francis Collyns, a lawyer of Warwick and sometime town clerk of Stratford, who drafted the body of the will, and also signed for the witnesses other than himself, none of whom were apparently able to write their own names.* As from the will itself it bears no statement that it is *signed* by anyone, but only that it is "published." So much, then for these glorified authentic signatures.

PIOUS FRAUDS.

"About ten years ago (1897) Mr. Joseph Skipsey, who for some considerable time had been a highly esteemed custodian of the so-called birthplace in Stratford (placed there on the recommendation of Mr. John Morley) suddenly and unexpectedly resigned his position and left town. It appears, however, that he made an explanation at the time in writing which he intrusted to a friend (Mr. Cuming Walters), but with the injunction that nothing should be divulged to the public concerning it until after his death. He died in 1903. In *The Times* newspaper . . . . we now have a full statement of the case in Mr. Skipsey's own words. He resigned in effect because he was disgusted with the innumerable frauds to which he found himself committed there in the discharge of his official duties. As to the relics, he expressly declared that they had become, on thorough investigation, a 'stench in the nostrils.' "—*Edwin Reed's* "The Truth Concerning Stratford-on-Avon."

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* *Der Menschenkenner*, Leipzig. Jan. 1909.

BACON AND SHAKE-SPEARE: OF MUSIC.

By ALICIA A. LEITH.

"You are music's master."—*Shake-Speare.*

SHAKE-SPEARE'S ENGLAND, Vol. II (Oxford University Press) records the author of the Plays as "in advance of his contemporaries" in the matter of Music. The word Music, musical, musicians, singing and its derivatives occur two hundred and forty times in the Plays. Musical instruments are mentioned in some thirty or forty passages. Constant was Bacon's use of technical musical terms, proving he had more than a superficial knowledge both of musical composition and of construction of musical instruments. Shake-Speare's musical education was on the lines, apparently, of the polyphonic School. The added remark in *Shake-Speare's England* "wherever it was acquired," is a *most* suggestive one, and very much to the point. On p. 23, this is quoted from *Richard II*:

"Ha, ha, keep time. How sour sweet music is
When time is broke and no proportion kept."

This is said not to be understandable "without some knowledge of the elaborate system of proportions, inherited by Elizabethan musical composers from the earlier English school." The same knowledge of the technicalities of the polyphonic composers is displayed in *Hortensio's* gamut in the *Taming of the Shrew*, Act 3, Scene 1, and in many other passages in the Plays. Pp. 32 to 49, *Shake-Speare's England*, give Illustrative Passages from the Plays by C. T. Onions. A very valuable addition to the interesting preceding chapter on Music.

Bacon's *Natural History* or *Sylva Sylvarum* proclaims him Master of Music; he who knows all there is to know about Musical Sounds, Tones, Harmony and Aires, and all about men's voices, too, when they sing, and about men's breath when they whistle. *Bacon* is the man *par excellence* who "*has* music in himself, and *is* moved by

concord of sweet sounds." He tells "The sweetest concord is diapason of eight," which together with what he writes of "Unison, Discord and Harmony; of Equality, Good Proportion, and Correspondence," shows him master of composition musical.

A wealth of erudition on the technicalities of musical instruments is found in *Sylva Sylvarum*, technicalities with regard to "Shepherds' oaten pipes," "that straineth the air." Flutes and fifes: and the traverse, stop and hole of these wind instruments. And he discourses on "The blowne cheeks of him that windeth the trumpets, cornets, and hunter's hornes" interest him. The Irish harp is Bacon's favourite instrument; he knows and loves its wire strings. He writes six lines about them. Five lines are dedicated to *The Virginals*, and its knots and board, its short strings and the "quick touch" which is the great life of it.

Here speaks the Master indeed.

Bacon has much, even more than Hamlet, to tell us about the *Recorder* as a Musical Instrument. He is very much *au fait* with it:

"It gives a clear sound, and as to the Stops, you are to take note of the number of Frets with regard to them." How reminiscent here are the frets of Hamlet and his Recorder. Those who make Recorders know the "great secret of Numbers," says wide-browed Verulam, who goes on to say:

"In Recorders the three uppermost holes yield one Tone which is a Note lower than the Tone of the first three." Bacon and the Author of the Plays are certainly one in the musical passages of *Hamlet* and *Twelfth Night*. Our Master of Music puts into the Duke's mouth, in *Twelfth Night*, these words:

"That strain again. . . . It had a dying fall."

"The fall of a Discord to a Concord," says Bacon, "makes great sweetness in Music." The Duke, enamoured of the Music, calls again: "Give that strain again," but, glutted with its sweetness, cries: "Enough! it is not so sweet as it was before." And if we go to Bacon we read:

"The taste is soon glutted in Music." A fact which the Duke is not slow to find out, for he cries, quite love-sick: "Give me that strain again; give me excess of it, that surfeiting, the appetite may sicken and so die."

The Duke also says: "If Music is the food," etc., and speaks of surfeit and appetite with regard to eating that sweet food. Bacon is at one with this idea, for he, too, says:

"Music feedeth."

"Music hath agreement with the affections, and the disposition of spirits," says our Master. How indisputably the Duke proves the truth of this. Redolent is *Twelfth Night* of Bacon Philosophy and Bacon knowledge. Bacon came to this old earth as a Minister of Light, and so both his poetry and prose show conformity, unison, harmony and concord. Our Light-Bearer, Francis Bacon, or better title, Francis St. Alban, wrote Masques for the weddings of great people. Mrs. A. Chambers Bunten has found music in the British Museum labelled "Masque of Sir Francis Bacon."

. . . . . .

And now to know the cause why Music was ordained. Orpheus and his harp or lute are the delight of Bacon-Shake-Speare. In his prose piece, *The Wisdom of the Ancients*, he dilates on them, but complains that they are too deeply philosophic to have yet been interpreted. With a view to this he dwells specially, in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, on the Orphic "golden touch" of music, "its power to soften steel and stones . . . make tigers tame and huge Leviathan forsake his sounding deeps to dance on sands," startling us into memory of Francis Bacon's other voice.

In his *Essay of Orpheus*, he pays his tribute to the power that "exceeds the labours of Hercules"—music. Proteus, in the *Two Gentlemen*, and the song in *Henry VIII*, that comforts poor Queen Catherine in her woe, present the power, dignity and gentle modulations that evoke the poetry, imagination and philosophy of Bacon's *Orpheus*, "the wonderful and perfectly divine person, skilled in all

kinds of harmony" . . . "subdued, and draws exactly . . . things after him."

In music is such sweet art that it truly winds itself fast about the prose and poetry of Bacon. By the way, is his prose not poetry?

"Music, by its golden touch makes men," he says, "forget their unbridled passions, plant gardens (God Almighty first planted a Garden), and so that they may not improperly be said to remove and call the trees and stones together."

. . . . . .

In *Henry VIII*, A. 3, s. 1 we read:

"Take thy lute, wench; my soule grows sad with troubles, sing and disperse them."

> "Orpheus with his Lute made Trees,
> And the Mountaine tops that freeze,
> Bow themselves when he did sing.
> To his Musicke, Plants and Flowers,
> Ever sprung; as Sunne and Showers,
> There had made a lasting Spring."

The "Ver Perpetuam" of Francis Bacon in his adorable Essay "Of Gardens."

SHAKESPEAREAN TRADITION.

By R. L. EAGLE.

ONE of the insuperable difficulties of the orthodox faith is concerned with the life of the Stratford man and the impossibility of "marrying him to his verse." You have a picture of a boy born of illiterate parents in a squalid commonplace provincial town, passing his early years among illiterate people. There is no possibility of getting over the statement of Richard Grant White that when he left Stratford he was "all but destitute of polished accomplishments." "It was only in London," adds this commentator, "that the plays could have been written." He would have spoken a crude dialect which would have been unintelligible outside of his own district.

Yet, on the other hand, I once came across the amazing nonsense stated in all seriousness by another "authority" (Churton Collins) that Shakespeare came to London "with 'Venus and Adonis' *in his pocket*!" Sir Sidney Lee informs us that "there is reason to believe that the first draft lay in the author's desk through four or five summers." As the poem was published in 1593, we are taken back to approximately the time when he arrived in London. It is at least interesting to find Sir Sidney Lee allowing a desk to the young yokel! He admits "traces of wide reading in both classical and recent domestic literature" in the poem, but he does not mention the fact that this wide reading needed the possession of books and access to Joshua Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas' "Divine Weekes and Works," *in manuscript*, seeing that this was not published until 1598, and that the description of the horse is borrowed from the catalogue of the horse's points as worded in this translation."

The earliest of the plays is supposed to be "Love's Labours Lost," and said to have been written by 1588—about two years after Shakspere left Stratford. Like "Venus and Adonis," it is written in the most pure and elegant style, and is the embodiment of all the accomplish-

ments and culture of the age—a culture which is not English but, at that time, was only to be found in France and Italy. The critics cannot get over this stumbling-block, but rather than admit that common-sense disproves the possibility of the Stratford rustic having written either of these works, they put themselves into a worse mess by pleading that "genius" is the solution. Now the genius of Shakespeare was genius in conjunction with experience and wide reading. So far as genius *alone* is concerned it takes shape and colour from its surroundings. Bacon, as his chaplain, Dr. Rawley, rightly declared, "lit his torch at every man's candle." Shakespeare did the same, and so dazzling is his torch in comparison with the candles from which he lighted it that the smaller light has been obscured. But it is there all the same. He seldom quotes the originals of his classical sources nor does he often make a literal translation, but transmutes the crude ore into gold in his own masterly and inimitable way. Had Shakespeare not read widely and possessed a marvellous memory for what he had read, the plays and poems would not have been "*for all time.*"

For a century after his death the plays were neglected—the civil war and the interval of Puritanism were largely responsible. Few copies were in existence. It was not until the beginning of the 18th Century that an attempt was made to discover anything about the life of Shakespeare and to make an edition of his writings. Rowe, led by the allusion to the Stratford Monument in the First Folio, pursued research at Stratford but discovered nothing worth knowing, and since then the critics have followed the same blind path without being able to reconcile the man with the authorship. It was so absurd to *expect* any learning in the plays that the early critics gave little or no thought to the subject. But the learning was there, and somebody was bound to find it out. Rowe, in 1709, did not admit any learning for Shakespeare, but Pope, who edited the plays in 1722, found that Shakespeare "had much reading," that he had "a taste of natural philosophy, mechanics, ancient and modern history, poetical learning

and mythology. We find him very knowing in the customs, rites and manners of antiquity." He goes on to point out that "the spirit and manners of the Romans are exactly drawn," and not only the ancients but "the Venetians, French, etc., are drawn with equal propriety. Whatever object in nature or branch of science, he either speaks or describes, it is always with competent, if not extensive, knowledge." Not only Latin authors, but also the Greek authors, were stated by Pope to have been in the command of Shakespeare and, furthermore, the "modern Italian writers of novels." During the remainder of the 18th Century the commentators quarrelled with one another on this subject, and the most notorious of the detractors was Dr. Richard Farmer, who published a pamphlet in 1766 on Shakespeare's learning. It was a small octavo of fifty pages with less than 150 words per page. Two very important points are left unproved by Farmer's pamphlet:

1. That Farmer was qualified to pose as an authority. He was not a recognised classical scholar nor a Shakespearean authority.
2. That he did anything more than ramble round his subject.

He made a lot of noise but produced no solid argument.

For a time, however, Farmer succeeded in silencing the other side. Ben Jonson's "small Latin and less Greek," and Farmer's corroborating conclusion, became henceforth inseparable from Shakespeare's reputation. It was not until 1837 that this position was challenged by a Dr. Maginn in two articles in Blackwood's Magazine. But no critic made any really vital and important contribution to the subject until Churton Collins—a highly explosive opponent of the Baconians—published three articles in *The Fortnightly Review* in 1903 to prove that Shakespeare had "a very large knowledge of Latin and a considerable knowledge of Greek." Incidentally and unintentionally, Churton Collins played right into the hands of his enemy—the Baconians—and is one of our most valuable witnesses.

How did Churton Collins endeavour to explain when and where Shakespeare acquired this learning—this power of

reading Ovid, Horace, Lucretius, Plautus, Virgil, Cicero, Seneca, Juvenal and the rest "with facility and pleasure?" At the little Grammar School where, it is *assumed*, he spent some time between the ages of 8 and 13! What a library of precious books, unique among Schools of the time, that little school in that unimportant town must have possessed. *There* is the dilemma of the Stratfordian, you cannot have an educated Shakespeare and match him with a rustic "destitute of polished accomplishments" coming from a bookless neighbourhood. They must *invent* the opportunities of learning, and *imagine* the books which did not exist in his school or town. In that way Shakespeare biography is manufactured.

The only handwriting (if such it can be called) of Shakespeare in existence is six so-called signatures. They show that he was just able to scrawl something which had some resemblance to his name, though even the Stratfordians confess that they contain neither "Shake" nor "speare." They look like the first attempts of a small child trying to put its name to paper when learning its letters. No man who was accustomed to writing made those painful efforts. Even the handwriting experts have failed to decipher exactly what they are, except that they do not spell Shakespeare. If such was the inability to write, what of the ability to read? The only man who said that "reading and writing comes by nature" was a foolish character called "Dogberry." I do not believe in miracles but, even assuming a miracle, where are the innumerable books which Shakespeare studied containing his signature, his notes and underlinings; for every student of a book does this. Where is his copy of "The Arte of English Poesie" (which the author of the plays knew almost by heart)—his Ovid, Horace and the rest—his Plutarch and Holinshed? If he had possessed the books known to the author of the plays some at least would exist with his markings and there would have been a mention of them in his Will.

Now it is in the earlier plays that the reading and learning of Shakespeare are more openly displayed. I refer

particularly to "Titus Andronicus," and the three parts of "Henry VI." The obvious way to get over the frequent quotations from Roman authors in these plays is to assign them to somebody else—Marlowe, Greene, Peele and Kyd. The late Mr. J. M. Robertson was the champion of the butchers. He divided "Titus Andronicus" between Peele and Greene with a small share for Kyd—leaving Shakespeare nothing.

Churton Collins, on the other hand, wrote:—

"That *Titus Andronicus* is Shakespeare's work *is as certain as anything connected with him can be*, external and internal evidence alike are conclusive as to its authenticity."

Rather an unfortunate way of *stating* the proposition—seeing that most things connected with Shakespeare by his biographers are very *un*certain! Nevertheless the remark is certainly emphatic and either Churton Collins or J. M. Robertson is wrong. Charles Crawford was another critic who examined this question and he said:—

"I assert that Marlowe had *no* hand in *Titus Andronicus*, or the various versions of *Henry VI*, and I am prepared to prove my assertion. In these dramas Marlowe is merely copied by Shakespeare, who is their sole author."

For my own part I should say that "Marlowe" was now evolving into "Shakespeare," and that there is a gradual development in the art of writing blank verse with a growing freedom from the influence of Seneca. Only on this thesis can the air be cleared of the fog into which the commentators have plunged themselves and their followers.

Mr. Robertson followed up his onslaught on these early works with his book, "Shakespeare and Chapman," in 1917, in which he assigned considerable portions of most of the plays to Chapman, but Mr. Robertson seemed to have overlooked the fact that a large part of his previously published "Baconian Heresy" is an endeavour to trick the reader into the conviction that Shakespeare "*had small Latin and less Greek*." There was no suggestion of Chapman, then. If Chapman had such a considerable share

in the plays, then surely there would be traces of *Chapman's* learning, even if Shakespeare is assumed to have had little or none? Why, too, with all this collaboration, does not Shakespeare's name appear, like Chapman's, in the pages of Henslowe's Diary? Chapman's name appears with other dramatists as joint author but never with Shakespeare.

I do, however, think it quite possible that Chapman and Ben Jonson assisted in the writing of the Shakespeare plays. Chapman was generously patronised by Bacon in his later years and he dedicated his translation of the *Georgics of Hesiod* (1618) "To the most noble combiner of Learning and Honour, Sir Francis Bacon, Knight." According to Archbishop Tenison, Ben Jonson was one of a group who assisted Bacon in literary work. As early as 1594 there was a scrivenery of "good pens" under Bacon's direction. What is more likely than the inference that *this* was the source of the best Elizabethan literature and drama, and the explanation of the harmony in ideas, opinions and expressions found in these writings and plays.

These "good pens" would be employed in making manuscript copies for the press and stage. The Northumberland Manuscript is a product of Bacon's scriptorium and as you know, once contained Manuscript copies of "Richard II" and "Richard III" and has several Shakespearean and Baconian jottings on the cover. No Shakespearean "authority" has ever been able to make a reasonable suggestion as to how sixteen of the Shakespeare plays, never previously printed, and most of them with no record of having been performed, came into the hands of the printer of the First Folio in 1623. Who preserved them (for over twenty years in some cases)? My answer is that copies were kept in Bacon's "workshop," and that the publication of the Folio was planned many years in advance. The fourth part of Bacon's "Great Instauration" is missing, but the descriptions given in various places by Bacon himself, of what it contained and how it was to be presented, amount to a perfect description of the First Folio of the plays. He admits having collaborated with others

in these writings, and to withholding some until this treatise dealing with the human passions and character is published. It was not to be presented in the manner of philosophical works but, he says, "by actual types and models, by which the entire process of the mind, and the whole fabric and order of invention from beginning to end in certain subjects, and those various and remarkable, should be *set as it were before the eyes*." The stage is the only vehicle by which such knowledge can be conveyed in the manner described by Bacon.

It is also abundantly clear that the author of the plays was alive and active between the death of the Stratford Shakespeare in 1616 and the printing of the Folio in 1623. Let us consider the strange case of "Richard III." It was first published *anonymously* in 1597, and in the same year "Richard II" and "Romeo and Juliet," both also *anonymously*, all at a time when the young man from Stratford as professional dramatist and player would naturally lose no opportunity of advertising his ability and his wares—for to the player notoriety and fame mean everything. In the following year, however, "Richard III" was again published—this time as "by William Shake-speare." Other editions followed in 1602, 1605, 1612 and 1622. The changes made in these editions were not important, but one fact is significant. The 1622 edition title-page states that it is "*newly augmented* by William Shake-speare," though Shakespeare had, according to Sir Sidney Lee and the biographers, abandoned dramatic composition, and had retired to Stratford in 1611 at the latest. This being so, it is impossible that this man could have been the "William Shake-speare" who had in 1622 "newly augmented" the play.

The confusion becomes even more confounded when we are confronted with the fact that the play contains 193 new lines and innumerable revisions of old lines in the First Folio text of the following year. It appears that there were twelve printer's errors in the Quarto of 1622 and these all reappear in the Folio of 1623. Whoever, therefore, revised the play between 1622 and 1623 worked

over the 1622 Quarto. The additions and revisions are such that only Shakespeare could improve Shakespeare, but the Stratford man had been dead six years and permanently retired five years before that! "Othello" was first published in 1622, but had 160 new lines in 1623 of Shakespeare at his best.

"Richard II" was revised and improved between the 1615 Quarto and the 1623 Folio, and here, as with "Richard III" the Folio version was based on the Quarto and not on any other MS. Dr. Furnivall admitted that "there is no doubt on this point," as the quarto errors which have crept into the Folio text "prove its connection with the Quarto as the immediate source."

The commentators have been driven to assume the existence of hypothetical MSS. which somehow had not been made use of in previous editions of the plays revised and augmented after Shakespeare's retirement and death. The natural and only possible solution is that "Shakespeare" himself revised his works for publication, and that some part, at any rate, of this revision was done after 1616.

Another important point on which the commentators fail to agree is whether the plays were written solely for the stage with no other purpose but to provide attractive fare for the auditors at the Globe, and fill the author's pockets, or whether Shakespeare had a higher purpose both in view of his own age and of posterity.

Sir Sidney Lee declared that Shakespeare had only one "calculated aim"—that of ministering to the public taste. Think of that! "Love's Labour's Lost," perhaps the most scholastic, philosophical and poetical play ever written, provided for an illiterate and disorderly rabble!

Let us see what Swinburne has to say about "Hamlet":

> "Of all vulgar errors the most wanton, the most wilful, and the most resolutely tenacious of life, is that belief bequeathed from the days of Pope, in which it was pardonable, to the days of Carlyle, in which it is not excusable, to the effect that Shakespeare threw off 'Hamlet' as a bird may moult a feather or a fool may break a jest. . . . that he wrote 'for gain, not glory,'

or that having written 'Hamlet' he thought it nothing very wonderful to have written. . . . Scene by scene, line for line, stroke upon stroke, and touch after touch, he went over all the old laboured ground again; and not to ensure success in his own day and fill his pockets with contemporary pence, but merely and wholly with a purpose to make it worthy of himself, and his future students. . . . Not one single alteration in the whole play can possibly have been made with a view to stage effect or to present popularity and profit. . . . Every change in the text of 'Hamlet' has impaired its fitness for the stage, and increased its value for the student in exact and perfect proportion."

What is the result of Shakespeare's loving and patient work on this immortal drama? A play which is more than double the length that could possibly be given in "the two hour's traffic" of his stage. Even to-day it is only presented two or three times in the course of a year in its entirety and but for the 'Old Vic' I am sure it never would be performed as finally written and revised by the author. Are we to believe that an Elizabethan audience—"the youths who thunder at a playhouse and fight for bitten apples" (as Shakespeare puts it) would ever have endured "Hamlet" as written. It would have been as much as the players' lives, and their playhouse, would have been worth to have attempted it.

Nothing would better illustrate the misnomer "Shakespearean Authority" than the hopeless muddle and contradictions among the so-called "experts" on the subject of the Sonnets.

The "beauteous and lovely youth" has been Lord Pembroke, Lord Southampton, The Earl of Essex, William Harte, William Hughes, William Rose, William Hammond, William Herbert (not the Earl of Pembroke but a private person), William Hunnis, William Hall (not the "begetter" of Lee's theory, but a member of a Worcestershire family), and Queen Elizabeth. Furnivall and Dowden, Beeching, Morton Luce, and others, merely thought the Sonnets to be literary exercises concerning no particular person.

There have been other theories but "satis quod sufficit!"

R. M. Alden, of Stanford University, California, published a variorum edition of the Sonnets in 1916. He expresses no opinion but sets out the arguments for and against both the Southampton and Pembroke theories, and he finds that with both of them "plausible objections are raised at every step and the whole body of evidence is seen to be circumstantial and inferential."

We are, therefore, entitled to throw aside all the theories of the Stratfordians and consider them as the work of a poet and thinker of high birth and position. That is one fact which is made abundantly clear in the Sonnets. In my book, "Shakespeare; New Views for Old," I have given my reasons for identifying the youth as a personification of Shakespeare's own poetic "genius," or "the better part" of himself—as Shakespeare describes this mysterious and spiritual being in Sonnets 39 and 74. Horace in Ode XXX to "The Poet's Immortal Fame" has the same expression for his Art, "Nom omnis moriar; *multaque pars mei* vitabit" (I shall not die completely; my better part shall live"). Ovid uses it in his Elegies and Metamorphoses. As for the "Dark Lady" (whom or which Shakespeare calls in contrast "the worser part of him") I have identified with Fortune—the pursuit of which took him away from the "sweet delights of Poesy" and led him, until his return, into a hell on earth.

I do not know whether the Stratfordians have any contemporary woman to put forward since Mistress Mary Fitton's claims were upset by the discovery from her portrait that she was not dark but fair.

There remains the identity of the "Rival Poet" of the Sonnets. Sir Sidney Lee's theory of Barnabe Barnes is rivalled by other supporters on behalf of Spenser, Marlowe, Daniel, Drayton, Chapman, Griffin, Marston and others. Of these, I think there is a good case for Drayton, but I'm not too happy about it.

Of this I *do* feel absolutely confident that by no stretch of the imagination can the Sonnets be fitted into the life or

personality of Shakspere of Stratford, nor is there the slightest hope of reading either the Sonnets or the Plays with understanding until this incubus is banished from the mind. The so-called commentaries on these wonderful writings are misleading and worthless, for they are *fundamentally* wrong.

DEKKER, NOT SHAKSPERE, THE "POET-APE."

"Dryden, in the preface to his 'Notes and Observations on the Empress of Morocco,' in his quarrel with Settle, which has been sufficiently narrated by Dr. Johnson, felt, when poised against this miserable rival, who had been merely set up by a party, to mortify the superior genius, as Jonson had felt when pitched against *Crispinus*. It is thus that literary history is so interesting to authors.—How often, in recording the fates of others, it reflects their own! 'I knew indeed (says Dryden) that to write against him was to do him too great an honour; but I considered Ben Jonson had done it before to Dekker, our author's predecessor, whom he chastised in his Poetaster, under the character of *Crispinus*.' Langbaine tells us, the subject of the *Satiromastix* of Dekker, which I am to notice, was 'the witty Ben Jonson'; and with this agree all the notices I have hitherto met with, respecting 'the Horace Junior' of Dekker's Satiromastix. Mr. Gilchrist has published two curious pamphlets on Jonson; and in the last [first], p. 56, he has shown that Dekker was 'the poet-ape of Jonson,' and that he avenged himself under the character of *Crispinus*, in his Satiromastix: to which may be added, that the *Fannius*, in the same satirical comedy, is probably his friend Marston."—*Disraeli's "Quarrels of Authors."*

TYPOGRAPHICAL MISTAKES.

By Dorothy Gomes da Silva.

IN a recent edition of Baconiana, reference was made to certain so-called typographical errors in the various editions of the Shakespeare Plays. This article was certainly interesting, but some of the suggested "corrections" surely cry aloud for comment. Indeed, in some instances, it is a little difficult to understand how the writer of the article arrived at his conclusions; for the meanings of the selected passages are really so clear that most people could not fail to grasp them.

Exception was taken, in *The Tempest*, to Miranda's saying of the ship, that she had "some noble creature in her," and a plea put forward for "creatures." As a matter of fact, some editions print "creatures." All the same, the singular is not necessarily wrong, nor does it confuse the issue, being used obviously in the Tudor sense of "creation" and, as such, being perfectly admissible to the text.

In the same play another "obscurity" is manufactured. Prospero says of Sycorax, "One so strong that could control the moon, make flows and ebbs, *and deal in her command without her power*." There really is no trouble here, remembering that the moon is referred to as feminine. It is quite clear and only means that Sycorax could do the moon's work without the moon's aid and, even, in opposition to that luminary.

There is one more example from *The Tempest*—a suggestion that Prospero should exclaim "Noble Gonzalo," instead of "Holy Gonzalo." It is not material to the meaning or the rhythm, but there is no reason for such a change. Prospero was abandoning his own unholy practices, and acknowledging them as such: it seems probable that the author really meant "holy" as indicating Prospero's reverent gratitude to and affection for the old man.

Much Ado about Nothing supplies another instance:—"And sorrow, wag." In certain modern copies this is printed "Bid sorrow wag." That, of course, is quite plain as to meaning and preserves the rhythm. All the same, the rendering referred to can be well defended, if it be borne in mind that "sorrow" and "sorry" were often interchangeable—a practice, apparently returning, but not in classic form! Another possible variant is "And, Sorrow's wag"—In any case, the meaning is not at all obscure, and the differences can be easily accounted for by auricular inaccuracy.

Again, in *Measure for Measure*, exception has been taken to "th' unsisting" and a plea entered for "the resisting." "Unsisting" has all the marks of genuine Tudor coinage and it is sonorous into the bargain. No-one can contend that it is difficult to understand and certainly it is much more dignified than the suggested rendering.

The Comedy of Errors supplies two examples.

(1) "Consent to pay thee that I never had."

(2) The place of death and sorry execution.

What is the matter with (1)? It is elliptical, certainly, but quite a usual (and even modern) construction, and by no means obscure. In Tudor times, when French was so well known and mannerly employed, it would have been (and was) a very ordinary form of speech. Naturally, "that" refers to the whole value, rather than to any specific sum in coin. It is no less clear, and far less clumsy, than consent to pay thee *for* that which I never had."

Example (2) requires no alteration to the text. What is wrong with "Sorry execution?" It means miserable, dismal, shameful, or any other word conveying the last sense of degradation, horror and misfortune: an eminently sensible word to employ in the context. "Depth" and "Death" are fairly evenly balanced—nor does either make much difference. The first would merely enhance the dreariness of the general description; the second, necessarily refers to the purpose of the grove: not much in it, either way. The use of "depth" or "death" may be

optional: the use of "sorry" or "solemn" cannot be. "Solemn" wholly destroys the meaning, negativing the heavy sense preceding it, and giving to the whole a degree of comfortable commonplaceness certainly not intended by the Author.

The crowning mis-correction, however, comes from *Macbeth*. So far from elucidating the passage, it robs it of its meaning, and is wholly contrary to the implied personality of the speaker. "I dare do all that may become a MAN . . .," boasts the vacillating Macbeth. "What BEAST was't then . . .?" rejoins the lady. The scorn, the superior strength of will, the flagellating wit of Lady Macbeth are all illustrated by this retort. Substitute "boast" for "beast" and what becomes of the passage? Such a reply would be feeble in the extreme and contrary to all the qualities that go to make up the character of Macbeth's wife and dominating influence. It is the quick juxtaposition of "man" and "beast" which makes the very pith and marrow of the rejoinder.

"WHY SHOULD BACON HAVE WRITTEN THE PLAYS?"

By H. KENDRA BAKER.

NOTE.—The following is the substance of a letter addressed to a correspondent in the "Western Daily Press" who, in the course of a recent Correspondence on the Bacon-Shakespeare Controversy, had propounded the question as a challenge to Baconians, "Why did Bacon write the Plays?"

I should like to answer your question at once: "Why did Bacon write the Plays?" and I hope I may take it as an admission that he *did*!

To answer it in that form, however, would be as presumptuous and unwarrantable as to assert Burton's reason for writing the "Anatomy of Melancholy," or anybody's reason for writing anything, but if you put it in this way: "Why should Bacon have written the plays?" then one can reasonably express an opinion.

If you will peruse chapter xiii of Spedding's translation of the *De Augmentis* you will, I submit, find ample evidence of the value Bacon attached to "Narrative, Dramatic and Parabolical Poesy." He says:—"I now come to Poesy, which is a part of learning in measure of words for the most part restrained, but in all other points extremely free and licensed; and therefore . . . it is referred to the imagination, which may at pleasure make unlawful matches and divorces of things. Now Poesy, as I have already observed, is taken in two senses; in respect of words or matter. In the first sense it is but a character of speech; for verse is only a kind of style and a certain form of elocution, and has nothing to do with the matter; for both true history may be written in verse and feigned history in prose. But in the latter sense, I have set it down from the first as one of the principal branches of learning, and placed it by the side of history; being indeed nothing else but an imitation of history at pleasure. And therefore, endeavouring as I do in these divisions to trace

out and pursue the true veins of learning, without (in many points) following customs and the divisions which are received, I dismiss from the present discourse Satires, Elegies, Epigrams, Odes, and the like; and refer them to philosophy and arts of speech. And under the name of Poesy, I treat of feigned history."

After describing the divisions of Poesy into Narrative, Dramatic and Parabolical, he goes on:—"Narrative Poesy is a mere imitation of History, such as might pass for real, only that it commonly exaggerates things beyond probability. Dramatic Poesy is History made visible; for it represents actions as if they were present, whereas History represents them as past."

He then deals with Parabolical Poesy and also again with Narrative Poesy. Of the latter he says, "The foundation of it is truly noble, and has a special relation to the dignity of human nature. For as the sensible world is inferior in dignity to the rational soul, Poesy seems to bestow upon human nature those things which history denies to it; and to satisfy the mind with the shadows of things when the substance cannot be obtained. For if the matter be attentively considered, a sound argument may be drawn from Poesy, to show that there is agreeable to the spirit of man a more ample greatness, a more perfect order, and a more beautiful variety than it can anywhere (since the Fall) find in nature."

He then goes on, at too great a length to reproduce, to show that "since the acts and events which are the subjects of real history are not of sufficient grandeur to satisfy the human mind, Poesy is at hand to feign acts more heroical" and after reciting the merits of Poesy observes: "So that this Poesy conduces not only to delight but also to magnanimity and morality. Whence it may be fairly thought to partake somewhat of a divine nature: because it raises the mind and carries it aloft, accommodating the shows of things to the desires of the mind, not (like reason and history) buckling and bowing down the mind to the nature of things. And by these charms, and that agreeable congruity which it has with man's nature, accompanied

also with music, to gain more sweet access, it has won its way as to have been held in honour even in the rudest ages and among barbarous peoples, when other kinds of learning were utterly excluded."

Now, if "Shaxper the Miracle" had written all this we should never have heard the last of it, but as Bacon is the author, it is simply ignored.

But there is more to follow—and very much to the purpose—when he treats of Dramatic Poesy.

"Dramatic Poesy," he writes, "which has the theatre for its world, would be of excellent use if well directed. For the stage is capable of no small influence both of discipline and of corruption. Now of corruptions in this kind we have enough; but the discipline has in our times been plainly neglected. And, though in modern states play-acting is esteemed but a toy, except when it is too satirical and biting; yet among the ancients it was used as a means of educating men's minds to virtue. Nay, it has been regarded by learned men and great philosophers as a kind of musician's bow by which men's minds may be played upon. And certainly it is most true, and one of the great secrets of nature, that the minds of men are more open to impressions and affections when many are gathered together than when they are alone."

Can anyone rationally dispute that, in these words, we find a direct motive for including Play-writing in his "Instauratio Magna"? If Bernard Shaw had written in this strain it would have been regarded without question as the *causa causaus* of his plays, and, if so, how much more would it apply in the case of one writing of the "Deficiencies of Learning" and of the steps he proposes to take to remedy them, just as he does with regard to Poesy Parabolical, the existing treatment of which he says "does not by any means satisfy me, I think fit to set down Philosophy according to the Ancient Parables among the desiderata." Hence his *De Sapientia Veterum*.

But even if such expressions were not considered prima facie evidence of a direct motive they, at any rate, indicate, without a shadow of uncertainty, Bacon's estimate of the

high value, educationally and otherwise, of high-class dramatic poesy, in fact just such as is found in the Folio canon of Shake-spearean Drama.

Nay, more, we can show his high opinion of stage-playing as regards the players. In Chapter IV of Book VI of his *De Augmentis*, in treating of the "culture and ordering of youthful or tender years," he writes:—

"It will not be amiss to observe also, that even mean faculties, when they fall into great men or great matters, sometimes work great and important effects. Of this I will adduce a memorable example; the rather, because the Jesuits appear not to despise this kind of discipline; therein judging (as I think) well. It is a thing indeed, if practised professionally, of low repute; but if it be made a part of discipline, it is of excellent use. I mean stage-playing: an art which strengthens the memory, regulates the tone and effect of the voice and pronunciation, teaches a decent carriage of the countenance and gesture, gives not a little assurance, and accustoms young men to bear being looked at." He then goes on to give an example from Tacitus of the remarkable effects produced upon a mutinous mob by the acting of one Vibulenus, who, in the guise of a distracted mourner for an (imaginary) brother who had been killed by the insurgents, completely quelled the rising, "but the fact was that he played the whole thing as if it had been a piece on the stage."

Thus Bacon evinces his opinion, also, of the beneficial effects upon the passions of the people which can be produced by the drama if properly directed as an educational and instructional influence.

It may be objected that such opinion is only covert and veiled but it should be remembered that while, nowadays, such an opinion could be shouted from the house tops, with no ill effect, in Bacon's day it needed the utmost courage to say so much as one word in praise of so "disreputable" a calling as play-acting. We have only to turn to Lady Anne Bacon's letters to both Francis and Anthony to realise the truth of this assertion, and this, of course, is what Bacon means when he says (vide Supra):

"a thing indeed, if practised professionally, of low repute": Lady Anne would have regarded that as putting it *very* mildly! *Her* vocabulary on the subject was much more variegated and forcible!

And this brings me to a significant and interesting circumstance which unless dealt with here may be brought up by some Stratfordian smart enough to spot it, with a view to vitiating the weight of my argument. It is this—and it will be seen that it has a direct bearing upon the violent prejudice against the stage on the part of that section of the community as represented by Lady Anne Bacon.

The "De Augmentis Scientiarum" was not published until 1623, although in a letter dated June 30th, 1622, Bacon speaks of it as "already in the hands of the translators." It *purports* to be a translation into Latin of the work "Of the Advancement of Learning," first published in 1605, but it is really much more than a translation: it might more reasonably be called an amplified edition in Latin.

The nature and extent of the amplifications can only be judged by a comparison of the two works and this has kindly been done for us through the labours of Ellis and Spedding and still further by J. M. Robertson. It forms an interesting and highly profitable study.

For our present purpose it must suffice to collate the passages we have quoted above with what purport to be the corresponding passages in the "Advancement."

From this it will be found that in the latter the passages in question are not nearly so full as they appear in the *De Augmentis*.

It is impossible, here, to reproduce the passages or Spedding's notes thereon—they should be perused and studied. Suffice it to say that in A.L. the passage relating to "stage-playing" and its advantages—as in D.A.—does not appear at all—at any rate, in the *published* Work, and Spedding comments upon this, and, inter alia, remarks:—"Lastly, he would decidedly have the art of acting (actio theatralio) made a part of the education of youth."

Again, the passage in Chapter XIII, Book II, of D.A., commencing "Dramatic Poesy, which has for its theatre the world," is thus commented upon by Spedding: "There is nothing in the *Advancement of Learning* corresponding to this paragraph."

Now, this may look strange on the face of it, but is it? In 1605 Bacon's future was at the mercy of public opinion and more particularly of those in authority—"nobody's darling," so to speak!—Indeed, he had but recently written to John Davies, who had gone North to meet James I, asking him to be "good to concealed poets," a very remarkable expression, whichever way you may look at it, and he was but at the threshold of his career. It behoved him to watch his steps; he had been "taught to be cautious" and in dedicating a Work such as this to the King—who held very peculiar views—he had to "walk delicately," like Agag! Crying-up the Drama and Play-acting—from however high a motive—might have settled his hash not only with the King but his Scottish followers, who "kept the Sabbath and everything else they could lay their hands on!"

But compare his condition in 1622-3. His career was over and done with: he was a broken man: his enemies had triumphed: his King had thrown him to the wolves: "nothing now remained but according to ancient custom" to put his affairs in order and await the end. Hence the Latin "translation" of his A.L. with its amplifications and elucidations: hence, too, what we Baconians believe to be the "missing portion" of his Instauratio Magna, the First Folio—but that is another story!

In short, we find in the *De Augmentis* what, we believe, would have been found in the "Advancement" but for the dangers to his whole scheme involved by their free and open treatment in 1605.

But the amazing thing is that Spedding, while admitting that "Bacon had all the natural faculties which a Poet wants—a fine ear for metre, a fine feeling for imaginative effect in words, and a vein of poetic passion"; while laying it down as "the truth" that Bacon was not without

the fine frenzy of the poet. . . . Had his genius taken the ordinary direction, I have little doubt that it would have carried him to a place among the great poets''; while recording Bacon's approval of Dramatic Poesy, of its advantages and of the great opportunities it afforded for educational purposes, and while extolling Bacon's marvellous intellectual and constructive abilities—he stops *there*!

Indeed he goes further than modern Stratfordians, even in their moments of wildest exaltation, would care to allege, in the face of existing evidence, and constrains one to wonder whether his deductive faculties had not suffered some form of ''black-out'' on this point.

His services to literature, in this great work of his life, have been so enormous and his admiration of Bacon so unbounded, that it is really astonishing that he could have brought himself to write the following note to the paragraph in the D.A. dealing with Dramatic Poesy which, as he points out, has no counterpart in the A.L.:—

''It is a curious fact that these remarks on the character of the modern drama were probably written, and were certainly first published, in the same year which saw the first collection of Shakespeare's plays: of which, though they had been filling the theatre for the last thirty years, I very much doubt whether Bacon had ever heard.''

It would be well to pause here in order to let that remarkable statement sink in a bit!

. . . . . .

Having paused and meditated—let us proceed to consider the reasons he gives for this assertion.

He goes on:—''How little notice they attracted in those days as works of literary pretension, may be inferred from the extreme difficulty which modern editors have found in ascertaining the dates, or even the order, of their production. Though numbers of contemporary news-letters, filled with literary and fashionable intelligence, have been preserved, it is only in the Stationer's Register and the accounts kept by the Master of the Revels that we find any notices of the publication or acting of Shakespeare's plays.

In the long series of letters from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, scattered over the whole period from 1598 to 1623—letters full of the news of the month; news of the Court, the city, the pulpit and the bookseller's shop; in which Court-masques are described in minute detail, author, actors, plot, performance, reception and all;—we look in vain for the name of Shakespeare or of any one of his plays. And yet during that period *Hamlet*, *Twelfth Night*, *Othello*, *Measure for Measure*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Macbeth*, *Lear*, *The Tempest*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Coriolanus*, and several more, must have appeared as novelties. And indeed that very letter without which we should hardly know that Shakespeare was personally known to anyone in the great world as a distinguished dramatic writer—I mean Lord Southampton's letter in furtherance of a petition from him and Burbage to the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere—proves at the same time how little was known about him by people of that quality." There is more to the same purpose, but let this suffice. It will certainly leave both Stratfordians and Baconians gasping, but be it remembered that Spedding wrote some time ago: there has been quite a lot of research since then, and Spedding, if now living, would be the last to belittle the eminent services to English literature which his successors—on *both* sides of the controversy—have rendered by their painstaking efforts.

Had Spedding been privileged to study the results of the laborious researches by Ignatius Donnelly and Edwin Reed, who have presented to literature the most striking and convincing collection of "Parallelisms" of thought, expression and diction between the Plays and the Works of Bacon, and of "Coincidences" relating to the two sets of works, he could not possibly have made the statement quoted above.

And again, had he lived to see and peruse Mrs. Henry Pott's annotated and commentated edition of Bacon's "Promus," in which no less than 1,655 entries in Francis Bacon's private note book, now in the British Museum, are claimed by her to find their reproduction either

literally or in paraphrase or thought or sentiment in the Plays, the suggestion that Bacon had "never heard of such plays" or even that there was not some intimate connection between the two sets of works would be almost grotesque.

The expression "grotesque" is not too strong when one considers that even the "crusted Stratfordian," Edwin A. Abbott, in his Preface to Mrs. Pott's work, is so impressed by the evidence adduced that he is constrained to deliver himself as follows:—

"On one point also I must honestly confess that I am a convert to the author. I had formerly thought that, considering the popularity of Shakespeare's Plays, it was difficult to explain the total absence from Bacon's works of any allusion to them, and the almost total absence of any phrases that might possibly be borrowed from them. The author has certainly shewn that there is a very considerable similarity of phrase and thought between these two great authors. More than this, the Promus seems to render it highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that Francis Bacon in the year 1594 had either heard or read Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. Let the reader turn to the passage in that play where Friar Laurence lectures Romeo on too early rising, and note the italicised words:

> And where unbruised youth with unstuff'd brain
> Doth couch his limbs, there *golden sleep* doth reign:
> Therefore thy earliness doth me assure
> Thou art *up-roused* by some distemperature.
>
> *R. & J.*, ii, 3, 40.

Now let him turn to entries 1,207 and 1,215 in the following pages (of the Promus) and he will find that Bacon, among a number of phrases relating to early rising, has these words, almost consecutively, 'golden sleep' and 'up-rouse.' *One* of these entries would prove little or nothing; but anyone accustomed to evidence will perceive that *two* of these entries constitute a coincidence amounting almost to a demonstration that either (1) Bacon and Shakespeare borrowed from some common and at present unknown source; or (2) one of the two borrowed from the other. The author's belief is that the play is indebted for

these expressions to the Promus; mine is that the Promus borrowed them from the play. But, in any case, if the reader will refer to the author's comments on this passage (pp. 65-7) he will find other similarities between the play and the Promus which indicate borrowing of some sort."

This from an arch-Stratfordian is definitely useful and from other observations in his Preface one may reasonably conclude that Abbott—like Felix!—"trembled!"

Baconians, of course, fortified as they are by other abundant evidence apart altogether from the Promus, dismiss the "borrowing" theory as just fanciful and account for these oft-repeated "similarities" in accordance with a more rational view, just as "George Eliot" might have "borrowed" from Marian Evans or "Currer Bell" from Charlotte Brontë!

. . . . . .

I trust I have said enough in these few words—for few they are in relation to all that might be written on this great literary problem—to answer your—amended—query "Why should Bacon have written the Plays?" and even to adduce *some* evidence of why he *did*!

THE ELUSIVENESS OF GENIUS.

By R. L. EAGLE.

IN his interesting contribution to the April issue of "Great Thoughts," Mr. A. B. Cooper gives several notable examples in literature of the working of Genius. There has never been a satisfactory definition of Genius. Most of the great achievements of the human brain or hand are the result of it, but it has its limitations. It may give the power of acquiring knowledge, but it is not knowledge. It is a gift of nature, but nature alone never yet gave knowledge and culture. It might have made Shakespeare a poet of the type of Burns, who wrote of his environment in his native dialect, but it would not have given him "the speech of the gods," and that culture and wide reading which we find displayed even in "the first heir of his invention," namely, "Venus and Adonis." It would not have enabled him to include in his amazing vocabulary of some 20,000 words nearly 10,000 new words, without a knowledge of the languages from which he coined them. Macaulay said that "genius will not furnish the poet with a vocabulary."

Mr. Cooper alludes to "The Merchant of Venice" as "pure melodrama written in pure poetry. That is all." It is not by any means all. The incidents in the plot are mainly derived from Ser Giovanni's "Il Pecorone," of which no translation existed. Several other plays are derived from untranslated Italian sources. Now Genius would not give a knowledge of Italian, which was then only taught by private tutors to the aristocracy. Moreover, all the leading ideas of Portia's great speech will be found in Seneca's treatise "De Clementia," of which no translation existed until ten years later. When Shylock says to Jessica:

> Lock up my doors; and when you hear the drum
> And the vile-squeaking of the wry-necked fife
> Clamber not you up to the casements then
> Nor thrust your head into the public street.

he gave a magnificent rendering of the lines in Horace's Ode VII, Book III:

> Primâ nocte domum claude; neque in vias
> Sub cantu querulae despice tibiae,

which literally translated is "shut your gate always at night and let not the complaining sound of the fife tempt you to look down into the street." In both cases the lines are addressed to a lady.

Here again unaided genius would not have produced this result as there was no translation of the Odes.

The Trial Scene may appear to be fantastic if one attempts to pull to pieces the rose of Shakespeare's exquisite accomplishment, petal by petal, but Shakespeare has merely followed the Italian original, without being such a pretentious pedant as to conform to the rules of English law and procedure. Lord Darling once expressed his wonder that Portia had omitted to make the point that the condition of Shylock's bond was against public policy, and therefore void. There was, however, no ruling in English law until 1766 by which illegality of object invalidated a contract made under seal. By rejecting the legal defence, and then establishing an equitable one, Portia took the proper line for a skilled advocate. In no other way could Shylock have been trapped as he was, because if the case had merely been dismissed at the outset there would have been no criminal attempt at felony. Thus the law justifies the drama.

There is another point on which Mr. Cooper should be challenged. He says that Bacon was "a man of pedantic exactitude." The contrary is the truth. There are innumerable errors, anachronisms and misquotations in his works. In his private affairs, too, he was amazingly careless. Shakespeare was no more prone to liberties with time, place and circumstance than most of his contemporaries. Chapman, the learned translator of Homer, wrote a play called "The Blind Beggar of Alexandria." The action takes place in Egypt at the time of the Ptolemies, but we find a sixteenth century Spanish braggart named Bragadino. References to Osiris are mixed

with such oaths as "By Jesu!" Irus talks of getting married in church! In the play are allusions to tobacco, pistols, buckram cloth, and the English plants rosemary, thyme and rue. Sidney's "Arcadia" confounds the pastoral with the feudal times. In his play "Marius and Scylla" (1594), Thomas Lodge speaks of the Razors of Palermo and St. Paul's steeple. The scene is Rome in 80 B.C.! There is also a *Frenchman* named Don Pedro, who, in consideration of forty *crowns*, undertakes to poison Marius! Spenser mentions cloth made at Lincoln during the ideal reign of King Arthur, and has adorned a castle of the same period with "cloth of Arras or Tours."

Bacon, in his Essay on Friendship, makes Themistocles talk of cloth of Arras!

It need not, therefore, be accepted as any reflection on Shakespeare's understanding that in borrowing his Forest of Arden from Lodge's "Rosalynde," he even included the lioness and the "green and gilded snake" of tropical proportions, or that he makes Perdita in "The Winter's Tale" talk of Proserpina and Dis's wagon, and compares her violets with "the lids of Juno's eyes or Cytherea's breath," even though she had been brought up from infancy on a sheep-farm by illiterate foster-parents.

There is a proverb, "Painters and poets have leave to lie," which is echoed in Byron's:

> Poets and painters, as all artists know
> May shoot a little with a lengthened bow.

One of the characters in the first scene of "Timon of Athens" is a poet who observes:

> My free drift
> Halts not particularly, but moves itself
> In a wide sea of wax.

which is the substance of Bacon's remark in "The Advancement of Learning":

> "Poesy is a part of learning in measure of words for the most part restrained, but in all other points extremely licensed, and doth truly refer to the imagination; which, being not tied to the laws of matter, may at pleasure join that which nature hath severed, and sever that which nature hath joined, and so make unlawful matches and divorces of things."

A CURIOUS LITERARY DISCOVERY.

"BEN JONSON AND MARY FITTON."

Extracts from an Essay by the late MR. W. LANSDOWN GOLDSWORTHY.

THE several events we are about to consider appear to have little or no connection with one another, and the meaning of some is obscure. If we begin by attaching a meaning to what is obscure, and find as a result that:

A. This causes all such events to become related to one another, and

B. causes them to proclaim jointly one clear meaning, then the probability is increased of our having attributed its true meaning to each separate event, and the greater the number of such events that fall into line and jointly testify to the one meaning, the more likely it is that the meaning we have attributed to each is correct, and that they are related to one another.

1. The Rev. Walter Begley, M.A., in his last work, "Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio," mentions a book entitled "A Woman's Woorth." The author's name does not appear, but Mr. Begley claims to have discovered it.

2. "A Woman's Woorth" was registered in the Stationers' Register, January 26th, 1599, but "stayed" from publication until 1602. It contains a letter signed by the Editor, Anthony Gibson, which says that the book was "left in trust with me" and describes the same as "this little treatise being a Paradoxe Apologicall of woman's vertues."

3. Mr. Begley had in his library a book called "The True Knowledge of a Man's Owne Selfe," by one Anthony Munday, printed in 1602, which contains a dedication to "Maister John Swynneston Esquire," signed "Ant. Munday."

This reads:—

"Now my humble sute unto your worship is, that in

regard of some breach of promise, concerning my *Paradox Apologie*, which long since you should have had, but that the troubles of the time and the misinterpretation of the worke by some in authoritie, was the only cause why it went not forward. . . .''

4. In 1602, when ''A Woman's Woorth,'' described in that book as ''being a Paradoxe Apologicall,'' was released for publication, after a ''stay'' of three years, Ant. Munday expresses regret to J. Swynneston that ''my Paradox Apologie'' had not reached him sooner.

5. The similarity of the terms ''Paradoxe Apologicall'' from ''A Woman's Woorth,'' with ''my Paradox Apologie,'' used by Ant. Munday, appears to show that when using the latter term, he was referring to the former, and as he confirms that the book he is referring to was delayed in publication, and ''A Woman's Woorth'' actually was so delayed, and then released in 1602, the very year when Ant. Munday was writing about the release of my ''Paradox Apologie,'' we may assume that he was the author or part author of the ''little treatise, being a Parodoxe Apologicall,'' called ''A Woman's Woorth.''

So far Mr. Begley, and we now follow in the footsteps of Mr. W. Lansdown Goldsworthy.

(1) The ''Staple of News,'' a play by Ben Jonson, was written in 1625, and early in February, 1625-26, was played before King Charles I during the week of his Coronation.

(2) In the second Prologue to the play, Ben Jonson defines the standard of the audience it is meant for as:

''To schollars, that can judge, and fair report
The sense they hear, above the vulgar sort.''

This suggests a concealed meaning that could not be understood by an audience of a lower standard.

(3) The play under the disguise of Cookery has for its subject Poetry:

''He holds no man can be a poet,
That is not a good cook, to know the palates,
And several tastes of the time. He draws all arts

Out of the kitchen, but the art of poetry,
Which he concludes the same with cookery."
(*Ib.*, IV. i.).

The "Master Cook" is spoken of as:

"A soldier, a physician, a philosopher,
A general mathematician."

"Thou dost not know the man, nor canst thou know him."

"And that you may not doubt him for a poet—
This fury shews, if there were nothing else,
And 'tis divine!"

(4) Cookery gave Ben Jonson the opportunity to rule out de Vere's claim to be the author of "Shakespeare's Plays and Poems," to which the description:

"The perfect and true strain of poetry"

may well apply. When this description is attributed to the "Cellar" rather than to the Kitchen, a reply is made:

"Heretic, I see
Thou art for the vain Oracle of the Bottle."

De Vere was the possessor of the well-known "Bottle Badge" (see "Handbook of Heraldry," John E. Cussans, 1869, p. 125).

(5) In the midst of this discussion, not of Cookery but of Poetry, is inserted a remarkable and obscure passage:

"*Shunfield*: . . . . what brave fellows
Do eat together to-day, in town, and where?
Thomas: Yes, there's a gentleman, the brave heir, young Pennyboy,
Dines in *Apollo*.
Madrigal: Come, let's thither then,
I have supped in *Apollo*.
Almanac: With the *Muses*?
Madrigal: No,
But with two gentlewomen call'd the *Graces*.
Almanac: They were ever three in *Poetry*.
Madrigal: This was *truth*, sir.
Thomas: Sir, Master Fitton's there too.
Shunfield: All the better.
Almanac: We may have a jeer, perhaps."

(6) For its elucidation, we now return to "A Woman's Woorth," where appear three unsigned Sonnets, addressed to:

"Mistresse Anne Russell, Mistresse Margaret Ratcliffe, and Mistresse Mary Fitton and the rest . . ."
Maydes of Honour to Queen Elizabeth.

Mr. Begley has reproduced all three. In the one addressed to Mistress Margaret Ratcliffe, occur these lines:

"I go by night now to the *Muses* hill
But I may live, to drinke there, at Mid-day."

and this evidently concealed poet says later on that he will

"Pay richer duties in farre-sweeter straines,"

(7) If we connect the obscure passage quoted from the "Staple of News" with the Sonnets of "A Woman's Woorth," it will appear likely that Ben Jonson was acquainted with the latter book, and made use of it in his play, and this for the following reason.

In the book we find three Maids of Honour.

In the play, we meet with 2 Gentlewomen called the "Graces." It is there suggested that a third one should be added. Mary Fitton would be that third, the book gives her as such, but in the play (no doubt because of her liaison with the Earl of Pembroke) she is no more a "Grace," and is admitted only as "Master Fitton." She was said, at times, to masquerade as a page.

(8) In the play the suggestion is made that the three Classical Graces are under discussion, but this is repudiated, and we are told that "Gentlewomen" called the "Graces" are meant. Why then "Graces?" Because in "A Woman's Woorth" the three Maids of Honour to whom the Sonnets were dedicated, are thanked for "the unvaluable respected *Graces* received from you severally."

(9) When we further consider that in the play Mary Fitton is unmistakeably introduced, and we are told that she, as the third one, would have belonged to the two "gentlewomen" called the "Graces," had she not fallen from grace; when in the play it significantly says: "*They* were ever three in *poetry*," and not "there," which would be the case if the Classical Graces were meant, then there

can be little doubt that Ben Jonson's obscure passage from the "Staple of News" is explained by and connected with "A Woman's Woorth."

Did Ben Jonson intend to convey more? Only to establish a link with "A Woman's Woorth" by means of the Maids of Honour looks as if he had taken a great deal of trouble for no very particular purpose.

Mr. Begley tells us that "A Woman's Woorth" was a translation from the French. The Sonnets could hardly have formed part of the original. If it was the Sonnets that attracted Ben Jonson's attention, did he suspect or know that Bacon had caused these to be inserted? Bacon might have done so, as Ant. Munday, who was attached to the theatrical Company to which the player, William Shakspere, belonged, was probably well known to Bacon. If Ben Jonson had knowledge that Bacon was the author of the Sonnet to Mistresse Margaret Ratcliffe, then this Sonnet contained Bacon's own confession that he was a concealed poet, and the words "to drink there" might well have suggested to Ben Jonson the idea of creating, as a counterpart to "drink," the kitchen, and a poetical feast, in Apollo.

Mr. Goldsworthy has identified the two "gentlewomen" with Mistresse Anne Russell and Mistresse Margaret Ratcliffe, a conclusion justified by the link Ben Jonson forges, when for obvious reasons, he excludes the third Grace of the Sonnets, Mary Fitton, from the play, but admits her there as "Master Fitton," thus pointedly establishing her connection with, and accounting for the original three Maydes of Honour.

The assumption that Ben Jonson was acquainted with the Sonnets appears well founded. If so, the significance of the admission:

"I go by night now to the *Muses* hill
But I may live, to drinke there, at Mid-day,"

coupled with:

"Thou dost not know the man, nor canst thou know him"

suggests that the former led up to the latter, and that in

Ben Jonson's mind the concealed poet of the Sonnets and the "Master Cook and Master Poet" of the play were one and the same.

If the link with "A Woman's Woorth" is accepted, then we have Ben Jonson's opinion, that the plays and poems were the work of a concealed poet.

Shakspere could not have addressed the Queen's Maydes of Honour in so familiar a way, and with de Vere's claims ruled out Ben Jonson, by his description of the Master Cook's attainments, clearly points to Francis Bacon as the author of

"The perfect and true strain of poetry."

Shakespeare's Plays and Poems.

A.W.

YORK PLACE AND YORK HOUSE ?

After descanting upon Durham House, by Charing Cross, John Stow, in his *Survey of London*, says: "Next beyond this Durham house is another great house, sometime belonging to the bishop of Norwich, and was his London lodging, which now pertaineth to the archbishop of York by this occasion. In the year 1529, when Cardinal Wolsey, archbishop of Yorke, was indicted in the Premunire, whereby King Henry VIII. was entitled to his goods and possessions: he also seized into his hands the said archbishop's house, commonly called Yorke place, and changed the name thereof into White hall; whereby the archbishops of Yorke being dispossessed, and having no house of repair about London, Queen Mary gave unto Nicholas Heath, then archbishop of Yorke, and to his successors, Suffolke house in Southwark, lately built by Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolke, as I have showed. . This house the said archbishop sold, and bought the aforesaid house of old time belonging to the bishops of Norwich, which of this last purchase is now called Yorke house, the lord chancellors or lord keepers of the great seal of England, have been lately there lodged."

THE NAME "SHAKESPEARE."

By C. L'Estrange Ewen.

FIFTY years ago Canon Bardsley wrote: "Never a name in English nomenclature so simple or so certain in its origin. It is exactly what it looks—Shakespear." This line of least resistance has remained popular down to the present day, a quite recent volume on surnames repeating the dictum, word for word without any acknowledgment. It is hoped to demonstrate in the present paper that not only is there no evidence that the first bearer of the description "Shakespeare" obtained such a title through a habit of flourishing a weapon, but that there is every reason to believe that the surname derived in one or more entirely different and more prosaic ways.

Before approaching the difficult problem of determining the original form and signification of a modern surname, certain facts of major importance have to be assimilated. In the first place it may be observed that, by reason of the growth of population throughout the middle ages, single names, notwithstanding their manufacture in great variety, became insufficiently distinctive, leading to the bestowal of secondary descriptions. These additional appellatives fall into four classes now termed characteristic, local, genealogical, and occupational. Such secondary distinctions surviving through two or three generations of one family became known as surnames.

Our only records of early surnames are, of necessity, documentary, and since few people could spell their names, the first recording clerk had to rely upon his ear, and the present-day investigator depends solely upon the medieval scribe, who recorded what he heard or thought he heard, and whose efforts now may be no more than second or third hand, with all the errors of the copyist, often of a different race and language.

Analysis of upwards of 20,000 early identification labels taken from Crown documents evidences that by the end of the thirteenth century onomatological evolution had not advanced uniformly throughout the length and breadth of England, and still less so in Wales, Scotland and Ireland, where Celtic influence held sway, nor had it proceeded on the same lines among upper and lower classes. In England the thirteenth-century descriptions could be classed approximately as, characteristic 5 per cent., local 45 per cent., genealogical 20 per cent., occupational 12 per cent., and unclassified 18 per cent. It is improbable that at this time more than half of the secondary appellatives entered in the records were recognized by their adopters as permanent family indicia, in fact, many would be nothing more than additions for the temporary convenience of the law officers. The surname, in fact, for many years later remained not unlike the twentieth-century top-hat, only to be used on ceremonial occasions, and to be discarded at the earliest opportunity. Even in seventeenth-century records it is possible to find official indexes in which the baptismal names have been arranged alphabetically in preference to the surnames.

The descriptions taking hundreds of years to crystalize into the fixed family names as we now know them, during all which time orthography was in an unsettled state, it is not surprising that one appellative becoming established in different parts of the country at different times and under different conditions, philological and otherwise, has led not only to a great number of derivatives of one primitive name, but to a profusion of variant surnames.

At first sight it seems surprising that one of the causes of change could be penmanship, yet if we appreciate that all records were in handwriting, often very poor; that it was the scribes who used the second names rather than the people, who, in any case, being illiterate could neither dispute the orthography nor check the written entry, the fact is the more believable. Even at the present day clerks commonly make mistakes in copying names. A gentleman named Kinniburgh informed the writer that he had received

communications with his named mis-spelled in upwards of 250 ways! We cannot, therefore, find Sir Joshua Reynolds so blameworthy in happily referring to the son of George II. as the "Prince of Whales."

Another cause of variation is the tendency of scribes and others to twist an apparently unmeaning name into something having a signification, a process giving rise to many of our curious place-names as well, such as Nightingale Lane and Birdcage Walk, both in London. Occasionally the facetious scrivener deliberately entered the antithesis, thus in an early Curia Regis roll we find Willelmus Sine Fide in place of Willelmus de Sancta Fide, the Latin form of the correct name and description. Sufficient has been said to point to the problem of origin as being one not so much likely to be solved by philology as by an appreciation of the idiosyncracies of the ancient clerks. As we shall see, the name "Shakespeare," simple as it appears to the superficial enquirer, has actually suffered in one or more of the ways outlined.

In a study of the origin of a name, the aim should be to discover the geographical distribution, the language, the earliest forms and the first signification, and to carry out such an examination we collect as many examples as possible from original documents. Notwithstanding a most lengthy search, no twelfth-century example of the name Shakespeare has been discovered, and it is highly improbable that it ever existed at such an early date. In thirteenth-century records we find:

Glouc.	1248.	William Sakespere hanged for robbery.	Assize Roll.
Devon.	1276.	Thomas Schakespere, defendant in assault.	King's Bench.
Kent.	1279.	John Shakespere, surety.	Assize Roll.

Various writers have endeavoured to show that in the thirteenth century there were Shakesperes flourishing also in Essex, Yorkshire and Lincolnshire,* but more cautious examination of the documents cited discovers in each case

*Mr. J. W. Ryland announced a Geoffrey "Shakespeare" in a Surrey record of 1268, but his reference is wrong, as is most certainly his orthography. Perhaps the reading should be "Shakespere."

the readings or deductions to have been erroneous. Three examples being insufficient as a basis for study, some fourteenth-century extracts are brought together.

Dublin.	1305.	Richard Shakespere, surety.	Justiciary Roll.
Leic.	1306.	John Shagspere, decapitated.	Assize Rolls.
Leic.	1310.	William Shakespeyre, trespass	King's Bench.
Staffs.	1319.	William Shakespere, surety.	King's Bench.
Staffs.	1325.	Simon Shakespere, trespass.	Manor Roll.
Staffs.	1335.	Thomas Schakespere, distrained.	Manor Roll.
Cheshire	1348.	Robyn Shakespere, trespass.	Manor Roll.
Staffs.	1349.	John Schakespere, debt.	Manor Roll.
Dorset.	1351.	Geoffrey Shakespere, disseisin	Assize Roll.
Staffs.	1352.	Thomas Schakespere, tenant.	Manor Roll.
Staffs.	1356.	John Shekespere, tenant.	Manor Roll.
Cumb.	1357.	Henry Shakespere, thraves dispute.	Inquisition.
Notts.	1357.	John Shakespere, breach of covenant.	Local Court.
Warw.	1358.	Thomas Shakespere, homicide.	Coroner's Roll.
Notts.	1361.	John Shakespere, homicide.	Gaol Delivery.
Staffs.	1362.	John Shaspere, tenant.	Manor Roll.
Youghal.	1375.	Thomas Shakesper, customs officer.	Justiciary Roll.
Yorks.	1378.	Robert Schaksper, cooper, taxed,	Subsidy Roll.
Essex.	1379.	John Shakespere, hanged for felony.	King's Bench.
Warw.	1385.	William Shakespere, juror.	King'sBench.
Warw.	1389.	Adam Shakespere, Baddesley.	Manor Roll.

In these examples the precise orthography of the original has been retained. The Staffordshire extracts are representative of a great number to be found on the Newcastle-under-Lyme manorial rolls, the courts being held every three weeks. The geographical distribution is particularly instructive, and it will be noticed that the eastern part of the Country is almost entirely unrepresented, as are Wales and Scotland. The search having extended over years, the result can only be described as meagre, yet the instances are so widespread, north and south, that one is drawn to the conclusion that we have not here any one of the first forms of the name. What then may they have been? We must here examine the appellatives which are the nearest to Shakespere, first orthographically and second semantically. Prominent among those of the first category is Sakespee and variants, and it will at once be seen that they are not

only of greater antiquity, but are also more plentiful at the earlier dates.

Devon.	1180.	William Sakespie(?), witness.	Local.
Yorks.*	1182.	Jordan Sacheespee, gaol overseer.	Pipe Roll.
Normandy*	1195.	William Sakeespee, fined.	Exch. Rolls.
Lincs.	1202.	Stephen Sakespe, informer.	Assize Roll.
Surrey.	1226.	Richard Sakespeye, disseisin.	King's Bench.
Essex.	1229.	Richard Sakespee, essoined.	King's Bench.
Glouc.	1261.	Simon Shakespeye, Crown tenant.	King's Bench.
Sussex.	1287.	Walter Sakespeye, tenant of Abbot of Fecamp.	King's Bench.
Surrey.	1324.	Walter Shakespey, trespass.	King's Bench.

Regarding geographical distribution it will be noticed that one extract is from the north of France, and that is more probably derived from England than the reverse, as no example has been found in other parts of France at early date. Otherwise the distribution is not quite so widespread as the later Shakesperes, a feature that may be due in some measure to the fewer documents available. While it may be strongly suspected that Sakespee and variants are the forerunners of Shakespere and variants something more than suspicion is called for. That the scribes could and did make one name from the other can be shown by the Kent Assize Roll for Hilary term, 7 Edw. I (1279) which, fortunately, has been preserved in quadruplicate; in three copies the name occurs as Sakespey and in the fourth Shakespere. If the mind of the scribe could turn the one name into the other, it cannot be doubted that the less educated would likewise do so. Having thus demonstrated that Sakespee could give rise to Shakespere, it is of interest to enquire into the origin of the former.

At the time under consideration the nobility and gentry conversed in French, all pleading in courts, instruction in schools, and preaching in church, being in the same language. The clerks of the law courts were, of necessity, French speakers, and to them Sakeespee must have seemed to carry a significance as Drawsword does to us, but that is not to say that it was actually a translation. While

*For many other examples from Yorkshire and Norman records, see my *History of British Surnames*, pp. 314, 317.

interpretation of names did take place, a more common procedure was for the clerk to twist a name foreign to him to the nearest familiar sound, and therefore Sakespee is more probably a corruption of some English name of nearly the same sound. By taking a long series of examples from one county alone it is possible to obtain a clue. In Yorkshire, for instance, in the Healaugh cartulary and the register of Fountains Abbey (1196-1235) we may find the spelling of the name of the same *person* ranging through Saxpey, Sakespey, Syakespeye and Shakespeie. Turning to the records of the South, we may see in Kent Subsidy rolls of the fourteenth century, for the same family, Saxpey, Shakespeys and Sakspeye.

Remembering that about half our surnames are derived from localities, it is unnecessary to give further examples to support the inference that these variants are all forms of that place-name which now appears in the directory as Saxby. There are two parishes of this name in Lincolnshire and one in Leicestershire. It is of interest to turn to the documents of those counties. In Lincolnshire Assize Rolls for the year 1202 can be found as descriptions of persons both Sakespe and De Saxebi. In Leicestershire Pipe Rolls for the same year we have De Saxeby. It is evident that so long as the name was recognized as a locality it retained the Norse 'by,' but when the French clerk saw in it something almost significant, he corrected or improved on it, to his way of thinking, by making the 'b' into 'p.'

The entire responsibility for this change is not to be thrown on the French speakers, for long after French as our official language had been abolished the same substitution continued to occur, in fact, in later days the range of variants became much greater. Among Star Chamber records is a bill of complaint of the vicar of Rowington (1567) wherein one of the parishioners is referred to both as Richard Shakespere and Richard Shakesbur. In the Common Plea docket for Easter term, 16 Elizabeth, a London entry spells the Sussex name Saxby as Saxpyer, a most useful illustration of one name changing into

another; and sometimes the reverse transliteration takes place, for instance, one of the Shakesperes of Berkswell, Warw., was presented in the King's Bench for absenting himself from church in 1615 as "William Shakesby." "John Shaxbee" baptized in 1605, is called in his marriage licence, 1631, "John Shackspeare of St. Clement's Danes, bittmaker, bachelor, 26."

Another example of this nature known to everyone occurs in the much disputed Revels Accounts, where "Shaxberd" is noticed as the poet "which mayd the plaies." Twentieth-century opinions on the genuineness of this play-list differ, but from the peculiar spelling and corrections, blundering in dates and so on, it may be inferred that the entries were the work of an honest, but inferior scribe. Surely no forger would draw attention to his work by such an original spelling as "Shaxberd." The 'd' simply results from misreading a rough draft by someone unacquainted with the name. The Elizabethan 'd' and 'e' were similar except for size. Another error due to carelessness or faulty ear is seen in "William Shakspert" as the name appears in the parish registers of St. Margaret's, Westminster, 1539, and a yet more curious mistake, arising through the similarity of the sixteenth-century 'x' and 'p' is Roger Shappere, actually appearing on letters patent of 1556 for Roger Shakespere, yeoman of the chamber.

Long after Shak had become established as the first syllable, the clerks occasionally reverted to older forms and dropped the 'h.' For instance Matthew Shakspeare, a London victualler (who, Sir E. K. Chambers, not knowing the reputation of the man, rather unfortunately conjectures, may have been a relative of the Stratford actor) was in 28 Elizabeth in the Queen's Bench as Matthew Saxespere presented for allowing immoral persons to frequent his house. While the variants Saxebi, Sakespey and Shakespey are found mainly in the eastern half of England, actually becoming, as exemplified in one case, Shakespere, that form is more prominent in the western half, where, generally speaking, it probably had a distinct origin.

We may now turn with advantage to semantic similarities. Even as late as the fifteenth century the signification of a name was held to be more important than the name itself, resulting in equally acceptable alternatives as Roger "Cristemasse alias Yool" or John "Joynour alias Carpenter." Due to the number of languages in the country misunderstandings often occurred, leading to the substitute being anything but synonymous. As we have seen Saxebi might become Sakespee and a further change by translation would be to Drawswerd, a not uncommon name, also occurring as Drawspere.

It is a fair hypothesis that Shakespere, in some cases, occurred likewise as a supposed equation of some earlier name, believed to be a synonym. One such possible origin is the common description Brekespere, the derivation of which is unknown, but however that may be, the two appellatives were certainly regarded as interchangeable. An entry in the Bishop of London's register (1513) reads: "Saunders alias Breakspear alias Shakspeeres." Since "to shak" when speaking of wood, meant to "split" or "crack" the confusion is quite understandable.

Considering the documentary evidence of Warwickshire, the earliest occurrence of Shakespere is, as noticed above, in Coventry, 1358, and the first William Shakespere for the county is found not far away in Balsall, 1385. In that county Brekespere has not been found, but a perfect synonym of Shakespere in Wagstaff is of much earlier date, yet no connection between the two names has been traced.

If the name Shakespere did not come into Warwickshire ready-made, the most likely synonym to suggest itself as the origin is Shakelok, which appellative can be traced in Coventry almost a century earlier than the more famous Shakespere, and has nearly the same signification, since to "spar" or "sperre" formerly meant to "lock or bolt." And Shakelok often interchanges with Scathelock, which appears to be the Anglo-Saxon *sceaft-loc*.

The majority of Anglo-Saxon personal names are compounds consisting of two nouns, two adjectives, or an

adjective and noun, and exist in great profusion. It is of interest to note, therefore, that both Saxa and Spere were not only common monothematic names, but both existed as elements in compound names, and it would not be surprising if Saxa and Spere were preserved in conjunction in S(h)axspere, and so also Saxa and Sceaft in Shakeshaft, another not uncommon name, and one that is also synonymous with Shakespere and found interchanged with it. The Stratford actor's grandfather is entered on the Snitterfield Court Rolls as both Shakespere and Shakestaff. Such a derivation for Shakespere from an ancient personal name, probable as it may be, yet remains but a conjecture.

Can any of our Shakesperes have arisen from an occupational description? Certainly it is possible, but if so, the allusion has been entirely misunderstood or has missed appreciation by the enrolling clerks, for we never find "le Shakespere,"* as we do "le Spere" (a salaried official) and "le Spereman." It is equally true, but more excusable, that we never see "de Shakespere," except in several cases of manifest error, to be noticed on the court rolls for the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme, 15th cent., where Henry de Shakespere and Henry Shakespere are both entered in one paragraph.

The absence of any evidence supporting the theory that Shakespere is a characteristic name has been noticed above so that all four classes of descriptions and surnames have been touched upon, the strongest resulting evidence being that Shakespere is derived from a place-name, its syllables being, therefore, Shakes-pere rather than Shake-spere, as popularly supposed, the ancient pronunciation being Shax'per.

It must always be remembered that names similar in orthography or phonetics, or in both, may be derived from entirely different word-bases, just as names of widely different meaning at the present day may have had the same source, and no single origin can be assumed.

It having been demonstrated that Shakespere has derived from or has been interchangeable with Saxby and Brekespere, it will be accepted that it is itself only a transitional

*I have seen one example under date 1417 clearly due to carelessness.

form leading to such wide variants as Shakesphere, Scapespere, Shakespurre, Sadspere, Shaftsper, Shakesbury, Shakespar and Shakeberry, to be found in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The writer has collected from documents for the years 1248 to 1600 no fewer than six hundred and fifty examples of the name Shakespere, which may be classed orthographically as follows: S(c)hakesper(e) 318, S(c)haksper(e) 121, Shax(s)per(e) 103, Shakespear(e) 31, and others 77. Dividing all the numerous variants into two forms only, approximating to Shakespere and Shaxper, the totals are 364 and 236 respectively, leaving 50 "spear(e)" examples.

Of the more unusual forms, Shagspere must recive special notice since it has been the source of many conjectures and arguments. Hitherto the only known example has been on the bond sealed in 1582 to indemnify grantors of the licence of the marriage of William Shagspere and Anne Hathwey. Another and much earlier instance is cited above for the neighbouring county of Leicester, and these two examples are the only ones yet found. Their rareness clearly points to clerical vagary, and not to a distinct name and family.

As is well known the Shakespeares ramified most strongly in the county of Warwick, but it will surprise many to know that an actual count of the hearth tax returns in 1666 shows that of the 15,000 householders in the county 1 in every 650 has become a Shakespere or Shakespeare.

It will be realized that right down to the days of the Stratford tragedian the most common orthographic form of the surname had been Shakespere, but that a tendency had already set in for this spelling to yield to Shakespeare. Thus we find a well-known Leicestershire attorney figuring on a King's Bench roll for Trinity term, 1 James I, as Thomas "Shakespere alias Shakespeare." Throughout the sixteenth century the spelling of the word "spere" had been in a transitional stage and the change to "spear" a normal one. The retention of final 'e' in "speare" resulted from causes as uncertain as those that operated in the case of Smythe or Browne. In view of a current belief

that the second letter 'a' never appeared in the name until its appearance in print, it is of interest to note that examination of our six hundred and fifty examples provides examples of surnames with the second syllable as "spear" as early as 1533, in Shakespear (Nottingham) and 1539 in Shakyspear (Wroxall, Warw.); and as "speare" in 1550, in Shakespeare (Packwood and Warwick), and 1559 in Shakespeare (Stratford-upon-Avon), and thereafter the modern spelling more strongly asserted itself. By the time of the publication of the quartos the form "spere" was becoming archaic, although it appeared in 1626 in an entry in the Stationers' Register, and even much later in London parish registers. It may be postulated, however, that the new spelling made its way quicker in London than in the provinces.

In 1593-4 the poems *Venus and Adonis* and *The Ravyshement of Lucrece* with dedications by "William Shakespeare" were printed by Richard Field and entered by Master Harrison. These are the first known appearances of the name in print. From 1594 to 1598 several plays,* afterwards attributed to the same poet, were published anonymously, from which it must be inferred that the various stationers, White, Myllington, Burby, and Wise either did not recognise him as the author or that his name possessed any value as a selling point. In 1598, quartos of *Richard II* (printed by V. Simmes for A. Wise) and *Richard III* (printed by T. Creede for A. Wise) had on their title-pages "By William Shake-Speare"; *Love's Labours Lost* (printed by W. W. for Cuthbert Burby) being said to be "newly corrected and augmented by W. Shakespere"; and the following year, W. Jaggard, ascribed *The Passionate Pilgrim* a collection of verses by Marlowe, Griffin and Ralegh, with three from *Love's Labours Lost*, and two afterwards included in *Shake-speares Sonnets*, to "W. Shakespeare."

**Edward III*. (S. Stafford for Cuthbert Burby); *Titus Andronicus* (J. Danter for E. White and Thomas Millington); 1 *Henry VI*. (T. Creede for T. Myllington); *The Taming of the Shrew* (P. Short for Cuthbert Burby); *Romeo and Juliet* (J. Danter); *Richard II*. (V. Simmes for A. Wise); *Richard III*. (V. Sims for A. Wise); *Henry IV*. (P.S. for A. Wise).

Notwithstanding much ridicule of the Stratford man and his supposed literary efforts in classical circles, public recognition of the name "William Shakespeare" steadily appreciated, and a few years later it had begun to attract notice from the unprincipled printers and stationers, who made unauthorized display of it. In 1605, *The London Prodigal* by William Shakespeare came from the press of the "Shakespearean" printer, Thomas Creede (for Nathaniel Butter), who ten years earlier had printed *Locrine* by W.S. These initials, sometimes considered to stand for Wentworth Smith, the dramatist, are too common for any definite opinion thereon to be expressed.

The name of "W. Shakspeare" was also attached to *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, printed by R. B.(radock) and entered for Master Pavier, in 1608. The following year appeared *Pericles*, entered for Edward Blount and printed by Henry Gosson, the authorship being ascribed to "William Shakespeare." Later, Blount seems to have repented, for he did not include this play in the 1623 folio. There are also wrongly ascribed to Shakespere, *Sir John Old-castle* printed by W. Jaggard for which play Drayton, Hathaway, Munday, Wilson and Decker are known to have been paid, and *Troilus and Cressida*, if Eld's edition be the original play by Decker and Chettle. Other plays by "W.S." were *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, entered 1602 for William Cotton and printed by Richard Read (?) and *The Puritaine*, entered for and printed by George Elde, 1607.

It has to be inferred that in the first quarter of the seventeenth century a considerable body of publishers and readers believed William Shakespere to be not only actor but an author of merit, and his name gradually increased in publicity value. Thomas Walkley (*Othello* 1622) wrote: "the Author's name is sufficient to vent his worke." Occasionally, however, printers and stationers, such as Edward White (*Titus Andronicus*, 1600); Edward Allde (*Titus Andronicus*, 1611); John Smethwick (*Romeo and Juliet*, 1609); Thomas Creede or Thomas Pavier (*Henry V*, 1602); and William Jaggard or Thomas Pavier (*Henry V*) were so little impressed or so forgetful that they omitted all mention of the Actor's name.

The considerable unauthorized use of Shakespere's name in his lifetime is in striking distinction to the case of Jonson, really the greatest power in the dramatic world. It is difficult to believe that a leading author could be so complacent as was Shakespere at the use of his name. But character may have dictated his want of assertiveness. Jonson had acquired a reputation as a man-slayer, whereas Shakespere became known as "gentle." If, as possible, nothing really originated with his pen he would have very good reason for not raising a disturbance, and he may have been well content to accept such gratuitous advertisements as came his way.

All the display of Shakespere's name proves nothing more than that publishers and the public thought him to be a poet; and if he, in addition to being a buyer of plays like Henslowe, also resold or staged them, it is easy to understand how his productions became associated with his name as author.

Posthumously, the name continued in favour. The title-page of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* entered by John Waterson in 1634, attributed the authorship to "the memorable worthies of their time Mr. John Fletcher and Mr. William Shakspeare". In later years critics have used the name of Shakespeare as freely as publishers, plays ascribed by them at various times to the Stradfordian being: *Arden of Faversham*, 1592; *Fair Em*, c. 1593; *Mucedorus*, 1598; *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, 1608; *The History of Cardennio*, 1653 and *The Birth of Merlin*, 1662.

Very keen controversy has centred round a peculiarity of the famous name as it is found printed in some of the quartos, namely that the two syllables are joined by hyphen (Shake-speare). That feature is very rare in surnames, but not unique. For instance, in Master Pott's account of *The Lancashire Witches*, 1612, may be noticed Dodg-sonne and Mould-heeles. A play ascribed to W.S. bore the title *Sir John Old-castle*, 1600, 1619, and Munday's *Camp-bell* appeared in 1609. Usually the insertion of the hyphen resulted from a desire to convey a double meaning, as in Rogue-by for Rugby in *The Merry*

Wives of Windsor; Grieve-ill in Greville's *Coelica*; Pierce-eye in Barnes's *Parthenophil*; and Mr. Philip King-man in Davies' *Scourge of Folly*. Ben Jonson in *The Poetaster* wrote Cri-spinas (ii. 1) and he also named Will Shake-speare as a principal tragedian acting in *Sejanus*. Actually the first occurrence of "Shake-speare" now traceable is in the anonymous commendatory verses in *Willobie his Avisa*, printed by John Windet, 1594. The earliest appearance of the much discussed name on the title-page of a quarto (*Richard II*, 1598) is hyphenated. The *Threnos* added to *Loves Martyr* (Robert Chester; printed by R. Field for E. Blount, 1601) is signed William Shake-speare, pointing to the signature being the work of anyone but the Actor. John Davies, in 1610, wrote an epigram to "Will Shake-speare" (*Scourge of Folly*, no. 159).

About one-third of the quartos appeared anonymously; of the remainder, the larger number bear the name "William Shakespeare," the smaller number "William Shake-speare" or "Shak-speare." At first sight this hyphenation in seventeen instances looks like an effort to suggest a double signification or to obtain a distinctive appearance or pronunciation to the surname. Some writers even suggest that Shake-speare and Shak-speare did not represent the real name of any person, being a pen-name subtly likening a concealed author to Pallas Athene, the goddess of wisdom, who is usually represented as shaking a spear at ignorance. But the use of the name William and more particularly "M(aster) William" (*Lear*, 1608) in that connection is difficult to explain. Others who hold that this name on the title page is precisely what it appears to be yet does not indicate the authorship, submit that some secret arrangement existed whereby William Shakespere, the comedian, received a fee in return for accepting responsibility and running the risk of an arraignment for treason. That theory however, does not explain the occasional insertion of the hyphen.

Emanating from the Oxfordians is the latest claim that Queen Elizabeth, subsidizing the plays as war propaganda,

a military-sounding pseudonym came to be considered appropriate, but that view also can scarcely be said to account for the name William. Moreover the hyphenated name appears in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, which play could not be described as proselytism tending to kindle martial spirit; and it is omitted in some historical dramas which might conceivably be such.

However much one would like to accept the hypothesis of double meaning, so erratic are the appearances of the orthographic peculiarity that it can only be concluded that they have arisen through nothing more than the passing humour of scribe or printer. A clerk or compositor unfamiliar with the surname might reasonably treat it as a compound word, surnames not being possessed by everyone, and then being looked upon as of very minor importance. In printing various editions of *Richard III* Thomas Creede used the hyphen in 1598, dropped it in 1602, and added it again in 1605, 1612 and 1622. Nicholas Ling, who printed Shake-speare on the title-page of *Hamlet* in 1603, discarded the hyphen for the following quarto, i.e. the next year. Leonard Digges, the Oxford translator, used the hyphen in 1623 in various memorial verses, but not in the caption, and dropped it in 1640. Otherwise in the First Folio the name appears undivided. An old argument is that the Actor being dead the necessity for distinction had ceased. But "Shake-speare" crops up again in the third quarto of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1630), the fourth quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* (1637), the 1640 edition of the Sonnets, and even in *Hamlet* in 1655. Legally no necessity for distinction existed at any time. Shakespere had no property in his surname, and while he had a right to William, he had no exclusive right.

It is to be concluded that it is imprudent to draw any deduction of authorship from variations or peculiarity of the name on the title pages and dedications, when printers were so inconsistent even with their own names (e.g. Smethwick, *Hamlet* 1611; and Smithweeke, *First Folio*, 1623).

FRANCIS BACON AND THE MONEY-LENDERS.

By C. L'ESTRANGE EWEN.

Since the publication of the article under this title in BACONIANA, January, 1934, some further items have come under notice and may be worth recording.

P. 245, par. 1. The conveyance of the manor of Napesbury, dated 1 Oct. 39 Eliz. (1597) is enrolled in Chancery. From this deed it appears that Anthony Bacon, Francis Bacon and Robert Prentys, in consideration of 850 *l.*, granted and sold to Edward Briscoe of Organhall, gent., and Edward Briscoe, the younger, son and heir apparent of the said Edward Briscoe, the manor of Napesburye als Apesburye, etc.[1] The variation in the amount of the purchase money in Bond, Fine and Conveyance, illustrates the danger of relying upon a single document for detail.

P.245, last par. The conveyance of the Shenley property is dated 10 Jan., 40 Eliz. (1597/8) and does not particularize the consideration. The property consisted of sixty or seventy acres in the tenure of John Harvye, late parcel of the possessions belonging to the "late Chappell called Colney Chappell als Broad Coullney Chappell," and late purchased of George Hawes of London, citizen and salter, by Sir Nicholas Bacon and Bartholomew Kempe, gent., and agreed to be conveyed to the tenant, but the completion had been prevented by the death of Sir Nicholas. The deed was enrolled on the Recovery Roll of the Common Pleas in Hilary term, 40 Eliz., and acknowledged by Anthony Bacon.[2]

P.246, 1.6. Regarding Kympton's suit it appears from Queen's Bench roll for Hilary term, 41 Eliz. (1598/9) that in Easter term, 40 Eliz., Edward Kympton and Robert Tudnam obtained judgment against Francis and Anthony Bacon jointly and severally for 1,500*l.* acknowledged by bond dated 22 June, 39 Eliz. (1597).[3] Both defendants to obtain delay sued out writs of error, but thereafter seem to have dropped the matter.

P.247. The conclusion of Simpson v. Bacon can be obtained from a Queen's Bench roll of Michaelmas term, 42 & 43 Eliz. (1600). In Hilary term, 42 Eliz., Bacon pleaded that he had sealed only under threat of personal injury, but Simpson obtained judgment for 500 *l.* with costs and damages 6 *l.* 18*s.* Bacon by bringing a writ of error in the Queen's Bench, at first appearing by John Williams, his attorney, afterwards several times in his own person, obtained a delay in settlement, but not a reversal of the judgment. The Court holding that there was nothing vicious or defective in the judgment nor error in record Simpson recovered a further 3 *l.* and finally in Trinity term, 1602, acknowledged satisfaction of debt, damages and costs.[4]

P.250. Further search has revealed the grant of Sir Nicholas Bacon to Elizabeth on the Queen's Bench rolls. Two weeks after Anthony Bacon's death Sir Nicholas appeared in his own person

before Mr. Justice Clenche at Serjeant's Inn in Chancery Lane bringing a writing which he prayed might be enrolled, and that being accordingly done, the entry may be seen on the roll for Trinity term, 43 Eliz. (1601). By this writing it appears that for divers causes and considerations Sir Nicholas gave, granted and confirmed to Elizabeth, all and singular his manors, lands, tenements and hereditaments in the county of Hertford, and reversions and remainders, etc., with the proviso that if he, his heirs, executors or assigns should pay into the Exchequer 100 *l*. the grant should be void and re-entry had. Sealed 10 June, 43 Eliz.[5]

1 Recovery Roll, C.P.43, 59, ii, m.20.
2 C.P.43, 60, ii, m.14.
3 K.B.27, 1354, mm.987, 992.
4 K.B.27, 1364, m.477.
5 K.B.27, 1368, m.21.

SYNOPSIS OF R. L. EAGLE'S LECTURE ON "SHAKESPEARE'S LIBRARY."

On April 2nd, Mr. Eagle's address traced the learning which Shakespeare had acquired before he wrote "Venus and Adonis," "Lucrece," and the plays which are generally considered to belong to the first period of output. Apart from several Latin authors he had already mastered the French and Italian languages and was well versed in legal technicalities and Mr. Eagle quoted the verses from "Venus and Adonis" alluding to the Penalty of Non-Payment which formed the condition of a money-bond—most inappropriately put into the speech of Venus! He quoted the orthodox commentator Morton Luce on "Venus and Adonis" where that critic alludes to the poem's imagery as coming from the artificial as opposed to the natural world; its similes mainly from the pseudo-scientific and its natural history "more of the library than the meadow."

The lecturer pointed out that the description of the horse is borrowed from Du Bartas though the translation (Sylvester's) did not appear until five years after Shakespeare's poem had been printed. The lines on the hunted hare, with its errors on the habits of the animal, are taken from Estienne Jodelle's "Ode de la Chasse" proving that Shakespeare was even at this early date reading literature in the French language. As French and Italian were not taught in schools but only by private tutors, it is preposterous to suppose that the young yokel from Stratford wrote the poem.

Shakespeare's natural history was always literary and contains incongruities and inaccuracies which no provincial bred man would make. The Forest of Arden with its "lioness" and "green and gilded snake" of tropical size is "lifted" from Lodge's "Rosalynde," while Perdita in "The Winter's Tale" has obviously become familiar with Ovid's "Metamorphoses" although brought up from infancy on a sheep farm by two illiterate "clowns."

Allowing for coincidences Mr. Eagle thought that William Theobald's total of 150 classical authors familiar to "Shakespeare" was not over-stated as there were several authors which Mr. Theobald omitted in his book "The Classical Element in the Shakespeare Plays" which were drawn upon by Shakespeare. The orthodox critic, John Churton Collins, contributed a valuable work on this subject and did much to destroy the impression, so long in favour, that Shakespeare was a natural, not a literary and cultured, genius. The library which the author of the plays must have possessed was an extensive and valuable one, yet Shakspere made no mention of books nor manuscripts of any kind in his will, nor did he make any provision for their preservation at any library such as the Bodleian, nor with literary friends. The only possible solution of the question is that he had no books in his possession. The author of the plays and poems did, however, place a great value on a library as Mr. Eagle demonstrated by extracts from several works ranging from "Titus Andronicus" to "The Tempest."

UNSATISFACTORY ANSWERS.

The *Western Daily Press* of Bristol is to be congratulated upon having opened its columns recently to a considerable correspondence on the subject of the question of the authorship of the "Shakespeare" plays.

As a result our President Mr. Theobald made a visit to Bristol and enlisted two new and valuable members of the Society.

The following letter was sent to the *Western Daily Press* unfortunately just too late for publication.

The Editor,

The Western Daily Press.

Dear Sir,

Replies to my simple questions concerning the authorship of "Shakespeare" have now been made by Mr. Haines and Mr. Gill.

But I find them, I must confess, entirely unsatisfying.

In answer to my question why so great a man, as the author of the immortal plays was, should have received no letter from anyone, nor apparently have written *to* anyone, all I am told is that one letter was written to Wm. Shakespere. But that letter is of such a character that it cannot be quoted: It appears to have been addressed to Shakespere by one Quiney of Stratford and to have been, in effect in the following terms. "Yf yow get the money, bringe it homme." Now, Sir, isn't it reasonable to contend that a genius, such as the author of the immortal plays, must have been in touch and correspondence with the greatest intellectuals of his time? But except for the above missive no one seems to have communicated with him and certainly no letter from him to a single soul has been discovered tho' every nook and cranny has been searched. What am I to make of that?

Again I ask where did Shakspere get his legal knowledge? I am a Barrister myself and I find that knowledge (in the plays) not only exceptionally extensive, but coming from the pen of the author as though it were part and parcel of his thoughts. It has been remarked upon by Lord Penzance, himself a great lawyer; Sir Geo. Greenwood, K.C., Lord Campbell, and a host of other authorities. But neither Messrs. Haines and Gill, nor any other Stratfordian can tell me where the butcher's apprentice, Will Shakspere, can have gained such a mastery of the law. Instead of this they palm me off with tales of how he tramped the roads of England (muddy, filthy roads they were too in Elizabeth's reign) and what a wonderful experience this must have been.

And there is no satisfactory answer to my question about *Othello*. In 1622 it appeared as "newly augmented" tho' William had been dead six years! In the following year it appears in the great Folio edition with another 160 lines of the same incomparable character. Who wrote them? I am asked to believe there was some earlier MS. than that from which the 1622 edition was printed; that that edition though "newly *augmented*" was cut, as compared with this

earlier MS. and that that MS. had already in it the 160 lines which appeared for the first time in 1623.

No one has yet told me how William obtained his masterful knowledge of Botany or Astronomy, his knowledge of ancient and modern languages, to say nothing of his knowledge of English, which is quite equally astonishing.

Quite evidently there are certain matters which the Baconians find difficult to explain, but their difficulties appear to me to be as nothing compared to the fearsome task of trying to maintain the *traditional* authorship.

Yours very truly,

H. BRIDGEWATER.

BACON SOCIETY'S LECTURES AND DISCUSSIONS.

Since the last issue the following addresses were given at Gordon Square: On Nov. 7th, 1935, "Documentary Evidence for Bacon's Authorship of "Shakespeare," by Mr. Howard Bridgewater; on Dec. 5th, 1935, "Parallelisms and Questions of Literary Style," by Mr. J. B. Wells, B.Sc.; on Jan. 2nd, 1936, an "Open Discussion on Baconian Subjects" by members and visitors; on Feb. 6th, "Bacon's 'Promus' and Notes," by Mr. Wm. A. Vaughan; on Mar. 5th, "Shakspere the Actor and 'Shake-speare', Dramatist," by Mr. Percy Walters; on April 2nd "Shakespeare's Library," by Mr. R. L. Eagle; on May 7th, "Francis Bacon, Poet," by Miss F. V. Mannooch; on June 4th, "Shakespeare in Germany," by Miss Alicia A. Leith. All were well-attended, and considerable discussion ensued. The remaining dates of the summer session are, on July 2nd, "The Aristocracy of Shakespeare," by Mr. Howard Bridgewater; and for Aug. 6th, another "Open Discusion on Baconian Subjects," by members and visitors. The autumn list will follow in due course.

THE MERCHANT OF VENICE.

A very praiseworthy representation of *The Merchant of Venice* was given at the Scala Theatre on May 18th and 19th, by "The Fleet Street Players," in aid of the Newspaper Press Fund, with our good friend, Mr. Valentine Smith in the rôle of Shylock, who sustained the difficult part with consummate skill and power. The Portia of Miss Mary Lincoln Reed was also excellently pourtrayed; indeed, the whole company was well chosen, for all acquitted themselves so well as to make special distinctions invidious. The costumes and effects were in the first-class order, while the admirable scenery was specially painted for the occasion. The play was ably produced by Mr. D. G. Milford. The achievement was the more remarkable in that it was carried out entirely by amateur enthusiasts of talent and culture quite up to the best conventional standards of technical competence. which ensured them continued and well-deserved applause. The object of the combination is to produce plays for the benefit of those charities associated with the journalistic world.

BOOK REVIEWS.

DIE GEISTESGESCHICHTLICHE UND DIE LITERARISCHE NACHFOLGE DER NEU-ATLANTIS DES FRANCIS BACON. Von DR. HELMUT MINKOWSKI.

We have received more than one brochure from Dr, Minkowski, who formerly spent some time in Oxford and has interested himself in Francis Bacon. The subject of the present review is a reprint of an article which appeared in the Dutch literary journal *Neophilologus*. Without being a Baconian in our English sense of the word, Dr. Minkowski is wise enough not to reject summarily the Baconian authorship of Shakespeare, as so many of his colleagues do. He has made a special study of the *New Atlantis* and its effects on subsequent philosophical and literary thought.

The author points out how Bacon was at once in the vanguard of the new age of his period, while at the same time he retained a hold on all which he considered valuable in the old world, especially the essence of neo-Platonism. He was the first to realise that the conquest of Nature by Man could only be achieved by the combined efforts of a number of like-minded men. He was also the first to formulate practical means towards that end. Still further, he conceived the idea of a great institution, which should produce the desired results in future generations, and outlined the conditions under which this "House of Solomon" should work. The form of the Academy was borrowed from earlier times, but he filled it with his own spirit, and was indebted to none of the ancients for this. The author also shows, by reference to the *Conference of Pleasure* and the *Gesta Gravorum*, how deeply these ideas were anchored in Bacon's other writings.

Dr. Minkowski thinks it is hard to say how far the founding of the Royal Society was a direct result of Bacon's "House of Solomon," but he feels sure that this had no connection with either Freemasonry or Rosicrucianism. Here is one of the points on which many Baconians would probably differ. He also considers that Dr. Sprat may not have been fully aware of what really led to the beginnings of the Royal Society, because Sprat said this was "some space after the end of the Civil War at Oxford," which was already too late a date for its origins. As to this, we might perhaps suggest that Dr. Sprat may have known more than he cared to reveal, a fact which must constantly be borne in mind where Bacon's associates are concerned. Dr. Minkowski seems to be aware of this possibility. He also quotes Isaac Disraeli's remarks, "Were the origin of the Royal Society inquired into, it might be justly dated a century before its existence; the real founder was Lord Bacon, who planned the ideal institution in his New Atlantis: this notion is not fanciful. . ." Dr. Minkowski freely recognises that Bacon's chief works were of great importance in this connection. He points out that although the origins of some other institutions of a similar nature may be traced to the *New Atlantis*, the majority followed on from the Royal Society, and this Society

has the priority from an historical standpoint. For this reason he does not accept the view advanced by certain French writers that the London Royal Society owed its origin to a similar one in Paris. He also shows how, at the founding of other academies, for example in Italy, frank reference was made to their indebtedness to Baconian ideals. Whether or not the Berlin Academy of sciences, through Leibniz, owed its origin to Bacon's inspiration seems to Dr. Minkowski a matter of doubt, as there is evidence in both directions.

As regards the literary results of the *New Atlantis*, Dr. Minkowski refers to the continuation of it by "R. H. Esquire," and conjectures that this may have been Robert Hooke (1635-1703), a member of the Royal Society and assistant of Robert Boyle, because it was under these initials that Hooke published nearly all his works between 1650 and 1670. He also mentions Joseph Glanvill's attempt in 1676 to complete the *New Atlantis*, as well as one by the Abbé Gil-Bern Raquet, a little known author of the 18th century. Then he makes reference to John Heydon's *Voyage to the Land of the Rosicrucians*, 1660, and quotes A. E. Waite to the effect that this is an unlimited plagiarism. To us, the very fact that Heydon virtually copies the *New Atlantis* with only trifling alterations, seems to point to an intimate connection between this work and Rosicrucianism, rather than to what would otherwise be almost incredible plagiarism.

We regret that space forbids our enlarging further upon Dr. Minkowski's interesting essay; but we welcome the emphasis which he lays upon the importance of the *New Atlantis*, and his high estimate of the great author.

B.G.T.

FRANCIS THE FIRST, unacknowledged King of Great Birtain and Ireland, known to the world as Sir Francis Bacon, Man of Mystery and Cipher. By ARTHUR BRADFORD CORNWALL, B.A., Yale University, C.P.A., University of the State of New York. Birmingham: Cornish Bros., Ltd., 39, New St. 362 pp., cloth, gilt, 21s.

It is well known that the anagrammatic art was practised considerably by some of the choicest spirits of the Elizabethan age, as Camden, and later, Isaac D'Israeli, have given ample testimony. But these amusing diversions were invariably confined to short and apposite sentences only, and were never to constitute a medium for serious or extensive communications to posterity. It is safe to assume that very lengthy anagrams (and most of the author's in the book under notice run into hundreds of letters),are inadmissible by the rules of the art for the simple reason that any lengthy text from which the anagram is to be drawn or invented provides too many loopholes and opportunities to select, in the very number of letters involved, almost any transposition of phrase that a lively imagination combined with a little mechanical ingenuity may be able to exercise.

Mr. Cornwall's book, which is beautifully printed, profuse with illustrations, and well written, furnishes a picturesque Elizabethan background to the ostensible purpose of giving colour to his numerous anagrams, which have been constructed out of the title-pages

and other parts of contemporary books and documents. Indeed, the main object of his book is apparently to corroborate the alleged cypher disclosures of his predecessors, Dr. Owen and Mrs. Gallup, in their "Word" and "Biliteral" decipherings respectively, concerning Francis Bacon's secret life and times. He does not profess to understand the *modus operandi* of these earlier decipherings, except in a general way, and accepts their authenticity without question. Such a *begging* of the question is fatal to his own conclusions, and is characteristically Stratfordian. You cannot prove assertion by assertion. Yet he sets out to convince his readers, with demonstrations of his own constructed anagrams, which tell us over and over again *ad nauseam* that Bacon was the lawful son of Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Leicester and ought to have been her successor to the throne. All this may be true, but the present effort does nothing to corroborate it.

Whilst the greater part of the book re-iterates the bald statements put forward by Dr. Owen and Mr. Gallup, it goes one better in sensational "discovery." Three or four of his anagrams connectedly refer to incidents in Bacon's life and death which have hitherto been a sealed book. He says that the title-page of Alciati's *Emblemata*, published abroad in 1621, contains an anagram of 727 letters which by transposition yield, among other familiar items, that

> "Sir G: V. intimidat'd parliament. I' rancour, i'inistice,i' errour, it accuses and indicts us, a victim o' rumour, o' crime, o' assassinatio' o' V Villiam S. James I., incriminat'd, banish's us from British dominions."

Surely, if such story were true we should have heard something about it before, since almost every hand was against Bacon at that time, by reason of his "fall." But the humour of this alleged revelation is manifest by its inconsistency when he comes to anagrammatize the first printed page of the *First Folio*—the verses "To the Reader." In that anagram Bacon is made to freely confess that he did assassinate the actor.

The next in order of sequence is an anagram from the title-page of the 1667 edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, purporting to be a Rosicrucian announcement of the death of Bacon in 1667, whilst living in "banishment" at Utrecht, in the Low Countries. Our enterprizing author, nothing daunted, pursues the quest with alacrity to find out by what *alias* Bacon had been living abroad. Why the author was induced to suppose that Bacon had adopted another accommodating alias in the circumstances we are not informed. In due course he finds the required information in another anagram, this time in the letters of the inscription on the ledger-stone near the base of the "Shakspeare" monument in Westminster Abbey. This "reveals" the alias as "Wm. Franklin." He industriously follows up the scent (unless the order was inverted) amongst the burial records at Utrecht and lo! there it is. He gives us a *facsimile* copy of the entry of "Willem Francklin" from the Register, who is described as "an old Englishman of North-st. leaving one adult son and nothing in property, buried in St. James's Church, free."

Here the constructive climax is reached. As a fairy-tale it is

ingenious, but the author's last word, uttered with an air of triumph and judicial infallibility, is, on this shewing, that "the identity of Francis Bacon with 'William Franklin' who died in Utrecht on a Shrove Tuesday of 1667 has been established!"

The fact that anagrams, in themselves, convey anything and therefore mean nothing is shewn in one example only from Mr. Cornwall's book.

The Ledger-Stone Inscription.

Near this spot | in the ancient chapel | of St.
Blaize | are interred | Nicholas Littlington |
Abbot of Westminster 1386 | Owen Tudor,
Monk of Westminster | Uncle of King Henry VII. |
William Benson | Last Abbot and First Dean |
of Westminster 1549.

Mr. Cornwall's "Solution."

"A Nation itself erects this monument in stone in Westminster Abbey,—not to W.S., but to F. Bacon, St. A., King of England, first son t' Elizabeth, wife o' Leicester, roial philosopher and writer, called in banishment, Wm. Franklin."

Our Printers' Devil's "Solution."

"Th' fine monumental stone is erect'd in Westminster Abbey, not to Mr. W. S., but to England's anonimous King—the first in direct line of Elizabeth, wife of R: Leicester, known to all as Fr. Bacon, St. Alban, philosopher and artist in wit."

The other connected anagrams from the *First Folio* and *Paradise Lost* have been similarly paraphrased, in which the alleged confession of assassination and his supposed death at Utrecht are entirely eliminated.

H.S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

BEN JONSON AND "MANES VERULAMIANI."

TO THE EDITORS OF "BACONIANA."

Sirs.—It is distinctly puzzling to account for the absence of Ben Jonson's name or initials to one of the Latin poems published in 1626 in Memory of Francis Bacon. Ben Jonson had in 1621 written a fine ode commemorating Bacon's sixtieth birthday held in great state at York House. During the last few years of Bacon's life he was at Gorhambury helping to translate some of Bacon's works into Latin. His protégé, the dramatist Thomas Randolph, contributed an exalted eulogy of Bacon to the "Manes Verulamiani." This elegy, the longest in the collection, is almost wholly concerned with Bacon's supreme accomplishments in the realms of Poetry. It starts by stating that the death of the Verulamian demi-god is the cause of sadness among the Muses. Further on, he suggests that Apollo withheld his healing hand from his rival because he feared that Bacon would become King of the Muses; that he taught the poetic arts to grow and flourish, &c.

One of the writers, signing himself "R.P." alludes to Bacon's skill as a dramatist in both comedy and tragedy. He declares that Bacon rescued Philosophy from the entanglements in which the Schoolmen had involved her, by walking in the shoes of Comedy, and later on the higher buskins of Tragedy. This allusion seems to have been inspired by Ben Jonson's panegyric "To the memory of my beloved, THE AUTHOR, Mr. William Shakespeare," which was prefixed to the First Folio in 1623:

> to heare thy *Buskin* tread,
> And shake a Stage: Or, when thy *Sockes* were on,
> Leave thee alone, for the comparison
> Of all that insolent Greece, or haughtie Rome
> Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come.

The word "Socks" is, of course, from the Latin "soccus" meaning the light shoe which was the characteristic of Comedy, as the high boot of tragedy was "cothurnus." The part of "R.P's" poem to which I refer is as follows:

> tali manu
> Lactata cristas extulit philosophia;
> Humique *soccis* reptantem *comicis*,
> . . . . . restauravit; hinc politius
> Surgit *cothurno celsiore*, &c.,

There is no clue to the identiy of "R.P." who knew so much and might have told us so much more. Was it, by any chance, a disguise concealing Ben Jonson?

R. L. EAGLE.

TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS IN SHAKESPEARE.

TO THE EDITORS OF "BACONIANA."

Dear Sirs,—To the last number of BACONIANA I was permitted to contribute an article on the above subject. I showed that, owing to the continuance, in modern editions of Shakespeare, of certain typographical errors in the original folio edition, certain passages do not make sense.

My attention has since been drawn to other misprints, but in respect of one of the alleged examples of error to which I referred, further study of it has convinced me that the error is mine, and I desire at once to acknowledge this. In the passage in Romeo and Juliet in which Juliet tells Lady Capulet she will not marry Paris I suggested that the last sentence "These are news indeed," should correctly have been attributed to Lady Capulet who, in that case would have gone on to say: "These are news indeed. Here comes your father; tell him so yourself." At first sight it certainly looks as though these words were intended to be put into the mouth of Lady Capulet, but, reading further back, I find that Lady Capulet remarks, "But now I'll tell thee joyful tidings girl," and although Juliet's final comment "These are news indeed" comes rather late, I think there can be no doubt that it refers thereto. In this particular, therefore, I was wrong, and I desire to confess it.

Having made the amende honorable in that matter, may I be permitted to draw attention, nevertheless, to a misprint to which Mr. R. L. Eagle refers in his masterly book "Bacon V. Shakspere" published some years ago by Cecil Palmer? He points out that in his "History of Henry VII" Bacon wrote "A little leaven of new distaste doth commonly sour the whole lump of former merits." This is exactly what "Shakespeare" conveys, or rather intended to convey in the following passage from Hamlet, Act 1, scene IV.:—

> So oft it chances 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 her origin.
>
> 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. . .
> 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.

Mr. Eagle comments on this as follows:—"I defy anybody to explain the last sentence as it is printed." . . . . What Shakespeare wrote, Mr. Eagle thinks, was

> . . . . . the dram of leaven
> Doth all the noble substance of 'em sour
> To his own scandal.

Whether or not Mr. Eagle's interpretation of what was written is correct, it turns a wholly meaningless termination of an otherwise beautiful passage into sense. Even if agreement cannot in all cases be reached as to the author's original wording, no reprint of Shakespeare should, I think be permitted which does not call attention to such cases of obvious misprinting.

Yours faithfully,
H. BRIDGEWATER.

"THE STATES OF EUROPE."

TO THE EDITORS OF "BACONIANA."

Dear Editors,—May I draw attention of readers of BACONIANA to the Tract by Francis Bacon, "The States of Europe?" Sped-

ding, his editor, doubts, and suggests that it may have been written by Anthony Bacon. Spedding is fond of altering facts to that which pleases him. Ball's edition in two volumes of Bacon's Works contains *The States of Europe* by Francis Bacon, about 1580, the date on which he returned abroad to continue his travels after the death of Sir Nicholas Bacon. This Tract may well represent the details of a tour undertaken at Queen Elizabeth's command. In the *Advancement of Learning*, Francis Bacon is careful to tell us that it was from his Sovereign's hand he left England for France under the care of her Leiger Ambassador, Sir Amyas Paulet. He also is careful to tell that Queen Elizabeth, whom we know from history was known as "the Arbitress of Nations," was in the habit of sending her young statesmen on travel through the States of Europe *incognito* at her own expense to gain experience. Francis Bacon had already in 1576-7, during his two years in France, done secret political work for her and Walsingham to their satisfaction. That he accomplished further political work for his Sovereign through the States of both Italy and Germany is more than probable and that he was a still more efficient "Intelligencer" than either Anthony Bacon or Sidney.

This valuable Tract under discussion rather proves this, as I think. Nothing that bears Bacon's name should be allowed to pass unnoticed or unstudied by Baconians; so again I say that every detail given there is important to those engaged in the work of unveiling his secret life and doings. I have found it intensely interesting to compare it with the Diary of Michel Eyquem de Montaigne in Perigord, and find each work dealing with Italy on strangely similar lines. Perhaps some of your readers can tell why that exceedingly interesting "Journal" of a tour in France, Germany, and Italy was allowed to remain in manuscript, hidden in a cypress chest on the estate named Montaigne for a hundred years after the death of Michel Eyquem, mayor of Bordeaux? What is the clue to the mystery?

Yours faithfully,

ALICIA A. LEITH.

"THE SHAKESPEARE PROBLEM RE-STATED."

Miss Greenwood has re-written and greatly condensed the late Sir George Greenwood's "The Shakespeare Problem Re-stated," which has been out of print for many years and is difficult to obtain. It was after reading this book that the late Cardinal Gasquet wrote to Sir George: "I had no idea that the case against the 'Stratford rustic' was so strong—or anything like so strong—as you have shown."

The cost of publishing the book would be about £100 for an edition of 1,000 copies. It would be published by the Athenæum Press at 6s. net. The book can only be published if sufficient support is forthcoming, either in the form of promises of £1 subscriptions, or by promises to buy copies.

If you are interested in furthering this cause, will you please send your promise to contribute, or to buy one or more copies, to:—

MISS GREENWOOD,
5, Kensington Gate,
W.8.

who will be most grateful for your support.

NOTES AND NOTICES.

By the courtesy of the *Herts. Advertiser and St. Albans Times* we reprint the excellent report of our Annual Dinner, which appeared in its issue of 6th March last.

At the Grand Hotel, Manchester, on 20th December last, Mr. Alfred Dodd gave an interesting paper on "Francis Bacon and the Brethren of the Rosicrosse," by the request of the Lancashire College of the S.R.I.A., when Wor: Celebrant H. J. K. Vaudrey presided over a good attendance.

It is with deep regret that we have to chronicle the deaths, since the last issue, of four of our old and enthusiastic members, Mr. S. B. Walter Gay (principal of the old-time publishing firm of Gay and Hancock, Ltd.), Mr. Henry Blackwell, of London, Mr. R. L. Heinig, of Torquay, and Mr. Alexander Hay, of Liverpool. We have thus lost valuable adherents to our Cause, for they all gave ungrudging assistance in their several ways to its furtherance. R.I.P.

The booklet entitled *The Uncommon Note-Book of Facts and Fancies*, compiled and published privately by Mr. W. A. Vaughan at 3s. net, has attracted considerable attention, and contains a good deal of research information useful to Baconians. The author has very generously presented 100 copies to the Society to help its funds, and suggests that it may be offered to our readers at 1s. per copy, as a special concession. So now is your chance.

We have further to gratefully acknowledge the gift to the Society by Mr. Vaughan of a valuable book, *Virgidemiarum*, and two framed prints of Francis Bacon and John Selden. "Was Shakspere the writer of *The Comedy of Errors*?" asks Mr. Vaughan, in one of his pithy notes. And follows on: "This play was first acted before Queen Elizabeth, 1576, the year Francis Bacon finished at Cambridge University," and Shakspere was then only 13 years old! I questioned Mr. Vaughan on his authority for this startling evidence of so early a date, and he replied as follows: "Among my MSS. I find notes referring to Historical papers, and Reports thereon, from the rich collection of Documents belonging to the Elizabethan period and bequeathed to the Inner Temple Library by Wm. Petyt, Keeper of Records in the Tower of London. Herein are the details of events respecting Queen Elizabeth's Entertainments, including the Play and its date, with other Ecclesiastical information."

In a recent weekly series of broadcasts by the B.B.C. under the title of "Young Ideas," Mr. Louis Mansfield entertained his hearers with a variety of cypher illustrations who were invited to decipher them before the respective solutions were disclosed in the following week. The type of these cyphers was naturally of the

most elementary kind, belonging to the early period of cypher communication, depending for solution on the well-known law of letter-frequency in ordinary composition. The letter *e* is the most frequently-appearing letter in English and the remaining letters sustain an approximately definite relation to it. To establish any symbol (or letter-substitute for the concealed one) is of necessity the first step, and its contiguous or related letters in observed letter-groups soon reveal the clues to other hidden letters. Words are gradually deduced in this way and any one word, once reasonably established, will assist towards the solving of other words, after the manner of the conventional "cross-word" puzzle practice. The only difference in this type of cypher and that employed in ancient Rome by Julius Cæsar is that the latter used D for A, E for B, etc., in a regular sequence, whereas the former mixes up the substitution letters indiscriminately. This only makes such a cypher a trifle more difficult to solve, for its fundamental weakness still remains. Up-to-date cyphers, by their more complicated construction, entirely eliminate any indication of the frequency of letters or of groups, and can be made quite insoluble, without a knowledge of their keys, but with which solution is both rapid and simple.

Apropos of the alleged typographical mistakes in the Shakespeare First Folio, here is another, which presents a curious arithmetical puzzle for our readers to work out. It is the wrong pagination of the final sheet of the Folio, which by regular sequence should have been 399, but is printed 993. It has always been assumed to be a printer's error, as the late Sir Sidney Lee once said, having naturally arisen by the mere inversion of the correct figures through the habit of printers reading type backwards. But surely such a habit would have prevented rather than have been responsible for the "error."

If we look into the matter a little more closely we may find yet another explanation. If you count up the numerical equivalents of the letters B, A, C, O, N, in their ordinary sequential order by the Elizabethan 24 letter alphabet, they total 33. Next, if you start a new or elaborated numerical-letter series beginning with 33 as A, and so on, they total 193. Finally, if you repeat this process and start a third numerical-letter series beginning with 193 as A, and so on, they total precisely 993! A secret Bacon signature.

It may be said that this result is merely fortuitous. If so, why should the author or printer have staged these figures, not merely in their inverted order as shewn but by turning 299 into 399? For in the first act and third scene of *Hamlet* the page-number that follows 156 is 257, and this "error" of addition to the pagination continues sequentially and practically without interruption to the end of the Folio, so that its final page-number falls out as 399 although printed as 993.

The *Observer* of April 19th printed a brief letter from Mr. G. C. E. Styles, of Warwick, which was headed "Unconscious Humour," and which well illustrates the truth of the adage that brevity is the soul of wit. "The following appears on a large hoarding at the

Memorial Theatre, Stratford-on-Avon: 'Much Ado About Nothing (Shakespeare's Birthday').''

Colonel George Fabyan, of the Riverbank Observatory at Geneva, Ills.: writes to me that he and his associates wish to express their ''appreciation of the kindly notice'' of Mrs. Gallup's passing in the last issue of BACONIANA. But it appears that my informant that she ''died blind and in poverty'' rather exaggerated her state of affairs at the end, for the Colonel states that ''during the last few years of Mrs. Gallup's life she was pensioned by the Riverbank Laboratories which enabled her to live comfortably, and she worked as far as her inclination and strength would permit. Towards the last she had more or less trouble with her eyes, but she was able to play solitaire and bridge until she died. Mrs. Gallup passed away in April, 1933, at the age of 87 years, and her body lies in a crypt at the Aurora Cemetery, about ten miles from Geneva, Illinois, beside the body of her sister, Kate E. Wells. Mrs. Gallup left over 10,000 dollars.''

On 23rd April last, the Clifton Arts Club devoted the evening to a debate, when our President opened on behalf of Francis Bacon, the opposer being Mr. C. M. Haines, M.A., President of the Dramatic Group of this Club, and a well known local Shakespearean scholar. As usual in such cases, time was all too short for an adequate presentation of the case; but it may be said that neither Mr. Haines nor other Stratfordians were able to counter the telling Baconian evidence adduced. Knowledge of the Shakespeare plays did not help them; for their knowledge of Bacon was scanty and often inaccurate. When a vote was taken, the result was 29 for the orthodox view and 12 for the Baconian theory; which we consider quite satisfactory in the circumstances. One cannot expect to convert people after a single debate. Such a result would have been impossible 25 years ago, and it shows clearly which way the wind is blowing. The *Bristol Observer* remarked that the case for Bacon was stated ''clearly, calmly and logically,'' but that ''it was rather difficult to follow all the arguments and somewhat sarcastic utterances of Mr. Haines, who defended the title.'' Such functions no doubt do good, but a lecture followed by plenty of time for questions and answers is always better than a formal debate.

The usual Annual Meeting of the Bacon Society was held at 47, Gordon Square, on March 5th, to receive the Report of the Council and Accounts for the year preceding, and to elect the Officers and Council for the present year. The Report and Accounts were duly adopted, and Mr. B. G. Theobald was re-elected as President; the Lady Sydenham of Combe, the Dowager Lady Boyle, Miss Alicia A. Leith, Mr. Harold Bayley, Mr. Horace Nickson, Dr. H. Spencer Lewis, and Mr. Frank Woodward,as Vice-Presidents; Mr. Howard Bridgewater, chairman of Council; Miss Mabel Sennett as vice-chair; Mr. Lewis Biddulph as Hon. Treasurer. The Council unanimously re-elected myself as Hon. Secretary, and also Mr. Percy Walters as the Society's Librarian. Mr. Eagle and Mr. Loosley were added to the Council.

"What's in a name?" corrected from "What? in a names" from *Romeo and Juliet*. The article on the name *Shakespeare* by Mr. C. L'Estrange Ewen in the present issue reveals much diligent research and will prove of considerable historical value. That *Shakespeare* was a late Tudor evolution from the earlier spellings shewn is not to be disputed, but it should be borne in mind that none of the Stratford actor's family ever used this final form of the author of the poems and plays. It is to be noted, however, that at least in one instance, the author varied the spelling on the title-page of *L.L.L.* of 1598 as by "W. Shakespere"—the second *a* being omitted. But this may have been a printer's error which escaped notice at the time, for it does not occur again, whereas *Shakespeare* becomes stereotyped after that date. As Mr. Ewen points out, *Shakespere* was a common form as early as the fourteenth century.

It is with great pleasure that I call attention to a very useful volume recently issued from the Oxford University Press at 8/6 net, entitled "Biographical Essays 1790-1890," by Sir Edward Boyle, Bt. As stated by the publishers, "these Essays in general deal either with unfamiliar reputations or with neglected aspects of familiar reputations. Their quiet but vivid style, their discreet judgments, re-creates their subjects—books or persons: Goethe and Chateaubriand, Paoli and Hawkins, the funeral pageant of Byron, the poetry and malice of Rogers." It is an outstanding feature of the book that all the descriptions of the various journeys or cities or homes are based on personal knowledge. No serious bibliophile can afford to miss this uncommon literary gem, written with so much charm and dignity.

H.S.