

# BACONIANA









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## THE USE OF CYPHER IN GREEK ANTIQUITY.

(Précis of Lecture given to the Bacon Society, Nov. 2nd, 1937.)

By PROFESSOR D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A., D.Litt.

**T**HE employment of certain letters of a poem for the purpose of conveying some information, such as a signature, a chronogram, or the like, can be traced back from modern times to fairly high antiquity; such cases usually illustrate the Gospel maxim about the difficulty of serving two masters with equal fidelity. The interests of one have to be sacrificed to those of the other. And it is the manifest text which has to be sacrificed to the secret message, since the latter can only be discovered by the observation of some rule or system to which the manifest text must be accommodated. Hence in such cases the words of the poem are apt to reveal the presence of cryptic matter by some violation of usage or poverty of sense. Illustrations were taken from Edgar Allan Poe's *Valentine*, in which the name of the lady to whom it is addressed, Frances Sargent Osgood, is to be collected from the first letter of the first line, the second of the second,

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and so on till the end; and in the acrostic with which a verse translator of the first Book of the Iliad into Latin, of about the year 100 A.D., signed his work; the Greek prologue of seven lines is reproduced in eight, of which the first letters furnish the name ITALICUS.

That Greek dramatists introduced cryptic signatures into their works is mentioned in two passages of the historian of philosophy, Diogenes Laertius. For this purpose according to him Epicharmus (near 500 B.C.) employed παραστιχίδια; the meaning of this is obscure, since the fairly numerous fragments which we possess of this dramatist's works throw no light on it. Something can be elicited from another story which Diogenes tells. This is that some time about 300 B.C. one Dionysius composed a tragedy which he put out in the name of Sophocles; Heraclides Ponticus, a disciple of Aristotle, quoted it as the work of Sophocles; Dionysius then claimed it as his own, pointing to the παροαστιχίς, "which was quite good"; Heraclides was sceptical, saying this might be accidental. The rejoinder of Dionysius was: *You shall find this too*

γέωων πίθηκος οὐχ ἀλίσκεται πάγη  
ἀλίσκεται μὲν, μετὰ χρόνον δ' ἀλίσκεται

*An old ape is not caught with a snare;  
He is caught, only he is caught after a time*

and in addition to this *Heraclides is illiterate and was not ashamed.*

Now these lines are evidently accommodated to some puzzle, since the Greek proverb is about a fox, which is proverbial for cunning, whereas an ape is proverbial for mimicry. And the second line, besides being of poor quality, has the words "after a time," unsuitable in the case of an old beast who would not have much time to be caught. Further the sentiment of the lines is quite different from that contained in the words which follow. It is clearly the writer's meaning that the sentiment "Heraclides is illiterate and was not ashamed" is somehow to be found in the two iambic lines. This can only be done by *anagrammatic rearrangement of the letters*, furnish-

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ing two "parasite lines," the correct interpretation of the word *parastichis*, thus:

ἀγράμματός τις Ἡοακλείδῃ Ποντικῷ εἶ  
ἄλοι' ἐλεγχθεὶς κάπαναισχυντῶν ἀκεῖ

*Heraclides Ponticus, you are an illiterate,  
plague on you, convicted; and mend matters by shameless-  
ness.*

In these lines every letter of the two in which the sentiment was to be found has been used, and nothing added or altered except the arrangement.

That this is not accidental is shown by the substitution of "ape" for "fox," and the poverty of the second line.

Since Heraclides was charged with illiteracy by the tragedian for not knowing where the signature of a tragedy was to be found, it was to be inferred that the signature was an anagram of the first two iambic lines; and a study of the surviving tragedies showed this to be the case. And this inference at once explained how it comes about that in numerous cases the opening lines of these tragedies are emended by the editors owing to faults of grammar, metre, or sense, which they display. One would suppose that however sleepy the scribe might be in the course of his work he would be wide awake at the commencement. We find an allusion to this in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes. He finds himself unable to construe the opening lines of the *Choephoroe* of Aeschylus; we are in the same case. Often when the meaning is clear, the sense leaves much to be desired.

That the anagrams went beyond the first iambic couplet was indicated by the signature of the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus, which is to be rendered

*You who by shifting somehow or other the letters of my words  
have inserted me SON OF EUPHORION ATHENIAN,*  
giving an imperfect sentence, and so implying that there is a verb to follow. This is to be found in the anagram furnished by the second iambic couplet, which turns out to be a chronogram

*Do you now pick out EIGHTY from picked words  
and make out the age of this tragedy.*

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We learn from other sources that Aeschylus was the son of Euphorion and that this tragedy was acted in the eightieth Olympiad.

Proceeding it was found that the third couplet is an expression of homage to the goddess of Athens, Athene, and that the fourth is a warning to look for no more anagrams. One of the neatest of these warnings is the anagram of the fourth couplet of the *Antigone* of Sophocles, which is to be rendered

*From the letters of the fourth couplet of a tragedy  
you would ascertain nothing; and they say so themselves if  
you  
will hear.*

The Attic tragedies are primarily and mainly Homeric miracle-plays, their purpose being to render the matter of the old Greek Bible, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer, vivid; it seemed likely then that the prologues to these works contained signatures (1) because the tragedians get so many of their ideas from Homer, (2) because we expect such works to begin and end with some mention of Apollo, (3) because both these prologues have been severely criticized, that of the *Iliad* in antiquity, that of the *Odyssey* in modern times, (4) because, as has been seen, the old translator Italicus introduced his signature as an acrostic, and translators do not ordinarily introduce an artifice unless their original contains something analogous, possibly too difficult for them to reproduce exactly. Now in ancient Greek inscriptions (of which one preserved in the Ashmolean Museum was displayed in a lantern slide) the writing sometimes resembles typescript, in that the letters form vertical columns as well as horizontal lines. To this method of writing the Homeric poems there seems to be an allusion in Pindar. Since the first column of the seven-line Prologue of the *Iliad* furnishes neither acrostic nor anagram, and as the tragedians employ a two-line unit, it was worth while seeing whether the first two vertical columns together gave an anagrammatic signature; this was as it seemed easily deciphered, and to be read in a way which could be rendered *BY HOMER POET*.



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Similar treatment of the ten-line prologue to the *Odyssey*, i.e., anagrammatic rearrangement of the first two vertical columns, gave the sense

*Thou, Apollo, art in a way the author; O king* implying that there was something to follow; the difficulty was to discover some rule which could guide the rearrangement. This was presently elicited from the fifth pair of vertical columns giving the anagram

κατθέντ' ἔννεπες σφαγήν

*Thou didst bid me having put aside slaughter*

the correctness of which could not be doubted, since an early introduction to the *Odyssey* notices the same difference between the two poems, i.e., that the *Iliad* is mainly about war, whereas the *Odyssey* is "ethical." But these words are clearly the middle of an iambic line, whence it followed that the rearrangement must satisfy three conditions (1) the sense must be suitable; (2) the grammar must be correct, and the Greek system of grammatical terminations, etc., is very elaborate; (3) the metre must be correct. Only *one* rearrangement can satisfy all three conditions, and of course no alteration, addition, or omission of letters is permissible.

The easiest of these puzzles to solve are the two colophons, in each case four hexameters which by rearrangement furnish five complete iambic lines, the anagram-unit being four vertical columns, of sixteen letters; for the sake of symmetry the final anagram is of sixteen letters, those of fewer coming before the last.

The following tables will explain the whole process and give the results obtained.

### Colophon of the *Iliad*.

1	2	3	4	5
ΧΕΥΑ	ΝΤΕΣ	ΔΕΤΟ	ΣΗΜΑ	ΠΑΛΙ
ΕΥΣΥ	ΝΑΓΕ	ΙΡΟΜ	ΕΝΟΙ	ΔΑΙΝ
ΔΩΜΑ	ΣΙΝΕ	ΝΠΡΙ	ΑΜΟΙ	ΟΔΙΟ
ΩΣΟΙ	ΓΑΜΦ	ΙΕΠΟ	ΝΤΑΦ	ΟΝΕΚ

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6	7	8	9
ΝΚΙΟ	ΝΑΥΤ	ΑΡΕΠ	ΕΙΤΑ
ΥΝΤΕ	ΡΙΚΤ	ΔΕΑΔ	ΑΙΤΑ
ΤΡΕΦ	ΕΟΣΒ	ΑΣΙ	ΔΗΟΣ
ΤΟΡΟ	ΣΙΠΠ	ΟΔΑ	ΜΟΙΟ

Rearrangement of Sixteen Letter Groups.

- 1 ΕΥΧΑ ΔΥ Ω ΜΟΥΣ ΑΙ Ω ΣΕ Γ
- 2 Γ ΕΣ ΤΙΣ ΑΝ ΕΝ Γ ΔΜΦ ΕΝ
- 3 ΕΡΔ ΕΜΟΙ ΤΟ ΠΡΙΝ ΠΟΙ
- 4 ΗΜΑ ΜΕΝ ΑΙΝΟΙΤΟ ΦΑΣ
- 5 ΚΑΙΝΟΝ Δ ΑΔΟΙ ΠΟΛΕΙ
- 6 ΤΟ ΝΤΝ ΕΡΚΤΟΡ ΤΕ ΦΟΙ
- 7 ΒΕ ΣΥ ΚΡΑΤΥΝ ΙΠΠΟΙΣ
- 8 ΠΟΔΑΣ ΑΡΕΑ Δ ΕΑ ΔΙ
- 9 Α ΤΟΙ ΟΛΟΑ ΜΗ ΤΑΣ ΙΕΙ

Colophon of the Iliad in Ordinary  
Greek Script.

εὐχὰ δὲ ὧ Μοῦσ' αἰ' ὧ σέ γ' ἔς τις ἂν  
 ἔν γ' ἀμφ' ἔν ἔρδ' Ἐμοὶ τὸ πρὶν ποίημα μὲν  
 αἰνοῖτο φὰς Καίνον δ' ἄδοι πόλει τὸ νῦν.  
 ἔρκτορ τε Φοῖβε σὺ κράτυν' ἵπποις πόδας  
 Ἄρεα δ' ἕα· διὰ τοῖ' ὀλοὰ μὴ τὰς ἴει.

Translation:

*Hear, O Muse, two prayers which would have been made to thee, each about one thing, by one who said: May my former poem be praised, but may the present new one please the city. And, worker Phoebus, do thou strengthen the horses' feet; but leave the War-god alone; do not drive those horses through such horrors.*

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## Colophon of the Odyssey.

1	2	3	4	5
ΩΣΦΑ	ΤΑΘΗ	ΝΑΙΗ	ΟΔΕΠ	ΕΙΘΕ
ΟΡΚΙ	ΑΔΑΤ	ΚΑΤΟ	ΠΣΘ	ΕΜΕΤ
ΠΑΛΛ	ΑΣΑΘ	ΗΝΑΙ	ΗΚΟΤ	ΡΗΔΙ
ΜΕΝΤ	ΟΡΙΕ	ΙΔΟΜ	ΕΝΗΗ	ΜΕΝΔ
6	7	8	9	10
ΤΟΧΑ	ΙΡΕΔ	ΕΘ		ΤΜΩΙ
ΑΜΦΟ	ΤΕΡΟ	ΙΣΙΝ	Ε	ΘΗΚΕ
ΟΣΑΙ	ΓΙΟ			ΧΟΙΟ
ΕΜΑΣ	ΗΔΕΚ	ΑΙΑ		ΤΔΗΝ

## Rearrangement of Groups.

- 1 ΣΜΙΚΡ ΑΦΕΤ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ
- 2 ΑΘΡΟΑ Τ ΑΤΔΗΣΑΙ ΘΕΑ
- 3 Ι Α ΚΑΜΟΝ ΑΟΙΔΗΝ ΗΙΤ
- 4 ΕΘΗΚ ΟΔΤΣΗ ΕΝΙ ΟΠΠΗ
- 5 Τ ΕΜΙΜΝ ΕΡΕΙΔΕ Δ Η ΘΕ
- 6 ΟΣ ΑΧΕΑ ΟΣ ΑΜΦΙ ΤΑΜ Ο
- 7 ΡΟΙΤΟ Κ ΕΡΓ ΕΙ Δ ΗΔΕ
- 8 ΑΙ ΘΕΑΙΣΙΝ
- 9 Ε
- 10 ΙΗ ΧΥΜΟΝ ΗΔΤ Κ Ω ΘΕΟΙ

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### Colophon of the Odyssey in Ordinary Greek Script.

σμίκρ' ἄφετ' Ἀπόλλων' ἄθροά τ' αὐδήσαι. θεᾶ  
ἃ κάμον, αἰοιδὴν ἧ τ' ἔθηκ' Ὀδυσῆ' ἐνι,  
ὄππη τ' ἔμιμν' (ἔρειδε δ' ἧ θεός) ἄχεα  
δο' ἀμφι τᾶμ' ὄροιστό κ' ἔργ'. εἰ δ' ἦδεαι,  
θεαῖσιν εἶη χυμὸν ἠδύ κ' ὦ θεοί.

### Translation.

*Suffer me to address to Apollo a few unspoken\* words.  
Thou seest what I have wrought, the lay wherein I have set  
Odysseus, and how he, supported by the goddess, endured  
troubles as many as might arise about my own works. And,  
if thou art pleased, that which is pleasing would belong to  
the goddesses and to you, ye gods.*

Perhaps there is a reminiscence of the last words in Horace's  
*Quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est.*

As has been seen, these rearrangements must satisfy three conditions. For the Greek forms and the metre reference may be given to standard works on these subjects; there appears to be nothing about either which requires any other defence. The suitability of the sense can be estimated without any knowledge of Greek. In the first place the expectation that the colophons would contain some reference to Phoebus Apollo is realized; in both he is addressed. The colophon of the Iliad promises two prayers; two follow and indeed in the grammatical mood which the language employs for prayers. Further, since the prayers are said to be about separate things, we expect the employment of the grammatical particles which in Greek are used for antithesis; and these are found to be employed. The chariot of the Muses is a commonplace of Greek poetry; the prayer that the next poem to be composed, should not, like the Iliad be about war was

\* Hesychius preserves the word ἄθροος "unspoken," distinct from ἀθρόος "collected."

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realized. Hence the meaning appears to be throughout appropriate for a colophon.

The colophon to the *Odyssey* is mainly a summary of its contents, which is indisputably correct; the ascription of its power to please, if any, to the gods and goddesses is, as has been seen, closely paralleled in the words of Horace, who indeed may have got the idea from this colophon. That the text of the poems has not been tampered with for the benefit of the anagrams is shown from the preceding tables.

Hence the supposition that this is all "accidental" and merely a product of the writer's misplaced ingenuity appears to be untenable. For in the whole process there is nothing arbitrary. Any one who has discovered the anagram unit, and the iambic metre, will decipher the lines in the same way.

From the colophon to the *Iliad* we learn—what might have been guessed—that the author before he received his commission to compose the Tale of Troy had acquired fame by some earlier work.

These results encourage one to decipher the Prefaces to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, where the anagram units are respectively of 14 and of 20 letters. On this occasion it will be sufficient to give the translation; for the Greek reference may be made to my work *The Homer of Aristotle*.

Doubtless the content of these Prefaces is rather alarming; for since in the Preface to the *Odyssey* the author states that he has composed each of the poems in twenty-four Books, and the employment of the anagram makes it certain that he *wrote* them, and indeed in the Ionic alphabet, the whole of that Homeric criticism which was started by F. A. Wolf and has led to a vast literature, may be regarded as of little value. This was indeed to be expected, since that criticism is based not on the statements of early Greek writers, like Pindar and Plato, but upon those of the Israelite Flavius Josephus, and the Roman orator Cicero! That Homer's patron must have been a prince who claimed descent from an Aeneas had been

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previously inferred from a prophecy in the Iliad. That his birthplace was Ios was known—alone, it would seem, among the Greeks—to Aristotle, who is likely to have learned it from the Preface to the Iliad.

The correctness of the decipherment of the two Prefaces is indicated by the agreement in their content. In both the same etymology of Apollo's name is employed: it is from a Greek verb meaning "to expel." In the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus this god is made to expel the fiends called Erinyes from his bounds; and to this operation the Preface to the Iliad alludes. In both the god is asked to enter him; a prayer which Dante takes rather too literally when he says

*O buon Apollo  
Entra nel petto mio e spira tue  
Si come quando Marsia traesti  
Della vagina delle membra sue.*

In both it is stated that since the powers of Strife had been duly celebrated, it was the turn of Athene, the goddess of wisdom.

In the Preface to the Iliad he gives the poem the appropriate name Achilleis, which Statius afterwards adopted for his; the two pyres which he promises to kindle are of course those of Patroclus and Hector, the work respectively, as he adds, of the Danai and "the children of Aeneas," i.e., the Trojans.

In the Preface to the Odyssey the opening clauses admit of easy illustration from classical poetry; the northern home to which the war-god is to be turned is of course Thrace, as we know from Homer himself. Being a god he must be sent away with all tokens of reverence.

If among the criticisms of these decipherments I had seen any objection deserving of consideration, it would be my duty to give it its proper value; I have however seen none to which any value would ordinarily be assigned. Further those whose quest is truth—and that I imagine to be the case with those whom I am addressing—are not concerned, like candidates for parliament and advocates, with winning votes; their sole concern is to see that their premises are correct and their inferences sound.

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## PREFACE TO THE ILIAD TRANSLATED.

*Into the voice of Homer, native of Ios, O gracious deity, who dost "expel" from thy bounds the ungracious fiends, enter, as you entered the laments of Orpheus; for him the waters stopped, and the earth kindled strange pyres. And I, the Achilleis, a gift to Troy, shall kindle two: the Danaï, I say, and thy children, O brave Aeneas, share the work between them: and if I have composed lays skilfully for the power of Strife, consider what tribute thou mayest take for the counsels of Athene.*

## PREFACE TO THE ODYSSEY TRANSLATED.

*Thou, Apollo, art in a way the author; O king, be very gracious; "expelling" the load of care which has entered, come, enter me thyself, and bear me aloft, not unaccustomed as I am to such journeys.*

*Thou dost bid me deposit Slaughter there whence it once arose and Strife: to turn the War-god off towards his Northern home, with sacrifices, prayers, and torches; and then rehearse cantos calculated to clear the sleepless mind, paying thy tribute of discourse, O patroness of Laertes' son, who didst fix the same number as New Ilion chose Homer to make her own lays, the meaning being a score and a quaternion. That scion of Aeneas whom I used to soothe when he held office used, Apollo, to urge me to take another Trojan theme.*

In the questions and discussion which followed, Mr. Henry Seymour said that Professor Margoliouth had satisfactorily demonstrated a very valuable historical precedent from the Ancient writers of the practice of cypher-writing amongst eminent authors of later periods. Dante, Columna, and a host of others had followed the example by inserting concealed communications, carrying some secret information, in the outer text of their works. In answer to a question whether the Professor had bestowed any attention, on the same lines, upon the confessedly obscure authorship of our National poet "Shakespeare" he replied that he had not, whereupon Mr. Seymour suggested that there were numerous indica-

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tions of anagrammatic and other cyphers being employed in the *First Folio* of 1623, and cited one instance only which he regarded as apposite. This was in the last rhymed couplet of the Epilogue to *The Tempest*.

“As you from crimes would pardon'd be,  
Let your indulgence set me free.”

This was easily converted into a simple anagram, to wit:

“Secret, yet under nom-de-plume of  
Francis, Lord Verulam. So God be wi' ye.”

The valedictory phrase at the end of the anagram was well known to be the Elizabethan form of our modern “So Goodbye,” of which it is a corruption. And, notwithstanding that *The Tempest* appears first in the Folio collection of plays, it is generally agreed that it was the last to be written, and indeed that this play was the author's literary testament. He also pointed out that the very *last word* of *The Tempest* was the word *free*, and that, according to Camden's description of occult meanings given to names, the name Francis meant *free*. And this last word in this play contained the neatest cryptic signature with which he had ever come across, and it appeared in the right place where it should as a Signature. For, if you counted the numeral equivalents of these four letters in their ordinary sequence in the Elizabethan alphabet of 24 letters (a method of concealment by Elizabethan authors pointed out by John Swan, in 1642) you would find they total 33, which is the equivalent of *Bacon*; whereas, when counted in the only other way, by the reverse sequence ( $z=1$ ,  $y=2$ , etc.) the total came to 67, which is the equivalent of *Francis*. The net result was that the simple word *free* not only stood for *Bacon*, but *Francis* as well, which made the solution complete.

F R E E

6 17 5 5=33=Bacon

F R E E

19 8 20 20=67=Francis



## “EVOLUTIONARY BIOGRAPHY.”

By H. KENDRA BAKER.

**I**T is doubtful if anyone has done more to entrench the Stratford Legend and to make it almost an article of faith than Sir Sidney Lee.

His book, “A Life of William Shakespeare,” has had an enormous influence on the public, and the fact that he was the author of the biography of Shakespeare in the D.N.B. and held a unique position as a great literary critic, makes it exceedingly difficult for anyone of lesser reputation to question or criticise his statements with any chance of being listened to.

But times have changed considerably since, in 1898, he produced his first edition of the “Life.” The Stratford legend, with the growth of education and enlightened criticism, shows definite signs of disintegration; the Baconian arguments have, literally, put to silence on many occasions the supporters of what was once the universally accepted view, but has now become rather a tottering tradition.

“Higher criticism” is not confined to biblical matters, and if traditions with unbroken records of 2,500 years and upwards can be attacked, it is not surprising that those with but 300 or less should not be immune.

In the spirit of the boy who whistles to keep up his courage, Sidney Lee may write:—

“The scantiness of contemporary records of Shakespeare’s career has been much exaggerated. An investigation extending over two centuries has brought together *a mass of detail* which far exceeds that accessible in the case of any other contemporary professional writer.”

But, however these comfortable words may have kept up the courage of himself and his followers, it is open to anyone who cares to take the trouble, to satisfy himself

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that the direct reverse is the fact; no professional writer, contemporary or otherwise, has ever left *less* records.

It has been well, and truly, said that all we really *know* of the Stratford man could be written on a half-sheet of note paper; and yet, to our amazement, we see this "Life" by Sidney Lee running into 720 pages!

"What can it be all about?" we ask. Well, it is but fair to say that a very large part of it consists of purely collateral and subsidiary matters; an immense amount of most valuable literary and textual criticism of the Works, reflecting a wide and intimate knowledge of the literature of the period, and of the origins and construction of the Plays. Here we have the author at his best—the enlightened literary critic.

But as a biographer he leaves much to be desired. It is perfectly obvious that he embarks upon his task with an unquestioning and unwavering faith in the identity of the Stratford man with the Author of this the greatest literature of all time; a faith capable, as Sir George Greenwood says, of removing mountains by swallowing them! Apparently, he either does not see, or does not allow himself to see, the "mountainous" anomalies that present themselves at every turn between this "untutored rustic" (as Carlyle described him) and the cultured scholar and genius which the true Author of the Works must necessarily have been.

That this contrast must have struck him is shown by what he writes concerning the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy:—

"The apparent contrast between the homeliness of Shakespeare's Stratford career and the breadth of observation and knowledge displayed in his literary work has evoked the fantastic theory that Shakespeare was not the author of the literature that passes under his name, and perverse attempts have been made to assign his works to his great contemporary Francis Bacon, the prose-writer, philosopher, and lawyer."

After dealing with the various phases of "this unintelligible theory" he concludes:

"The abundance of the contemporary evidence attest-

ing Shakespeare's responsibility for the works published under his name gives the Baconian theory no rational right to a hearing . . . Defective knowledge and illogical or casuistical argument alone render any other conclusion possible.”

In view, however, of the fact that, despite this “only possible conclusion”; despite also the “abundant contemporary evidence” for the tradition, there is a large, and ever-increasing, volume of opinion that rejects the Stratfordian tradition, one cannot but wonder whether the “defective knowledge,” the “illogical and casuistical argument” is all on one side!

A perusal of the biographical matter in Lec's book should cause any open-minded enquirer to entertain grave doubts as to this! For example, what are we to think of the “logicality” of the argument which purports to refute the charge of “ignorance” in the traditional author by showing that “Shakespeare in his writings openly acknowledged his acquaintance with the Latin and French languages, indeed, with many Latin poets of the school curriculum” (1898 ed. p. 15.) ?

Could any argument be more “illogical” or “casuistical?” It begs the whole question in dispute, and, so far from satisfying anybody that this “untutored rustic” actually possessed the requisite knowledge, it does but strengthen one's doubts of the identity of such a person with the true author.

Again, we are as “logically” informed that “Shakespeare's early literary work *proves* that while in the country he eagerly studied birds, flowers, and trees, and gained a detailed knowledge of horses and dogs. All his kinsfolk were farmers, and with them he doubtless as a youth practised many field sports.” (*ib.*: p. 26).

So far as Shaxper is concerned, it proves, of course, nothing of the kind: what it does prove is the true author's knowledge, and nothing else, just as in the former case.

We have a further specimen of this “logical” method on p. 32, wherein we are informed that “In view of his general quickness of apprehension, Shakespeare's accurate use of legal terms . . . may be attributable in part to his

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observation of the many legal processes in which his father was involved, and in part to early intercourse with members of the Inns of Court."

We have here three gratuitous assumptions:

1. his "general quickness of apprehension," of which not a tittle of evidence exists;
2. his "observation" of his father's legal processes for which again there is not a scintilla of evidence, and
3. his "intercourse" with members of the Inns of Court, with about as much, or as little, foundation.

Had Sir Sidney Lee been a lawyer, he certainly could not have been guilty of such an absurd observation. The abstruse legal knowledge found throughout the plays is not gained by any amount of "general quickness of apprehension," but by years of study and experience. As well expect a layman, be his "g. q. of a." ever so remarkable, to perform a surgical operation after reading Sir Bernard Spilsbury's evidence in criminal enquiries!

Utterly lacking in evidential value though these—and many similar statements—are, they are, nevertheless, quoted continually in support of the "universal knowledge" of the traditional author, and it is *we*—these poor "illogical and casuistical" Baconians—who are held up to ridicule for not accepting them as "evidence" of his "omniscience"!

But it is not so much with the faulty conclusions and deductions disclosed in this "Life" that we are here concerned, but rather with a method which may be described as "evolutionary biography," and which apparently has been made use of by way of "corroborative detail intended to give artistic verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative!"

This method, so favoured by Pooh-Bah of "*Mikado*" fame, consists for the most part in the judicious use, abuse, and disuse of the word "doubtless!"

Anyone who has even dipped into this "Life" cannot fail to have been struck by the author's addiction to this word. We find it in a quotation given above; indeed a great part of the biography is based on this useful adverb! For the present writer it has always had a peculiar fascina-

tion, akin to “that blessed word, Mesopotamia!” At length he was irresistibly drawn to make a closer study of its use, and the result has been both instructive and entertaining. It was obtained by collating the first edition of the “Life” (1898) with that of 1915 and comparing the passages in which this word “doubtless” occurs in the original with the corresponding passages in the later edition.

It is interesting to observe that the word occurs sixty-one times in the text (as distinguished from the Appendix) of the 1898 edition (hereinafter referred to as “A”).

It is not proposed to detail all the assertions and the assumptions based upon this word; it would occupy far too much space and is a study of itself. Nor is it proposed to deal with all the many synonyms of the word, such as “there is little doubt,” “in all probability,” “it is practically certain,” and the like. If all such were bracketed with “doubtless” and treated accordingly, our catalogue of assumptions would assume phenomenal proportions.

Interesting and instructive though they be, as indicating the tendency to raise pure *conjecture* to the level of *probability*, they must be studied by the individual reader to enable him adequately to estimate the biographical value of such assertions.

In many cases the word “doubtless,” is reproduced in the corresponding passages in B. With these we shall not concern ourselves, but in others it has been subjected to an evolutionary process designed to raise the earlier level of *probability* to that of *certainty*, or, at any rate, to a much higher degree of credibility. It is with these that we propose more particularly to deal.

For example, on p. 11 of A we find the following passage referring to John S. (father of the “miracle”).

“In 1575 he bought two houses in Stratford, one of them *doubtless* the alleged birthplace in Henley Street.”

Here we have the beginnings of this evolutionary process—conjecture raised to probability—by the use of the handy little adverb “doubtless.”

But when we turn to the corresponding passage in B

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we realise the potentialities not only of its *use* but of its *disuse*, for there we read:

"One of them the *traditional* birthplace in Henley Street."

"Doubtless" has disappeared, and "the alleged" has developed into "the traditional," though not a tittle of fresh evidence had come to light in the interval. Indeed, there was no evidence at any time—nothing but pure conjecture. Thus we get this legendary birthplace foisted on a credulous public as an established tradition, and we are "illogical and casuistical" if we question its genuineness. One wonders what sort of reception such "evidence" would be accorded in a Court of law!

Again on p. 37 A we are told that: "The Rose Theatre *was doubtless* the earliest scene of S's pronounced successes, alike as actor and dramatist."

Turning to p. 60 B, we read:

"The Rose Theatre *was* the first scene" &c. Exit "doubtless." Perish all doubts! And so another "fact" is added to "the abundant evidence" already existing!

Further specimens of the method in action are the following:

On p. 304 A we read, "The First Folio *was doubtless* printed in Jaggard's printing office near St. Dunstan's Church."

But on p. 556 B all uncertainty is removed by the confident assertion, "The First Folio *was* printed at the press in the Barbican which Jaggard had acquired . . ."

On p. 306 A, *re* the Prefatory matter to the First Folio, is the following passage:

"In both addresses the two actors made pretension to a larger responsibility for the enterprise than they really incurred, but their motives were *doubtless* irreproachable."

While on p. 558 B, we find, ". . . but their motives in solely identifying themselves with the venture *were* beyond reproach."

We can but attribute this exclusive piece of information to psychical contact with Heminge and Condell, for we know of no other source from which it could have been obtained!

Now, all the foregoing are instances of the evolutionary method in its highest form—“the discarded doubtless,” the conversion of conjecture into certainty—but there are others in which the method is seen in various transitional stages; the following are examples.

On p. 36 A we are told that the Company of which S. had become a member was “*doubtless performing at The Theatre*” (in Shoreditch).

On p. 57 B we are carried a little further in the evolutionary scheme:

“ ‘The Theatre’ , the playhouse in Shoreditch where S. is *credibly reported* to have gained his first experience of the stage.”

We are not favoured with particulars of these “credible reports,” neither are they known.

And so too, with the author of “an early version of *Hamlet*,”

p. 221 A. “*doubtless Thomas Kyd.*”

p. 357 B. “*may be safely identified with T.K.*”

Again, referring to Belleforest's “*Hystorie of Hamblet*” which appeared in 1608:

p. 222 A. “*S. doubtless read it in French.*”

p. 355 B. “the French collection of tales *was familiar to S.*”

How did he find that out between 1898 and 1915? Was it vouchsafed unto him in a vision? There is no evidence that Shaksper knew any French whatever; nothing but pure assumption.

Writing, too, of the “miracle's” classical accomplishments, we find on p. 75 A his addiction to *Ovid* asserted on no surer ground than that “*Venus and Adonis*” reflects an intimate acquaintance with that Poet's works. It is stated: “But the theme was *doubtless* first suggested to S. by a contemporary effort, Lodge's ‘*Scillaes Metamorphosis*.’ . . . There is *little doubt* that S. drew from Lodge some of his inspiration.”

On p. 143 B, we read, “S made its acquaintance in the brief version which figures in a work by *Ovid* . . . the *Metamorphoses*.” The “little doubt” has shared the fate of the “handy adverb.”

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On p. 65 A we read that owing to the prevalence of the plague the London theatres were closed "and S. doubtless travelled with his company in the country."

Turning to p. 128 B we find "the players travelled in the country . . . there is *small reason to question* that S. accompanied his colleagues on their long tour." But, none the less, there is no evidence of the fact.

From among numerous instances of the evolutionary process in action, by the use of expressions other than the "handy adverb," we cull the following:

On p. 17 A we read: "It is *possible* that S. went thither (Kenilworth) with his father to witness some of the open-air festivities."

At p. 25 B this develops into, "it is *reasonable to assume* that some of the spectators were from Stratford, and that they included the elder S. and his son."

Possibility converted into probability. A later edition might have informed us that "S. and his son were both present."

Here is another specimen of "augmented probability." p. 33 A "There is *every indication* that S. was speedily offered employment inside the playhouse," p. 46 B "*No doubt is permissible* that S. was offered—" &c.

Again p. 34 A "His intellectual capacity . . . was *probably* soon recognised and thenceforth his promotion was assured."

Pure conjecture raised to probability; now observe its further promotion to certainty! p. 46 B "*Evidence abounds* to show that his intellectual capacity . . . were soon recognised and that his promotion to more dignified employment was rapid."

Where did this mysterious "evidence" come from? Beyond his statement, none is known!

Or again:

p. 36 A "It is *fair to infer* that this was the Company that S. originally joined and adhered to through life."

It may be! But is it equally fair to assert, on p. 54 B. "*There is little doubt* that at an early period S. joined this Eminent Company of actors . . . ?"



Referring to the line “A Tyger’s heart wrapt in a Player’s hide” he says:—

p. 58 A “The tirade was *probably* inspired by an established author’s resentment at the energy of a young actor—the theatre’s factotum—in revising the dramatic work of his seniors.”

But when we refer to B. p. 116 we find probability again converted into certainty:—“The tirade *is* an explosion of resentment on the part of a disappointed senior dramatist.”

As, also, at p. 63 A. “Marlowe and he *apparently working* in partnership,” sheds its uncertainty in B and becomes (p. 122) “Marlowe and he *working* in partnership.”

So, too, all lingering doubts are dispelled as regards the origins of “*Twelfth Night*” from the two 16th century Italian plays “*Gl’Inganni*” and “*Gl’Ingannati*.”

At p. 210 A, he says, “It is *possible* that S. had recourse to the last,” but when we turn up the corresponding passage in B (p. 331) we are reassured to learn that “There is *no room for doubt* that . . .”

In fact Stratfordian biography seems to resemble port-wine; you only have to keep it long enough for it to develop quality!

It is but fair to say, however, that in some cases it seems to have developed symptoms of “bottle-sickness”! Occasionally we detect in his later edition indications that things are not quite as “doubtless” as he imagined.

For example:

On p. 37 A, speaking of the Globe Theatre, he says, “*doubtless* S. described it (rather than The Curtain) as ‘this wooden O’ in H.v.I.13,” while on p. 62 B we get “S. *would seem* to have written of the theatre as ‘this Cockpit; this wooden O’.”

Signs of caution, too, are detected in the following: p. 40 A. “Some of the references to travel in the Sonnets were *doubtless* reminiscences of early acting tours.”

This in B p. 82, becomes: “have been *reasonably interpreted* as: . . .”

Or here:

p. 42 A. “That S. joined any of these expeditions” (to

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foreign countries) "is highly improbable . . . his name appears in no extant list."

p. 85 B. "is improbable." Must not be too sure; was he not a "genius"!

And so too, on p. 15 A speaking of the "Signature" on the Aldine edition of Ovid's "*Metamorphoses*" (1502) "which experts have declared—not quite conclusively—to be a genuine autograph of the poet," he states that "the influence of Ovid, especially the '*Metamorphoses*' was apparent throughout his earliest literary work."

This "influence of Ovid" on an apparently unlettered rustic is, by the way, somewhat naively accounted for in these words:

"A boy with Shakespeare's exceptional alertness of intellect," (of which no evidence exists) "during whose schooldays a training in Latin classics lay within reach could hardly lack in future years all means of access to the literature of France and Italy."

Later on, at p. 253 A, he states with the utmost confidence that "Golding's rendering of Ovid *had been* one of S.'s best loved books in youth."

Biography made easy! How simple it all is—so long as no evidence is expected! But with years (possibly aided by Baconian "illogicalities") some doubts seem to have arisen in his mind as to this devotion to Ovid on the part of his hero; for, on p. 21 B, we find that this statement as to the "Signature" ("not quite conclusively" declared by experts to be genuine) has been modified so as to read, "on grounds that deserve attention"! They certainly do—and have received it—with disastrous results as regards their genuineness!

Dawning doubts, too, seem to be reflected in what he writes concerning the passage "Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds." (*Edward III*, ii, 1) reproduced in the Sonnets (xciv, l. 14).

On p. 72 A we find, "The line in the play was doubtless borrowed from a MS copy of the Sonnets," while the corresponding passage on p. 140 B reads—"Whether the dramatist borrowed from a MS copy of the Sonnets, or the

Sonneteer borrowed from the drama are questions which are easier to ask than to answer.”

We wish there had been more of this spirit of reserve in some of his assertions.

But, quite apart from the instances we have quoted of the evolutionary process and even of “dawning doubts,” the following extracts will show how cautious one should be in accepting statements appearing in any particular edition of this monumental—not to say imaginative—work; for variations and modifications, to say nothing of errors, abound.

The following is a good instance of the erroneous. On p. 43 A he says: “But the fact that he represents Valentine in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, as travelling from Verona to Milan by sea, and Prospero in *The Tempest* as embarking on a ship at the gates of Milan renders it almost impossible that he could have gathered his knowledge of Northern Italy from personal observation. He doubtless owed all to the verbal reports of travelled friends or to books, the contents of which he had a rare power of assimilating and vitalising.”

While admiring this “rare power of assimilating” so intuitively discovered in the “untutored rustic,” one feels constrained to point out that it could only have been by “personal observation” that this knowledge of Northern Italy could have been acquired by the true author, seeing that, as we now know, Upper Italy was in the 16th century liberally intersected with water ways affording the customary means of transit.

Thus, as Lee himself admits (p. 42 A) that “it is, in fact, unlikely that S. ever set foot on the continent of Europe in either a private or professional capacity,” his protégé would seem to be ruled-out on his own showing, quite apart from the numberless instances in the plays, of an intimate knowledge of the country that could only be gained by actual observation.

Then, again, there are inconsistencies. For example, p. 223 A. referring to the First Quarto of Hamlet.

“*In all probability* it was a piratical and carelessly transcribed copy of S.’s first draft of the play.”

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But at P. 362 B, he says:—

"*There is little doubt* that it was prepared from shorthand notes taken from the actors' lips during an early performance at the theatre."

Or this:—

p. 323 A. "The Folio text (Hamlet) *probably* came nearest to the original MS, but it, too, followed an acting copy which had been abbreviated somewhat *less* drastically than the 2nd Q. and in a different fashion."

p. 365 B. "The Folio text *clearly* followed an acting copy which had been abbreviated somewhat *more* drastically than—"

Another instance:—

p. 237 A (Measure for Measure). "There is *every* likelihood that S. also knew Cinthio's play, which, unlike his romance, was untranslated." (Promus and Cassandra).

p. 392 B. "There is a *bare* likelihood that S. also knew Cinthio's Italian play which was untranslated."

And yet another:—

p. 264 A. "*It is probable* that in 1611 he disposed of his shares in the Globe and Blackfrais theatres. He owned none at the date of his death."

P. 451 B. "There is *little doubt* that he retained his shares in both the Globe and Blackfriars theatres till his death."

(So what *is* one to believe?)

Again with reference to the source of the First Folio. P. 307 A. informs us that, "There is *no doubt* that the *whole* volume was printed from the acting versions—," while at p. 560 B, we find that "*most* of the pieces were printed from hitherto unprinted copies which had been made for theatrical uses."

Regarding the problem of whether Wm. Davenant was "son" or "godson" to "our poet," we read on p. 265 A that "it is *safer* to adopt the less compromising version which makes S. the godfather of the boy William instead of his father."

By 1915, this has developed into, (p. 452 B) "there is *little doubt* that G. was his godfather."

As a last instance of “corroborative detail”—of which confirmation has yet to be discovered—we quote his statement on p. 266 A:—

“On Sept. 9, 1608, the poet’s mother was buried in the parish Church.” (Place of death not stated, presumably because not known.) But by 1915 intuition has, apparently, come to his aid, and we are confidently informed at p. 462 B that “early in September, 1608, his mother (Mary Arden) died . . . *in the Birthplace at Henley Street* . . . she was buried in the Churchyard on Sept. 9.”

Now, it will be readily admitted, that the foregoing particulars, in no way comprehensive, but rather samples from bulk, must inevitably give rise to serious doubts as to the reliability of the work from which they are taken, more particularly as regards its biographical features.

Seeing that this book is generally regarded as, more or less, the standard work on the Stratfordian case, and is constantly quoted as such, does it not show how seriously the public has been misled in many most important particulars, and how very needful it is that the whole authorship question should be reconsidered *ab initio*?

It has long since ceased to be a purely literary question for experts only; it is one of evidence and common-sense, of which the intelligent man-in-the-street is as capable of estimating the value as so-called “literary critics.”

The function of the latter—and a very important and valuable function it is—is to dissect and analyse the works themselves and lay bare their sources, origins, construction, and production. In this they have been remarkably successful; but, so far from establishing the identity of the traditional author with the intellectual prodigy that the true author must have been, their efforts have but emphasised the irreconcilability of such a proposition. This fact should be realised by the public; and then, perhaps, they would demand evidence for mere assertion, and proved facts for assumptions.

One cannot help contrasting in this connection, the restrained language of so orthodox a Stratfordian as E. K. Chambers with Lee’s imaginative biographical asser-tions.

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In his "William Shakespeare, A Study, etc.," (Vol. i. p. 16) he writes:—

"Of William Shakespeare's own early days there is but little on record; and it is no part of my object to compete with those gifted writers who have drawn upon their acquaintance with Stratford and with the plays for the material of an imaginative reconstruction."

One feels one would rather be "illogical" with Chambers than "logical" with Lee!

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### THE "POET'S CORNER" IN STRATFORD.

The production of "Poet's Corner" at the Stratford Memorial Theatre on November 29th, 1937, was an event of the season. The comedy was written by Mrs. Muriel Grant, of Warwick. It was played by Roy Limbert's Malvern Company to a good house, which, strange to say, thoroughly enjoyed the joke, as well as the topical allusions to certain notabilities in the town. Ostensibly a story about the Ruritanian capital of Villamar, it reveals the terror of the local big-wigs, on the eve of the tercentenary celebrations of the birth of Ruritania's immortal bard, at the threat of a revelation that he never wrote the Plays at all. The *London Daily Mail* describes it as "an elaborate leg-pull," *The Birmingham Mail*: "What 'Poet's Corner' really is, without a doubt, is a metaphoric (and almost literal) thumbing of the nose at Stratford traditions, the Shakespeare cult, and the people who labour or have laboured to maintain world interest in the town."

Something like an uproar takes place as the various vendors of local relics, antique shop dealers, hotel keepers, and ginger-beer sellers, appeal to the Mayor of the town in their alarm, which set the audience in roars of laughter; but the Mayor and Corporation re-assured the alarmists to some extent by promising to keep the secret "at any rate until after the 23rd."

The *Birmingham Gazette* understands that the play is to be produced also in London.

## BACON'S BONDS.

By C. L'ESTRANGE EWEN.

**I**T will have been gathered from the paper *Francis Bacon and the Money-Lenders* (BACONIANA, January, 1934) that during the years 1590-1604 the borrower frequently bound himself and his heirs to repay a loan on a specific day, by sealing and delivering a writing obligatory in a penal sum conditioned for voidance upon performance. A deed of this nature provided better security than an unsealed acknowledgement, since the penal sums were usually twice the amount of the debt, and, in the case of the obligor dying, settlement had priority over simple contract debts. Details of such of these penal bonds as were forfeited by non-performance are now chiefly to be obtained from the records of debt actions in the Courts of Common Pleas (C.P.40) and King's Bench (K.B.27), the rolls of the pleadings from early date being extant.

Writings obligatory, of course, were also sealed for purposes other than settlement of debts, and perhaps the most discussed and photographed example of that type is the joint and several bond delivered in 1582 by Fulk Sandells and John Rychardson to indemnify grantors of the licence of the marriage of "William Shagspere and Anne Hathwey."

In distinction to the conditional or "double bond" was the single "bond," that is, according to one usage, a bill (English) or obligation (Latin) without condition and consideration. But these two terms seem to have been also applied in a different sense, a "single bond" being that sealed by one obligor only, a "double bond" by two or more, usually jointly and severally. In *The Merchant of Venice* Shylock says to Antonio: "Go with me to a notary, seal me there your single bond." That instrument certainly had a condition, if not a valid one, and so was a "double bond," although single in the sense of having but one obligor.

In order to become fully conversant with the new material relating to the Bacons' money transactions, which it is proposed to notice, it is necessary, owing to the conflicting use of the technical and popular terms, to examine briefly the various kinds of "bonds of record."

Of similar nature to the penal bond described above, but a yet sounder form of security was the "recognizance" acknowledged in Chancery, or before a justice of either Bench, and afterwards enrolled, since such an obligation of record is equivalent to a judgment, and in the case of non-appearance by the recognizer in court to show cause why the debt should not be levied upon his goods and chattels, execution followed. In this manner Francis Bacon bound himself to secure repayment of his loan from Thomas Offley, the leather-seller, in 1590, the earliest known example of his personal experience of these obligatory instruments. Such recognizances were in wide use, and enrolments are to be found in profusion on the Close Rolls (C54), sometimes, as in the above case, with the cognizee's signature acknowledging satisfaction.

In the days of Francis Bacon, more drastic than the recognizance acknowledged in Chancery was a Statute Merchant or Statute Staple (bonds so called from being in a form expressly provided in certain statutes), they being specially designed for the better security of merchants, and to provide them with a speedy means for the recovery of debts. In London the statute merchant was acknowledged before the Lord Mayor and one of the clerks of the Statutes Merchant, the statute staple before the Mayor and a Constable of the Staple, and both were enrolled.

The form of these two recognizances is almost identical, but the one is internally specifically styled *scriptum statuto mercatorio*, and mentions as penalty that provided in statutes passed at Acton Burnell and Westminster (11 Edw. 1 and 13 Edw. 1). The other cites the penalty enacted by the Statute of the Staple (27 Edw. III, st. ii, c.9). Reference to the acts shows that the penalties in each case were practically similar in so far that, if the debt were not paid, the acting officer was to cause the debtor to be imprisoned until he gave satisfaction. If he did not settle



or if the sheriff returned a *non est inventus*, writs issued either to deliver to the creditor lands and goods of the debtor by a reasonable extent (i.e., valuation) or to sell them.\*

Although the statute staple following the statute merchant was confined to certain persons and places, its benefits became extended beyond its primary design by the fiction of surmising a debt to have been contracted in the Staple. These bonds of record being widely adopted by others than merchants led to the modified statute of 23 Hen. VIII, c. 6 sanctioning their use by persons of all descriptions, and such instruments become known as "recognizances in the nature of a statute staple." The obligations thus regularised were acknowledged before one of the Chief Justices, or out of term before the Mayor of the Staple at Westminster and the Recorder of the City of London. Such a recognizance follows the wording prescribed for the statute staple, the penalty being of the like uncomfortable nature, and the defaulting debtor liable to instant imprisonment.

We find among the givers of these "statutes staple improper" as William West calls them (*Symbolography*, 1598) Francis Bacon from 1591 and Anthony Bacon from 1593. Possibly the author of *Hamlet* had such instruments in mind when he wrote: "His statutes, his recognizances, his fines, his double vouchers" (v, 1). That this form of security came into common use we may gather from Middleton (*The Family of Love*, 1608, i, 3): "There is not one gentlemen amongst twenty but his land be engaged in twenty statute staples."

With regard to extant records in the Public Record Office, from the Rolls Chapel is a collection of recognizances of statute staple commencing as early as 1 Hen. VIII (C152, 55-66) and so including both proper and "improper" obligations. In the same depository is a book said to be of forfeited recognizances of statute staple for the year 21 Hen. VIII (The Treasury of the Receipt of the

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\* Giles Jacob notices the distinction that action of debt lies upon a recognizance and upon a statute merchant, it being in the nature of a bond or obligation, but not upon a statute staple..

Exchequer, E36, 147). The numbers of noblemen, knights and gentlemen named therein support the view that the statute staple was then much misused, and the necessity for the act of Hen. VIII.

Formerly belonging to the Office of the Clerk of Recognizances, but which strayed far out of place into the Lord Chamberlain's department, is a series of what the P.R.O. has termed "recognizances on statutes merchant for the payment of debts," but which are clearly "recognizances in the nature of a statute staple" since many are made by men of rank, and they are acknowledged before a Chief Justice; moreover not all are to secure debts. For this series there are Recognizance Rolls (L.C.4, 1-183) and Entry Books of Recognizances (L.C.4, 187-206), and the latter approximately duplicate the rolls (commencing 24 Hen. VIII).

It will be seen that great possibility of confusion in terms exists. What Middleton, the dramatist, called "statute staples," the lawyer Jacob termed "recognizances," and the P.R.O. "statutes merchant," while they were often "staple bonds" or merely "statutes" as in *Hamlet*. While the exact nature of a recognizance may be determined by examination of the original, where one has nothing but the abbreviated book entries its precise character can often only be guessed at, and accuracy cannot always be assured. Moreover the book entries give no hint as to the nature of the defeasance, or conditions for voidance attached, underwritten, or endorsed.

For various proceedings in Chancery (i.e., the common law side) following upon forfeited recognizances in the nature of a statute staple there is a collection from the Rolls Chapel, commencing temp. Eliz. (C43, 5-14), and one from the Petty Bag Office, but few of material dates (C206, 1). Certificates, writs, and extents from 15 Eliz. are C152, 29-54, another lot from Jas. I being C228, 1-35. All these records have been examined, but it is mainly from the "Lord Chamberlain's rolls" and entries of recognizances in the nature of a statute staple that further evidence of the difficulties of the Bacon brothers is now obtained.

The earliest entry, dated 26 Nov., 34 Eliz. (1591) is to the effect that Francis Bacon of Grays Inn, armiger, before Sir Christopher Wray, Kt., acknowledged himself to owe to Richard Smyth, M.D., 500 *l.*, and undertook to pay the same by Christmas Day following (L.C.4, 192, 122b). The conditions for voidance are not given in entry books of recognizances, so we cannot learn to what extent the debtor had been obliged.

W. H. Dixon (*Personal History*, 47) gives a letter dated 19 Sept. 1593 from Francis Bacon to "Good Mr. Spencer" asking him, in lieu of an old bond of himself and his brother to cause a new one to be made for half a year more, which he would sign and seal, thus becoming the only debtor. It is unlikely that early payment was expected, and we do not know the amount of the accommodation, but Alderman Spenser is in a list of creditors satisfied by 1609 (*Transportata ex comentario veteris*: Spedding, xi, 89). At the same time Anthony must also have been negotiating with Spencer on his own account, for, as appears from an entry of recognizance in the nature of a statute staple, on 28 Nov., 36 Eliz. (1593) Anthony Bacon of "Gorram Burye," armiger, before Sir John Popham, Kt., bound himself to pay John Spencer, citizen and alderman of London, 6,000 *l.* on Christmas Day following (L.C.4, 192, 278b).

This Mr. Spencer was a wealthy merchant, shortly afterwards to be Lord Mayor, and not the money-lending miser that Dixon makes him. There is good reason to suppose that the sealing of the "statute" had no connection with a loan, but rather with the disposal of the Barley Estate, for which licence to alienate had been purchased on 2 Sept. 1593. Two days later the conveyance was executed, the consideration being 3,380 *l.* One of the recent acquisitions by the British Museum is a book comprising the survey of the estate carried out by John Norden in October and November 1563 for Sir John Spencer, Kt. (Add. MS 42508).

It has been shown (\*Jan. 1934, p. 244) that Francis

Bacon, on 13 Jan. 1596-7 borrowed 240 *l.* from Baptist Hicks, citizen and mercer of London, and it now appears that seven weeks earlier, Anthony, before Sir Edmund Anderson, Kt., by a recognizance in the nature of a statute staple had bound himself to pay the same gentleman, 800 *l.* on Christmas Day following (L.C.4, 193, 171b). Sir Baptist is also in the list of settled debtors, 1609. Afterwards Viscount Campden, Stow records that he became known for his "noble and charitable deeds."

Recognizances were used to secure performance of other undertakings besides the repayment of loans, and Francis Bacon's next appearance is probably as a trustee. On 18 Feb. 1596-7 William Cooke of St. Martin's in the Fields, armiger, before Sir Edmund Anderson, Kt., acknowledged himself to owe to Sir Henry Grey, Kt., Sir Henry Kylligrew, Kt., Francis Bacon, armiger, and Francis Ram, gentleman, 700 *l.* The obligation was discharged 2 Jas. (L.C.4, 193, 210). That it had been sealed in connection with some family business seems probable, Bacon being a kinsman of Cookes, Greys, and Kylligrews, and Francis Ram, the elder, gent., was a tenant of Sir Anthony Cooke of Gwydihall in Hornchurch, as appears by inquisition, 18 July, 39 Eliz. (C152, 38).

In 1598 both Anthony and Francis were much pressed, the latter in September experiencing two days in a sponging house. His creditor in this case, Giles Simpson, although the royal goldsmith, was not a rich man, or able to finance his transactions unaided, and from these entries we see that he used himself to borrow thousands of pounds at a time on the security of recognizances in the nature of a statute staple, and on occasion forfeited his bond. At this time Anthony seems to have been unable to help his brother, for not only was he alienating his lands, but on 25 Nov. 41 Eliz. (1598) before Sir John Popham, Kt., he bound himself to pay Edmund Bressye, citizen and haberdasher of London, 2,500 *l.* on 30 Nov. following (L.C.4, 194, 77).

In the list of creditors satisfied by 1609 appears Sir Thomas Challenor (father of the regicide of that name). On 17 May 1602 Francis Bacon of Grays Inn, armiger,

before Sir Edmund Anderson, Kt., had bound himself to pay Sir Thomas Challoner, Kt. of Steeple Claydon, Bucks., 700 *l.*, a week later. The recognizance becoming "date-broke" it was certified in Chancery, 6 June 1603 (L.C.4, 195, 97).

In the earlier paper (Jan. 1934, p. 253) it was stated that subsequent to Bacon's knighthood only one more debt action had been found. Additionally it now appears that in Trinity term, 2 Jas. (1604) in the King's Bench, Sir John Croftes, Kt., complained of Sir Francis Bacon, Kt. touching a debt of 500 *l.* acknowledged by writing obligatory and conditioned for payment of 300 *l.* Sir Francis pleaded settlement, but upon a jury being called he could not deny the action and Sir John "recovered" the amount claimed together with 4 *l.* damages. Afterwards Defendant sued out a writ of error, but the remainder of the record has been misplaced and lost (K.B. 27, 1385, m. 172d). Sir John is named in 1609 as having been partly satisfied. The bond in this case was of the type first above described.

Early in May 1606 Sir Francis Bacon married Alice Barnham, a step-daughter of Sir John Packington of Aylesbury, Bucks., and it may be surmised therefore that the next entry had nothing to do with debt, but rather with making the jointure, said by Dixon to be of 500 *l.* per annum.

On 3 June, 4 Jas. (1606) Sir Francis Bacon of Goram-bury, Kt., and Sir William Cooke of London, Kt., before Sir John Popham, Kt., acknowledged themselves to owe to Sir John Packington, Kt. of Aylesbury, Bucks., Sir Thomas Foster, Kt., serjeant-at-law, and Sir John Garrard, Kt., citizen and alderman of London, 4,000 *l.* to be paid on 24 June following (L.C.4. 196, f.80).

By the end of 1609 Sir Francis Bacon although yet owing several thousand pounds, had no difficulty in satisfying his creditors, but one further entry somewhat unexpectedly appears. On 18 July, 8 Jas. (1610) Sir Francis Bacon, Kt., and Sir William Cooke of Hynam, Glouc., before Sir Stephen Soame, Kt., mayor, etc. and Sir Henry Mountagu, Kt., Recorder, etc., acknowledged themselves

to owe to John Harris, citizen and goldsmith of London, 2,000 *l.* to be paid on 25 July following. Two contradictory statements next appear. This recognizance in the nature of a statute staple was certified in Chancery on 3 May, 19 Jas. (1621), and it was cancelled on 24 March, 9 Jas. (1610-11) (L.C.4, 197, 103). How it came to be certified in default ten years after it had been satisfied is not patent, and must be left as a problem.

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### “TIMON OF ATHENS” AND BACON.

It has been demonstrated in great detail that the tragedy of Bacon's fall provoked the morbid outburst we find in the character of Timon, and that Bacon's faithful steward, Sir Thomas Meautys, was the original of Timon's steward, Flavius. To the evidence already collected and published I would like to add the following peculiar anachronism in language. This occurs in Act IV. Sc. 3, and shows a thorough familiarity with Cambridge terms, and Timon talks as if he had graduated on the banks of the Cam:

Hadst thou like us from our first swath *proceeded*  
 The sweet *degrees* that this brief world affords . . .  
 Thy nature did *commence* in sufferance, time  
 Hath made thee hard in't.

A candidate for a degree at Cambridge was required to maintain a syllogistical dispute in the schools, which disputation was called "The Act." If he was successful and admitted to the full privileges of a graduate, he was said to "*commence*" in Arts or a Faculty, and the ceremony at which he was admitted was, and is, called at Cambridge, "the Commencement." If the candidate went to higher degree he was said to "*proceed*."

There appears to be a further allusion in word-play to the Cambridge "Commencement" in Henry IV, part II, Act IV Sc. 3:—

Learning is a mere board of gold kept by a devil, till sack *commences* it and sets it in *act* and use.

It is a well known fact to this day that school and university expressions continue to trip upon the tongue for the rest of one's life. "Shakespeare" was no exception and he betrayed his university experience as surely as he did his legal training. Only a university man would make King Lear complain to Regan that his other daughter did "scant" his "sizes." A "size" is an allowance to poor students at Cambridge of bread, beer, &c., and it was a punishment for such undergraduates to be "scanted of sizes."

R. L. EAGLE.

## SHAKESPEARE'S "IGNORANCE."

By RENNIE BARKER.

**O**F course Shakespeare of Stratford wrote the plays, says the orthodox school. We have only to look at the mistakes he made to realise this,—mistakes of place, time and customs. No educated man of the type of Francis Bacon would make these mistakes.

Why, the writer of the plays actually gives Bohemia a sea coast! Baconians have replied to this by pointing out that Bohemia had a sea coast at that time.

But what are we to say when, again and again, we find that history has been distorted, time turned topsy-turvy and customs misused? The mistakes "come not in single files but in battalions."

Few will deny, however, that "Shakespeare was a man familiar with the learning of his day, a student of philosophy and a purposive artist." So writes Lily Campbell whose masterly work "Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes" relates the study of philosophic thinking in Shakespeare's day, to the playwright's tragedies especially in regard to passion.

Here, then, is an apparent contradiction—a learned man showing a lamentable ignorance of well known events and facts.

In "King Lear" the king rules over Britain in early Celtic times about 3,000 years ago. Yet some scenes are set in a Norman castle in Gloucester and characters have titles of "duke" and "earl." Kent is put in the stocks (a Norman device); Edmund is an Italianate villain; Bedlam beggars, holy water and the French disease are Elizabethan actualities. Oswald, the steward, is certainly an alien in the world of Lear. Granville Barker in his B.B.C. National lecture, aptly sums him up as "just such an upstart cad as might be seen lounging at the moment on the theatre benches when the play was acted at the 'Globe.' "

## 36 Shakespeare's "Ignorance."

It is, indeed, a far cry from Celtic times to Shakespeare's day—a matter of about 2,600 years.

Contradictions of this kind are not, of course, confined to "King Lear." In Cæsar's Rome it is a clock that strikes the hour (striking clocks were not then invented). In "Troilus and Cressida" the Trojan, Hector, quotes Aristotle who had not yet graced Greece with his person and philosophy; and Troilus throws a glove to death as a challenge. Hats are worn in the Rome of "Coriolanus" and Claudius, King of Denmark, is guarded by Switzers, while those worthy craftsmen, Snug and Bottom, are to be found plying their craft in Athens of all places!\*

There are mistakes of a similar nature in the portrayal of Court life, mistakes which at first sight one would hardly expect to be made by Francis Bacon who was familiar with it. Of this aspect I will say more later.

Wherein lies the explanation? Was the writer of the plays really as ignorant as it would appear?

The solution is not far to seek.

"Shakespeare" was writing plays, not history; making plots, or rather adapting them for dramatic purposes. He was busy showing the development of character. In all these things he had to conform to a theatrical convention which had rigid limits. It is not so much a question of stating facts as of moulding them for the stage. Shakespeare does not handle time, place and customs directly; he translates them into theatre-realities, or should we not say, into theatre-illusions.

So cleverly does he do this that at times we do not know whether we are in the world of make-belief or real-belief.

Shakespeare, then, is not concerned with accuracy: the play's the thing not only to catch the conscience of the King but to attract and hold the attention of Elizabethan or Stuart audiences.

In creating this stage illusion, Shakespeare, as is the case of all great poets, was greatly assisted by his comprehensive use of poetry, through the medium of which not only was character developed and environment created, but the emotion sustained and the illusion held.

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\*See "A Companion to Shakespeare Studies," edited by H. Granville-Barker and G. B. Harrison, 1934.



In the plays we do not watch Britons or Elizabethans, but humanity; not England but the world. Paradoxical as it may seem, in the play, "King Lear," Shakespeare shows himself capable of applying a distinct historical method.

In those plays where kings, princes and nobles have their being, it is interesting to note that while the Court scenes are produced architecturally correct the dramatic exigencies demand a telescoping as it were.

Hamlet rightly has to pass through the king's chamber in order to reach his mother's closet, but no monarch of Tudor or Stuart times would be at his prayers unprotected as Claudius was. Shakespeare was accurate in the first case because he wishes Hamlet to see the King in his own chamber on his way to the Queen. He is inaccurate in the second case because he desires Hamlet to see Claudius alone. Thus are accuracy and inaccuracy joined together for dramatic purposes.

A study of the plays shows, therefore, that not only a learned man wrote them, but that he adapted and adjusted his great knowledge to his dramatic needs. Francis Bacon had just that kind of knowledge and the genius which we see reflected in the plays. Shakespeare, the man of Stratford, certainly lacked the requisite knowledge: possibly he had the genius, possibly not.

## SHAKESPEARE AND BACON.

By JAMES GIBSON.

NOT so long ago had anyone dared to doubt who the poet Shakespeare was, without a doubt with Dogberry he would have been written down an ass. And had anyone then even suggested that Bacon was the man, some Stratford Sir Oracle would have pronounced him an utter ignoramus or simply an idiot. Thus in his babbling introduction to the Leopold edition of Shakespeare's works first printed in 1877 with a false portrait and his name thus misspelt the founder of the New Shakspeare Society, F. J. Furnival, with his absurd orthographical eccentricities picked up this bibful of bile:—"The idea of Lord Bacon's having written Shakspeare's plays can be entertained only by folk who know nothing whatever of either writer or are crackt (*sic*) or who enjoy the paradox or joke. Poor Miss Delia Bacon, who started the notion(?), was no doubt then mad, as she was afterwards proved to be when shut up in an asylum. Lord Palmerston with his Irish humour naturally took to the theory, as he would have done to the suggestion that Benjamin Disraeli wrote the Gospel of St. John. I doubt whether any so idiotic suggestion as this authorship of Shakspeare's works by Bacon had ever been made before or will ever be made again. The tomfoolery of it is infinite." In a P.S. subsequently added to these words the writer indulged in a cheap and flippant sneer at Dr. Thomson, of Melbourne, whose "Renaissance Drama" and other writings on "History made Visible" have thrown more light from Bacon upon Shakespeare than has ever seemed to dawn on the minds of the literary pedants who, while neglecting weightier matters to be found in Bacon, have so much troubled themselves and others about rhymes and material tests, weak or feminine endings and such trifles and who have made or helped to make Stratford a sort of Mecca for pilgrims to visit by thousands from many lands.

But what do Furnival's words signify? Did he know for certain by reading her book, "The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespere unfolded," that Miss Bacon was really mad, when she wrote it? He said, "She was no doubt then mad." How then came Carlyle and Emerson to be interested in her and in her views, and what induced Nathaniel Hawthorne to write a preface to her book? To say that she was demented before as well as after her work was published by reputable firms in America and London is to cast a cruel and cowardly aspersion upon her. But let that pass. Furnival's words as quoted show a very uncanny acquaintance with fools, sufficient to qualify one to take command of another "Ship of Fools" like Barclay's. But were contemporaries of Bacon, such as Ben Jonson, George Herbert, Withers, Thomas Randolf and John Davies, of Hereford, indeed fools for associating him so plainly with Apollo and the Muses as their prime favourite? Was the poet Shelley also a fool, when he said, "Bacon was a poet" and was Lord Macaulay demented when he declared that "the poetic faculty was powerful in Bacon," and that his was "the most exquisitely constructed intellect that has ever been bestowed on any of the children of men." Lord Palmerston as an Irishman may have been inclined to joke at times, but never about St. John, and his humour alone cannot account for him rejoicing at the explosion of "the Shakespearean illusions." On the other hand, as a Quaker, John Bright could hardly have been jesting, when he said, "Any man who believes that the Stratford man wrote 'Hamlet' or 'Lear' is a fool." Hallam, Lord Houghton, Coleridge, Landon, Whittier, Mark Twain, Taine, Goethe, Prince Bismarck, and a host of Baconians, English, American, German and French Scholars, were these all "crackt," simply because Furnival chose to say they were? But descending from the "infinite" height of this tomfoolery are we now to conclude that only they are wise men and know what they are talking about who pin their faith concerning the authority of Shakespeare's works to a nondescript individual about whom, as Mark Twain has observed, nothing is known that is worth recording; whose life, as far as it is known, Emer-

son could not match with his verse; who apart from the plays and poems attributed to him has left no trace of himself in any letters or books; whose father and mother signed documents with a X presumably because they couldn't write even their names; whose own signatures attached to his last will and testament were obviously written by the lawyer or lawyer's clerk who drafted the will and whose daughter Judith signed her wedding certificate with a X and could not therefore have been trained even to copy "the sweet Roman hand," which the poet Shakespeare praises so highly in "Twelfth Night" and in the "Merchant of Venice."

Assuredly, here is something very astonishing, and no wonder is it that Charles Dickens should have exclaimed, "The life of Shakespeare is a fine mystery and I tremble every day lest something should turn up!" But why should lovers of Shakespeare tremble or wait any longer like Micawber for something to turn up about this mystery? Can Stratfordians and Baconians not unite their forces and try together to get to the bottom of it? Nothing worth knowing about it but only vexation of spirit is likely to be gained by them, if they only call one another names and thereby amuse the ignorant or cause them to wonder what all the pother is about. Both the poet Shakespeare and Bacon richly deserve to be carefully studied by all who sincerely desire to know the truth about them and about the literature, politics and religion of the times during which they lived, the most momentous perhaps in the history of our Empire, when plots were rife at home and abroad to prevent the growth of its power and prestige, to poison Elizabeth, its head in England, because she was a Protestant Queen and thus to scotch the Reformation of religion and the Renaissance or Revival of Learning. And surely the Coronation year of the present head of the Empire, King George VI and his Queen, another Elizabeth, is a fitting time to bring this controversy to an end, if that be possible. So be it.

## STRATFORDIAN IMPOSTURES.

### IV.

#### ANNE HATHAWAY'S COTTAGE.

**I**N Rowe's biography of Shakspeare published in the year 1709, we have the first mention of Anne. The biographer states that she was the daughter of one Hathaway, *said* to have been "a substantial yeoman in the neighbourhood of Stratford." Mr. Edwin Reed tells us that in a manuscript revision of this account, made nearly half-a-century later, by the Rev. Joseph Greene, master of the Stratford Grammar School, the following was interlineated: "probably of a place about a mile from thence, called Luddington, where a substantial family of that name and occupation still resides." Subsequently, Greene revised the account again, making it read a third time as follows: "probably at that place about half a mile from thence, called Shotteriche, where a creditable family of the name aforesaid till within these few years resided." He then points out the house where Anne was born, but not the one now recognized as her birthplace. Hence it appears that as late as 1770, one year after the great Garrick jubilee and two hundred and fourteen years after she was born, the maiden residence of Anne Hathaway was utterly unknown in Stratford. It was not till twenty-five years later still, in 1795, in Ireland's "Picturesque Views of the Warwickshire Avon" that the first reference to what is now called the 'Anne Hathaway's Cottage' appeared in print. No pretence existed that any tradition to that effect had come down to Ireland's time. Ireland says that he derived his information from one Mr. Harte, a chance acquaintance, who assumed to know, without the help of family records and in the absence of any local interest in the subject, who it was, in the outskirts of a small village

and in a neighbourhood where very few, if any, of the people could read or write, had occupied an ordinary thatched cottage two hundred and forty years or eight generations before.\*

The official designation of these premises as the home of Shakspeare's bride must therefore (to use the words of Halliwell-Phillipps) be 'one of those lamentable attempts that have been made to deceive the world in all that relates to the great dramatist.' He says further: 'There is unhappily no tradition indicating the birthplace of Shakspeare's Anne upon which the least reliance can be placed.'

Another authority, Mr. J. Skipsey's friend and confidant when the latter was custodian of the imaginary birthplace of Shakspeare in Henley Street, has this to say:—

'The thousands of visitors who have been to Anne Hathaway's cottage under the impression that it is a Shakspeare shrine have been, in my opinion, labouring under a delusion, and those who have chatted with Mrs. Baker under the impression that they were in touch with a representative of Shakspeare's wife's family have probably been labouring under another delusion greater still. All the nonsense about 'Anne Hathaway's bedroom,' 'Anne Hathaway's window,' from which she looked to see William coming across the fields, 'Anne Hathaway's corner in the main room,' where she and Shakspeare sat in their courting days, must be dismissed as the idlest of suppositions. There is not an iota of proof that Shakspeare ever entered the house. It is open to doubt that his wife was ever there.'

#### SHAKSPERE'S COAT OF ARMS.

The attempt of Shakspeare to procure a coat of arms for his father was caricatured in Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humor*, and a few facts in connection with the fraud may be welcome. As Ignatius Donnelly wrote many years

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\* How credulous Ireland was, appears from the fact that, having had an old farm-house pointed out to him by a notorious forger, Jordan, as the scene of Shakspeare's imprisonment after the alleged deer-stealing escapade, he inserted an engraving of it in his book. He was the father of the young Ireland who was a still more noted forger.

ago: "In my lecture before the Bacon Society I stated that William Shakspeare was not the kind of man to deserve the idolatrous worship of the intelligent people of England; and to prove this I referred, among other facts, to his attempt to obtain for his father a coat of arms by fraudulent representations that his father was of gentle blood; while, in fact, he was descended of a long line of peasants; and furthermore, that although no coat of arms was ever given to John Shakspeare, his descendants proceeded to use one."

In a letter to the *Standard*, Mr. E. A. Ebbelwhite traversed these statements, in which he asserted that a grant of coat armour had really been made to John Shakspeare. Donnelly replied by quoting an extract from J. O. Halliwell Phillipps' *Outlines*, which fully sustained his position. Mr. Ebbelwhite rejoined by denying the correctness of Mr. Halliwell Phillipps' conclusions and intimating that his own views were founded on later and more complete researches. Donnelly next wrote to Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, sending him a copy of the correspondence, and asked if any later researches had led him to change his views as to the conclusions stated in his book upon the points in controversy, and the following is a true copy of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps' reply:

"Dear Sir,—In reply to your first inquiry, there can, I presume, be no doubt that Garter and Clarencieux made a grant of coat of armour to Shakespeare's father in the year 1599 but the real question is whether the grant was ratified by their College. Its validity was certainly impugned by 'the rest of the heralds' in March, 1602, as appears from an explicit statement to that effect in MS Ashmole 846, now in the Bodleian Library, and the result of the dispute is nowhere recorded.

In reply to your second inquiry I have seen no reason whatever for altering, but, on the contrary, much to confirm, the opinion that Shakespeare's parents "were really descended from obscure country yeomen,"

As Dr. H. P. Dean wrote in *BACONIANA*, Dec. 1926, "The Shaksperes tried hard to get a coat of arms in 1596 and 1599: they endeavoured to impale their assumed arms with those of the influential Warwickshire Ardens and failed; then they resorted to the Cheshire Ardens and again failed.

The definite fact emerges that, although two or three drafts were drawn up, no actual grant of a coat-of-arms was

ever issued to the Shaksperes: at any rate, there is no record of such a grant. And, as Dr. Dean remarks, it is quite likely that the zealous Ralph Brooke, York Herald, prevented the arms being officially granted. In fact, this official "attacked Dethick and Camden for sanctioning the use by a man in a base rank of a bearing which only the spear differenced from the shield of ancient magnates, the Lords Manley." (*Barron.*)

That Francis Bacon was behind this may be inferred from his very intimate friend Camden being associated with the enterprise, and it may well be that William Shakspeare made a coat-of-arms, as well as the gift of New Place, a condition for his silence as to the authorship of the plays. We know that Bacon's aunt, Lady Ann Russell, was the former owner of New Place; that it was reserved for W.S. as early as 1597-8; and that he was discreetly out-of-the-way until 1603, when Queen Elizabeth (who had earlier threatened to put the author of *Richard II* to the rack) had gone the way of all flesh. Then W.S. took possession.

H.S.

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### A GIFT OF BOOKS.

We have to acknowledge, with many thanks, the gift to our Library by Miss Mapother of a fine edition of Pope's *Miscellanies* (1717). Also another valuable gift of books from Mr. W. Parker Brewis, namely, *Memoirs of Elizabeth, Her Court and Favorites*, by Sir Robert Naunton, *A Treatise on the Art of Decyphering and of writing Cypher* (1772), by Philip Thicknesse, *The Prince, or Maxims of State*, by Sir Walter Rawley, and presented to Prince Henry (1642), *A Vindication of the Lord Chancellor Bacon, from the Aspersions of Injustice, cast upon him by Mr. Wraynham, &c.* (1725), *A Collection of the Proceedings in the House of Commons against the Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban's, Lord Chancellor of England, for Corruption and Bribery, &c.*, John Marston's *Tragedies and Comedies*, London, 1633, *Verulamiana; or Opinions on Men, Manners, Literature, Politics and Theology*, By Francis Bacon (1803) a Latin edition, published at Amsterdam (1662), of Bacon's *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, a Latin edition of the *Sermones Fideles*, by Bacon (1644 edn.), a Latin edition of Bacon's *Scripta in Naturali et Universali Philosophia* published at Amsterdam, and *Die grösste Mystifikation in der Weltliteratur*, in German, by Felix Bruns (1926).



## SHAKESPEARE—THE WHY AND WHEREFORE OF HIS PLAYS.

**D**RUMMING in our ears, we hear the naughty words, "We have the Plays, what more do you want?" and the futile other word "A splendid week at Stratford-on-Avon. Please don't spoil the illusion." "What else do you want?" On the tip of our tongue is our answer. "Are you sure you have the Plays? I am not so sure. As to not wanting more, can we ever have enough?" Shake-spear, in the width and depth and breadth and height of the characters on his page, and his platform aims at what lies behind them and beyond.

Francis Bacon, in part of the introductory passage gives us an explanation of what he intends the 4th Part of his *Instauratio Magna* to be; it was comprised to types and models of living representation, to be seen, not with the mind only, but with the eyes, for the purpose of discovering and presenting truth. Bacon presents us with specimens of these types, "wrath, shame . . . love." This 4th Part is apparently lost, but is plainly represented by the Plays.

Until we find the kernel in this our nut, the plays, recognise it, make it ours, handle it, draw it from its shell, we most certainly have *not* got the Plays.

Look back and see, for Shake-spear must be read in the study as well as seen upon the stage. Also hearken carefully to every word spoken by the actors there. In the Play of *Hamlet* the questionable ghost makes its message clear—revenge. Hamlet, out of a too authoritative past, says, "Speak, I am bound to hear" "So art thou to revenge, when thou shalt hear," says the commanding, assertive ghost, while Hamlet says "Prompted to very revenge by Heaven and Hell" and the Players add "The croacking raven doth bellow for revenge."

Hamlet is the pupil, the student, the scholar of a new and quite different school of thought from that of pagan Denmark. He and his alter ego, Horatio, are freshly

come from Wittenberg, the Christian college of new thought practically 2000 years old. Hamlet could *not* disobey the Divine commands "Thou shalt not kill, but love thine enemy," for the sake of any ghostly command. Bacon says, "Certainly in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy, but in passing it over, he is superior; for it is a prince's part to pardon."\* "The powerful genius of this wonderful man," "the greatest man of that age," "of deep sagacity and extensive observation," as Henry Hallam has it, was essentially Christian. Hallam says, "Bacon's great work was the restoring and improving of human nature." "Had he not been Chancellor. . . he might have been the High Priest of Nature."

Do you call his Hamlet "weak, vacillating, and irresolute?" Nothing of the kind. He was bravery itself.

Abraham Cowley seems to make Francis Bacon distinctly the author of Hamlet by this. "Bacon . . . a mighty man, arose" and conquered authority. "Authority, which did a body boast, Though t'was but air condensed, and stalked about, Like some old giant's more gigantic ghost, He chased out of our sight. To graves from whence it rose, The conquered phantom fled."† A clear enough explanation why Hamlet condemns the entombed ghost, jocularly as "Boy, old mole," "Man without goodness," says Bacon, "is a busy, mischievous wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin," which of course a mole is. The learned philosopher who wrote Hamlet is Bacon. Authority was the chimera Bacon fought and conquered; no doubt about that.

Leaving the play of Hamlet and the Cause or causes to which it owed its authorship, see before us on the platform or open page another type or model of the errors or infirmities of time. A gaunt and aged Eastern with malignant eyes, in greasy gaberdine, bends on his stick, bleeding slowly, surely, his victims to death. Mark the word that falls from his cruel lips. The ominous, the mystic, the fatal word, we would sweep from every nation today. The word, the thing, the cause, and reason for which the

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\* Bacon *Essay of Revenge*.

† Cowley: *Dedicatory Ode*, *Hist. of Royal Society*. Bishop Sprat.

*Merchant of Venice* was conceived. "I'll hate him for he is a Christian." "I'll go in hate." "I can give no reason more than a lodged hate." "Hates any man the thing he would not kill?" Our author would have us realise that the mortal sin of hate, lying beneath and within the absorbing interest of the play of *The Merchant* is the cause and reason of it.

Turn the page, ring up the curtain on the plays of *Pericles* and *Antony and Cleopatra*. It is not alone the characters appearing before us in Antioch and ancient Egypt that our Shake-spear holds all-important. What matters to him is the insanity infecting the whole of human nature, plumbed by him to its depths. This must be cleansed by him, the good physician and medicine-man, "the Priest of All Souls, the Master of All Arts," as George Herbert, public Orator of Cambridge and saintly vicar of Bemerton calls him.

Antiochus and *Antony and Cleopatra* presents the greed of the world for self-love. Gower strikes a most important note in his First Chorus of the Play of *Pericles*. "What now ensues, to the judgment of your eye I give, My cause who best can justify." The kernel of the nut we have to crack is here discovered. The why and wherefore of the Plays is their causes—is their reasons. For instance, pure-minded Pericles unveils for us not merely his own goodness and another's guilt, but how "Murder's as near to lust as flame to smoke."\* Francis Bacon, in the exemplar of his projected plan or method of models and types of human nature mentions as examples certain virtues and errors common to it. Shame is one of these examples, so in the play of *Pericles* we get shame on its bad side in the person of vicious, murderous Antiochus. "For by his fall, my honour must keep high."†

Again in the play of *Antony and Cleopatra*, death and self-slaughter is the fatal end of two poor helpless self-lovers. Antony, once "the greatest prince of the world, the noblest," now dishonoured, dishonourable traitor Antony, "makes his will lord of his reason," as the author

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\* *Pericles*, Act 8, Sc. 1.

† *Ibid.*

## 48 Shakespeare—His Plays.

has it. So also his tawny-fronted gipsy siren, Cleopatra, crocodile of Egypt, serpent of old Nile, has Antony in her strong toils and swoons to death in self-murder. "Murders" as near to lust as flame to smoke."

Beware of the noxious weed, jealousy, teaches our mighty medicine man. Give it no quarter or it will overrun our garden and choke its balm of Gilead and every other herb of grace. What stronger example has our dramatist for us, of this world's green-eyed monster, than sweet Desdemona and the savagery of Othello. The Moor, Cain, Leontes, Judas, make their victim the gentle and meek, and kill the thing they thought to love.

"As to the stage," says Francis Bacon, "love is ever a matter of comedies and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much mischief, sometimes like a siren, sometimes like a fury."\* Here speaks the dramatist and good physician well versed in the infirmities of the flesh, ready with his cure. He, like Plato, knows that if we could only see good in its perfection we would long to make it ours, and so he presents us with the loveliest of his Plays *Romeo and Juliet*.

The first edition of the Italian translation of that Play has an interesting Foreword, wherein the editor discourses most warmly on the necessity of the writer having visited Italy in the springtime of his youth, and in "Noble ecstasy writing of its lovely skies and perfumed airs" while the innocence of Romeo's lovemaking—purity itself,—also makes a strong impression on this Italian editor.

There is another character in our Shakespeare's Repertory, that we would find it hard to do without, the Jester, the laughter-provoking lover,—mark the word, lover—Falstaff. Falstaff loves his fellowman, therefore he is beloved all the world over. Not citizen only of Eastcheap, or frequenter only of the Boar's Head Tavern; he is the lovable inmate of the world itself, his touch of nature makes the whole world kin.

The Why and the Wherefore of our great Shake-Spear have for answer clear enough, Logic and Rhetoric, Cause

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\* Bacon's Essay on *Love*.

and Reason, the prime movers, as we have seen, of his Immortal Plays.

It is only Francis Bacon, our Apollo\*, the good Physician, the man of transcendent genius and the greatest man of his age as Henry Hallam calls him: the man of depth and originality, greater than Cicero and Marcus Aurelius: the man who, like them, spent his hours of leisure—snatched from hours of trenchant labour,—in favourite Arts and Sciences.

It is only he who could, and did, write the Immortal Plays.

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## QUEEN ELIZABETH'S BABIES.

(Communicated.)

As far back as 1868, Messrs. Chapman and Hall published a "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh," by James Augustus St. John, which appears to show that the idea of Elizabeth being a "virgin queen" is another of the fairy-tales with which the orthodox historians have sought to foist upon a gullable public. On page 45, the author says,—"At the period of which we are speaking he (de Vere, Earl of Oxford) possessed two mysterious books, one called 'The Book of Babies,' the other 'The Book of Prophecies.' In the former the author had probably collected all the rumours that circulated throughout the realm, of Elizabeth's offspring by Leicester. The general belief appears to have been that when the Queen found herself *enceinte* she left London and went on a Progress into the country, when, secretly, in some remote castle she gave birth to her child, which was spirited away and brought up carefully under the eyes of Leicester's friends. What credit was to be given to such stories, de Vere, in all likelihood never considered, but in proportion to his hopes of success with the Queen and fears of failure,—withheld or exhibited the 'Book of Babies', merely to have seen which was looked upon as akin to treason."

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\* Manes Verulamiani Elegies on Bacon.

## BOOK NOTICE.

DIE STELLUNG DER ACADEMIA NATURAE CURIOSORUM IN DER GEISTESGESCHICHTE DES 17 JAHRHUNDERTS. By Dr. Helmut Minkowski of Berlin. Halle, 1937.

Dr. Minkowski continues his studies in different aspects of the Renaissance period; but in this Journal we can only refer to that which concerns Francis Bacon. He notes how Bacon belonged in a sense both to the old religious and scholastic world, and yet was a pioneer of the new movement to free natural science from outworn superstitions and antiquated methods; that he recognised how impossible it was for any one man to achieve the needful revolution of thought and method, and that the combined efforts of many like-minded thinkers would be required before substantial progress could be made. Further, that we have not yet realised how closely Bacon was associated not only with the foundation of the Royal Society in England but also with the establishment of the majority of similar institutions in Europe. We might perhaps differ somewhat from the writer's statement that the aims of the Rosicrucian Society were of a wholly different character from those of such societies, though of course it is true that their methods were not the same. Dr. Minkowski points out how Bacon has sometimes been regarded as only a second-rate reformer, because his own method remained scholastic; but he rightly comments that the true significance of Bacon's ideals and their practicability can only be grasped by a study of that remarkable work *The New Atlantis*; also, that the inner movements of Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry owed their form to this same work.

B. G. T.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

FRANCIS BACON'S DEATH.

TO THE EDITORS OF BACONIANA.

Sirs,—May I add a bit to that ever fascinating mystery concerning the death and burial of Francis Bacon, brought to mind by the article of the late Parker Woodward in the last issue of BACONIANA?

In the 1605 edition of "Familiar Letters" by James Howell, is one addressed to "Dr. Prichard" (page 8, sec. 4) in which we read, "My lord Chancellor Bacon is lately dead of a long languishing weakness; he died so poor, that he scarce left money to bury him, which tho he had a great Wit did argue no great Wisdom, it being one of the essential properties of a wise man to provide for the '*main chance*.'" (Quotation marks and italics mine.)

The entire letter is of interest, especially the following anecdote. "Once when the King had sent him (Bacon) a Stag, he sent up for the Underkeeper, and having drunk the King's health unto him in a great 'Silver-Guilt-Bowl,' he gave it him for his fee." Strangely reminiscent of the "Broade Silver Guilt Boll" Wm. Shaxper left to his daughter Judith!

None of the Letters in this edition (1605) is dated, but in the 1655 edition, in which this letter is repeated, we find it dated

"Jan. 6, 1645." The expression "lately dead" would seem to imply within, at most, a few months, which would carry the year back to 1640.

I should be glad of any comments from your readers.

Yours truly,

KATE H. PRESCOTT.

#### TO THE EDITORS OF BACONIANA.

Dear Sirs,—In our Society's unique journal, there appear, frequently, statements and questions referring to Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry, and Francis Bacon's *membership* therewith; but there is no direct evidence of his initiation into either of the above Secret Societies, although his writings certainly contain erudite matters showing that he knew something of the Arcana of their Mysteries, as anciently described.

I have taken trouble to search for *facts* to satisfy these interesting problems and I hope that my *notes* as fugitive pieces will be acceptable by your subscribers.

Throughout the immense range of literature bearing on Francis Bacon's Rosicrucian, or Masonic Brotherhood, there are *guesses* and *allusions*, ad infinitum, and it is advisable for your contributors, always, to give the authors and pages to support their statements.

Personal enquiries to my masonic friends, who are past-masters of the history of Freemasonry and knowledge of Ancient Landmarks elicit the substantial replies that the Craft have no knowledge that Francis Bacon was a Mason, and that masonic tradition is silent concerning him as the introducer and founder of any Lodge.

In the "Shakespeare Myth" by Walter Ellis, page 5, I read that Bacon's own Lodge was named "The Philadelphians"; but, Freke Gould's "History of Freemasonry," vol. III p. 142, states that the Philadelphians Lodge was founded, 1780, at Narbonne, about 154 years after Bacon's decease. Moreover throughout Gould's reliable "History" there is nothing to show that Bacon had any connection with Freemasonry, at any time.

I now come to "English Freemasonry in its Period of Transition, 1600-1700," in the July, 1937 issue of BACONIANA, as a review by R. L. Eagle, who enquires whether any Baconian has come across a copy of Michael Maier's "Themis Aurea," a book not available except to the Brethren; and all copies may have been destroyed: page 311. There are copies available now, in both the Bodleian and British Museum Libraries, of Michael Maier's "Themis Aurea," Frankfurt, 1618; and a translation of it, 1656, dedicated to Elias Ashmole.

Maier, a physician, denied that R. C. meant either ros, rosa, or crux, cross. He was devoted to the "Cabala," possessed the secret of the Philosopher's Stone and had the *Elixir of Life*; but, he died at Magdeburg, 1622! Akin to *Alchemy*; putting gold into a pot to make poverty!!

Permit me to make this letter an opportunity to thank C. L'Estrange Ewen for his information in BACONIANA, July issue, respecting Francis Bacon's birthplace at Redgrave Hall, Suffolk, because time and thought are freely given by your correspondents.

Yours truly,

W. A. VAUGHAN.

## NOTES AND NOTICES.

*Erratum.*—On page 358, line 9 of the last issue, read *Composita* for *Compositur*, a fault which escaped notice in the printing.

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The Bacon Society's Annual Birthday Commemoration will take place at the Langham Hotel, Portland Place, W, on Tuesday, January 25th at 7 for 7-30 p.m. Owing to the rising prices of commodities, the price of tickets (inclusive of gratuities to waiters) will be 8/6 each. We trust that members and friends in town will turn up in good numbers as usual. Apply to the Hon. Sec., 544, Caledonian Road, N.7, with remittances, as early as possible.

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The sad death of the late Dean of Westminster has arrested, for a time, our efforts to induce the proper authorities to give consent for the opening of Spenser's tomb in Westminster Abbey, as referred to in our last number.

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On Thursday, Dec. 2nd last, the President lectured on Gilbert Slater's book, "The Seven Shakespeares," which discussed the possible parts played by Bacon, Marlowe, Mannors, De Vere, Raleigh, Stanley, and the Countess of Pembroke, in writing the plays of "Shakespeare." Mr. Bridgewater strongly held that the "group theory" of authorship was utterly silly, and said it was easy to see that Gilbert Slater had been "inspired" by the Oxfordian protagonists. Mr. Seymour said there was one or more "possible" authors of which Mr. Slater had probably not heard. One was the theory of the Rev. Surtees that Sir Anthony Sherley was the one and only author of the plays, and the others were a group of Jesuits in England, cited by Harold Johnson in an interpleader petition during the trial of Selig *versus* Fabyan in the Circuit Court of Cook County, Illinois, U.S.A. There are red herrings in plenty.

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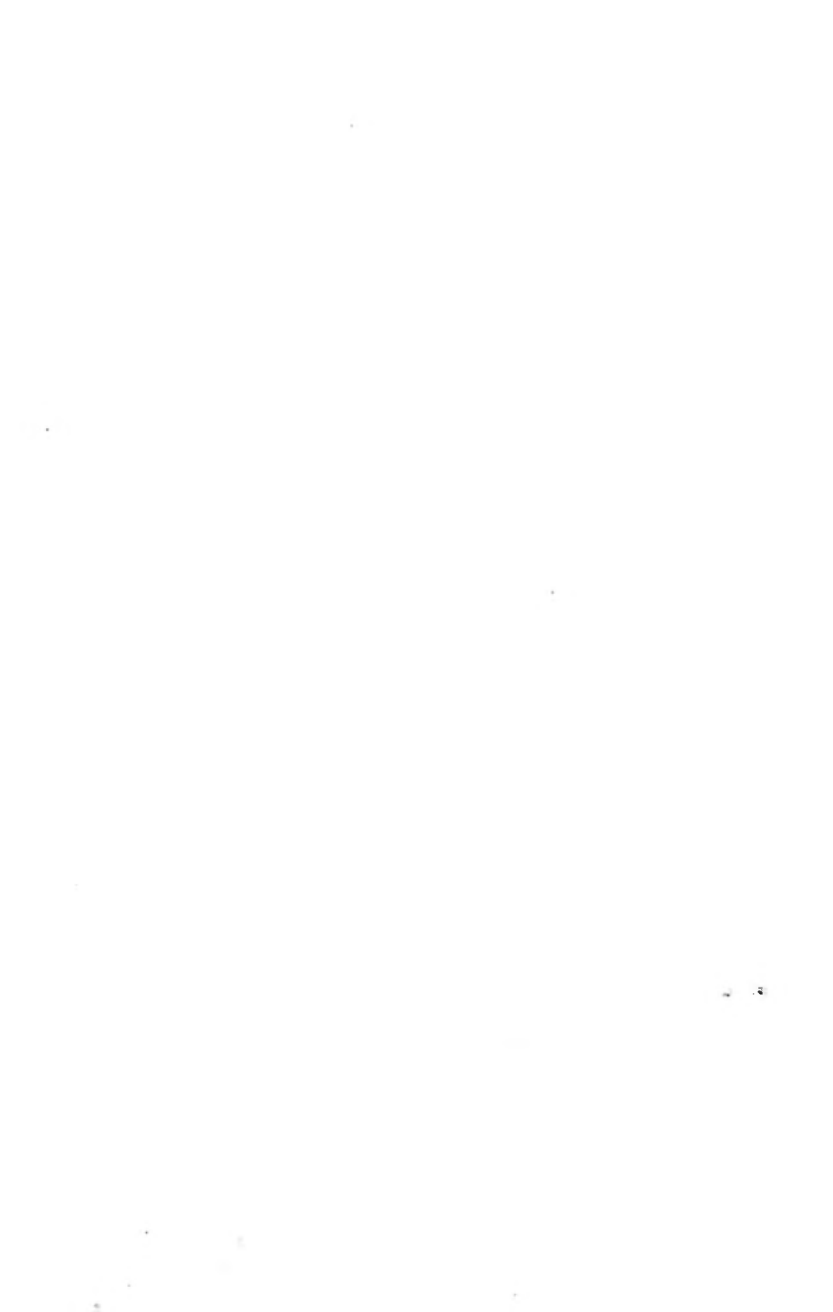
The lecture in Prince Henry's Room on Jan. 6th, will be given by Mrs. Mabel Sennett on Sir Dunbar Plunket Barton's book, "Links between Ireland and Shakespeare." The President will also give a lecture at the Kingsway Hall (John O'London's Circle) on Feb. 26th with the title, "Shakespeare the Mask: Bacon the Man."

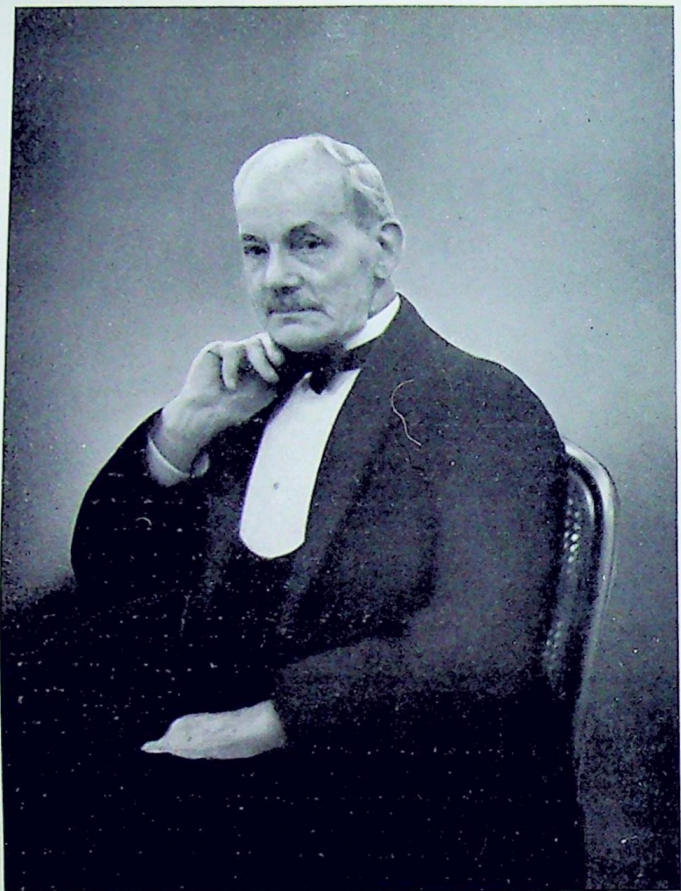
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On account of the pressure on space in the present number it will not be possible to deal with Mr. W. A. Vaughan's question in "Correspondence," whether there is any "direct evidence" that Francis Bacon was connected with Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry. It is not surprising that he has failed to get any information from ordinary Masonic Sources. They are not out to give their secrets away. But Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke long ago positively confirmed that "Francis Bacon (so-called) founded Modern Speculative Masonry."

H.S.







HENRY SEYMOUR.

# BACONIANA

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*Edited by Bertram G. Theobald and Francis E. C. Habgood, and published for the Bacon Society (Incorporated) by Wadsworth & Co., The Rydal Press, Keighley.*

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## EDITORIAL.

The death of Mr. Henry Seymour has resulted in a change in the editorship of BACONIANA. Mr. B. G. Theobald and Mr. F. E. C. Habgood have been appointed its joint editors by the Council. The editorial policy will remain unchanged. This is, the encouragement of the study of the works of Francis Bacon as philosopher, statesman, poet, and dramatist: his genius, character, and life: his personal influence upon his own time and that of his work upon to-day. Such influence the Society believes is, though three centuries old, as modern as the hour.

The editors desire to increase the circulation of BACONIANA and, with that object in view, are making arrangements for the inclusion of articles appealing to all those who, although they may not be acquainted with the Baconian case, are generally interested in the life and literature of Bacon's time. Articles involving original research and dealing with matters of more particular interest to the advanced student will also, of course, be included: these will be contributed by specialists in their particular subjects from time to time.

Contributions relating to any aspect of the Society's objects are invited and particularly reports of any matter relating thereto; the editors alone cannot hope to acquaint themselves with every item of interest to members of the Society reported in the Press or occurring from day to day.

The editors will also be grateful for suggestions for the improvement of BACONIANA with the object of extending its circulation and increasing its interest, and such will receive their careful consideration.

Lectures upon the work and objects of the Society can be arranged in London and the home counties, and if possible farther afield, if readers will acquaint the secretary with opportunities for these.

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### THE SOCIETY'S LIBRARY.

As the early issues of our journal are becoming increasingly scarce, we should be very glad if any members possessing copies which they can spare would be good enough to forward these to the Hon. Librarian, Mr. Percy Walters.

It is now almost impossible to make up complete sets, though this might still be done with the co-operation of our readers. The following numbers are especially needed:

Bacon Society Journal: Nos. 1, 8, 10, 11, 12.

BACONIANA: Nos. 1, 2.

BACONIANA ("New Series"): Nos. 1 to 22.

All issued prior to 1900.

The Librarian would be especially grateful for any copies of No. 2, April 1903, of which the Society has none remaining.

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Many Baconians have expressed the wish that Canonbury Tower, Canonbury Square, N.1, should be more extensively used, and with this object in view, it has now been arranged that the Society's rooms will be open from 6 till 9 p.m. on the THIRD THURSDAY IN EVERY MONTH, when members and their friends can freely discuss among themselves matters of interest, and inspect the library.

#### HOW TO GET THERE:

By car to Canonbury Square.

By Underground to Highbury and Islington Station.

By Bus No. 30 to Highbury Station.

By Buses Nos. 38, 38a, 67, 73, to corner of Canonbury Road and Essex Road, which is quite close to Canonbury Square.

By Bus No. 19 to corner of Canonbury Lane.

## OBITUARY.

Henry Seymour—aet: 78.

IT is with deep regret that we have to record the passing of our Hon. Secretary, Mr. Henry Seymour, on the 3rd February 1938 at the age of seventy-eight. The funeral took place on the 8th February at Finchley Cemetery and this was attended by members of the Council of the Bacon Society, who on behalf of all its members sent a wreath in token of his long and faithful service to them.

Mr. Seymour was a man of vigorous intellect, wide sympathies and varied activities. In his earlier days his energy found expression in social reform movements and in these he was associated with Charles Bradlaugh, Bernard Shaw and the original members of the Fabian Society, gaining wide experience in journalism, political life and commerce.

In business he was one of the pioneers of the gramophone industry, acting as the editor of the two principal Trade Journals *The Talking Machine* and *Sound Wave*. He was the author of a complete record of the Industry entitled "The Reproduction of Sound" which is acknowledged as the standard work on the subject.

Aviation was another of his interests: some fifty years ago he wrote "The Conquest of the Air" a book which attracted considerable attention at a time when people were very much less air-minded than they are to-day.

But it is of course as a member of the Bacon Society for more than twenty years that Mr. Seymour's work was most familiar to readers of *BACONIANA*. As has been said he acted as the Society's Hon. Secretary and was the Chief Editor of this journal. He contributed regularly to it under his own name articles relating to practically every aspect of the Society's work. He was responsible too for by far the greater part of the unsigned articles,

Notes and Notices, Reviews, etc. All showed his wide knowledge of his subject and ability to present it to readers in clear and attractive form. A great mass of correspondence from many parts of the world passed through his hands and his readiness to help enquirers, patient research and enlightening criticism will not be readily forgotten by members of the Society.

He was a master of the difficult and recondite subject of cryptography in its many branches. He was one of the few who made themselves really familiar with the Biliteral Cipher which Francis Bacon described in his "De Augmentis" 1623 and was one of the most doughty champions of the claims of Dr. O. Owen and Mrs. Gallup to have discovered such a cipher in the other works of Bacon and his "masks."

It may be said that in some respects Mr. Seymour was more iconoclast than reformer. His heterodox opinions, always fearlessly expressed, sometimes perhaps overstated, inevitably brought him into conflict with others: he hit hard but was as ready to receive as to give blows in the rough and tumble of controversy. He had an intense hatred of sham in whatever guise and was sincerity itself. If ever man meant what he said Mr. Seymour did. His energy and industry were unwearied to the end and his familiar personality will be greatly missed among Baconians, not only in England, but in many parts of the world.

## BACON'S VINDICATION.

By H. KENDRA BAKER.

**I**T is generally supposed that Spedding's "Evenings with a Reviewer" constitutes a "Vindication" of Francis Bacon's character for rectitude; but as a "Vindication" it leaves much to be desired.

So far as the "bribery" charges are concerned Spedding's conclusions are little more than an "Excuse for his guilt"; they cannot be regarded as "proof of his innocence."

Those who are concerned to show that Francis Bacon was a man of "clean hands and a clean heart" must beware lest in leaning upon Spedding they do but find him a broken reed.

It is to William Hepworth Dixon that the manifestation of Francis Bacon's complete innocence is due, and Baconians owe to him a deep debt of gratitude for raising the level of this great man's vindication from mere "extenuating circumstances" to a demonstration of stainless integrity. It was in consequence of Macaulay's grossly unjust review of Basil Montagu's "Life and Works of Francis Bacon" (1825/34), that Spedding wrote in 1845, his memorable Work, "Evenings with a Reviewer." In this, in the form of a dialogue between a reader and himself, he dissects Macaulay's statements and shows him to be prejudiced, politically biassed, and in many cases totally inaccurate. For some unknown reason this book, which was privately printed, was not published until 1881, after Spedding's death.

It is stated in the Dictionary of National Biography that it was never seen by Macaulay, who died in 1859. Spedding had, however, in his lifetime, published his monumental edition of Bacon's Works in 7 volumes, from 1857 to 1859; and, in as many volumes, "Lord Bacon's Letters and

Life," from 1861 to 1874. The latter, in an abridged form, appeared in 1878 in 2 volumes under the title of "The Life and Times of Francis Bacon," from which most of the original documents that interrupted the narrative have been omitted. His views and conclusions as appearing in both "The Letters and Life" and "The Life and Times" appear to be substantially the same as those expressed in his "Evenings with a Reviewer," which, as we have said, though written in 1845, had not yet been published. There are, however, a few footnotes and references which will be dealt with later in connection with Dixon's researches.

At the moment it will suffice to make it clear that Spedding's view, as contained in the "Evenings," showed no material change in either of his subsequent works. The significance of this will be apparent as we proceed.

And now we come to William Hepworth Dixon.

By profession a barrister, his qualifications peculiarly fitted him for research in those technical intricacies which might very well prove almost impenetrable and unintelligible to a layman. He was a trenchant writer and a formidable protagonist of any cause he espoused.

In 1854, the Dictionary of National Biography tells us, "Dixon began his researches in regard to Francis Bacon. He procured through the intervention of Lord Stanley and Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton leave to inspect the State Papers, *which had been hitherto jealously guarded from the general view by successive Secretaries of State.*"

We have italicised the latter passage in order to emphasise the fact that his researches were *new*.

He published, as the result of his researches, "The Personal History of Lord Bacon," in 1861, and a much augmented work, "The Story of Lord Bacon's Life" in 1862. "Dixon's books upon Bacon," says the D.N.B., "obtained wide popularity both at home and abroad, but have not been highly valued by subsequent investigators. (See Spedding's remarks in Bacon i, 386)."

Now, this disparaging qualification appears to be based solely on the one isolated remark of Spedding to which they refer, and from the following evidence it will be seen



that it is unwarrantable. First, let us make it clear that Spedding knew of Dixon's *Essay* (1861) prior to the publication of his "Letters and Life" (1861) for not only is it referred to in footnotes but also in the text. In Vol. I there are three indexed references in all, two in the text and one in the footnotes. It is to one of these textual allusions that the D.N.B. refers. At Vol. I, p. 386 (Letters and Life) he questions Dixon's conclusions as to the inferences concerning the Earl of Essex to be drawn from a certain Masque believed to have been written by Bacon. He is referring, be it noted, to the 1861 *Essay*, and it is significant that Dixon—as though anxious not to rely on any evidence that might be thought doubtful or questionable—omits all reference to such Masque in his subsequent *Book* (1862).

Now, the writer in the D.N.B. does not seem to have taken the trouble to refer to Spedding's "Life and Times" (1878); for had he done so he would have found that Spedding on his part had dropped his criticism concerning Dixon's "inferences," owing presumably to Dixon having omitted the passage from his later Work. Thus, in allowing this disparaging reference of Dixon to remain in the D.N.B., the writer betrays either his prejudice or his ignorance; in either case he betrays his inaccuracy.

It may be mentioned, too, that in Vol. II of the Letters and Life (1862) Spedding, referring to an incident in Essex's career which "popular narratives with one accord forget to mention," puts a footnote that "this was written before the appearance" of Dixon's *Essay* (1861), thereby excluding Dixon from this stricture. This "scienter" (as the Lawyers call it) on Spedding's part concerning Dixon's *Essay* as well as his subsequent book, has a very important bearing on the former's attitude towards Dixon, especially in view of the far-reaching results of Dixon's researches, and their effect on Spedding's conclusions.

That Dixon honestly, and modestly, tried to profit by the criticisms which his first effort, the "Essay" (1861) evoked, is shewn by what he says in the "Note" to his subsequent book, "The Story of Lord Bacon's Life" (1862). He writes:—

"The brief Essay on the Personal History of Lord Bacon was published about a year ago, and a second edition followed the first too quickly to allow of my profiting by the discussions to which it gave rise. In the wide and warm acceptance which it gained, an acceptance more immediate than I had dared to hope for, some critics said, most truly, that many things were left unexplained, particularly as to the Apology and the Confession." When, however, it appeared that nearly all objections to a true history of Bacon's life arose either from forgetfulness of what was otherwise known, or from carelessness in fitting the new matter to the old, and that these objections would vanish on the facts being set in their true order, it was clear that if some one "would tell the story of Bacon's life, in a brief space, and in such a way as to deal with all the facts under controversy, he would be doing a service. I had not sought this labour; circumstances thrust it on me. My Essay was reprinted in Boston and Leipsic. Requests were made to translate it into French, German, and Italian. A new Edition was called for in London. How could I give it to the world again without answering by facts the objections still urged against the nobler view of Bacon's life? Voices from many sides called on me to proceed in the work I had begun. The Hatfield Papers offered me much new detail on the Essex Plot, and the important discovery in the Six Clerks' Office of Bacon's Chancery-books, put me in possession of new and official materials for a history of the charges of Judicial Bribery. Finding my former case strengthened at every point by these revelations, I fell to work, cheerily obtained from Sir John Romilly free access to the Chancery-books, and from Mr. T. Duffus Hardy valuable aid in deciphering and abstracting them. I sought the advice and obtained the approval of some of the most eminent lawyers on the Bench. The result of these labours is now before the Reader."

This "nobler view of Bacon's life" of which he speaks is no less than the difference between "extenuation" and complete "exoneration," and it will thus be seen of what enormous value were Dixon's investigations. It will

also be seen that they were *new*, and that they were into *official records*. They cannot therefore be treated lightly. It would be impossible in a short article to indicate, even in outline, the scope of these investigations, nor is it proposed to attempt it.

Suffice it to say here that Spedding, when he wrote his "Evenings" must obviously have been unaware of a large mass of the evidence collected by Dixon as a result of his researches and as subsequently published and fully documented. In particular it would seem that Spedding could have had no knowledge whatever of the prevailing "fee-system"—the most essential feature of the whole situation—or he could never have made many of the statements he does. For example:—

"And though I admit that *his removal was necessary by his own fault* (our italics). I think no one will maintain that the affairs of the Nation went the better for his absence." (Vol. II, p. 249).

Dixon's researches show conclusively that such an "Admission" is wholly unwarrantable, and, so far as the subsequent "affairs of the Nation" are concerned, the reference is irrelevant to the issue, which is the innocence or guilt of the Chancellor.

The "Fee-System" which had existed from time immemorial, pernicious and objectionable as it undoubtedly was, was yet the only means by which "judges were paid their wages," as Alford stated in the House of Commons on the Debate. The receipt of these fees in the shape of "voluntary benevolences" (just as are Counsel's fees—in theory—to this day) was perfectly regular, so long as they were not paid and received *pendente lite*, which Dixon proves was not the case in the charges framed against Bacon.

Thus when Spedding "admits" Bacon's removal to have been due to his own "fault," he is both historically and ethically wrong, and no amount of "excuses" are either needful or relevant, for there is no "fault" to excuse.

Had he attacked the "fee-system," he would have been justified.

Again (p. 253) he regards Bacon's conduct as a "referee on the question of law" in the Mompesson affair (the granting of a license to Mompesson to manufacture gold thread) as "Strange and unaccountable."

The Records show that it was neither, but perfectly regular and in accordance with Bacon's plain duty to the King. He could not have acted otherwise without a breach of his official duties.

And then comes this passage (p. 257) A., quoting from Macaulay, "In his judicial capacity—"

B. (that is, Spedding), "Stay; we are now coming to Bacon's real delinquency 'the little picture of night-work remaining among the fair and excellent tables of his acts and works'; *which he never himself affected to excuse, but penitently acknowledged the faults* (our italics) and submitted without a murmur to the very severe punishment with which they were visited. No true friend to his memory will affect to find him blameless here," &c.

Well, all we can say is that a very "true friend to his memory"—Hepworth Dixon, to wit—has not only "affected to find him blameless here," but has demonstrated the fact conclusively.

Spedding could never for one moment have considered the true implications of the erroneously so-called, "Confession and Submission" which does but admit the *abuses of the fee-system*, a system which Bacon had pledged himself to abolish—given time—among other prevailing abuses. What he thought of such a system is clearly indicated in his "New Atlantis," where the Perfect State is outlined. There is not a word in this "Confession" which can be justly construed as an acknowledgment of personal guilt, beyond, perhaps, the pathetic plea that amid the overwhelming responsibilities and labours of his High Office, he may not have adequately "overlooked" his subordinate officers—whose villainies, by the way, had brought these troubles upon him.

The "Submission" is shown to have been made at the urgent entreaty of his weak and ungrateful Monarch in order to spare his Favourite. What was demanded of

him was not a "Defence" but a "Submission," a "Sacrifice," not a "Vindication."

This the somewhat unimaginative Spedding seems to have been incapable of appreciating; but there is really very little excuse for him, seeing that, quite apart from the Evidence adduced by Dixon, the very facts set out in this so-called "Confession" speak for themselves to those who have eyes to see, and rebut all suggestions of personal guilt.

It is amazing that even on the evidence before him, Spedding could have used such expressions, especially as "the very severe punishment" was never exacted.

And here again, on p. 264:—A. (quoting again from Macaulay), "He and his dependents accepted large presents from persons who were engaged in Chancery suits."

B. "That at last is true; and I admit that it was a great fault."

Poor Spedding! "A great fault" to do what every Chancellor and Judge had done for centuries in accordance with the recognised "fee-system!" Had Spedding ever considered whence practically *all* public officials derived their emoluments—from the Archbishop and Lord Chancellor downwards?

There was no such thing as a Civil List in those days and everybody, as Dixon shows, subsisted on "voluntary benevolences."

We can hardly realise such a pernicious system in these days of State-paid officials, but, it was the prevailing—and only—system by which officials were paid in *those* days, and to speak of "a fault" under such circumstances is to betray a really reprehensible ignorance of the conditions of the period. That Bacon should be sacrificed on the altar of Reform for abuses which he had but inherited, was not only grossly unjust but was—as Dixon shows—solely due to the machinations of certain unscrupulous place-seekers who wanted not Reforms, but the Seals for their own purposes.

That the abuses which were made the pretext for Bacon's persecution were, in no particular, remedied after his "fall," but were in fact accentuated until these place-

seekers had met with their deserts, is clear evidence that Dixon's conclusions were well-founded, and that Speddings "admissions" and "excuses" were totally erroneous.

Let one or two more such extracts suffice.

p.288. "I hope it will appear that this page of his life was not one total blot, *however ineffaceable be the great blot which he suffered to fall upon it* (our italics).

p.289. "I think that Bacon *was guilty* (his italics) of corruption: that he had not the means of clearing himself; that the sentence pronounced against him, though severe, was not unjust; that his act moreover was not only in law indefensible, but in morals culpable, and more culpable in him than it would have been in another man; that he had, in short, allowed himself to do that which he knew ought not to be done. *To this extent he himself pleaded guilty and I plead guilty for him.*" (Our italics.)

Now these two statements—from a "Vindicator!"—are really rather startling, and one cannot but feel that it was fortunate for Spedding that Macaulay was not privileged to peruse them, for his comments might have necessitated a few more "Evenings with a Reviewer."

Of what use are excuses and extenuations in the face of such uncompromising and damaging admissions?

And it only seems to make matters worse when later (p.298) he seeks to show that "it was as a *Judge* only, not as a *gentleman* that Bacon transgressed."

He says, "we are apt to mix up with our feeling that the practice of receiving gifts of any kind was *corrupt* (which is true) a feeling that the practice of taking *money* was *ungentlemanly*, which is a mistake."

We doubt very much if this subtle distinction would have much weight with any modern admirer of Bacon. It was reserved for Dixon to show that not one of the many "admissions" is justified by the facts.

Extracts of this character from Spedding's book could be multiplied, one might almost say *ad nauseam*; certainly *ad misericordiam*, but it is felt that enough has been said, not only to justify our previous assertion, but to

show that this Work—though “parts of it are excellent”—is on the whole an exceedingly dangerous one for Baconians to quote or rely upon. However specious may be the “excuses” (and with these we do not propose to concern ourselves, as they do not appeal to us) the very admissions are enough to stultify any plea of innocence. Had Baconians no better evidence of Bacon's integrity than that which Spedding furnishes, they would indeed be in a bad way.

It is sad to have to write thus of one whose life's work it was to vindicate Bacon; all one can say is that he did his best with the materials available to him, and we honour him for his splendid motive and his indefatigable labours.

But we must not allow our feelings of admiration and respect for Spedding to blind us to the fact that it is to Dixon's efforts that Bacon's innocence has been made manifest, however his “frailties” may have been previously “extenuated.”

And this brings us to a question of some delicacy, namely how Dixon's findings were viewed by Spedding. We have already seen that his “Evenings,” though written in 1845 was not published until 1881—36 years later, after his death. One wonders why.

G. S. Venables in his Preface to the work says: “The friends who at the time received copies of the book regretted with good reason Spedding's resolution to postpone the publication; and he seems, after a long intervall to have discovered his mistake in suppressing his more compendious vindication of Bacon's character.”

Venables writes earlier: “his vindication of the character of Bacon is, as he intended, complete and conclusive.” We can only leave it to the reader to judge of this for himself on the quotations furnished as samples from bulk.

That Spedding knew of Dixon's “Essay,” with all its new matter, is clear from what has already been said; that he knew, also, of the later “Book” (1862) can only be judged inferentially from the fact that in his “Life and Times” his criticism of a certain passage in the “Essay” (omitted from the “Book”) is dropped out—presumably as superfluous. This “Book” of 1862 con-

tains, as mentioned, a considerable amount of additional new matter having a most important bearing upon Spedding's conclusions.

So far as can be ascertained, Dixon's findings were not "acclaimed" by Spedding as one might, perhaps reasonably, have expected, seeing that their object was identical with his own. The footnote we have quoted shows that he *acknowledged* Dixon's researches, but we very much regret to have to say that it is doubtful if he *welcomed* them. Indeed, in a footnote at p. 484 of Vol I. of the "Life and Times" (which work contains but three indexed references to Dixon) he speaks somewhat slightly of certain inferences by Dixon concerning some guests at Bacon's wedding. This, coupled with the tone of his observations in his "Letters and Life" on the other matter to which reference has already been made, causes one—albeit reluctantly—to entertain a suspicion of professional jealousy.

One hesitates to suggest such a thing in the case of such a great man as Spedding, but human nature is imperfect even at its greatest, and it must not be forgotten that Spedding had given thirty years of his life to this great object.

It is strange that these important and far-reaching discoveries by Dixon should be accorded but three minor references in the two volumes of Spedding's "Life and Times" published long after Dixon's later book had appeared in 1862.

Be that as it may, we are not concerned with Spedding's feelings but with facts, as discovered by Dixon, and their vital bearing on the innocence or guilt of Francis Bacon.

Our present object is but to show that Spedding can only be accepted *pro tanto*, and that it is to Dixon that we must look for that full and detailed demonstration of innocence that alone can satisfy the needs of the case.

It is with this "nobler view" alone that Baconians are concerned, for it must be shown that Francis Bacon, as Lord Chancellor, was clean of hand and heart to justify Hallam's description of him as "the wisest and greatest of mankind."



## FRANCIS BACON AND THE ROSICRUCIANS.

By R. J. A. BUNNETT.

**W**ITH reference to Mr. W. A. Vaughan's letter in *BACONIANA*, January, 1938, whatever Masons may affirm or deny, there is more than sufficient evidence in Mr. Alfred Dodd's "Shakespeare, Creator of Freemasonry," to prove conclusively that the founder of the Craft was "Shake-speare."

C. F. Nicolai (1743—1811), the German littérateur, claimed that Francis Bacon was the originator of modern Freemasonry, and that at the first authentic Lodge Meeting held at Warrington in 1646, at which all present were Rosicrucians, Elias Ashmole, being one of them, the New Atlantis was discussed, and Bacon's two pillars were adopted as symbols. "The Voyage to the Land of the Rosicrucians" of John Heydon (b. 1630), a notorious plagiarist—is, save for the alteration of a few names of places, a duplicate of the New Atlantis. De Quincey was of opinion that modern Masonry is modified Rosicrucianism, and that the latter, though emanating from abroad, never took root there as it did in England. It would seem that De Quincey was correct; and it is possible that Bacon, seeing the likelihood of divisions and deviations, made the Rose Croix the 33rd Ineffable Degree, the highest and most secret degree, the members forming a community of the most earnest and influential Christians in the Masonic ranks, the pinnacle as it were of the lower grades.

Though there is at present no *direct* evidence that Bacon was a Rosicrucian, or that he introduced the Order into his native land, or was in close touch with it on the Continent, there are nevertheless, numerous factors which point definitely to this conclusion. He himself, when abroad, may well have met members of the Secret Brotherhoods, who would appeal to his subtle mind, and he may have there and then planned to recreate the old Orders on a

fresh basis into a new secret Brotherhood united by Charity, i.e., Love. Anthony Bacon was, we know, wandering about the Continent from 1579-92, all the time in communication with his brother, and Francis had a number of agents in Europe. Rawley states that he had correspondence with foreigners, with whom he possessed extraordinary influence, and that many came from a great distance to gratify their desire to see him. It is a remarkable fact that so many of Bacon's most intimate friends spent so much of their time travelling, when to leave the country was a distinction, and subject to royal consent.

As we are aware, he contemplated vast ends, no less than a universal reformation in literature, science, philosophy and religion, and for this purpose secret methods were to be employed: "An Habit of Secrecy is both Politic and Moral," Bacon remarked; and "The Glory of God is to conceal a thing; the glory of the king to search it out," was a favourite saying. He declared that he had "reserved part of his publications for a 'private succession,'" which was doubtless the Secret Society which he formed and governed, and that there were two ways of publishing—one to acknowledge your works, and the other not to acknowledge. The enigmatical method was desirable he said "to remove the vulgar capacities from being admitted to the secrets of knowledge, and to reserve them to selected auditors, or wits of such sharpness as can pierce the veil."

There is no doubt that Bacon studied profoundly Indian, Arabian, Egyptian and other ancient philosophers and religious writers. In his "Commentaries" or "Transportata," (Br. Mus. M.S.) we find him maturing plans for depreciating "the philosophy of the Grecians with some better respect to the Egyptians, Persian, and Chaldees," and it was at the University that he took a dislike to the philosophy of Aristotle, finding it, says Dr. Rawley, "only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of works for the benefit of the life of man." Bacon commended Telesius of Cozenza, the follower of Empedocles, as "the last of the novelists." (i.e., innovators) and he expanded their theory of the

continuous conflict and reciprocal action on the part of heat and cold, into a philosophy of strife and friendship,—so marked a feature of the plays and sonnets—Mars and Venus, dense and rare, heavy and light, which he calls “Keys of Works.” In the “Advancement of Learning,” Bacon says “To me it seemeth best to keep way with Antiquity usque ad aras”—to the very altars of the gods, where the divine drama of the “Rape of Proserpine” was enacted. Did he not out-top Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides?

It was the anonymous publication in 1614 of the “Fama Fraternalitatis,” (or “A Discovery of the Fraternity of the most Laudable Order of the Rosy Cross”) and which was reprinted at Frankfurt next year with the “Confessio Fraternalitatis” and the “Communis et Generalis Reformatio,” which first revealed the existence of the Rosicrucians. These works have a distinctly Baconian ring, and bear many traces of his mind and aims. The attitude of the “Fama Fraternalitatis,” as regards the world and its learning was one of revolt against Aristotle and Galen, and against men of learning in general, because of their pride and covetousness. They were, it said, as a house divided against itself; but in union they might develop a perfect method of all the arts. In Bacon's writings there are many hints indicating his belief in the efficiency of united effort, and we may note the opposition of the ‘Fama’ to Aristotle, which was one of the main objects of his system. The Fama tells the story of Christian Rosenkreutz that “high-illuminated man of God,” and “the chief and original of our Fraternity,” and how he had learned the lore of the East and was in possession of “true and infallible Axiomata out of all faculties, sciences, and arts” for the restoration of all things. “The high and noble spirit,” we learn, “of one of the fraternity was stirred up to enter into the scheme for a general reformation, and to travel away to the wise men of Arabia.” At this time the young member “was sixteen years old, and for one year he had pursued his course alone.” Have we not Francis Bacon here “going the same road as the ancients?” In the vault where the

body of the Founder was discovered, the 'Fama' informs us, was the Book T. which had at the end an "Eulogium," with the initials and descriptions of the 8 brethren, who then formed the Society. No. 4 is quoted as, *F.B. M.P.A. Pictor et Architectus.*' (M. probably=Magister)

The objects of the Fraternity appear to have been three-fold. 1. To purify religion and stimulate reform in the Church. 2. To promote and advance learning and science, and to extend man's knowledge of nature by experiment. 3. To mitigate the miseries of humanity, and to restore man to the original state of purity and happiness from which by sin he had fallen. Literature first and foremost was to be made the vehicle of reformation. These aims are identical with the reiterated statements of Bacon as to his own views and aspirations.

Recondite searchers as the Rosicrucians were, they sought the Wisdom of the East, and to discover the hidden mysteries of Art and Nature; they taught that two principles proceeded in the beginning from the Divine Father—light and darkness as 'form and idea': the good and the bad principles of the Zend-Avesta, Ormuzd and Ahriman: this is closely connected with the ideas of Bacon. He was strongly influenced by Paracelsus, and may well have been "the artist Elias," "who shall reveal many things," and whose coming the Swiss physician and naturalist foretold. Much of the philosophy of the Brotherhood was based on the writings of Paracelsus. The making "collections" or "dictionaries" was equally their object and Bacon's, who we believe organized a system of note-taking, collecting, "transporting", etc., by the aid of his "twenty young gentlemen," "his able pens."

The "Fama Fraternitatis" makes several references to a forthcoming 'Confession' of the Order, in which things omitted or briefly treated in the original manifesto were to be communicated with a certain fulness. "Thirty seven reasons of our purpose and intention" are given; and the whole work is substantially Baconian. The Bible, said the Confessio, was indeed the rule of life, the end of all studies and the compendium of the universal world, whilst the observation of nature and the knowledge of philosophy

were preferable to the tincture of metals. The work also has the notable statement that one of the "pseudo-chemists," to whom reference had been made, was "a stage-player" and "a man with sufficient ingenuity for imposition." The original Latin version calls him an "Amphitheatral Comedian." Amongst 52 rules laid down for the Brotherhood, it was stipulated that Rosicrucian works were not as a rule to be published under the real name of the author, and writings if carried about were to be in cipher. The Baconian parallel in this particular need not be stressed.

They were also to promote the building of "fair houses" for the advancement of learning and for the relief of sickness, distress, age or poverty. The extraordinary impetus given in Bacon's time to the building and endowing of libraries, schools, colleges, hospitals, alms-houses, theatres, etc., is noteworthy. When a Rosicrucian died, he was to be quietly and unostentatiously buried: his grave was either to lack a tombstone, or if one was erected, any inscription thereon was to be ambiguous. The idea was, no doubt, to prevent epitaphs claiming for the deceased brethren the authorship of works they did not originate. It is remarkable how many of the tombs of Bacon's friends, and of men of distinction of that period remain in one or other of the above conditions.

In the "Filum Labyrinthi sive Formula Inquisitionis" in which Bacon speaks to his sons—the Fraternity of which he was the 'father'—and beginning "Francis Bacon thought in this manner," he suggests the issue of "small tractates of some parts (of knowledge) that they have diligently meditated and laboured, which did invite men to ponder that which was invented, and to add and supply further." A vast number of such small tractates sprang up during Bacon's lifetime, and immediately after his death: for the most part they are extracts with commentaries from the works which Bacon himself had "invented." To cite one case only: A tract entitled "Clypeum Veritatis" or "The Shield of Truth" appeared in 1618, under the name of a certain pseudonymous Irenaeus Agnostus. This and the other works of the same writer,

whose identity otherwise is quite unknown, are decidedly Baconian in style and diction. The author claims to be writing from Tunis, and to deal with everything which "hereunto has been set forth openly, either for or against the Most Honourable and Blessed Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross." The tract affirms that the highest good and way to the blessed life lies in the knowledge of God, and that the man who is devoted to the word of God is ever proceeding further in the quest of wisdom.

In the year following (1619) the Order's "unworthy German notary," as Agnostus called himself, issued "Fons Gratiae," the Fountain of Grace, which is a brief declaration concerning the precise time when Postulants might look for reception. The same year he produced an "indispensable advertisement to novices," exhorting them to persevere even to the end in faith towards God, the love of others, patience, and in their trust of the Order and its goodness. A little later Irenaeus published a "Rule of Life" for those who had not yet been received into the Order. His last work was a final revelation, discovery and apologia in respect of the most enlightened Order of the R.: C.:, and of its sincere and truthful confession. It is entitled "Epitimia Fraternitatis R.: C.:"

The rise of Rosicrucianism coincides with Bacon's life, and four years after his death, we find their literature already in decline: an enormous amount was published in Europe between 1613-30. Robert Fludd died at Bearsted in 1637 and does not appear to have produced any Rosicrucian work after 1629. No new stars appeared on the horizon until the time of Thomas Vaughan (1622-1665), and of John Heydon, the writings of the latter being published after the Restoration.

One of the most remarkable of Rosicrucian publications is "The Chemical Marriage (or Nuptials) of Christian Rosencreutz" (1616), an anonymous romance or vision which gives a full length account of a reception into the Greater Mysteries of Alchemy, presented as a dramatic pageant, in which the Founder of the Rosy Cross took part. The Rosicrucian manifestoes state that the Founder, the author of the "Chemical Marriage," was a boy of fifteen.

Bacon, we know, was of this age when he conceived the idea of inaugurating a new system for the advancement of knowledge, and for the benefit of humanity. Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1654), the German writer, claimed (see "Vita ab ipso Conscripta") that he had written as his fourth work the "Chemical Marriage" when 16—17 years old (c.1602-3), describing it as a jest or 'ludibrium.' There is strong evidence, however, that he was not the author, although Professor Böhle says that Andreae invented the Order, and that he also wrote the 'Fama' and 'Confessio.' Except for such a genius as Francis Bacon, the "Chemical Marriage" as a boyish effort is incredible. There is no question also that the House of the Holy Spirit, as the Fama testifies concerning it, was not built by Andreae.

Michael Maier (c. 1568-1622), a man of deep religious principles, published in 1618 his "Themis Aurea," the Golden Rule in question being the laws of the Fraternity. This was the last work in which he espoused the cause of the Brotherhood. Maier states that they are servants of the King of kings, and that religion is held by them at a higher value than anything else in the whole world: in the Book M., as in a glass and clearly, they behold the anatomy and idea of the whole universe. This Book is affirmed to comprehend "the perfection of all arts," beginning with the Heavens, and coming down to the inferior sciences. As custodians of their Mysteries, the Brethren are secret, true in their dealings, and for the rest, frugal, temperate and laborious, and they have always "had one among them as a Head and Ruler, unto whom all are obedient." In this work also he declared that the "Communis et Generalis Reformatio" (a Universal Reformation of the Whole Wide World) was not a Rosicrucian document, but was written by an Italian satirist, Trajano Boccalini (who was broken on the Wheel in 1613) and was bound up by the booksellers with the 'Fama,—a frequent practice where small pamphlets were concerned. On the face of it the tract appears to be a travesty of reformation schemes; but there can be read into it the enigmatical interpretation so beloved of Francis Bacon.

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It might be mentioned that some claim that the title 'Rosicrucian,' is derived from ros=dew, and crux=cross as a hieroglyphic of light, and not from rosa=a rose, and crux. A Rosicrucian philosopher was one who by the assistance of dew (alleged the most powerful solvent of gold) seeks for light, or the philosopher's stone. That no proper investigation had been made up to his day of the form and nature of light, Bacon considered "an astonishing piece of negligence."

There are many other points bringing him into a close connection with the Rosicrucians such that, even if the Brotherhood was not altogether an heir of his invention, Bacon was certainly an active member and promoter of their cause and objects.



## SEVENTEENTH CENTURY STUDIES:

PRESENTED TO SIR HERBERT GRIERSON. OXFORD CLARENDON PRESS. Price 21s.

**T**HIS collection of twenty-three essays, concerned with seventeenth century life and letters, has been prepared in honour of Sir Herbert Grierson who for more than forty years has occupied the Chairs of Literature at the Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Professor Geoffrey Bullough is responsible for one essay on "Bacon and the Defence of Learning" which is given first place in a volume covering a wide field of research and this is followed by another by Dr. Rudolph Metz (Heidelberg), whose subject is "Bacon's Part in the Intellectual Movement of his time." The translation from the German is the work of Joan Drever.

We may say at once that all Baconians, although Dr. Metz accuses them of filling the world with their hideous noise, should acquaint themselves with these essays because, whether the conclusions of their authors are justified or not, both contain the latest results of modern scholarship and investigation and in their respective methods both are brilliant vindications of Bacon's claim to one of the highest places in the intellectual life, not only of his own, but of succeeding time.

If we are concerned here mainly with statements which seem open to question and qualification, we must not be considered to be withholding the fullest tribute to what are, in their differing characteristics, two most valuable contributions to our knowledge of the life and time of Francis Bacon.

We part company with Professor Bullough in his second paragraph. "How characteristic of Bacon," the Professor exclaims, "that he was led to write the first formal presentation of his great scheme by motives more worldly than disinterested! So long as personal ambition was not concerned he had thrown out a few decisive sketches, a

few aphorisms (the *Essays of 1597*): it needed some hope of office to bring him to a Method."

We do not think the *Essays*, even in their earliest form, can justly be described as a few aphorisms: moreover it is clear that Bacon began early to prepare those carefully written papers on public affairs of which he wrote several. The first of any importance was the letter of advice to the Queen (1585) relating to the Roman Catholic political pretensions and the holding of these in check at home and abroad.

In 1589 there followed the remarkable paper on the "Controversies of the Church" and by the time Bacon was thirty-one the youthful essay which he called "the Greatest Birth of Time" at twenty-five began to fulfil its promise and we find him writing to Lord Burghley for assistance in that great task he had set himself, that which lay next to his heart—how really to know and to teach men to know.

Without power and without money he could not follow that path which he thought the only path worth following on earth—that "philanthropia" which was the character of God Himself and which was "so fixed," he writes, "in his mind as it cannot be removed." He sought power where power was to be found and there is no ground whatever for the suggestion that Bacon's desire for office was dictated by motives of self interest: that he was not a man to sacrifice his principles to the chance of promotion is shown by his attitude to the question of subsidies in the Parliament of 1593, when, although a candidate for the office of Attorney General, he opposed the wishes of the Government and, even when the Queen took offence, refused to withdraw what he had said in the House of Commons.

We do not agree that Bacon was primarily a man of the world and a courtier nor do we think that "the Advancement" was a popular exposition for men of the world: Professor Bullough's statement that its appeal was to lovers of action rather than of metaphysics needs much qualification. Bacon was anxious that men should think aright in order that they should rightly act. His claim to greatness is not that he first turned the minds of speculative

men from barren verbal disputes to the discovery of "fruitful" truth, nor can he be credited with those discoveries which since his time have been made by scientists who never read a line describing his particular method of Induction. It was by his denunciation of those faults which prevent men's attainment of Truth and by his insistence on the all importance of Facts that he has established himself as the Great Instaurator of all Arts and Sciences and has moved the intellects which have moved the world.

We are glad to follow Professor Bullough in his account of the background of "the Advancement"—Bacon's fear of a collapse of learning and his defence of it from the zeal and jealousy of divines, politicians, learned men themselves and the errors and vanities which intervened among their studies.

But it is probably with the author's references to the "School of Night" that readers of *BACONIANA* will be most interested, for here Bacon and Shakespeare are brought very near. Shakespeare in "Love's Labours Lost" mocks the intellectual arrogance, the pretended ascetism, the transcendentalism of the "School of Night." "I incline to believe," ventures Professor Bullough, "that Bacon did the same." "Shakespeare's interest in this play was in the general theme of active versus contemplative living" (Bradbrook. Berowne says "Learning is but an adjunct to ourselves and in the relationship between Bacon's "Gesta Grayorum" and "Love's Labours Lost" Professor Bullough sees no crossing of swords between the two greatest wits of the age, Shakespeare and Bacon, as does Miss Yates in her study of the comedy: rather Bacon's "Device on the Queen's day" suggests that if they drew swords at all it was in the same cause and may we add with the same hand?

Dr. Metz declares that after more than three hundred years Bacon's part in the intellectual movement of his time is as much disputed as is the importance of the philosophic and scientific point of view which he represented. An impressive array of authorities is cited to show that he is revered as a great creative spirit, one of the most comprehensive and many sided intellects of his day,

eminent as a man of letters, enlightened as a statesman and a most powerful influence upon the thought of his age. Leibniz, Voltaire, the French thinkers of the Enlightenment, the Encyclopaedists, Kant, Goethe, are a cloud of witness to the glory of Francis Bacon's genius. His eye is that of Jupiter's eagle; his wisdom is that of Minerva: his writings are a precious heirloom: his genius is one of those rare manifestations which make their appearance from time to time adorning both their own age and the spirit of humanity.

We are free to contend that the darker side of this magnificent picture is not nearly as impressive. Dr. Metz explains that lack of space prevents him from illustrating the unfavourable criticisms of Bacon with quotations. We think it much to be regretted that we must remain in ignorance of the identity of those who see Bacon as a man whose thoughts are completely imprisoned in the scholastic system of ideas—who think him subject to mediaeval tradition—who deny him merit as a philosopher and scientist.

He is dismissed, Dr. Metz writes, as a charlatan, a dilettante, a boaster and a pompous phrasemonger, by certain critics who see nothing genuine about Bacon: he is for them specious and theatrical, a mountebank and according to German opinion a creator of war-mindedness, a Machiavelli, greedy for power himself and a champion of British Imperialism.

Such authorities as are quoted as supporting this hostile attitude do not inspire very much confidence. With one exception they are all German and as compared with the remarkable contemporary tributes to the genius of Bacon as Poet and Philosopher and the modern pronouncements of those who speak with the knowledge of later times referred to by Dr. Metz make a very poor show indeed.

We should like to be able to consider in detail the estimate of Bacon's achievement formed by Dr. Metz in the light of present day research: in the main he is just to Bacon's name and memory—he is not concerned with Bacon's personal fate—and his estimate is a very high one: we wish there were space to quote it in full and need hardly

add that we commend this essay to the careful consideration of all Baconians: its perusal will not only enrich their knowledge of Bacon, but raise him higher, if this is possible, in their admiration and regard. "Love shall speak with greater knowledge and knowledge with dearer love."

But there is one matter in which we think Dr. Metz is quite wrong—Bacon's attitude to religion: it is clear to him that Bacon laid more stress upon philosophy or science than upon religion. We profoundly disagree. "Reason and conscience suffice" writes Bacon himself, "only to turn men away from vice": they cannot teach him his full duty, they cannot arrive at the highest laws of conduct. True philosophy refers not to exterior facts but to inward ideas: he knew that it rests not on outward perception but interior apprehensions. This is the axiom of all philosophy and Bacon assumes it when he makes wonder (admiratio) the beginning of philosophy: broken knowledge, knowledge as it were in embryo,—half made fragmentary knowledge. Let us take a step further. Goethe saw this Wonder as "Faith's dearest Child" Das Wunder ist des Glaubens liebstes Kind.

Unlike Kant, Bacon formed no psychology or metaphysic but he realises it is by inward vision alone do we know what is eternal and independent of individual life. Bacon also realised as all deep thinkers and truth seekers must that Love is a truth organ: to Love is revealed what no other eye either of Body or Mind can perceive. We wondered before we knew and must ever wonder again before we can know more.

Where philosophy ends religion begins. Religion should welcome all increase of natural knowledge because it leads to the greater glory of God and because it is a help against unbelief. "A little philosophy inclineth the mind to Atheism, but a further proceeding bringeth it back to Religion." To us the key to his complex nature and temperament lies in the fact that he was what is called a religious mystic. Hereditary influence upon his mother's side would have predisposed him to this. He knew himself to have undergone (as she did) some interior change. He called himself "nova creatura, a new creature to God."

If ever man "made his soul" Francis Bacon did and he was at the same time sure of God and uncertain of himself except of that Self which was in Him. His soul was a stranger in the course of his pilgrimage, but he had not oppressed the poor. He had hated all cruelty and hardness of heart. In a despised weed he had sought the good of all men. He had always sought it—through Burghley—through Essex—through James. God's creatures had been his books but His scriptures much more. He had sought God in courts, fields and gardens but had found Him in his Temples. "His heart had been a coal upon God's alter," and he writes "Ever as my worldly blessings were exalted secret darts from Thee have pierced me and when I have ascended before men I have descended in humiliation before Thee."

It is quite incredible that this is insincere. Francis Bacon is not speaking of God as a politician speaks. So far from setting learning free from the shackles of faith and secularizing it, Bacon's sense of the truth of religion was as real as his sense of the truth and greatness of nature: they were inseparable.

This is not the place to write of Bacon's association with those secret societies which, as Mr. A. E. Waite writes in his "Real History of the Rosacruzians" beaneath the broad tides of human history have flowed as a stealthy undercurrent, frequently determining in the depths changes that take place on the surface.

That such association there was we may be sure. To this day he is commemorated in the Temples with Paracelsus, Michael Maier, Jacob Boehme, Johann Andreas, Robert Fludd, John Dee, Sir Edward Kelly, Thomas Vaughan, Elias Ashmole and others who adored and manifested the Indwelling Glory of the Lord of Life and Light Who continues Knowledge from generation to generation.

We may perhaps conclude with Nietzsche "We do not know nearly enough about Lord Bacon, the first Realist in the most important meaning of the word to appreciate the extent of his achievement, his aim and the width of his experience."

FRANCIS E. C. HABGOOD.

## SHAKSPERE'S REAL LIFE STORY,

**W**ILLIAM SHAKSPERE was baptised on 26th April 1564 as the son of John Shakspere. It is not certain when or where he was born. John Shakspere was a tradesman, dealing in leather and probably farming in a small way.

It is not known whether William went to school. If he went to the Stratford Grammar School, there is no record of the fact. He must have been a remarkable pupil; yet no schoolmaster testifies that he noticed it. If he did go, he would have learned to read and write, and the elements of Latin. Sir Edmund Chambers says: "there would be little but Latin. . . There is not likely to have been any Greek." It is not likely English was taught. The first English Grammar was not published until 1586. Of his handwriting six signatures alone remain: it is difficult to believe they are the work of anyone familiar with the use of a pen.

If he went to school, he left early: his first biographer, writing more than a century later, says at thirteen years of age, and that he was apprenticed to a butcher. Such stories of his youth as survive tell of his poaching, imprisonment and flight from Stratford. There is a local legend attached to "Shakspere's crab tree" which describes him as sleeping off beneath it the effects of a drinking competition with the village toppers of Bidford.

The records of Shakspere's marriage are inadequate and confused. At the age of eighteen he formed an intimacy with the daughter of a neighbouring farmer, Anne Hathaway, eight years older than himself. In November or December 1582, probably under compulsion of her relatives, he married her. A daughter was born in 1583 and twins in January 1585.

It is very doubtful when Shakspere arrived in London: tradition says that he was first employed as an ostler,

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taking care of horses outside the theatre, and afterwards as servitor or callboy inside it. According to Halliwell-Phillipps, he must at this time have been "all but destitute of polished accomplishments."

During the seven years following the birth of the twins, the life story of William Shakspere is a complete blank. In 1593 he is recorded as having taken part in a performance by the Lord Chamberlain's company of players before Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich.

In the same year *Venus and Adonis* was published and dedicated to the Earl of Southampton by "William Shakespeare." The name of the author does not appear on the title-page. The dedication is no proof of his personal acquaintance with one of the most brilliant figures in the Queen's Court. Southampton never made any allusion to Shakspere; there is no trace of any correspondence between them.

Until the year 1597 all the Shakespeare plays were published anonymously. Nothing is more remarkable than their perfect polish and urbanity. There is no trace of dialect. The principal characters are princes, nobles and young patricians, the creator of whom must have been in better company and enjoyed a wider outlook than can easily be believed attainable by an actor or a resident in a single city. (History of English Literature, Vol. 2. Garnett & Gosse.)

It is within the eleven years prior to 1597 that Shakspere is supposed to have become the greatest poet and dramatist of all time.

In 1596 he is said to have lodged near the Bear Garden in Southwark, and in 1598 in the parish of St. Helens, Bishopsgate. He defaulted in payment of subsidies levied at both places, and thus these traces of his life in London are preserved. Virtually nothing more is known except that in 1598 and 1603 his name appears in the list of actors in two of Ben Jonson's plays. He apparently lived for some time with a hairdresser named Mountjoy. In 1604 he may have walked with others in a royal procession.

By 1597 he seems to have become a rich man. He



purchased New Place, Stratford, and added to it field by field. He engaged in petty lawsuits, lent money, and dealt in malt. He died in 1616 as a result, it is said, of the effects of a drinking bout.

The plays were attributed to "William Shakespeare" as having been written, revised or augmented by him, though many of them were not Shakespearean—whoever "Shakespeare" was. Shakspeare did nothing to discourage or prevent the practice of publishing as his own plays of which he was not the author.

The First Folio of 1623 is the only authority for attributing the plays to the Stratford Shakspeare. More than forty plays bore the name Shakespeare, but the editors selected as genuine only twenty-six. But the Folio included ten which had never before been printed, thus making up the total of thirty-six in the volume.

Six plays in the Folio had never been heard of before. Why did Shakspeare conceal them during his lifetime? Who made the extensive alterations, admittedly in the style of the true author, to many of the plays when they appeared in 1623, seven years after the death of the reputed author?

William Shakspeare made a will, but plays are not mentioned in it: his executors took no part in their publication. He left them without instruction, direction or obligation, while he bequeathed legacies of money, a sword, a silver gilt bowl and rings. These appeared to be more valuable than *Hamlet* or *Lear*.

There is no evidence that Shakspeare possessed a single book, letter or manuscript associated with a literary life. The most richly stored mind in the world occupied itself with agricultural pursuits and money lending, with drinking and wit combats. To his contemporaries, scholars, poets and dramatists, there is no evidence that he was personally known. He, the greatest of singers, died unsung. Was the Stratford man regarded as a genius, a poet, a great dramatist? No, but as an upstart beautified with the feathers of others, as a poor poet-ape, as "mouthing words that better wits had framed," as a "deserving man."

## 84 Shakspere's Real Life Story.

Other references are to the works and not to the man. There is no proof that the actor Shakspere was identified with the author Shakespeare. Praise of the works is no proof of the authorship.

There are records of some eighty performances of plays at Court between 1597 and 1616 by the company with which Shakspere was associated, yet he is never mentioned by name, though Burbage and others were.

No one knows who erected the monument at Stratford. The original portrayed a repulsive figure grasping a sack. When the monument was restored, the sack was replaced by a cushion, and a pen was placed in the hand. The face bears no resemblance to the original: it resembles a mask.

There is not recorded of William Shakspere one generous or lovable action. By questionable means he obtained the grant of a coat-of-arms. He was pertinacious in demanding repayment of money due to him. He did not, apparently, oppose the enclosure of common lands. He did not see that his daughter Judith was sufficiently educated to write her own name.

The Shakespeare of the Plays is not Shakspere of Stratford, whose real life story has been told above.

## PRESS CORRESPONDENCE.

**W**ITH the exception of the publication of **BACONIANA**, there is perhaps no more important work undertaken by the Bacon Society than the contributions by its members to the public Press all over the country—and sometimes overseas too. Whenever anything concerning Bacon or Shakespeare or the authorship controversy appears in a newspaper, the cutting is sent to several members who have agreed to write letters as promptly as possible, in order to rebut false accusations against Bacon, correct wrong impressions as to Baconian theories, point out the weakness of the orthodox standpoint, and generally to stimulate free discussion of all these matters.

It is a welcome sign of the times that in most cases editors will admit letters by Baconians, provided these are concise, pithy, and reasonable in tone. The big daily papers in London and other large cities are naturally less inclined to give much space to our subject, since other news is so plentiful; but in good class provincial papers there are often openings, and editors find that Baconian topics provoke lively and interesting letters from their readers. Accordingly it is right that our thanks should be given to those who have most frequently devoted both time and trouble to this valuable work. Without being invidious, we may mention Mr. Kendra Baker, Mr. R. L. Eagle, Mr. Howard Bridgewater, Mr. Francis E. C. Habgood, Mr. Rennie Barker, Mr. Henry Seymour, and the President.

In addition to this, on several occasions long articles, with catchy headlines, have appeared on some aspect of the authorship problem spontaneously and without Baconian provocation. Sometimes such articles are well informed, impartial and interestingly written; at other times they may be superficial, ill informed, and even flippant. But in either case there will almost always be

some remark or opinion which calls for comment and provides us with an opportunity of writing a judicious letter. In this way good discussions are initiated and much benefit done to our cause.

As an example of a bad article, mention might be made of a disgraceful attack on the Baconian theory by Sir Max Pemberton in a well known Daily. Several Baconians wrote strong yet temperate letters in protest, but all were excluded. Yet even here, "it's an ill wind that blows nobody good"; for this same article was commented on by one of our members in a communication to the *Grimsby Evening Telegraph*; and, to his credit, the editor not only published this in full, but gave space for many weeks to a full discussion of the subject both by Baconians and Stratfordians.

On another occasion a long correspondence took place in the *Surrey County Herald*, our side being well represented throughout. The same may be said of the *Western Morning News* and the *Northern Whig*, Belfast. *John o'London's Weekly* opened its columns for correspondence on the question of Genius as an explanation of the claim of Will Shakspeare to be considered the true author; and as we pen these lines the discussion is still proceeding.

The suggestion, originally made by Mr. R. L. Eagle, for opening Spenser's tomb, has naturally aroused widespread interest, and much prominence has been given to the subject in the Press. Another item of interest has been the recent publication of a book by Mr. R. M. Lucas, in which he revives the claim of William Stanley, Sixth Earl of Derby, to be the true "Shakespeare." Want of space forbids our reviewing this work separately, but while we fully appreciate the author's excellent anti-Stratfordian argument, his case for Derby appears to us unconvincing. Considerable notice has been taken of the book, and we wish Mr. Lucas—all the success he deserves!

From the above sketch of recent activities, it will be realised that this kind of work is of immense value in moulding public opinion and preparing the way for a general acceptance of Baconian theories.

B.G.T.

## AN ELIZABETHAN THEATRE.

By RENNIE BARKER

(Secretary, Bristol Shakespeare Society).

**I**T is a curious fact that no exact and reliable description or picture of the Elizabethan stage has survived.

Some fifty years ago, a drawing of the Swan Theatre was published by a German, but apart from this drawing and two pictures of the theatres at Ghent, 1539, and at Antwerp, 1561, we have to turn to other sources for information.

We can, however, construct for ourselves a good picture from the plays and casual utterances of contemporary writers, and still more from the Diary of one Philip Henslowe, an important theatrical manager and pawn-broker who has been aptly named a usurious old rogue. This forerunner of the modern capitalist advanced money to the ever needy dramatists on plays still in the making. Most important of all, the sly old Elizabethan leased the theatres he had built to the players' companies. Shakespeare was in the Lord Chamberlain's Company.

Practically all these theatres were built outside the boundaries of the city because the City authorities often complained about the brawling and disturbances caused by the theatre audiences. The famous Globe theatre, where Burbage was the star actor, was erected on the south bank of the river. Thomas Platter, a Swiss, who visited England in 1599, wrote of the building as "the house with the thatched roof."

The enterprising Henslowe, seeing that the Lord Chamberlain's company had left the district north of the city, now built a new uncovered playhouse, the "Fortune." The contract, drawn up in January, 1600, shows that a carpenter, Peter Streete, was responsible for its building, which was estimated to cost £440, but actually £80 more was spent before it was finished. £800 was paid for the

land: this was a very large sum, representing about £6,000 to-day.

The Fortune, situated between Golden Lane and Whitecross Street, Cripplegate, in the parish of Finsbury, took about eight months to complete and was probably opened in the autumn by the Lord Admiral's company with Dekker's *Fortune's Tennis*. Its upkeep was very expensive, for roughly £120 was spent yearly between 1602-8, and as much as £232 in 1604 in repairs.

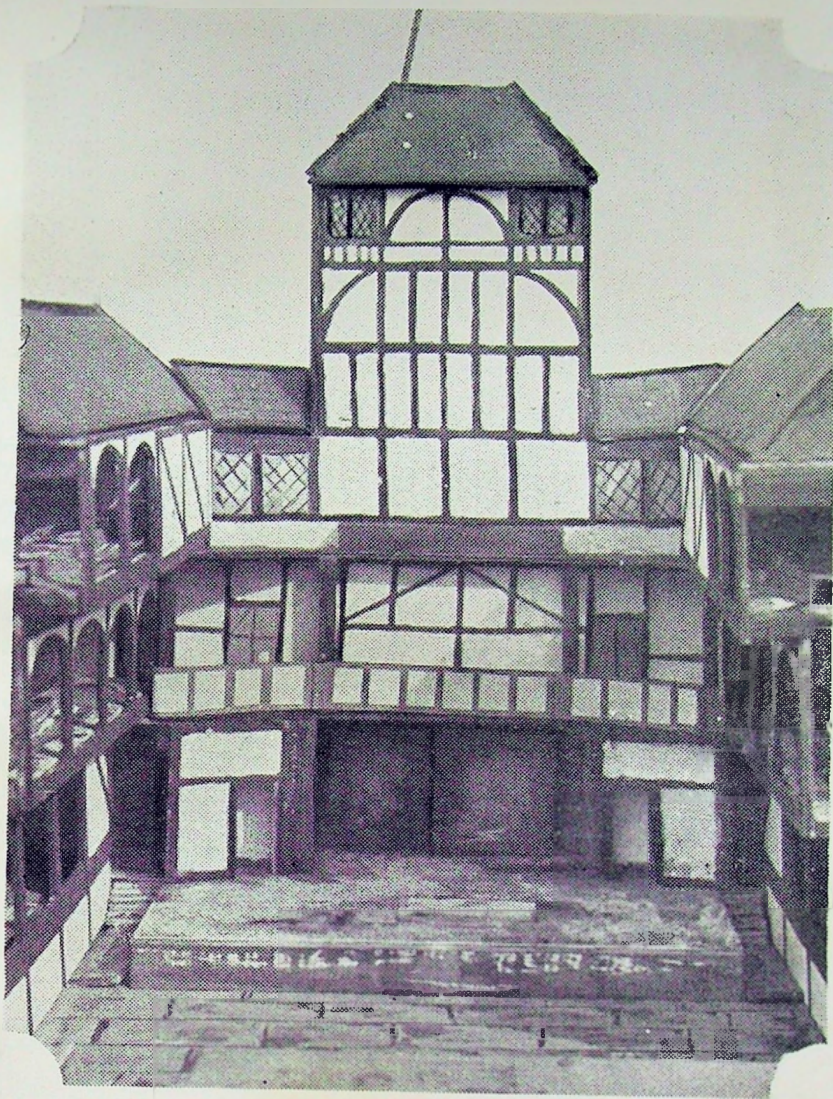
About 2,000 people would be able to watch a play at the theatre, which was square in shape; 80 ft. by 80 ft. outside. The stage consisted of the apron platform, four feet high, that extended half way into the pit, an inner stage, which could be curtained off, and a balcony above. Over the stage was a roof supported by four square pillars. This roof was known as the 'heavens' and underneath it was kept a "state" (king's chair) that could be lowered and raised by means of a strong wire. Actors who were often gymnasts (and dancers, too) would arrive on the platform at times "by flight" from the heavens using a wire which could hardly be seen.

In the platform was a large trap door that opened into a big cellar where the props were stored. This hole in the stage was graphically termed "hell" and from it were "erupted" such props as tombs, a steeple, a wall, a beacon and a tantalus tree. Hamlet's ghost, it will be remembered, roamed here in the scene where the young Hamlet swears his friends to secrecy.

Galleries, three stories high, on the three sides provided accommodation for the greater number of spectators who consisted chiefly of merchant men, gentlemen and "society." The pit had no seats and here the groundlings stood packed together so tightly (a penny, admission) that on occasions juniper berries were burnt in a tub to keep down the smell.

There was a sign outside the theatre. Heywood, in his *English Traveller*, 1633, wrote:—

"A statue in the forefront of your house,  
For ever like the picture of Dame Fortune  
Before the Fortune Playhouse."



THE FORTUNE THEATRE.

(SCALE MODEL MADE BY MR. RENNIE BARKER.)





Unfortunately the theatre shared the same fate as the Globe Theatre; it was burnt down.

Sir John Chamberlain wrote to his friend, Sir Dudley Carlton, in December, 1621:—"On Sunday night, here was a great fire at the Fortune in Golding Lane, the fairest playhouse in this town. It was quite burnt down in two hours, and all their apparel and play books lost, whereby these poor companies are quite undone."

## THE ANNUAL BIRTHDAY DINNER.

The Bacon Society's Annual Birthday Commemoration Dinner took place at the Langham Hotel, Portland Place, W., on Tuesday, the 25th January 1938, and was attended by a large and distinguished company.

The President was supported by the Chairman and members of the Council and the guests included Mrs. Muriel Grant, Mr. Robert Atkins, and Captain Roy Lambert.

The Loyal Toast having been duly honoured, the President proposed "the Immortal Memory of Francis Bacon," saying that he thought it might be useful if he referred to some common objections to the Baconian theory. He pointed out that the difference in style between the acknowledged writing of Bacon and of the Shakespeare plays was not nearly so great as was imagined and was largely accounted for by the difference of subject matter which, of course, involved different treatment. Moreover Bacon's versatility was phenomenal; he could and did write in a dozen different styles with the greatest ease. There was not only the testimony of contemporaries that he was a great poet, but his own confession that he was a concealed one. It was obvious, too, that he was a master of the art of playwriting and of stagecraft, both in theory and in practice.

It had been claimed by their opponents that traces of the Warwickshire dialect could be found in the plays, but out of some five hundred so-called Warwickshire words, it had been shown that all but forty-six were in use in other counties; of these forty-six which were peculiar to Warwickshire, not one was to be found in Shakespeare!

Mr. F. E. C. Habgood, proposing the toast of the "Bacon Society," said that its story was very like, in many ways, the story of that great man whose life and memory they were commemorating that evening. Like him, it had its early struggles to win recognition for its claims and, like him, its members had often met the reward of the truth seeker and pioneer—indifference, and in some cases scorn and contempt.

But he thought the Society might fairly claim that its objects had won some measure of recognition. People were much more respectful to the memory of Bacon and to the claims made for it, and there was little doubt that the confidence of the orthodox had been shaken in some directions, although this was rarely admitted. Recent biographies were not nearly as cocksure as they were—the word "doubtless" no longer appeared with such distressing regularity to dignify very doubtful conclusions from more than doubtful premisses. The last word of orthodox Shakespearian scholarship was, as regards Shakespeare's biography, now admitted by Sir E. K. Chambers the most authoritative of Stratfordian biographers to be nescience.

Baconians were no longer *all* insane—it was even possible to urge Baconian arguments without being accused of being a crank, an ignoramus, or a thief of the laurels from the brow of a dead Christ.

Looking at one or two of the books that had appeared since he last had the pleasure of proposing the toast of the Society a year ago, Mr. Habgood said perhaps the most interesting was that of

Dr. Leslie Hotson. It was called "I William Shakespeare do appoint Thomas Russell, Esq." By his will, William appointed Thomas Russell to be his overseer, and his duty appeared to have been to see that the Trustees could themselves be trusted. The book was the story of this Thomas Russell, and was an extraordinary mixture of fact and of surmise. Needless to say, the link between William and the Russell family was not forged. It proved another missing link; but the author, in his own words, had brought Shakespeare within an interesting distance of Francis Bacon, for the link to which Dr. Hotson referred was an intimacy between this Thomas Russell and Sir Toby Matthew. Russell was set upon and arrested for debt by "a pack of pewter buttoned, shoulder clapping, catch poles"—in such an irreverent way he described the sergeants-at-mace—while in the company of Sir Toby himself.

The book was one more example of the necessity of research upon another than the Stratfordian basis—freedom from the Stratfordian pre-occupation.

He wished there was some way in which they could appeal to those engaged in the work of research—as Dr. Hotson says "Now is not the time to cry *finis* to this"—to remember that it was just possible they might be wrong—that whether William wrote Shakespeare or not was at least an open question—that the First Folio was not really the ark of the covenant and that the fire of heaven would not necessarily annihilate those who laid irreverent hands upon the claims of Messrs. Ben Jonson, Heminge and Condell and the rest.

But it seemed too much to hope that the foolish process of creating imaginary Shakespeares would stop. The good work of creating him in their own images had been carried on by the authors of "The Road to Illyria" which he thought would have been more appropriately described as "The Road to Illusion." The two authors sought to paint a convincing portrait of the man Shakespeare. No attempt was made to square the Shakespeare of the plays with the William of tradition.

The new popular biography proceeded in this way.

William meets Florio. His whole nature bursts into flower—he falls in love—a happy love. Poor Anne! or Agnes! Hathaway or Whateley! Florio introduces William to the Earl of Southampton, for the paths of William and Southampton *must* have crossed somewhere. William is then enslaved by the dark lady. The sonnets have to be accounted for. He is then betrayed, but it is not at all clear by whom. Anyway he loses faith in love and life—this process is called "the Journey to the Phoenix"—and he enters the valley of the shadow. This part of the book is appropriately enough called "The Inferno." This horrid journey is taken just when William's bank balance looks really healthy for the first time; when he seems to be getting the money-lending malster business well on its legs at New Place. Then there is the final break with Southampton. This is referred to as "the sunset" and "nightfall" and with it, on page 140, comes "the tempest of Shakespeare's soul" when he descends for some reason into hell. He must have done this because the murder of Duncan shows that a storm had been raised in his spiritual world. He is so angry and storm tossed that he grows quite cross with the Queen and refuses to

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celebrate her death in matchless verse, probably because he was too busy buying tithes.

The death of Essex had driven him to frenzy and so he wrote "Julius Caesar," and the rest of the plays of the tragic period. A titanic outburst of fury followed. In 1607 his brother Edmund died and this helped to infuriate William. In the next year, fortunately for him, his mother passed on, which seemed to restore him to a kindlier mood and his life was worth living again because the plays of reconciliation must be attributed to this time if he had to die in 1616.

The effect of the death of his relatives upon a great poet was peculiar, but no less peculiar than the birth of a grand-daughter. For the birth of a granddaughter put God in his heaven again for Shakespeare and all was right with the world once more. That was why he wrote "The Tempest." Someone had been very ungrateful because he had written "Lear" and "Timon" in the meantime, but they were not told who this was and could only conjecture it was some unfortunate debtor of his whom he had to sue for money lent. He had also suffered from sex mania because his plays struck an ever sharpening note of hysteria upon the love of woman.

After another little fit of jealousy in "The Winter's Tale" and seven or eight years of lofty contempt for humanity he wins right through into a brave new world, is re-born into a new life—to account for the "Phoenix and the Turtle"—(this seems a little difficult somehow to apply to William)—forgives Southampton who is now out of the Tower—lives with an ideal love as the phoenix was re-born from its ashes—and falls into worship of Judith, his daughter, a queer object of adoration, who apparently was not taught to write to her father telling him how much she loved him.

Then he grows ecstatic over the Arabian Bird—Imogen—his Ideal Woman; reads the Bible devoutly and dies, not as the result of a drinking bout, but in the odour of sanctity. Everything is forgiven—it would be strange not to forgive and be forgiven—that is the message of the last plays—William is made one with Nature "cursed be he who moves my bones." This section of the book is called "the Re-Birth of love" in an erudite weekly.

"Leaving no posterity,  
'Twas not their Infirmary  
It was married chastity."

Well, William the Conqueror did come before Richard III with the citizen's wife, but little difficulties of this kind were not, it seems, to trouble travellers on the "Road to Illyria."

He had not misrepresented this extra-ordinary biographical method by which the life-story of a writer was told in what he writes, by which one inexplicable mystery was substituted for another and by which an hypothesis was set up which created one insoluble difficulty after another.

This, however, was what orthodox literary criticism had told them was a contribution to their understanding of Shakespeare's mind and art, welcome to general reader and to scholar alike.

In proposing the toast of the continued vitality and success of the Bacon Society and of its individual members Mr. Habgood expressed the hope that it might long enjoy the follies and fallacies of the orthodox and of those who sat in high places in the academies of learning and of vested interest.

Mr. Valentine Smith, Chairman of the Council, responding, said that they owed the formation of the Bacon Society to the very learned, able and energetic Mrs. Henry Pott. Genius had been defined as the infinite capacity for taking pains; and, if that were correct, Mrs. Pott was a genius, as her editing of Bacon's "Promus" proved. The object of her work was to show that while hundreds of the entries in Bacon's Commonplace Book were apparently unused in the preparation of Bacon's acknowledged works, they appeared in the Shakespeare plays. Mrs. Pott had scrutinised many hundreds of these identities and carefully examined about six thousand works published before or contemporaneously with Bacon's own life and time. Mrs. Pott was the moving spirit in starting BACONIANA, the Society's organ, which had been regularly issued for fifty-three years with only one exception, that of the year 1918, when, owing to difficulties created by the War, it had to cease publication.

A controversial movement generally passed through three phases, those of persecution, abuse and ridicule, and finally acceptance. The originators of the Bacon theory were not free from persecution as the case of Delia Bacon showed. It was not surprising that her mind finally gave way. This was probably due to the strain of poverty, mental stress, estrangement and public indifference. A great many worthy people had died in lunatic asylums who believed that William Shaksperc wrote the plays, and a great many others had ended their lives there who had never heard of either Bacon or Shaksperc. After all, for anyone to go out of his mind implied that he had a mind to go out of. It was sometimes forgotten that the first book ever written in defence of Shaksperc against the assaults of Delia Bacon and William Henry Smith, another Baconian pioneer, was the work of one George Townsend of London, published in 1857. He subsequently became crazy and committed suicide. The speaker thought the Baconian movement had reached the second phase, but since the war, abuse had subsided and their claims were given a fair hearing. This was principally due to the work that many devoted members of the Society had done in the cause.

The Council had recently endeavoured to restore the quarterly publication of BACONIANA; this journal had for long been the only avenue available in which to contradict the inaccuracies which appeared from time to time in the press. In the past, space had far too often been unfairly refused to a reply to the claims of the orthodox advocates. BACONIANA also provided an opportunity of acquainting the public of the Society's meetings in Prince Henry's Room, Fleet Street, to which there was free admission and the fullest discussion was invited.

The Council had approached the Dean of Westminster with the object of obtaining permission for the opening of the tomb of Edmund Spenser. At his funeral all the known poets of the period were present. They had composed poems in honour of his memory and, it was said, had cast these with their pens into the open grave. There might be an original manuscript poem of Shakespeare among them, and he would have thought, in view of the scarcity of specimens of his handwriting, Shakespearian scholars would have approved of the course suggested, but little support was forthcoming

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from that quarter. Perhaps discretion was the better part of valour.

The Society had also endeavoured to counteract the unfair reflections on Bacon's character by issuing a leaflet entitled "An appeal for justice," of which large numbers of copies had circulated all over the country. He hoped that these had done something to counteract the libels so assiduously propagated in schools and elsewhere upon the name of the greatest Englishman who ever lived.

The health of "the Visitors" was proposed by Miss Mabel Sennett, and Mrs. Grant and Mr. Robert Atkins responded on their behalf. Mr. Atkins pleaded for a simpler presentation of the Shakespeare Plays on the stage: their chief appeal, he said, lay in the glorious verse which however there were few modern players who could speak. He urged members of the Society in the words of Shakespeare himself, "On Bacons! On!"

## REVIEWS.

I, WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, DO APPOINT THOMAS RUSSELL, ESQUIRE.  
By Leslie Hotson, Professor of English in Haverford College;  
Jonathan Cape.

Dr. Leslie Hotson, on leave of absence from Pennsylvania, U.S.A., has been exploring the manuscript riches of England and he has certainly shown that now is no time to write *finis* to any Elizabethan subject, even to the most canvassed topic of all, Shakespeare's biography.

Research in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, the Bodleian Libraries and the Department of Literary Inquiry at Somerset House has resulted in this account of Thomas Russell, the overseeing executor of William Shakspeare's Will. We find that the circle in which Russell moved included Sir Tobie Matthew "the brilliant man to whom Francis Bacon sent his "Essays," his "Instauratio Magna" and his "De Sapientia Veterum" for criticism and whom he called "my alter ego; so good and dear a friend."

Sir Tobie's brilliant intellect, "likely for learning, for memory, for sharpness of wit and sweetness of behaviour" appears to have endeared him to Bacon. When he turned Jesuit we find Bacon entreating him "to meditate upon the effect of superstition and receive himself back from courses of perdition."

Dr. Hotson writes that he thus uncovers a link which brings Shakespeare within an interesting distance of Francis Bacon and, perhaps it is well that he leaves others to speculate upon its possible implications. It is much to be regretted that the author's probing and detective work to which tribute must be paid should not have prevented him from repeating the silly slander that Bacon was a false friend who turned on Essex and dragged him down at his trial, pocketing £1,200 as a *douceur* for doing so. We can only express astonishment that any writer can, on one page, write such nonsense and, upon another, quote Jonson's eulogy of one who "by his work appeared one of the greatest men and most worthy of admiration that had been in many ages."

"Eager hearts, quickened with the wine of poetry who stream along the pilgrims' way to Stratford" will find little to cheer them in Dr. Hotson's book, for his association of Thomas Russell with Shakspeare of Stratford is nowhere established. There is nothing except the single reference in the Will; the rest is conjecture, presumption and surmise. Indeed the author himself sighs for "two lines of Shakspeare devoted to his friend's character," though he must "conclude that their minds and dispositions were congenial." They saw eye to eye in more matters than Cotswold sport: they both had friends at Court: neither was ambitious: both found happiness in the country, retiring to ever-varied occupations and pleasures." These are not in William's case specified. No doubt it is better so. "Both left borough and county business to

others, both preferring to wag beards over friendly whiffing cup in talk than to push the fretful quill"—certainly in his retirement Shakspeare found no pleasure in this. Dr. Hotson says both Thomas and William cared for the things that really matter instead: we will not suggest malting, money lending, enclosing common land and purchasing tithes.

Well, "if you look in the maps of the 'orld you shall find, in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situations are both alike. There is a river in Macedon; and there is also more-over a river at Monmouth."

The pilgrims had best "touch (sic) the plays once more beside the Avon and between whiles refresh themselves among the roses of New Place."

SHAKESPEARE BIOGRAPHY AND OTHER PAPERS CHIEFLY ELIZABETHAN. By Felix E. Schelling, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Dr. Schelling is, we believe, a great American teacher and, according to the publishers' announcement, his wide scholarship, his cool and convincing wit, his distinguishing literary style, combine to make this a book of refreshing quality and a valuable addition to Shakespeare criticism. We really wish we could think so.

Biography is indeed a diverse and difficult art and, as Dr. Schelling tells us, the proper equipment of the biographer a complete acquaintance with all of the material concerning his subject is a *sine qua non*. "The discovery of fact, the classification and labelling of material, is not biography. Dates, the records of birth, death, marriage, publication are only material with which to construct biographical edifices as this, that or the other architect in lives may be at pains to erect." The architects of lives of the Stratford Shakspeare seem to have been little more than jerry builders and, although the discovery of fact, date and records have certainly not troubled them, they have indeed shaken themselves magnificently free even of tradition when it cannot be filled into the blue print of their biographical edifices. Dr. Schelling points out the shortcomings of Winstanley, Nicholas Rowe and Dr. Johnson (he is very severe with Frank Harris whose Shakespeare has always seemed as good as any other Shakespeare constructed out of the plays ascribed to him), reaching the conclusion that a contemporary who has known the man personally and lived with him is your only true biographer.

If this is so, we must lament the silence of Richard Quiney and of John a Combe or their lack of qualifications as William's biographers. We are very glad indeed Dr. Schelling turned aside from the temptation to perpetrate another full length life of William Shakespeare, not that we doubt his complete acquaintance with all of the material concerning his subject, although we have permitted ourselves to wonder whether he is completely acquainted with, let us say Sir George Greenwood's work "Is there a Shakespeare Problem?" Dr. Schelling's conclusion in his Chapters entitled "A Negative of Shakespeare" and "Shakespearean Orthodoxy" are so curious as to invite us to devote to them a page or two in some future issue of *BACONIANA*. Here is one—"Bacon's flattery of King James reads like blasphemy and makes you wonder for which



(sic) to feel the greater contempt, the man who could concoct such a dose or the man who could swallow it."

Who shall say that unconscious humour is not without a place as another refreshing quality in this "valuable addition, etc.?" "The biography of Shakespeare has been written, re-written and miswritten to a frazzle," writes Dr. Schelling, "yet Shakespeare the man is transparent and inscrutable": he will remain so while he is sought in Stratford.

**SHAKESPEARE'S YOUNG LOVERS.** The Alexander Lectures at the University of Toronto, 1935. By Elmer Edgar Stoll. Oxford University Press.

These are gay and charming subjects and to Professor Stoll's lucid chapters on "Romeo and Juliet" and the young people of the early comedies and dramatic romances, lovers of Shakespeare may return again and again. The life of many of us and the best of it too is a dream, and that is true, writes Professor Stoll, pre-eminently of a poet. His biography when it is fairly and honestly written, not extracted and re-constructed from his poems, is generally meagre and often but an irrelevant commentary upon them. His life not his biography, a different and often a contrary thing, is in them. This may be true in part, but the Imagination is dependent upon, indeed is a part of his Personality, and what a poet imagines depends upon his own nature, his experience, environment and hereditary influences. Though the Imagination may fly around and around the Personality to apparently incredible distances, as Professor Masson wrote, like a sea bird around a rock, it is still tied to the rock by invisible attachments. If this were not so, different poets would sing the same tune. And this is true also of the Dramatist. He is, as far as his creation is concerned, the supreme Disposer of events, sole Providence and Judge. We can note how he exercises his power: learn how and why he thinks things happen, his philosophy of life and thus of himself. Nature, wrote Dr. Johnson, gives no man knowledge and when images are collected by study and experience can only assist in combining or applying them. Shakespeare, however favoured by Nature, could only impart what he had learned. Every human creation must express its author's personality. Those who believe otherwise of Shakespeare do so because of the apparent detachment between the man as they conceive him and his work and circumstances. Shakespeare's own personality evades them because they create him in the Stratford shape out of their own imagining. That is why the learned Professor asks, almost wistfully, whether Shakespeare—the poet laureate of love—learned all he knew of it through Anne of Shottery and the Siren of the City.

**JAMES I.** By Charles Williams. Arthur Barker Ltd. Price 10s. net.

This new biography of James I claims our sympathy for a much criticised and misunderstood monarch. He is described as a twisted shape of greatness; a strange mixture of weakness and strength; a conceited metaphysical intellectual, but withal a tolerant lover of men if not of mankind; a figure of tragic mirth.

Francis Bacon is said to have fulsomely praised this "wise fool of Christendom," and another of his admirers seems to have been

John Donne. It is not easy to despise a man thus honoured, and certainly this book justifies to some extent a higher estimate of James Stuart's character than he has received at the hands of many historians. The book throws a new light on Bacon's part in the Trial of the Earl of Essex. The author points out that Bacon was blamed as a result of the opinion that a constitutional action on the part of the Earl had been punished as treason. It was held by many authorities that seizure of the King's Person was not necessarily rebellion against him, and the question raised in the Essex Trial was whether or not the Earl intended the dethronement and death of the Queen. Bacon, having accepted office under the Crown, was of course compelled to accept the views of the Crown lawyers and had to support this in Court; Justice was a part of the Royal Prerogative; it was the Queen's justice which was administered in her Courts, and a trial so-called was little more than a statement and public justification of decisions which she and her ministers had reached.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITORS OF BACONIANA.

Dear Sirs,—Referring to Mrs. Prescott's comments on James Howell's *Familiar Letters* on page 50 of the January issue, it is unfortunate that printers' errors in some of the dates were not discovered and corrected. May I mention that the letter in question appears in the 1st edition of 1640, the 2nd edition of 1650, and the 3rd edition of 1655. In the 1st the letter is undated, in the 2nd it bears date 6th January 1625, and in the 3rd the same.

With regard to these letters in general, the D.N.B. says: "They run from 1 Apr. 1617 to 28 Dec. 1654. All dated between 26 Mar. 1643 and 9 Aug. 1648 profess to have been written from the Fleet. Throughout the dates are frequently impossible . . . The letters are all from Howell to other persons, and it is obvious that, if genuine, they were printed from copies of the originals preserved by Howell . . . If the letters were genuine, one would moreover expect to find some of the original manuscripts in the archives of the families to members of which they were addressed, but practically none are known . . . But the 'familiar epistles' as a whole, although of much autobiographic interest, cannot rank high as an historical authority."

Yours truly,

BERTRAM G. THEOBALD.

## NOTES AND NOTICES.

Our readers will be aware that, owing to the death of Canon Foxley Norris, former Dean of Westminster, the question of obtaining permission to open Spenser's tomb, had to be delayed. Recently, however, the Society approached the newly appointed Dean with this suggestion, and intimating that if he wished it, a small deputation would wait upon him in order to discuss the matter. In response to this, a courteous reply was received from Dean de Labilliere as follows:

March 4th 1938.

Dear Sir,

*Edmund Spenser's Tomb.*

Many thanks for your letter of March 4th. I am afraid that I know nothing about the letter which your Society addressed to my predecessor on 20th July 1937, but the subject which you raise is one which interests me greatly. Indeed I was talking to Sir Charles Peers about it only last week. I certainly should not be opposed to the suggestion which you put forward, but before undertaking to approach the King for permission to open the tomb, I should need to take further advice. Perhaps a little later on, when we are settled in the Deanery (which will not, I fear, be until the middle or end of April) a couple of members of your Society would be good enough to come and discuss the matter with me informally.

Yours truly,

PAUL DE LABILLIERE, Dean.

Bertram G. Theobald, Esq.

We may mention that Sir Charles Peers is the Surveyor to Westminster Abbey. From the above it will be seen that there are good hopes of success in gaining the permission we desire; and in the event of any action being taken, the Press will no doubt keep our readers well informed!

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The "Birthday Play" at Stratford-on-Avon Memorial Theatre is *Henry the Eighth*. It will be performed on April 23rd which, however, there is little reason to suppose was William Shakspeare's birthday. There is even less reason to suppose that he wrote *Henry the Eighth*. On the contrary there are circumstances which indicate that the play as printed in the First Folio was not written before 1622 and that Francis Bacon was its author.

Orthodox Shakespearian commentators have never known what to do with this play. Some deny to William Shakspeare any share in it. Many assign parts of it to him but disagree among themselves as to which bear his image and superscription: some give the whole to Fletcher: some divide it between him and Massinger.

Yet in 1622 Chamberlain reports that Bacon had "lately set forth two books with promise of more which lack of leisure had prevented him from reading." "But," added the writer, "if the Life of Henry VIII which they say he is about might come out after his own manner, I should find time and means to read it."

How did this enterprise of Bacon's mature? Nothing came of it except a fragment published posthumously in 1629 which, according to Dr. Rawley, represented but one morning's work. The mountain in labour once more appeared to have given birth only to a mouse. But in the next year last among the Histories in the Folio was *King Henry the Eighth*. Prince Charles had asked Bacon to write the story of Henry's reign. Why should he have done so if Shakspeare of Stratford had written it so well? "Shakespeare" chronicled the English Kings from Richard II to Henry VIII, omitting only Henry VII. Bacon had written the history of this reign in prose and the beginning follows in unbroken narrative from the end of Richard III. The end of Bacon's *Henry VII* is a natural introduction to "Shakespeare's" *Henry VIII*.

The internal evidence also points to the Baconian authorship. The fall of Wolsey is an episode in many ways analogous to that of Bacon himself. The fallen Cardinal and the fallen Chancellor lament in the same strain. The prophetic speech of Cranmer at the christening of the baby Elizabeth strongly resembles a section of Bacon's *Henry VII* and of his "Felicities."

The familiar line of Wolsey's about ambition "By that sin tell the angels" finds a parallel in Bacon's essay "Of Goodness and the Goodness of Nature" "The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall." More important is the close analogy which the scene presents to the circumstances of Bacon's own fall and his state of mind after it, as revealed in his correspondence. This scene may well have been written after that event.

Scenes of the play are laid in places with which Bacon was familiar—York House always associated in Bacon's heart with poignant memories. "There I first breathed," he wrote: there his father died: there he hoped to die too, but this was not to be. He bought it in days of his worldly success. After his fall it was torn from him by Buckingham.

"Shakespeare" makes Cardinal Wolsey entertain the King there: gentlemen in the play describe the Queen's procession there: one calls it York Place and another corrects him "Since the Cardinal fell, that title's lost." "'Tis lately altered," his companion replies, "the old name is fresh about me."

When Wolsey was deprived of the Great Seal, two peers were sent to take it from him. It is remarkable that in *Henry VIII*, although the names are given accurately, two are added to the number and these two are two of the four who when Bacon fell were sent to him for the same purpose.

In Act V Cranmer is discovered awaiting an audience with the King. The former's humiliation has been shown as similar to an indignity Bacon suffered at the hands of Buckingham. According to Macaulay on two successive days Bacon repaired to Bucking-

ham's house and there (like Cranmer) he was suffered to remain in an ante-chamber among footboys, seated on an old wooden box with the Great Seal of England at his side.

The following is an extract from "Time," a Chicago publication, dated 7th February, 1938. It will certainly not be without interest to Baconians.

"If a genuine scrap of Shakespeare's handwriting were found, it should interest everybody but Baconians. For years scholars have known only seven authentic specimens of his signature, three of them in his will. Last fortnight in Salt Lake City, Professor Benjamin Roland Lewis displayed a small piece of paper cut or torn from an old document, with a common contemporary spelling of the bard's name—William Shakspere—plainly written across it. For 19 months Professor Lewis pored over his find. Chemical analysis proved to his satisfaction that the ink was Elizabethan. Microscopic study put the paper in the same period. Photographic enlargements permitted minute comparisons with known Shakespearian signatures. Ultra-violet photographs established the type of pen used: infra-red photographs showed no tracings beneath the ink. Shakespeare himself, said Professor Lewis, wrote that name. But where the paper came from, who owned it, how it reached Salt Lake City, what happened to the rest of the document, he could not or would not say."

We have not hitherto associated Salt Lake City with interest in Elizabethan literature. Its title to fame has rested upon very different foundations. A new prophet, however, appears to have arisen there for the comfort and inspiration of the Stratford faithful who, if another signature of their William had really been discovered, would doubtless think the fight o'er and the battle done. Unfortunately, however, the relic, like so many others, seems to be of rather doubtful authenticity and its source seems at least as mysterious as the many fragments of the True Cross, the coals upon which St. Lawrence was burned and the eternal roses which were presented by the Heavenly Messenger to the Virgin Martyr Dorothy.

Professor Lewis seems to have subjected the small piece of paper to rigorous and even ruthless tests, but as he intends to maintain silence with regard to it, I am afraid Baconians will think the Professor's 19 months chemical analysis, microscopic study, photographic enlargements and ultra-violet and infra-red photographs only love's labour lost.

We confess we should like to know more of this wonderful discovery. Here is a signature of William Shakspeare; in which of the many varieties of his name is it spelt? What, if anything, connects it with the Divine William? What was the deed from which it was cut? Between what parties was this made? And when? And what was its effect? Which of the various hand-writings put out for William's autograph does this new one resemble? Is it an old man's, or a young man's or is the signature peradventure that of another lawyer's clerk? Has the passage of three centuries affected it, presuming Professor Lewis' processes have left it in the state in which it reached him? We wonder

whether the writer was like Shakspeare "In perfect health and memory, God be praised." And we may be permitted to wonder whether the discoverer was too.

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We understand that the C. W. Daniel Co., Ltd., of 40, Great Russell Street, W.C.1, will shortly be publishing a book by Mr. H. Kendra Baker, whose name is already familiar to our readers. The book is entitled *Elizabeth and Sixtus: A Seventeenth Century Sidelight on the Spanish Armada*, price 7s. 6d.

It is based on the disclosures of a certain Italian historian Gregorio Leti (sometime historiographer to the Court of Charles II), who, in 1693, produced his *Historia di Elizabetha Regina d'Inghilterra* in Italian, this being the first Life of Elizabeth by well over a century. It is stated to have been compiled from original material in the Library of the Earl of Anglesey. Certain secret relations between the Queen and Pope Sixtus V in connection with Philip's attack upon England are dealt with in detail, and are of a very remarkable character, throwing, as they do, an entirely new light on Elizabeth's preparedness for the Armada.

## LECTURES.

At the monthly meetings of the Society at Prince Henry's Room, Fleet Street, London, the following Lectures have recently been given:

6th Jan., 1938: "Links between Shakespeare and Ireland," by Miss Sennett.

3rd Feb., 1938: "A plea for Moderation," by Mr. Howard Bridge-water.

3rd March, 1938: Annual General Meeting, followed by informal talk.

7th Apr., 1938: "Breaking new ground," by Mr. A. E. Loosley.

On 2nd February, a lecture was given under the auspices of the Royal Society of Medicine (History of Medicine Section) at the Society's premises, 1, Wimpole Street, London, by Dr. H. P. Bayon, his subject being "William Gilbert (1544-1603), Robert Fludd (1574-1637), and William Harvey (1578-1657), as Medical Exponents of Baconian Doctrine." By kind invitation of Dr. Hubert J. Norman, Secretary of this Section, the President of the Bacon Society was present, and contributed a few remarks to the discussion which followed the lecture. The lecturer gave a most interesting account of the relations of these great contemporaries of Francis Bacon, while doing full justice to Bacon's own work. In conversation, it transpired that Dr. Norman was himself a convinced Baconian! This only shows how many Baconians there are still in hiding, who have not yet joined our Society! We shall do our best to remedy that state of affairs.

On 26th February, the President gave a lecture entitled "Shakspere the Mask, Bacon the Man" to the "John o' London's Literary Circle," at Kingsway Hall (Oak Room), London, the chair being taken by Mr. William Kent, a learned and delightful author of many books, mostly connected with London and its history. The chairman frankly admitted that on the authorship of Shakespeare he was a sceptic, but did not commit himself more precisely. In spite of very bad weather there was a full attendance and the audience displayed keen interest in the lecture. Short speeches and plentiful questions followed. There was no serious opposition, no scoffing at Baconian ideas, and a friendliness of attitude which contributed much to the enjoyment of all concerned.

On 15th March, by arrangement with Mr. Valentine Smith, the President gave an address to a Boys' School, St. Joseph's Academy, Lee Terrace, Blackheath, London. A large class of the senior boys listened with keen attention to the lecture; after which, the presiding master asked them to give three cheers for the speaker, to show that their lungs were all right even if their brains were not! This they did with a will. However, it is only fair to say that several of them did ask intelligent questions, which is all one can expect,

considering the subject was so new to them. The staff were likewise much interested, one of them admitting frankly that he was amazed at the weight of evidence in favour of the Baconian theory. A judicious distribution of literature, and an invitation to attend some of our lectures at Prince Henry's Room will no doubt produce good results.

In January last, at Liverpool, Mr. Alfred Dodd gave a lecture to the Liverpool Collegiate Old Boys' Masonic Research Association, his subject being "Freemasonry, Shakespeare and Francis Bacon." There was a large attendance and Dr. Balfour Williams was in the chair. Great interest was aroused, and many questions asked. One P.M. said he was quite prepared to accept the position outlined by Mr. Dodd, and others said they now saw the Masonic and Shakespeare problems in a new light.

On 17th March Mr. Dodd lectured to "The Belfry," a mystical society whose headquarters are in London, and whose syllabus of lectures is a very interesting one. His subject was "William Shakespeare and Francis Bacon."

On 19th February Mr. Rennie Barker, a Bristol member of the Bacon Society, lectured at the Clifton Arts Club. He has made a special study of the stage used in Elizabethan times, and has constructed working models in order to illustrate his explanations of the manner in which plays were produced in those days. This is an excellent idea which might well be utilised in other directions.



# BACONIANA

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## EDITORIAL.

WE have been pleased to hear that the April BACONIANA has been favourably received, being commended both for its improved external appearance and for the high quality of its contents. May we repeat that we shall be pleased to receive suggestions from members of the Society with the object of increasing the circulation of BACONIANA, extending its influence and maintaining a high standard of contributions to it?

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The Council has arranged to circulate BACONIANA among several of the principal municipal Libraries in London and the provinces. The name of our journal will appear in the catalogue of these libraries and references to the articles in it will of course be indexed.

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We hope to publish in our October issue an illustrated article by Dr. G. B. Curtis, Associate Dean of Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Dr. Curtis enjoys, we understand, a high reputation in the United States as an authority upon Elizabethan literature and particularly the Shakespeare Plays. Dr. Curtis proposes to reply to the objections raised some little time ago in BACONIANA by Mr. C. L'Estrange Ewen who, it will be remembered, disputed the reliability and indeed existence of certain deciphering by the late Mrs. Gallup.

Dr. Curtis, who is fully acquainted with Mrs. Gallup's work and methods, hopes to demonstrate that the criticism referred to was based on insufficient knowledge of the bi-literal cipher and failure to discriminate between the different founts of type. His article should be valuable and authoritative.

The Society's application for the opening of the tomb of Edmund Spenser in Westminster Abbey is still under consideration by the Dean who appears to be interested and favourably disposed.

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We invite the attention of readers to two publications by the Society entitled "Shakspeare's Real Life Story" and "The Life of Francis Bacon." Both are admirable little pamphlets and present the biological facts in each case for comparison. In this issue we print the first of twelve short propaganda notes—reasons in support of the Baconian authorship of the Shakespeare plays. Each "reason" will be reinforced by a quotation from the work of a strictly orthodox authority. This time we rely upon the well known extract from Emerson's "Representative Men." Support for Baconian "heresy" as the late J. M. Robertson called it may be discovered in the most unexpected quarters and tradition and traditional views adopted for three centuries by orthodox authorities are now being cast aside simply because they cannot be reconciled with what modern scholarship has learned about "Shakespeare." The Baconian "case" in its negative aspect—that Shakspeare of Stratford did not because he could not have written the Shakespearian Plays and Poems will soon be proved by the testimony of orthodox writers themselves and nowhere is this clearer than by the now general, though in some places grudging, admission that Shakespeare was an educated man.

## “THE ESSENTIAL SHAKESPEARE.”

A Commentary by BERTRAM G. THEOBALD.

THE name of Prof. Dover Wilson is sufficient guarantee that this little book will be vigorous and stimulating. The author gives freely from the stores of his wide knowledge, and where the plays are concerned his comments and criticisms are written with skill. But wherever he deals with biography pure and simple, one feels that he is skating on thin ice—and knows it. There is a suggestion of special pleading and of trying to find new ways to avoid old difficulties.

Very nearly at the beginning Dr. Wilson refers to what he calls the scientific school of Shakespearean biography. “Setting the plays and poems aside as ‘impersonal’ and therefore of no value whatever as evidence, they proceed to build up every scrap of external information into their structure, without realising that the significance they attach to each scrap depends upon their own implicit conception of the poet, and that the scraps can only be held together by a plentiful supply of mortar in the form of suppressed hypothesis.” Giving Sir Sidney Lee’s *Life* as the best-known example of this school, our author says: “Its theme is the story of the butcher boy of Stratford who made a fortune in London, and the conclusion it draws is that ‘his literary attainments and successes were chiefly valued in serving the prosaic end of making a permanent provision for himself and his daughters’; which is like saying that Keats wrote the *Ode to a Nightingale* in order to have something in his stocking against a rainy day with Fanny Brawne. Such writers are dangerous because their show of objectivity and science may conceal their premises from the very elect. The image in Lee’s heart was that of a typical English manufacturer who happened to deal in *Twelfth Nights* and *Lears*, instead of brass tacks.”

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And Dr. Wilson concludes with these remarks: "In a word, the *Life* that Lee gave us was not the life of 'William Shakespeare,' the man and the poet, but the life that 'William Shakespeare,' the bust in Stratford Church, might have lived had he ever existed in flesh and blood."

So far so good. But it is when Dr. Wilson proceeds to discuss the Stratford bust that we open our eyes. He begins by saying "The Stratford bust is the only portrait of the poet which can claim any sort of authority, seeing that the Droeshout frontispiece in the First Folio is nothing but a clumsy engraving derived from it, and that all other portraits are themselves derived from either the bust or the engraving. Moreover the monument was erected at Stratford shortly after Shakespeare's death, before 1623 at any rate, and it is generally supposed that the features were modelled directly from a mask taken from Shakespeare's face, alive or dead."

Now here we protest; for, whether by inadvertence or by design, Dr. Wilson entirely ignores the fact that the present-day bust is not the original. Not only have the architectural features of the monument been altered, but the face is wholly different from that shown in the original. We deny that "it is generally supposed" that the face was modelled from a mask; but, even if this were so, it is certainly not the face of the modern bust but that of the original which most faithfully represents the man's features. For ourselves, we place no reliance on this story of modelling from the features, nor on any of the so-called death-masks, whether they hail from Darmstadt or elsewhere; no trustworthy evidence exists for such theories. But, aside from this, Dr. Wilson appears to overlook the great significance of the difference between the two busts; that whereas the original is hugging a sack, which might contain anything, the modern figure has been given a pen, and the hand rests on a cushion. Exit the countryman with his sack; enter the hypothetical author with his elegant cushion and pen.

Our author rightly dwells on the hideous qualities of the modern bust, but his comments are significant. "The Stratford bust and Lee's *Life*, inspired by too much

gazing upon it, are together, I am convinced, mainly responsible for the campaign against ‘the man of Stratford’ and the attempts to dethrone him in favour of Lord Bacon, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Rutland, or whatever coroneted pretender may be in vogue at the present moment.’ Then he goes on to say that ‘the bust is easily explained,’ his explanation being the very simple one that the sculptor was incompetent, that the face could not possibly be a true likeness of the poet, and that the sorrowing relatives had no choice but to ‘grin, like the travesty before them, and bear it!’

This strikes us as delightfully naive, but it carries no conviction. We prefer to believe that the very unpleasant original was a moderately good portrait of the actor, and that the modern alteration, though quite different, equally portrays a man who could not possibly have been the immortal bard, any more than the vapid Droeshout engraving could represent him. We cannot assume that all the sculptors and engravers were incompetent, nor even that they were directly responsible for these portraits. The very fact that these three, the most famous of all Shakespeare portraits, are all hideous and all widely different from each other, does not imply clumsiness on the part of the artists, but rather a deliberate design by some person or persons behind the scenes to emphasise the fact that the Stratford man was in truth a commonplace individual with no pretensions whatever to poetic renown.

Dr. Wilson’s alternative is equally refreshing. He places as frontispiece to his book the so-called ‘Grafton’ portrait; not because he believes or wishes us to believe it is genuine, but because the subject of the portrait is exactly contemporaneous with Shakespeare and might easily typify the kind of face the author really possessed! He says that ‘the reader may find it useful in trying to frame his own image of Shakespeare. It will at any rate help him to forget the Stratford bust.’ Well, well! Is this modern biography? To throw aside inconvenient facts and replace them by visions to stimulate the imagination? We prefer to seek a satisfying explanation of the facts.

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When he comes to the plays, Dr. Wilson's analysis and commentary is keen, lucid and graphically written. He considers, for example, that they do contain topical allusions and "reflect the passing intellectual and social fashions of his day," but that "Shakespeare was a dramatic artist, not a journalist, and above all he was subtle." He glanced at topical events in passing, but not openly. This was the only safe method in those times. But listen to this: "That Shakespeare was himself passionately fond of music is witnessed by the countless references to music and singing in the plays." Here is an example of constructing the biography of a writer solely from his writings; and so far as the authorship problem is concerned it begs the question. We have no idea whether the Stratford man was fond of music or not. Another example of the same kind is this: "From the very beginning he brought from Stratford a delicate nose, which found the effluvia of London, human and otherwise, highly distasteful." Did young William, then, escape from the middens and muckheaps of Stratford only to find himself among the greasy, reeking mob of groundlings at the Globe? Or did that delicate nose belong to the finely sensitive Francis Bacon? He at least was noted for his hatred of foul smells and his love of beautiful perfumes.

In the chapter headed "Enter William Shakespeare with Divers of Worship," Dr. Wilson alludes to our almost complete lack of information about Shakspeare's early youth, and continues thus: "And then suddenly in the years 1592 to 1594 the curtain is drawn aside to discover him already at the height of fame and prosperity; as a leading actor in the leading company in England; as a member of the most brilliant of court circles, as a poet whose publications were more sought after than those of any contemporary, and as a dramatist of such acknowledged power that one of the best-known dramatists of the day is found advising his fellow-playwrights to give up trying to compete with him. Surely there is no more dramatic entry in the whole of history than this of history's greatest dramatist." To which we reply, "Surely there is no limit to the amount of conjecture which biographers

will accept in place of fact.” To say that Shakspeare was “at the height of fame and prosperity” by 1594 is manifestly absurd. In 1594 nothing had appeared in print under the name Shakespeare except *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. Every one of the plays had been anonymous, and there is no proof that as early as 1594 the Stratford man was reputed to be their author. To say that Shakspeare was “a leading actor” is pure conjecture. To say that he was “a member of the most brilliant of court circles” is barefaced invention. The dedication of *Venus and Adonis* to Southampton affords no proof of personal friendship between the rising actor and the young nobleman. Southampton never even mentions him. Why should one of the foremost peers of the realm consort with such a man? A member of brilliant court circles indeed! The notion is preposterous. As for being a dramatist of such acknowledged power that he was above competition, this is based solely on the well-known complaint of Robert Greene, which Dr. Wilson apparently accepts not only as being gospel truth but as representing the generally received opinion. Without embarking upon the well-worn topic of the “Upstart crow beautified with our feathers,” suffice it to say that Greene’s use of the epithet “Shake-scene” is by no means a certain identification of William Shakspeare; and even assuming it were, all that he says amounts to this: that a certain upstart was purloining dramatic work by other men and passing it off as his own; that he was an actor and probably a play-broker. Dr. Wilson likewise accepts Chettle’s apology as referring to Shakspeare, whereas this is extremely doubtful. Chettle does not name Shakspeare. Upon such slender foundations as these do scholars build up their confident biographies of the actor.

Passing on, our author comes to the boyhood of young William, and calmly rules out what he calls the “assumption” derived from Halliwell-Phillipps, that Shakspeare was an ill-educated butcher boy “all but destitute of polished accomplishments, whose education stopped at thirteen and who did not leave Stratford until he was tewnty-three.” He then makes wholly unjustifiable comparisons between the homes of Shakspeare and

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those of Marlowe, Ben Jonson, Spenser, Milton, Keats and Wordsworth. Now Marlowe is believed to have had a University education; Jonson was at Westminster School under the renowned Camden as headmaster; Spenser went to Cambridge University; Milton was at St. Paul's School, London, and likewise at Cambridge; while as for Keats and Wordsworth, educational standards in their day were entirely different. It is not the humbleness of the home which matters, but the facilities for acquiring sound education. Yet Dr. Wilson says: "It is necessary to emphasise these details (about John Shakspeare's position) in order to combat the notion that Shakespeare grew up 'with illiterate relatives and in a bookless neighbourhood,' to quote Halliwell-Phillipps once again. There is plenty of evidence to show that other mercers of Stratford were well educated and cultivated persons, and there is extant a letter in Latin written by a boy of eleven to his father, who was a friend of the Shakespeares."

All this is nothing to the point. Because a boy could write a letter in Latin it does not follow that he could write cultured English. Elementary Latin was taught at the Grammar School, but little else, according to Sir Edmund Chambers. The first English Grammar had not appeared when young William went to school—if he ever did. What matters it that John Shakspeare was High Bailiff, if both he and his wife signed their names with a mark? More significant still, William's daughter Judith could do no more. These are facts which do matter. He did grow up "with illiterate relatives."

Dr. Wilson frankly admits that there is not a tittle of evidence to prove that William went to school; and he endeavours to get over this difficulty by stating that "there were excellent alternatives to the Grammar School at that time, which would be fitter nurseries for dramatic genius and more in keeping with that passion for music which we know Shakespeare possessed." Here are more unwarrantable assumptions. There is nothing but gossip retailed by Aubrey—no shred of proof that William had any dramatic genius in his boyhood; and, as already pointed out, to say that the author "Shakespeare" had a



passion for music is no evidence that the actor Shakspere was thus gifted.

Our author admits again that to credit the authorship of *Love's Labours Lost* to a butcher boy who left school at thirteen and whose education was only what a little provincial borough could provide “is to invite one either to believe in miracles or to disbelieve in ‘the man of Stratford.’ ” We heartily agree. But seemingly he takes upon himself to reject the only information we possess on these matters, and prefers to conjecture that William did receive a proper education; for he says: “However this may be, it is certain that the mature Shakespeare had somehow picked up as good an education in life and the world's concerns as any man before or since. . .” Once more he begs the question of authorship. “Shakespeare” certainly had a magnificent education; but can he be identified with “the Stratford rustic,” as Messrs. Garnett and Gosse term the actor? That is the problem which Dr. Wilson never attempts to solve. Yet it is the kernel of the whole matter.

Then follow more flights of fancy. “His poems and early plays are as full of Warwickshire sights and sounds as Wordsworth's poems are full of the Lake country.” The poems and early plays are certainly not full of allusions to sights and sounds which are specifically of Warwickshire. (Incidentally, no play contains the sound of the word “Stratford”!) And as for characters, attempts to fasten them to Warwickshire have been by no means always successful. Dr. Wilson rightly emphasises the large part taken up in early Shakespearean comedies with “young-mannish conversation,” and refers to such young men as students, courtiers, or inns-of-court men. But he does not explain how the “upstart crow” acquired an easy familiarity with the manners and speech of cultured men of that type. Apparently such details do not trouble him.

Our author states his belief that “Shakespeare's tragedies reflect personal feeling and inner spiritual experience. Some artists have been able to keep their lives and their creations in different compartments. Others, and I think most of the greatest, decidedly have

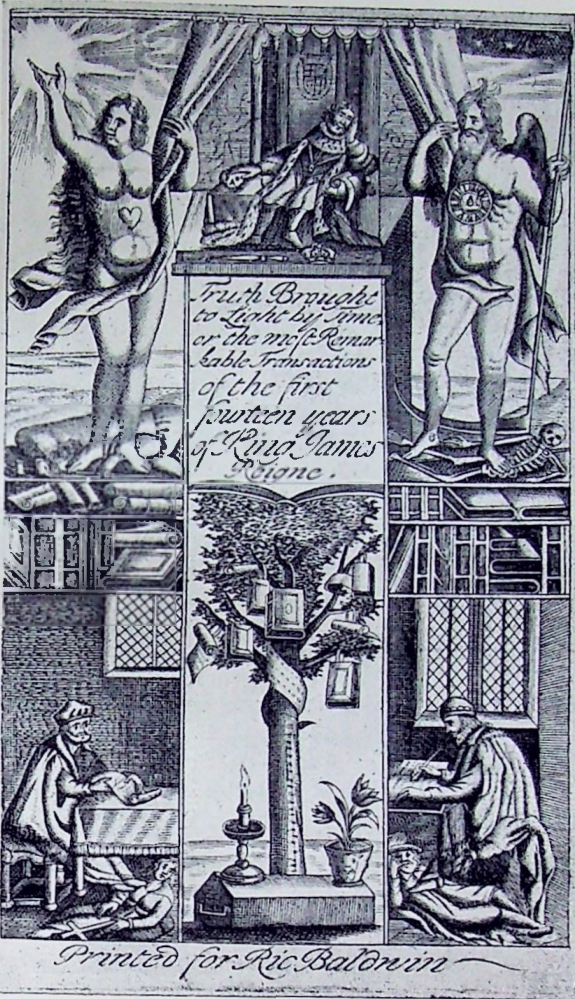
## 114 "The Essential Shakespeare"

not." In this connection he remarks that from 1601 to 1608 "the conclusion is, I think, irresistible that, for whatever cause, Shakespeare was subject at this time to a dominant mood of gloom and dejection, which on one occasion at least brought him to the verge of madness." Very true; but no one has ever succeeded in tracing this gloom to the circumstances of William Shakspeare's life. All Dr. Wilson can do is to suggest that just as we are now suffering from the after effects of the Great War, "which began in a temper of exaltation, best expressed in the poetry of Rupert Brooke, ended in a holocaust of blood and mud, and was followed . . . by the cynical Peace of Versailles," so "the Elizabethan catastrophe described the same curve within a narrower ambit: national elation after the defeat of the Armada, best expressed in *Henry V*, the crash of Essex, and the squalid peace of James." We leave our readers to judge how far, if at all, this can be fitted into the life story of William Shakspeare. We leave them also to judge whether Dr. Wilson has done anything towards solving the real authorship problem.

We cannot conclude this commentary without a protest against the passages in which Dr. Wilson refers incidentally to Francis Bacon. It is bad enough when the uninstructed public talk of Bacon's "treachery" to Essex, but far worse when such erroneous views are put forward by scholars. A single quotation on this point must suffice here. In his *Life and Times of Francis Bacon*, 1878, Vol. I, Book 2, Chap. 6, pp. 360/1, James Spedding wrote: "In a note to Dr. Rawley's 'Life of Bacon' I said that I had no fault to find with him for any part of his conduct towards Essex, and that I thought many people would agree with me when they saw the case fairly stated. Closer examination has not at all altered my opinion on either point. And if I have taken no notice of what has been said on the other side, it is because I do not wish to encumber this book with answers to objections which a competent judgment would not raise." How long will it be before the slanders against Francis Bacon cease for ever?

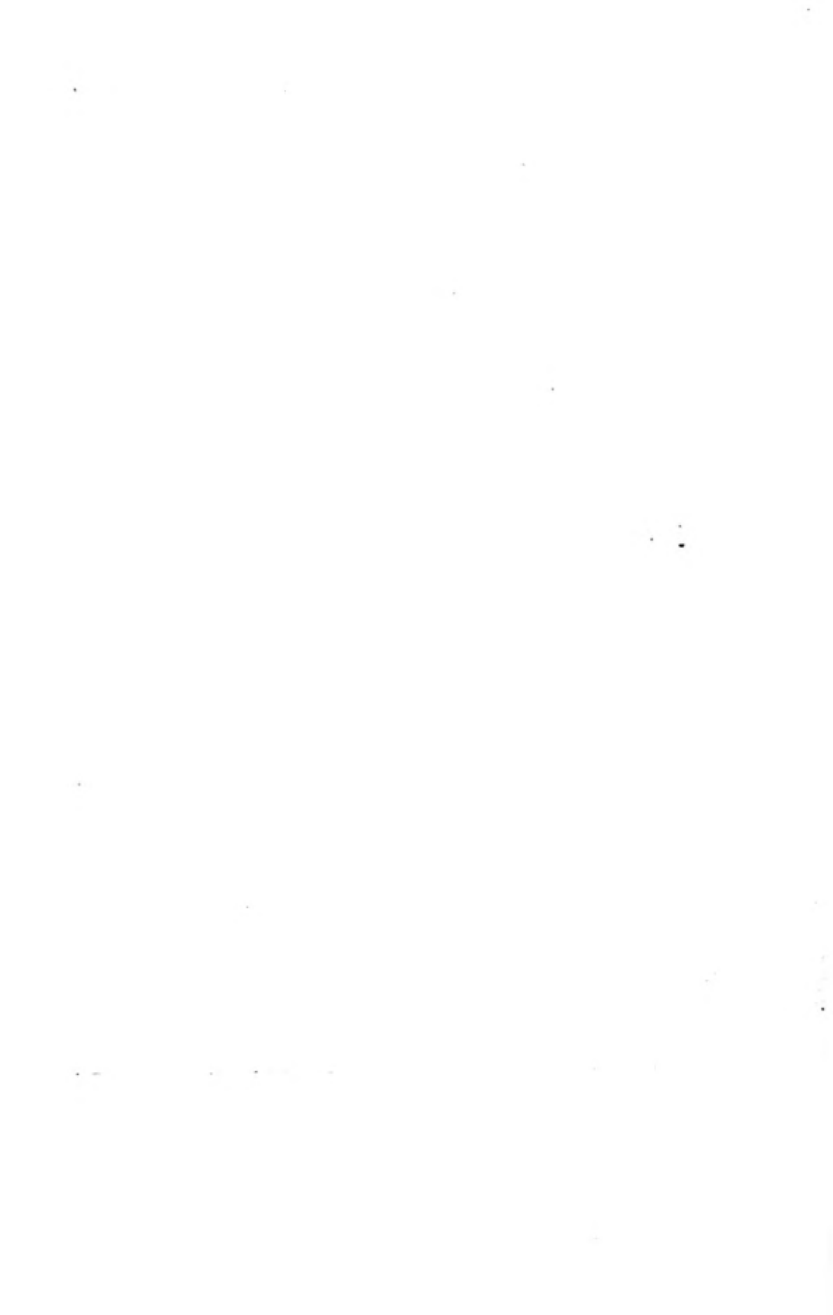






*Truth Brought  
to Light by James  
or the most Remar-  
kable Transactions  
of the first  
fifteen years  
of King James  
Reigne.*

*Printed for Ric Balowin*



## “TRUTH BROUGHT TO LIGHT.”

By PERCY WALTERS.

**I**T is seldom that a Frontispiece has no connection with the subject of the book in which it appears; but such is the case with the rare and curious volume entitled “Truth brought to light and discovered by Time, or a discourse and Historicall Narration of the first XIII. yeares of King James Reigne. Printed by Richard Cotes, and are to be sold by Michaell Sparke (&c.) 1651. John Droeshout, Sculp. Lond.”

The Frontispiece and Title-page combined has been reproduced with Mrs. M. F. Bayley's article in *BACONIANA*, July, 1937, No. 86, page 286. This picture is full of unexplained emblems of considerable interest.

The editor pretends to explain the meaning of these emblems in five doggerel verses, which are here given.

### THE EMBLEMATICAL TITLE EXPLAINED (Edition 1692).

Triumphant *Truth* trampling on *Error* base,  
With *one Hand* hidden *Secrets* doth uncase;  
With *t'other* draws the *Curtain*, shews in *King James*  
That *Death*, *Kings*, *Crowns*, *Scepters*, and *all things* tames;  
Expressed by this *dead King's* posture, right,  
Who *dead*, all *Regal Ornaments* doth slight.

One *t'other* side *all-conquering Time* doth stand,  
A watchful *Sentinel*, and with his *Hand*  
Draws back the *other Curtain*, to descry,  
That *Princes* must as well as *Peasants* die;  
And helps *t'uncover Secrets* covered long,  
And *under's feet* tramples on *Death* most Strong.

Then, next, behold experienc'd *Memory*  
The true *Recorder* of all *History*.  
Spurning down black *Oblivion* with his *looks*  
Whilst he turns o're his *Parchments* and his *Books*;  
And by his expert *Knowledge* calls to mind  
The truth of *Stories* which thou here shalt find.

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On t'other side sits *History* most grave,  
Writes down what *Memory* unto him gave,  
To countenance both *Time* and *Truth* most sweet,  
And *treads down lazy Sloth* under his feet;  
Relating here, the *Ranting* days of old,  
Of whose base pranks, many *foul Tales* are told.

At last, ith' midst, thou may' st a *Coffin* spy,  
Wherein a *murthered Corps* enclos' d doth lie;  
On which, a *Light* and *Urn*, thou plac' d mayst see,  
And in the midst to grow a *spreading Tree*,  
Full fraught with *various Fruits*, most *fresh* and *fair*,  
To make *succeeding Times* most *rich* and *rare*.

How the writer of this doggerel can have imagined that his explanation of the emblems would be accepted by the public is beyond conception—it is nothing but camouflage to put the ordinary reader off the scent, while the true meaning is unexplained. The initiated, or understanding reader would be able to see that the central figure represents Francis Bacon, sitting in the same contemplative attitude as in the Gorhambury monument, with the crown and sceptre at his feet; alas, never to be his. The other parts of this Title-page are evidently reminiscent of important events in his life, and have no bearing on that of King James. In the following description and remarks I have only given my own views of the real meaning of most of the emblems, and leave others to form their opinion; but I would mention that in the original picture the details are much clearer than has been possible with the reproduction in *BACONIANA*, No. 86. The same illustration is here shown beside that of the 1692 edition, for comparison.

### *The Dream of Francis Bacon.*

In the top section Bacon is disclosed in old age, wearing an ermine-trimmed robe, and leaning on his elbow as in the monument, his hand resting on a skull placed on a covered table, or coffin.

At the back of the chair are three panels all very indistinct, but the one in the centre has a coat of arms, with a



crown above, and an anchor below with two supporting animals.

The right panel has a nude female figure seated on a throne, possibly representing *Venus*, the subject of Bacon's earliest poem.

On the left panel are two men (one seated) and one who appears to wear a lawyer's wig, the figure of a woman, also a seated man. I can form no opinion as to the meaning of this group.

The left section shows a large and finely engraved figure of Truth, with the rays of the sun pouring upon her, which she seems to invoke, while she pulls aside one of the curtains which had obscured the objects of Bacon's dream. Under her feet is the prostrate figure of a man grasping a crutch to indicate lameness; the face is evidently a portrait, and is, I believe, intended to represent Anthony Bacon, foster-brother of Francis and his great helper, the only picture of him which I have yet discovered and here Truth is treading him down into obscurity.

The Section on the right has a figure of Time, with wings, who is pulling aside the other Curtain; on his chest is the face of a clock, with the hours reversed (as in the “clock cipher”), one hand pointing to VI on the face of the clock, faintly seen when magnified. On the original engraving, is the picture of a building with towers, and a lake in front, somewhat resembling the old engraving of Canonbury Tower, where Bacon lived for some years, and where can still be seen the list of England's Kings, with the space marked FR.—, between Elizabeth and Jacobus—evidence that Francis was heir to the throne, and possibly crowned.

The handle of Time's scythe is pointing through a window to the sky, which shews two stars, as in Bacon's coat of arms, and a crescent moon, which appears on the boar in his crest. Time is standing on a skeleton, which has a long arrow behind it, and a quiver on the ground. This is surely intended for Shaksper, the deceased actor whom Bacon had used as a mask for his Dramas; indeed the bones of the pelvis indicate the initials W.S. (read backwards).

The lower Section on the left represents a man with a

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round beard and pleated cap, seated at a table, with a scroll to which he is pointing; on the ground beneath the table he is treading down a young man who holds in his left hand a broken cross. This seems to represent the young Francis kept in subjection by the older man, who might be Burghley, discovering the MS. of a play.

The Section on the right shews a hump-backed man wearing a conical cap, also seated at a table, writing in a large book, while underneath is the recumbent figure of Bacon in middle age, leaning on his arm, and being crushed down by the feet of the seated man, who I think must be Cecil, his greatest enemy. Both these sections shew on high shelves several bound and clasped books, also scrolls.

The centre Section represents an open volume, on which appears the title of the book, and beneath it is a spreading palm tree from which hang five books and three scrolls. The whole seems to represent the tree of knowledge, the fruits of which are the works of great authors. The lighted candle and growing flower are emblems of Truth, which, having as its base a coffin representing the dead past, is ever-living and eternal.

I may mention that both copies of this book which I have seen have the Frontispiece pasted in after it was bound, and the "verses" have also been added, so that these emblems were evidently included as an after-thought.

We now come to the book itself, and the "Epistle to the Reader" is of particular interest. It is headed—

"The Stationer to the Impartial Reader,  
Gentlemen, and others."

This is very curiously worded, and professes to inform the Reader concerning the origin of the information which is disclosed; but all the names are withheld, and only the initials G.W. given as that of the "Preserver."

"Time ends all and brings to light variety of strange and several actions as here is to be seen by the ensuing History. Many in these daies . . . will hardly give credit to the Truth thereof, (for Truth and Reality

hath been too much obscured), but now understand by Pain, Care, and Industry, these have been Collected and Preserved . . . . published to the world.

If thou desirest to know the Authors and Preservers of these most remarkable Accidents, and Publisher and Divulger of this excellent Narrative History . . . . please to take notice these came forth of the Studies, Closets, Cabinets, of some Secretaries of State, and some others, men of no mean quality. . . . For you will finde it had more Progenitors than one or two, and that Truth itself hath been the best Nurse, and that carefull Gentleman G.W. the worthy Preserver of these and many more Originals of such like Nature and Kinde, which have been, like to a Torch unlighted, in obscurity and darkness. In which distance of time, some have adventured to light . . . . and therefore I have lighted up the Torch to public view and to the judgment of the understanding Reader.

All this, I say being now brought upon  
 This World a Stage, wheron that day  
 A King and Subjects, part did play  
 And now by Death, is sin Rewarded  
 Which in Life time, was not Regarded;  
 And other here take up the Rooms,  
 Whilst they lye low in Graves and Tombs.

And if any Gentleman or Man of Quality shall make doubt, because in some two or three places a Name is left out, we have done according to the Originall Copy, and if they be desirous to see the Originalls, some of which be signed with the King's own hand, and other some under divers Lords, Bishops, and Examiners, they shall have leave to see them. . . . ."

“MI. SCINTILLA.”

This signature appears to be a fanciful way of veiling the name of the Stationer, or supposed seller of the book, viz., Michaell Sparke.

A large part of the work is concerned with “The proceedings touching the Divorce between Lady Frances Howard, and Robert, Earl of Essex (1613) and the fact is

mentioned that at the time of the "pretended" marriage in January, 1603, Lady Frances was only 13 years of age, and Robert, Earl of Essex, "about" 14.

The speech of Sir Francis Bacon at the Arraignment of the Earl of Somerset, for the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower, is given in full; also the "Pardon of Frances Carre, late Countesse of Somerset" as being only an accessory to the crime; it is drawn out by Bacon, and given both in Latin and English.

It is here recorded that the belief was widely prevalent at the time, that the death of Prince Henry was due to poison; but the evidence of this seems not conclusive.

It seems very probable that Bacon, when in retirement, after his supposed death, caused this book to be published as a true record of events with which he had active connection over many years, taking its material from notes which he had made during his time of office, when he would have had access to very secret documents required for his purpose. Each portion of the book has its separate title page and date, the subjects being so varied in nature that it is probable it was originally intended to be issued in several separate pamphlets.

There is some significance in the fact that the "Emblem" picture was engraved by a member of the Droeshout family, one of whom produced the inane figure of Shakespeare in the First Folio. They were both probably employed by Bacon, and knew his secret.

Since writing the above description, and my interpretation of the Emblems, I have inspected at the British Museum a later edition of the work, dated 1692, and was surprised to find that the parts of the picture which I had conjectured to have Baconian indications, have been in this edition quite obliterated, while the remainder of the engraving, although entirely a new one, is nearly the same. The following alterations have been made.

- 1st. The Figure in the Chair now bears the face of a younger man, and may possibly be a fair likeness of James 1st.
- 2nd. Truth now has her foot entirely covering the face of the crouching man with the crutch.

- 3rd. Time's clock dial has no hand pointing to VI and no figure X, while instead of the small building with towers, there are the faces of two men.
- 4th. The pelvis bones of the Skeleton, with W.S. indicated, now have Time's foot placed over them, and a pole replaces the arrow.

Thus the Baconian indications have been purposely removed for obvious reasons, and this fact suggests that my conjectures as to their meaning were correct.

Another important fact is that this later edition makes no reference to an earlier one, and suppresses many parts which were in it.

The Epistle, called “The Stationer to the impartial Reader,” signed Mi. Scintilla, is entirely omitted, for the reason, I think that it might be construed as an indication that the “Preserver” of the documents, mentioned under the initials G.W., was the divulger of the secret history and his identity possibly discovered.

A new Address to the Reader is given, which is simply a short digest of James's reign, and the History concludes “So far we have followed Truth at the Heels, and Time here rest himself.” “Finis.”

## SPENSER'S TOMB.

BY R. L. EAGLE.

**I** HAVE before me a copy of "Monumenta Westmonasteriensia," being an account of the Epitaphs, &c., on the tombs and stones in Westminster Abbey, by Henry Keepe of the Inner Temple, printed in London in 1682. It contains two notes concerning Spenser's Tomb, the first being on page 46:

"Hard by the little East door is a decayed Tomb of grey Marble, very much defaced, and nothing of the antient inscription remaining, which was in Latine, but of late there is another in English to inform you that Edmund Spenser, a most excellent Poet lies there intombed, who indeed had a sweet and luxuriant fancy, and expressed his thoughts with admirable success, as his Fairy-Queen, and other works of his sufficiently declare. . . . He died in the year 1596."

The year of his birth is not mentioned in this section, but on page 208, in that part of the book devoted to Epitaphs, the following is quoted as the wording of the inscription:

"Here lieth (expecting the second coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ) the body of Edmund Spenser, the Prince of Poets in his time, whose divine spirit needs no other witness than the works which he left behind him. He was born in London in the year 1510 and died in the year 1596."

There was apparently no monument erected for twenty years after his death, though there was a Latin epitaph which Camden quoted in "Reges Reginæ" 1600, &c. The tomb referred to by Henry Keepe is that erected in 1620 by Nicholas Stone at the expense of Anne, Countess of Dorset. It was restored by private subscription in 1778. It is certainly extraordinary that the grey marble of the original

should have decayed by 1682 (a mere sixty years) and "nothing of the inscription remaining." Possibly it was a slab of slate on the floor, as this would account for the worn condition and obliteration of the inscription. The account given by Keepe shows that both the worn original and a new English inscription were present.

The edition of Spenser's Works, published in 1679, contains an engraving of the monument. On a tablet at the foot of the monument are the words, "Such is the Tombe the Noble Essex gave great Spenser's learned Reliques, &c." The statement is incorrect as Essex merely paid for the funeral and the monument was not erected until nearly twenty years after the death of Essex. The inscription shown in the 1679 Folio does not agree with that quoted by Keepe in 1682, but the latter is the more reliable and he claims to have taken "the greatest pains imaginable" in collecting his data, and states that he was not content to rely on Camden, Stowe and Weaver. Incidentally, he doubts whether Camden was the author of "Reges Reginae," which had three editions—1600, 1603 and 1606. The inscription in the 1679 Folio of Spenser reads:

Heare lyes (expecting the Second  
comminge of our Saviour Christ  
Jesus) the body of Edmond Spenser  
the Prince of Poets in his tyme  
whose Divine Spirit needs noe  
othir witness then the works  
which he left behind him  
He was borne in London  
in the yeare 1510 and  
died in the yeare  
1596

On the present-day monument the word "Spirit" becomes "Spirrit" and "behind" now reads "behinde." The important alteration is in the dates of his birth and death to read 1553 and 1598. Modern research shows that Spenser was in Ireland up to at least the 9th December, 1598. It appears that he died, shortly after his return to England on 16th January, 1598-9. This is confirmed by

Camden who, writing in Latin in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth's reign, says that Spenser "had scarcely secured the means of retirement and leisure to write when he was ejected by the rebels, spoiled of his goods and returned to England in poverty, where he died immediately afterwards and was interred at Westminster near to Chaucer, his hearse being attended by poets and mournful elegies, with the pens that wrote them, being thrown into the grave." Commenting on Camden's recording of the funeral Mr. E. G. Harman in "Edmund Spenser and the Impersonations of Francis Bacon" observes that "Spenser's supposed friendship with Essex is most improbable, and the story therefore that the Earl paid for the funeral is a very curious one. But if true, it is intelligible under my view of the authorship of the poems, because the action of Essex covered up Francis Bacon's secret. Whether he knew it or not is immaterial, for he was always ready to do anything to help Francis Bacon, for whom he entertained feelings of warm regard and admiration. . . . I think it probable that he paid for Spenser's funeral because he was asked to do so, and that the people of his household, among whom were Anthony Bacon and his servants, managed the rest." I am not in a position to express an opinion on this point of view, but it must be remembered that Spenser had spent most of his life in Ireland since 1580, when Essex was only thirteen years old. The natural conclusion is that Essex knew little or nothing of Spenser personally, nor can it be shown that Essex was particularly interested in poets or poetry.



## A PLEA FOR MODERATION.

By HOWARD BRIDGEWATER.

THE scant consideration given to the Baconian theory both by the public and the Press is, I am convinced, due largely to the fact that the Bacon Society lends its tacit or implied support to assertions by individual members which are often extravagant and sometimes absurd. This tends to alienate interest in the Society by rendering it easy for our opponent to make its claims and objects appear ridiculous.

Any Society designed, as ours is, to propagate an unorthodox theory, which is, in itself, a challenge to public opinion, should—while courting discovery of any new facts calculated to strengthen its case—avoid overt support for theories which its own members regard as highly controversial.

Pending further evidence than we have at present, I would suggest that we discourage reference to the idea that Francis Bacon was not born the son (as history asserts he was) of Lady Anne and Sir Nicholas. Even though this could be established, it would be of no advantage to us. Lady Anne Bacon was the daughter of the learned Sir Anthony Cooke, who was tutor to Edward VI. She was one of the most brilliantly educated ladies of her time, while Sir Nicholas was one of the astutest noblemen at Court; and the genius of their son is not better explained if he be fathered upon the Earl of Leicester, as the result of an illicit intercourse, or secret marriage, with Queen Elizabeth.

In common with many Baconians I incline to the opinion that Bacon may have been the author of the (anonymous) *Leycester's Commonwealth*, which was found, together with various transcripts of Bacon's work, in the collection we now know as the "Northumberland Manuscript."

But whoever wrote *Leycester's Commonwealth*, the author denounces Leicester as an arch traitor, and as being of all

men the greatest danger to the realm, and there is rather more than a suspicion that he was responsible for the death of his Wife Amy Robsart.

It would appear, then, that the fame of Francis Bacon would be no fairer if Leicester was his father. Belief that he was seems to rest upon evidence that was always suspect and which has recently been proved by Mr. L'Estrange Ewen to be entirely unreliable: that of the Biliteral Cipher so called. Confidence cannot be asked for deciphering that which produces two different stories from the same original! Francis Bacon was the founder of inductive philosophy, which makes well-ascertained facts the basis of truth: not merely one or two circumstances that may seem suspicious.

We may not have a high opinion of Burleigh; but had the Queen been married, that fact must surely have been known to him; and knowing it, he could have hardly urged her to marry the Duke d'Alencon, Leicester being still alive.

The main object of the Bacon Society is to bring the public of this country to recognition of the fact that it is to Francis Bacon, the greatest genius of the Elizabethan age, that we owe the greatest literature of all time; and I maintain that we only weaken its case and prejudice his claims by associating them with speculations, too often offered in the guise of facts.

I now come to the theory that Francis Bacon was not only a Freemason but was the founder of modern freemasonry. And about that I would say this: that, while in no way advancing our main object, Bacon's association with Freemasons would if proved be an interesting addition to our knowledge of the activity of that great man. I should, therefore, welcome the appearance of any soberly written treatise bringing forward such evidence as may exist. But the theory—and it is no more—is permeating our literature, and becoming an article of faith. In its latest form it is declared in a pamphlet written by Mr. Alfred Dodd, entitled "A Leaflet of Interest to Freemasons in Particular and Litterateurs in General."

No one who has listened to Mr. Dodd can fail to be

impressed (even if in complete disagreement with him) by his insight into, and appreciation of, the literary and philosophical value of "Shakespeare." What a pity, then, that he should have endeavoured to demonstrate as a fact that Bacon was the founder of freemasonry by arguments such as those advanced in the pamphlet referred to: I must give an example of his method. He takes from *The Tempest* his main text, and in Act V from a speech of Alonso quotes this—

And there is in this business more than Nature  
Was ever conduct of: some oracle  
Must rectify our knowledge.

descanting upon it as follows: "In a Freemason's Lodge the oracle that speaks with authority is a Worshipful Master. Since the author wishes the discerning reader to know the kind of oracle he has in mind, he writes the words so that the first letters of the three lines spell A. W. M. All Masons know that A. W. M. is the abbreviated Ritual Code for "A Worshipful Master." So, you see, in future every time you notice that the initial letters of any speech in "Shakespeare" happen to run in sequence A. W. M. you are to say to yourself "Ah! that means that the author is again informing you that he was a worshipful master! Moreover, as Mr. Dodd goes on to demonstrate, you are entitled to come to the same conclusion even if these initial letters read the other way round as M. W. A. You can, by transposing them in your mind (by mentally standing as it were, on your head) get them in the desired order.

The beautiful passage above quoted actually begins with the lines "this is as strange a maze as e'r men trod;" and I should have thought that had the author really wanted to embody a message of any kind therein he would have commenced his task with the first line; but as that line happens to begin with the letter "T" and the letter "T" is of no particular use to Mr. Dodd, he ignores it. Then again I fail to see that, because Alonso says "some oracle must rectify our knowledge," it follows at all that the author had any particular oracle in mind; still less had any desire that the "discerning reader," any

more than Alonso, should bother himself to think out which of the oracles was thus casually referred to. And I have never heard any worshipful Master referred to as an oracle. Moreover, with all deference to Mr. Dodd, A.W.M. is *not* the abbreviated ritual code for Worshipful Master. W.M. alone is the ritual abbreviation, for there is only one W.M. at a Lodge meeting and consequently no occasion at all for the initials A.W.M. In addition to all this we are asked to believe that these beautiful lines were written under the handicap, in the author's mind, that the initial letters of three of the four lines must be A.W.M.

I regret that lack of space prevents me from dealing more exhaustively with this pamphlet; I can only say that in subsequent pages Mr. Dodd allows still greater rein to his amazing imagination. In a recent issue of *BACONIANA* Mr. W. A. Vaughan confirms the experience of others in a letter in which he writes that "Personal enquiries of my masonic friends, who are pastmasters in the history of Freemasonry, elicit the substantial replies that the Craft has no knowledge that Francis Bacon was a mason, and that masonic tradition is silent concerning him as the introducer or founder of any Lodge."

Now to another matter. The great Verulam, having died, and his death having been attested by every kind of evidence which the circumstances might be expected to have provided, one would have thought that he might have been allowed to rest in peace. But a section of the Bacon Society declines even to accept the historical evidence of his death and burial. And why not? Because many years ago a certain lady, who strongly influenced both by her written work and personality the early members of the Society, became obsessed to such an extent that she would believe no accepted fact about Francis Bacon whatever. Accordingly she expressed disbelief of the facts relative to his death, without apparently giving a thought to the question what possible purpose could be served by substituting for history a tale told with the object of enshrouding the time and manner of his death in mystery and providing him with an unknown Tomb and a

doubtful apotheosis. Our former President Mr. C. C. Bompas, M.A. (a distinguished lawyer), contributed an article to *BACONIANA*, in which he demonstrated that the facts of Bacon's death were attested by Mr. Hobbes, one of his most intimate friends, by Dr. Rawley, his Chaplain, and by Sir Thos. Meautys, his Secretary. In addition there was, and is, Bacon's own beautiful letter to the Earl of Arundel, explaining how he was forced to take up lodging at his house, "where your housekeeper is very careful and diligent about me, which I assure myself your lordship will not only pardon towards him, but think the better of him for it;" which letter concludes with his apology for the fact that he is unable to write with his own hand "but in troath my fingers are so disjoynted with this fit of sickness, that I cannot steadily hold a pen."

Referring to an "inquisitio post mortem" that was held in 1634 to determine some right of inheritance, and having quoted the findings, Mr. Bompas comments upon it "We have here the oaths of sixteen trustworthy and lawful men of the County of Hertford confirming the statement of Dr. Rawley, Sir Th. Meautys, Sir Henry Wootton, Mr. Hobbes, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, and Sir Robt. Rich that Francis Bacon died on 9th April 1626, and explaining the devolution of his property upon and since his death, and he reminds us that his widow married again shortly after his death: of which happening she must have been well assured.

And Mr. Bompas adds the very significant comment; that the date of Bacon's death can scarcely be displaced by the suggestion, unsupported by evidence, that a Rosicrucian Father lived to the age of 106, and a conjecture that he might have been Francis Bacon.

Finally I would remind you that Bacon's own motto was *mediocria firma!*

## THE LIFE OF FRANCIS BACON.

**F**RANCIS BACON was born in London in 1561. He was baptised on 25th January as son of Sir Nicholas and Lady Bacon. His father was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England and his mother was one of the most accomplished women of her time. As a child he showed unusual promise and attracted the attention of Queen Elizabeth, who called him her "Young Lord Keeper."

In April, 1573, at the age of 12, he entered Cambridge University: his tutor there was Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, by whom licence to publish *Venus and Adonis* was granted in 1593. At Christmas, 1575, Francis left Cambridge, having acquired all the knowledge that University was able to impart, particularly that wide knowledge of the classics conspicuously displayed even in the earliest Shakespeare plays. In 1576, at the age of 15, he entered as a student at Gray's Inn. Other members of that learned Society were the Earl of Southampton (to whom *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* were dedicated), Francis Bacon's uncle, Lord Burleigh (who is said to have been the original "Polonius"), Lord Strange (in whose company the actor Shakspeare played) and William Herbert Earl of Pembroke (one of Mary Fitton's lovers, to whom many believe the Shakespeare Sonnets were addressed and to whom the First Folio of the Shakespeare Plays was dedicated). In September 1576, Bacon went with Sir Amyas Paulett the English Ambassador, to Paris, remaining in France for over two years, gaining a colloquial knowledge of French and acquainting himself with the life of the French Court. He visited many parts of France, among them the battle-fields famous in the Shakespeare chronicle plays. He also visited Italy and Spain.

In 1579 Sir Nicholas Bacon died and Francis returned to his home at Gorhambury, near St. Albans, where several

scenes in the early play, *Henry VI*, are laid. He studied law, being called to the Bar in 1582. He remained a briefless barrister for some considerable time, and we find him writing "the Bar will be my bier." He applied to Lord Burleigh to exert influence on his behalf, but with little success, except that in 1584 he was returned to the House of Commons as member for Melcombe. He seems to have led the life partly of a courtier and partly of a recluse, and we hear little of him until 1587, when he was associated with other gentlemen of Gray's Inn in presenting certain masques and devices at Greenwich and a play called *The Misfortunes of Arthur*. But the years 1588 to 1591 brought him nothing but disappointment. Weary of begging favours from Court and Queen, he thinks of becoming "some sorry bookmaker." "The contemplative planet," he writes, "carries me away." He presents the Queen with a Sonnet, he writes her "A Letter of Advice" and there is little other trace of him. The Shakespeare comedies of the period exhibit his brother Anthony's correspondence from France and Italy and Francis' own legal studies.

In 1592 Anthony returned to England and the two brothers became unpaid secretaries to the Earl of Essex, but this powerful patronage brought them no favour, and their narrow means involved Francis in many difficulties. How he filled his empty purse is not known, unless, as a man born for literature (as he described himself), he engaged in an occupation lucrative, if derogatory and disgraceful at the time—that of writing plays for the public stages. Both he and his brother loved the Drama. To Francis it was history made visible: the World itself was a Theatre: play-acting, though esteemed a toy, was a musician's bow by which the minds of men might be played upon: although of ill-repute as a profession, as a part of the education of youth it was of excellent use. In 1593 he composed the *Conference of Pleasure* and other masques: plays were performed at Anthony's house near the "Bull Inn," Bishopsgate. On the outside of the MS. of the *Conference of Pleasure* there is a list of speeches, orations and letters, and the titles of *Richard II*, *Richard III*, and

other contemporary plays. The names of Bacon and Shakespeare on this sheet are written in close proximity. A notebook of Bacon's own (the page is dated 5th December, 1594) contains several striking phrases which appear in *Romeo and Juliet*, published soon afterwards, and there are many other entries repeated in or alluded to in the Shakespeare plays. Plays were marketable; politics and philosophy were not; and Bacon describes himself as poor and working for bread. In 1594 he was responsible for the *Device of an Indian Prince*, reminiscent in some respects of the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. The following years were years of financial crisis. We find him borrowing money and being arrested for debt: he had sought help from Sympson, a hard Jew, from whose hands he was delivered by Anthony, who mortgaged property of his own to save his brother from the clutches of the usurer. In 1596 he published his treatise on *The Colours of Good and Evil* and the following year the first edition of his *Essays* saw the light.

The Queen took great offence at the performance of *Richard II*, which was published in 1598, and Bacon pacified her by the assurance that the author was not a traitor, but only a thief from Tacitus. It was probably in consequence of this that in the same year the name Shakespeare appeared for the first time upon the title-pages of the plays: hitherto all these had been published anonymously.

In 1601 began a period of even greater trouble for Francis Bacon: the rebellion of Essex was followed by the execution of the Earl. As Crown Counsel, Bacon had to take part in the prosecution of his friend for treason, and he incurred a certain amount of odium in consequence, owing to the popularity of Essex. Any blame, however, must attach, not to Bacon personally, but to the Government which decided to take advantage of his loyalty to the Queen. In the same year his brother died; and his mother became gradually insane. She died ten years later. Illness, melancholy, "doubt of present perils," "superstition" haunt him; and, as might be expected, the course of his life is reflected in the "Dark Period" of the Shakespeare



Plays. In 1611 we hear of him with Pembroke, Southampton and Montgomery as a member of the company which sent out a fleet to colonize Virginia. The ship was wrecked on the "still vexed Bermoothes." To a thrilling contemporary account of this are some of the incidents in *The Tempest* attributed.

This can be no more than the merest sketch of his life, and the story of his legal and political career cannot be told. Under James I he rose to the highest offices in the State, to fall from the position of Lord Chancellor in 1621 as a result of the malice of his enemies, the corruption of his servants, and to carelessness rather than misconduct on his own part. The story of his betrayal and fall is told in *Timon of Athens* and *King Henry VIII*. He spent the rest of his life in completing and translating his great philosophical works: the *Life of Henry VII* was written, completing the cycle of the Shakespeare chronicle plays: the *Essays* were revised.

He died on 9th April, 1626, and the lamentation poured out reads like tribute to one more than mortal. That of the Universities is to his pre-eminence as a poet-philosopher: he was the Morning Star of the Muses, the Glory of the Muses' choir, a teller of tales that amazed the Courts of Kings. The expressions of love and admiration for him personally are even more remarkable. All great and good men loved him. He was a friend unalterable to his friends: a man most sweet in his conversation and ways. Despite all the arts and malice of his enemies, he was forever to be admired, honoured, loved and lamented. He belongs to the ages and his message to this time is that which he gave his own. Men should study to be perfect in becoming again as little children: condescend to take the alphabet into their hands and, sparing no pains to search and unravel the interpretation thereof, pursue it strenuously, persevering even unto death.

## “SHAKESPEARE REDISCOVERED”

**S**HAKSPERE has been rediscovered by Madame Longworth de Chambrun, Doctor of the University of Paris.

The portrait and its background are dark and sinister: the stake, the gallows, the hangman's rope, and the headsman's axe, the torments of religious persecution, not only moved Shakspeare himself to shed "the drops engendered by sacred pity," but haunt him in visions of violence and set his tragic stages with scenes of thunder and of blood.

The reason was that William Shakspeare was a Catholic and, like two-thirds of Queen Elizabeth's subjects, an outlaw by reason of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. In the light of this fact the story of his life must be read. His father and mother were Catholics and for *that* reason, and not because he was in poverty and debt as other authorities indicate, did Master Shakspeare senior absent himself from meetings of the Council. A great part of the book is devoted to an account of the tribulations and trials of the Park Hall Ardens, John Somerville, Joyce Hill, and many, many others; and in it we lose all trace of our hero, for needless to say there is no evidence whatever that he was associated with what for Madame de Chambrun was a noble army of martyrs. He re-appears, however, in her account of his marriage mystery. This was celebrated according to the Roman rite and there is little doubt, we are assured, that Hall, a priest in hiding, officiated in secret at a cost to the bridegroom of £40, notwithstanding the latter was only nineteen at the time and the fortunes of his family had been growing ever darker and darker. However the marriage proved a very happy one: the bride's dower was £6 13s. 8d., so that it appears to have been a real love match—a youthful idyll set in the rose-embower'd charm of the lovers' dwelling and pastoral surroundings. Thus, in the fancy of the gifted authoress, is the hut in

Henley Street transformed; to this change are subject the midden, the dung heap, and the squalor of the Stratford Fact.

The tributes of Jonson and Chettle are ante-dated in order to describe the bridegroom's physical attraction to his rather older rural sweetheart. We pass from an account of John Shakspeare's spiritual testament—Madame has no doubt this is genuine: one like it has been discovered in Mexico city in Spanish, which confirms for her the authenticity of the Stratford text—to that of an aunt of William's who was a nun, Domina Shakspeare and who, although she died when he was but fourteen years old, taught the child genius his mother tongue—Simon Hunt completed that great work. That we cannot identify Simon Hunt does not trouble Madame de Chambrun. Most writers call him Thomas, some George. He is thought to have been the master at the school Shakspeare is thought to have attended. And then we have the poaching incident in which, with other young bloods, he took part. Sir Thomas Lucy, charged with the duty of enquiring into the loyalty of Warwickshire people to the Queen and their attitude to the papist claims to dethrone her in favour of Mary of Scotland, accused John Shakspeare of recusancy and William fled to London lest he should share the same fate. What saved his father from the long arm of Lucy we are left to imagine.

William, after the ostler servitor period, enters a printer's establishment, perhaps does some “legal scrivening” (thus earning the term of “noverint”), asks for and obtains leave to print *Venus and Adonis* from Whitgift, Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury and tutor to Francis Bacon at Cambridge. He enters the path to success, smoothed by the third Earl of Southampton, the importance of whose interest in Shakspeare's career it is impossible to exaggerate. Through him the poet freed his father from debt and persecution: to him William himself owed the appearance of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. He inspired *Love's Labours Lost* and *All's Well*. The poet's verse bristles with legal terms. Southampton is reading law. Southampton (“Harry” to Madame de Chambrun) revels

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with Florio in Italian tales and translates Montaigne. Shakspeare "throws" these into his pages, and for Southampton's sake applies for the grant of a coat-of-arms in order to lessen the difference in social scale between himself and his patron.

And there the story of the re-discovered Shakspeare ends. No new light is thrown upon the Stratford retirement. The "records, secret reports and private correspondence" are silent about that. Perhaps a few words will not be out of place in reference to these new and exciting ideas, which, as Dr. G. B. Harrison in the Preface tells us, the book brings together.

There is little to support, as Sir E. K. Chambers has pointed out, its main contention that John Shakspeare was a Catholic recusant. The recusancy returns of 1592 had nothing to do with the anti-Puritan legislation of 1593. There is nothing to show that the spiritual testament was that of John Shakspeare. If it is not a forgery, it probably dates from his early life and is little evidence of his religious persuasion under Elizabeth.

The reference incidentally to the rosy, merry-cheeked John and his son Will by the "poet Mennis" is misquoted and its effect seriously misrepresented. The touching account given of the shepherd's confidence in Master Shakspeare's wife is also a misrepresentation of the fact that she borrowed from her father's shepherd and, the debt remaining unpaid by her wealthy husband at the time of his death, it was bequeathed by the shepherd to the poor of Stratford. The mis-statements of fact, prejudices and special pleading of one who before entering the literary arena swore, as she herself tells us, very solemnly never to suppress or distort evidence, deserve for this reason, if for no other, regretful comment.

The whole fabric of the authoress' vision collapses unless she can show that it was indeed the religious affiliation of Shakspeare's relatives and of his patron that determined much of his thought and action, his hasty and secret marriage, his flight and close association in London with the Essex faction.

Now William may have died a papist. The sole auth-

ority is, however, a record late in the seventeenth century for which perhaps the Rev. Richard Davies, Rector of Sapperton, is responsible; but there is a strong contrary indication in the fact that he stood as sponsor to William Walker, whom he mentions in his Will as his godson and who was baptized at Stratford in 1608. Shakspeare was buried in the chancel of the Stratford Parish Church, which again is hardly consistent with his membership of the Roman Catholic Church.

But whether William Shakspeare was Roman Catholic or not, the author of the plays and poems was certainly not, and we shall make no apology if we express our complete disagreement with Madame de Chambrun's theory in this respect. It is quite incredible that the writer of *King John*, a tragedy, part of the theme of which is resistance to the claims to temporal power of that Church and in which the quarrel between King and Pope is antedated six years, could have written, if a Catholic, of the Holy Father as "an Italian Priest," "an usurped authority" and "a meddling priest;" of excommunication as "a curse that money might buy out;" of the Church itself "as selling a man's pardon," as "juggling witchcraft" and as "cherishing revenue corruptly gained."

The play of *Henry VIII* is to a great extent an apotheosis of Cranmer in Roman Catholic eyes, an arch-heretic condemned by a Roman Catholic Queen to the fire as such; and here again there is nothing in the plot of the play requiring the scene in which the King describes Cranmer as a "good and honest man," and there is no authority in Fox's Book of Martyrs, which the drama almost literally follows elsewhere, for the King's eulogy. It is interpolated by the dramatist.

We believe that, like Bacon, the Shakespeare of the plays was opposed to the Papal Supremacy: that again like Bacon he believed that in the reign of Elizabeth "This part of the island never had 45 years of better times. For if there be considered of the one side the truth of religion established, the constant peace and security, the good administration of justice, etc." Thus Bacon in the "Advancement of Learning," Book I.

And Shakespeare

"In her days every man shall eat in safety  
Under his own vine what he plants: and sing  
The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours  
God shall be truly known."

No Catholic recusant would have written of the Great Queen thus.

We must return to the Stratford Shakspeare and to Madam de Chambrun.

There is no evidence of course that William Shakspeare was ever associated with the Earl of Southampton. The fact that to the early editions of *Venus and Adonis* a dedication was signed "William Shakespeare" is of no assistance in the well-nigh impossible task that faces us when we endeavour to associate in friendship or even in casual acquaintance two men so widely different in every qualification that makes for intimacy as were the Stratford peasant player and one of the most brilliant figures of a magnificent Court. We can only express regret that Madame de Chambrun did not abandon so unpromising a line of research and direct her attention to that life-long intimacy and early and very close relationship between Francis Bacon and Southampton which presents so much less difficulty to the unprejudiced enquirer. Bacon's correspondence with Southampton and Essex has been preserved and is of course well known. There is no Shakespeare-Southampton correspondence at all.

The second section of Madame de Chambrun's book deals almost entirely with Shakespeare's "London patron" as she calls Southampton and his associates: she even suggests that Shakespeare was easily by way of learning all that he needed for his play *Love's Labours Lost* because Sir Charles and Sir Henry Danvers corresponded with Southampton while serving the French King Henry IV! She accepts, of course, the theory that the sonnet sequence was addressed to Southampton while the actor was travelling on horseback upon a beast that "bore him tired with woe which plodded dully on as if the wretch did know his rider loved not speed." It would be difficult to regard this chapter as anything but the wildest flight of imagina-

tion of all, were it not for what follows. Mistress Fitton is stated to be of the popular blonde complexion and a notorious spinster. Mary Fitton was married twice. Madame de Chambrun states that we have a firm base of serious and often repeated testimony in favour of Shakespeare's liaison with Mistress Davenant, the Oxford hostess, by whom he had a child William. It was with this Dame pint-pot that Southampton deceived his friend!

Oscar Wilde did not identify in his story “The Portrait of Mr. W.H.” Willie Hughes as the rich and powerful patron to whom Shakespeare owed his first success. Has Madame read the fantasy in which Wilde suggested that Willie Hughes was the boy actor to whom the principal feminine parts in the Shakespearian plays were entrusted? She identifies “Mr. W.H.” as Mr. William Hervey, but upon grounds which are only a little less inadequate than the extraordinary statement that Shakespeare got into trouble over *Richard II*, which caused his absence from England from March 1601 to December 1602. These years as a matter of fact saw the death of his father and the purchase by William Shakspeare himself of more real estate at Stratford. If he were a fugitive, surely the Government would have enforced a fine upon the wealthy traitor by seizure of what must have been valuable plunder in his native village, and his pocket would have suffered as we are told so many of his fellow martyrs did.

At the Court of King James, however, he found inspiration for *Macbeth* in which play there is a reference to Shakspeare's journey to Scotland, and some of his protector's characteristic traits are reflected in *Measure for Measure*. The authoress' memory has however failed her in that she quotes “man as dressed in a little brief authority” as from *Hamlet*, a fact which unfortunately discounts other statements. There is no evidence that Shakespeare walked in solemn procession from Somerset House to Whitehall, nor that he and his fellows carried the royal dais. If William Shakspeare were the author of Sonnet 125, he would not, we think, have considered the bearing of canopy in the circumstances an honour.

Too often the authoress begins with theory which

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later appears as fact. An example of this is the statement that Fulbrook Park on page 216 had been shown to have been William's happy hunting ground on page 84 where the tell tale "maybe" is used.

Of the interpretation of the *Phoenix and the Turtle* we think that the less said the better.

We may perhaps quote in support of this view the concluding sentence of the Chapter devoted to this mysterious poem, wherein Madame de Chambrun writes, apparently quite seriously, that if there was one printer in the world qualified to know a poem of William Shakespeare's when he saw it that man was Richard Field, the Stratford tanner's son.

The handwriting of William Shakespeare is also re-discovered in a copy of the second Edition of Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* which with some temerity, Madame de Chambrun claims to have belonged to the Great Dramatist himself and to have been marked and underscored by him as the source of his historical plays. There appear to be several specimens of different handwriting upon this priceless treasure: in one there is the celebrated veterinary recipe "Black soape, pigge meale, and honny mingled together, good for a horse's leg swollen." This recalls pertinently the country lad's first employment at the capital. In another, by a curious irony, there appear, as the late Mr. H. Seymour pointed out in *BACONIANA* (June 1936) written hall marks associated with books and MSS belonging to Francis Bacon; and this trenchant article disposed we think finally of Madame de Chambrun's claims for these signatures which resemble Shakspeare's (we are not told which of the five different ones) and are undoubtedly of his period.

The evidence adduced in support of her contentions would not impress the most credulous of juries. Passages occurring in Chronicle and Play are underscored in the former. The initials W.S. as ornamental monograms occur six times. The book can be traced to a first owner who lived in the region of Shakspeare's home (near Rugby) and through Harriet, wife of Sir Grey Skipwith, and Sir Paton Skipwith back to Stratford and to Captain William



Jaggard. A large amount of ink has been allowed to drip by the poet when leaning over the volume. The pages recording the story of the reigns he dramatised are worn thin by thumbing; and finally, the ink and handwriting of the markings have been declared by British Museum experts as prior to 1620. Upon this evidence we are assured that we are richer by the possession of nearly a hundred words from Shakespeare's pen.

And this we are asked by Dr. G. B. Harrison, it is true with a rather disarming candour, to believe the most interesting of the less important suggestions made by Madame de Chambrun. He wishes us to believe this literary evidence convincing, and commends it to us in terms even more picturesque than those of the authoress herself. The original reader (i. e., William Shakspeare) turned pages by using a licked finger: the most striking passages which Shakespeare himself used are often spotted and stained with ink (or beer) while the pages relating the story he did not dramatise are notably clean. We regret to disagree with Dr. Harrison's puff that there is enough here to set research workers busy for the next twenty years in new directions.

The value of the chapter on the Northumberland Manuscript may perhaps be estimated by that of the statements made on page 278, that Mr. Spedding analysed it in 1860 with a view to proof that Francis Bacon was the real author of Shakespeare's work, and (on page 279) that we owe the re-discovery of the document to such partisans of the Baconian theory as Mr. James Spedding and Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence. Mr. Spedding was not a Baconian and Sir E. Durning-Lawrence had nothing whatever to do with the discovery of the Northumberland MS.

In conclusion we can only express the wish that greater care had been taken in a work of this nature (especially in view of the claims made on its behalf) to verify matters stated as of fact. We do not refer to such errors as that “the wife had her legal third in all real and literary (sic) estate” nor even to what we think a distorted and entirely misleading account of the attitude of Elizabeth and her Government to the English Catholics, but to flights of

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fancy of which Hollywood alone seems worthy—Queen Henrietta Maria high in hope before the Battle of Edge Hill sleeping at New Place in the best or state bed, a component part of the guest chamber; the comparison of Ann Shakspeare's love for the second-best bed with Desdemona's attachment to her wedding sheets; the change by Shakespeare of the name Hamnet to Hamlett Sadler in his bequest of £1 8s. 8d. to buy a ring; the "sweeping" bestowal of the sword upon Thomas Combe by a testator holding a trembling pen.

We have said enough: we ought perhaps to have extended to *Shakespeare Re-discovered* and to his discoverer the charity of our silence, or contented ourselves with the suggestion that the authoress should re-name her book, publishing it as an historical romance, the scenario of which we have no doubt would pass with favour in those palaces among the celluloid nitwits where fiction and fantasy are accepted without question as fact. This we should have done, had it not been that the book has been published apparently with the commendation and approval of an authority of such eminence in the orthodox ranks as Dr. Harrison, and at the price of 12s. 6d. by so respectable a firm of publishers as Messrs. Scribner & Sons, Ltd., in America and this country. These considerations and the wide advertisement the book has received have induced us to devote space to it even at the cost of rescuing it from the oblivion into which it would, we think, have quickly fallen if it had seen the light unheralded and unpuffed.

## BACON WROTE THE SHAKESPEARE PLAYS.

### *Reason I.*

The plays correspond with what we know of the life of Francis Bacon but they do not correspond with anything that we know of the life of William Shakspeare of Stratford.

Biographies of Shakespeare are mostly founded on the assumption that Shakspeare of Stratford was the author and they consist largely of conjecture, surmise, and pure imagination. "Almost all the received stuff of his life," wrote Professor Saintsbury, "is shreds and patches of tradition if not positive dream work."

The incidents in the life of the person responsible for the plays would influence the speech of the characters and other characteristics of the plays themselves. Nothing but confusion and complexity can come from a system which makes a gulf between the man and his works only to be overcome by superhuman inspiration. (*Shakespearean Truth and Tradition*, John S. Smart, M.A., D.Litt.)

Not only the learning but also the errors of the plays are identical with those of Bacon's works and more than a thousand parallels of thought and expression of Bacon and "Shakespeare" have been collected.

The little we know of Shakspeare's life seems to indicate that he was a jovial actor and manager. Emerson wrote that he could not marry this fact to Shakespeare's verse. Other men have led lives in some sort of keeping with their thought, but Shakespeare in wide contrast. Had he been less, had he reached only the common measure of great authors, we might leave the fact in the twilight of human fate, but that this Man of men. . should not be wise for himself—it must even go into the world's history that the best poet led an obscure and profane life.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

SHAKESPEARE'S LAST PLAYS. By E. M. W. Tillyard, Litt.D.,  
Chatto and Windus, price 3s. 6d.

Although dealing incidentally with *Anthony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*, Dr. Tillyard's chief theme centres round *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*. He considers that these three are connected, and in a different manner from any three earlier comedies or tragedies. "He fumbled in *Cymbeline*, did better in *The Winter's Tale*, and only in his third attempt achieved full success." In contradistinction to Lytton Strachey's view that Shakespeare had become bored with his art and with life in general, Dr. Tillyard agrees with Middleton Murry that this is not so; and further, that "the 'feigned history' he chose to draw on was taken quite as seriously by his contemporaries as the true history he abandoned." In this connection Dr. Tillyard emphasises the great importance of Sidney's *Arcadia* as an influence of the period, since it combined delight with instruction.

Dr. Tillyard postulates tragedy as implying some kind of final reconciliation or regeneration, and not as the impotent strivings of man against inexorable destiny, which was the ancient Greek conception. "The first part of my argument is, that one of Shakespeare's main concerns in his last plays, whether deliberately taken up or fortuitously drifted into, was to develop the final phase of the tragic pattern, to add, as it were, his *Eumenides* to the already completed *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroe*, a process repeated by Milton when he supplemented *Paradise Lost* with *Samson Agonistes*." And again he says: "Examining the bare plots rather than the total impression of the last three plays, we find in each the same general scheme of prosperity, destruction, and re-creation. The main character is a King. At the beginning he is in prosperity. He then does an evil or misguided deed. Great suffering follows, but during this suffering or at its height the seeds of something new to issue from it are germinating, usually in secret. In the end this new element assimilates and transforms the old evil."

In *The Winters Tale* Shakespeare "omitted all the irrelevancies that had clotted *Cymbeline* and presented the whole tragic pattern, from prosperity to destruction, regeneration, and still fairer prosperity, in full view of the audience." On the other hand, in *The Tempest* "Prospero is the agent of his own regeneration, the parent and tutor of Miranda; and through her and through his own works he changes the minds of his enemies. . . He began his action at a point in the story so late that the story was virtually over; and he included the total story either by narrating the past or by re-enacting samples of it; a complete reaction from the method of frontal attack used in *The Winter's Tale*." And again, "the theme of destruction, though exquisitely blended in the whole, is less vivid than it is in *The Winter's Tale*." Finally, "if you

cram a trilogy into a single play something has to be sacrificed. Shakespeare chose to make a different sacrifice in each of his two successful renderings of the complete tragic pattern: unity in *The Winter's Tale*, present rendering of the destructive part of the tragic pattern in *The Tempest*."

SONNETS OF SHAKESPEARE AND SOUTHAMPTON. By Walter Thompson; Blackwell; 12s. 6d.

Mr. Walter Thompson is the latest theoriser about the Sonnets of Shakespeare. He thinks they are by two different hands—those of Shakespeare, and his friend, the Earl of Southampton. Mr. Thompson will have nothing to do with Willie Hughes, the lovely boy actor whom Oscar Wilde imagined played the Shakespearian heroines on the stage, and perhaps the most valuable part of the book is the author's exposure of the fallacy that Shakespeare was the victim of a perverted sexual instinct.

But the Dark Lady is retained. She troubled the friendship between Shakespeare and his patron, estranging them for a time. Shakespeare in the 119th and 120th Sonnets treats the matter with dignity and Southampton replies with unwholesome passion in Sonnets 127 to 154. "The Lover's Complaint," Mr. Thompson thinks a light-hearted poem discovering for us the affectionate relations between Shakespeare and Southampton and the Sonnets should be interpreted in its light.

Mr. Thompson's theory that twenty-six of the Sonnets were written by Southampton seems utterly untenable. These are surely Shakespearian as the rest, and Mr. Thompson's attribution of them to another hand appears to us as wild as most of the other theorising based upon the assumption that Shakspeare of Stratford wrote the "Sugred Sonnets among his private friends." Who were Shakspeare's private friends? Presumably the deserving men players, Heminge, Condell, Phillips and the rest; Davenant who kept an inn at Oxford and the Quineys and Hurleys of Stratford. It seems improbable that the sonnets were circulated among these.

On the 20th May, 1609, in the register of the Stationer's company, the entry is of "A Booke called Shakespeares Sonnettes"—the form may be worth notice: the sonnets are not Shakespeare's: the book is called "Shakespeare's Sonnets" and the next reference also in 1609 when the sonnets were printed by G. Eld and published by Thomas Thorpe under the name of Shake-speare completes all the external evidence we have upon one of the most fascinating of literary problems.

STEVENSON'S BOOK OF SHAKESPEARE QUOTATIONS. Arranged and edited by Burton Stevenson. Cassell. 35s.

This volume of more than 1750 pages contains quotations from the Shakespeare plays and poems, the subjects being arranged in alphabetical order. Each quotation is separately numbered and can thus be easily traced. The more important subjects are divided into sections in order to bring cognate quotations together. What the Shakespearian characters—not necessarily Shakespeare—have to say on any subject can be found by turning to the subject and

reading through the quotations under it. One turns to the section "Beauty" for example and finds sub-sections headed "Its Power" and "Its Penalties" and "Its Use:" "Beauty in Women:" "Lack of Beauty" (see Ugliness). All closely related quotations are thus grouped which not only makes their comparison easy but provides most fascinating reading. The editor states he had been struck by the astonishing number of words and phrases which Shakespeare used only once—not only unusual and coined words, but ordinary ones. Vituperative passages especially consist of the former: in "The Tempest," 1, 1, three such words occur in a single line—"bawling," "blasphemous" and "uncharitable."

The evolution of various eccentricities of Shakespeare's diction is also traced: we find that the word "gobbets" for example occurs twice in the first play but never again, while "manacled" occurs twice in the last play but never in an earlier one. And this is true of phrases. "Turned to stone," drops out of use after "Henry VI," part 2, and "Swim like a Duck" is used for the first and only time in "Henry VIII."

There is also a most valuable concordance and glossary in which are indicated every unique phrase and word and here the editor has ploughed virgin soil: while he acknowledges his indebtedness to Onion's Shakespeare Glossary, it is obvious this is much the most comprehensive work of its kind. It will be invaluable to the student of Shakespeare, Bacon and Bacon-Shakespeare. We can only hope that a similar dictionary and concordance may be made of Francis Bacon's acknowledged works: a comparison would, of course, reveal to the fullest possible extent the identities of the thought and expression of Bacon and Shakespeare and might well be conclusive of the vexed question of "parallelisms."

SHAKESPEARE. MAN AND ARTIST. By Edgar I. Fripp (2 vols.). Oxford University Press. 38s.

These two volumes consist of nearly one thousand pages and constitute a study, the publishers announce, of Shakespeare the Man in the environment of his town and people and later in London. Their main interest is biographical and historical; aesthetic criticism of the plays was not the author's concern. Of the making of books about Shakespeare there is no end and this is yet another "imaginative reconstruction" of his life. It is not a biography in any sense of the word except that in which it is used by those afflicted with the mania for recreating Shakespeare out of the works ascribed to him. These volumes will be reviewed fully in the next issue of *BACONIANA*.

SHAKESPEARE'S HAMLET: THE FIRST QUARTO, 1603. Harvard University Press, 1931. Price \$3.00.

SHAKESPEARE'S HAMLET: THE SECOND QUARTO, 1604. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, 1938. Price \$3.50. The two volumes together, price \$5.00.

With the modern advance in textual criticism and the science of bibliography, it becomes increasingly necessary for scholars to possess reliable reprints of the rare original texts they may wish to study; and a collotype facsimile is the only means to this end.

The play of *Hamlet* presents one of the most important problems in Shakespearean textual scholarship; but the reprints hitherto available have not been faithful reproductions in the strictest sense, and most of them have long been out of print. In 1931 the Huntington Library published their facsimile of the 1603 quarto, and now comes a companion volume giving the 1604 quarto. This latter is furnished with a useful introduction by Prof. Oscar J. Campbell, of Columbia University.

The first quarto has commonly been regarded as "stolne and surreptitious," whether by piracy of a prompt book or by imperfect memory transcription by some actor, or by shorthand notes taken during a performance. The second quarto "newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true Coppie" was formerly regarded as a corrupt text; but the modern science of bibliography enables scholars to work out various interesting theories based on the different kinds of errors made by compositors, the methods of punctuation, the abnormalities of spelling, and so forth. By comparing these quartos with the text of the 1623 Folio inferences may be drawn as to date of writing, whether cut for stage purposes, whether one or more copyists had a hand in shaping the text, and similar problems. For all these purposes accurate facsimiles are indispensable, as may readily be imagined. Students will appreciate the value of these excellent volumes put forth by the enterprise of the Huntington Library, and we cordially recommend them to our readers.

**ELIZABETH AND SIXTUS:** a Seventeenth Century sidelight on the Spanish Armada. By H. Kendra Baker. London: the C.W. Daniel Company. Price 7s.6d. net.

To every student of the Elizabethan era, Elizabeth herself is one of the chief enigmas; and the completely differing opinions which have been held of her character, her abilities, her lovers, or her statesmanship, constitute in themselves a fascinating problem. It is probably not generally known that Pope Sixtus V was also a most extraordinary personality; and the intrigues between this well matched pair of diplomats forms a stirring chapter in the history of those times. Mr. Kendra Baker begins with a description of the three dramatis personae in his story, namely, "Elizabeth the Enigma, Leti the Lucifer, and Sixtus the Strategist," as he terms them; Leti being the brilliant Italian historian whose *Life of Elizabeth* deserves more attention than has hitherto been bestowed on it. The story of the plots and counter-plots at the time of the Spanish Armada is remarkably illuminating and interesting; while Leti's anecdotes, vividly told, of the eccentricities of that most unconventional of Popes, Sixtus V., are both informative and entertaining.

Mr. Kendra Baker presents the whole material in his customary bright and chatty style; so that, far from being a dull historical record, his book is attractive and well worth perusal either by the student or by the general reader. Our members will do well to procure this volume.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITORS OF BACONIANA.

Dear Sir,

Why Baconians should desire to connect Francis Bacon with Rosicrucianism passes all understanding. Study of the subject proves conclusively that, initiated in Germany centuries ago, the Societies were composed either of religious cranks or seekers after the Philosopher's Stone, who pretended to be able to transmute metals, to prolong life, and whose members were largely composed of charlatans who extracted money from the pockets of their victims in return for promises to cure them of their diseases.

Yet in the last issue of BACONIANA space is given to Mr. R. J. A. Bunnett, who endeavours to support the hypothesis that Bacon was a Rosicrucian by means of a series of suppositions that would do credit to the wildest Stratfordian. For example, Mr. Bunnett says "It would seem De Quincey was correct; it is *possible* that Bacon made the Rose Croix the 33rd degree of Masonry." Mr. Bunnett should first show that Bacon had anything at all to do with Masonry, other than by quoting writers whose work is the subject of ridicule.

Admitting that there is no direct evidence that Bacon was a Rosicrucian or even in touch with the Order, he says there are nevertheless factors which point to that conclusion. He says he (Bacon) *may well have met members of the Secret Brotherhood*. Using that type of assertion you can of course adduce anything you like, à la Sidney Lee and others relative to Shakspeare having possibly been a schoolmaster, a page, a lawyer's attorney, etc.

To say as he does, that the *Fama Fraternitatis* "has a distinct Baconian ring" is, I should say, about the worst compliment one could pay to Bacon's memory.

Then, because the *Fama* tells of some mythical youth who travelled to Arabia, Mr. Bunnett feels justified in asking "Have we not Francis Bacon here?" Was there ever a more preposterous suggestion? Later, Mr. Bunnett says, with an effrontery again worthy of the Stratfordians, that the thirty-seven reasons "of our purpose and intention," given in the *Fama* are "substantially Baconian," and of the *Chemical Marriage* he says "except for such a genius as Francis Bacon, this work, as a boyish effort, is incredible."

To me it seems to be still more incredible that anyone desirous to convert the uninitiated to a strange and entirely disadvantageous theory should imagine that he is likely to succeed by the employment of such arbitrary statements.

Yours faithfully,

W. A. VAUGHAN.

TO THE EDITORS OF BACONIANA.

Dear Sirs,—Referring to the article on Bacon and the Rosicrucians by Mr. Bunnett in your April number, there are further important pieces of evidence linking up Francis Bacon with the Rosi-



crucian Brotherhood, which I mentioned in a paper read by me at the Society's Rooms some years ago, and which up to that time had not, I believe, been noticed by previous writers. They were at any rate original as far as the present writer is concerned.

(1) The first point, which was published in *BACONIANA* about 40 years ago, drew attention to an English version of the *Advertisements from Parnassus* published in 1704, in which the well known Advertisement dealing with the *Universal Reformation* substituted Francis Bacon as General Secretary of the meeting of the seven sages of Greece, and Cato and Seneca of the Romans, instead of the Italian philosopher Jacopo Mazzoni. In this connection it may be observed that, in spite of Michael Maier's denial that the 77th Advertisement, now under consideration, had anything to do with the Rosicrucian manifestoes with which it was bound up in the first issue of 1614, it cannot be doubted that it really was intended to form a part of that little volume. Its object appears to have been to throw into sharp contrast the old learning typified by Aristotle and the new learning to be founded under the aegis of the Christian Brotherhood founded by the symbolical Christian Rosencreutz or Rosicross. This view is confirmed by the fact that the *Universal Reformation* was included with each new edition of the *Fama*.

(2) The second point is that Bishop Wilkins, a distinguished member and a founder of the Royal Society, in his book *Mathematical Magic*, otherwise an elementary book on Mechanics, first published in 1642, when speaking of the ever-burning lamps of the ancients stated to have been found in many of the ancient tombs, refers to the tomb of the Founder of the Fraternity in the following words (pages 236-7, edition 1680) "Ludovicus Vives tells us of another lamp that did continue burning for 1050 years which was found a little before his time. Such a lamp is likewise related to be seen in the sepulchre of *Francis Rosicross*, as is more largely expressed in the confession of that Fraternity." The above statement coming from Dr. John Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, Secretary, and one of the founders of the Royal Society, is not to be lightly regarded. It is, without a shadow of doubt, a highly important piece of evidence linking Francis Viscount St. Alban with the Fraternity of the Rosy Cross.

(3) The third point to be noted is taken from the writings of Francis St. Alban himself. It is to be found in the *New Atlantis*, where the entry of one of the Fathers into Bensalem is described. There is not space to quote the passage in full (page 29 in 4th edition bound up with the *Sylva Sylvarum*; the pagination is probably the same in all editions). The description of the Father might very well pass for Bacon himself as a young man. The whole page should be studied, but the particular passage to which attention is now invited is that containing the description of the chariot in which the Father was carried, and especially to the canopy covering it. The exact words are as follows: "There was also a Sunn of gold, radiant upon the Topp in the midst; and on the Top before, a small *Cherub* of Gold tissued upon Blew." The peculiar and erratic spelling has been retained. From this it will be seen that the emblem of the Father of the House was a radiant sun and a cherub (gold on blue). The reader is now referred to the engraved

frontispiece which was always bound up in the beginning of the *Sylva Sylvarum*, with which the *New Atlantis* was always bound up, but with a separate pagination. The first thing that strikes the eye is the sun in its glory darting down a radiant beam of light, whilst on either side of the sun is a cherub in the vault of heaven. This is peculiarly striking. Francis St. Alban identified himself with a Father of a secret House of Wisdom. Heydon identifies the *New Atlantis* with the land of the Rosicrucians. Bishop Wilkins calls the Founder of the Fraternity of the Rosy Cross Francis Rosicross. The unknown translator of the *Advertisement from Parnassus*, issued in 1704, identifies the Secretary of the *Universal Reformation* as Sir Francis Bacon.

(4) The concluding words of the *Fama* are a quotation from the Latin Old Testament, with a slight modification of one word, i.e., *Sub Umbra Alarum Tuarum Jehova*, (the last word *Jehova* being substituted for *Domine*); the meaning being "Beneath the shadow of thy Wings, Jehovah." This is a valedictory signature to the anonymous *Fama*. A reference to the above described engraved frontispiece of the *Sylva Sylvarum* will at once reveal the striking parallel between it and the valedictory signature; for on the radiant sun is inscribed in Hebrew characters the ineffable Name, Yod, He, Vau, He, transliterated in English *Jehovah*, supported to right and left by a winged cherub, whilst underneath is the Intellectual Globe. It is clearly a pictorial representation of the valedictory signature, constituting a veiled but readily perceptible acknowledgment of a Father of the Fraternity.

These four points offer strong testimony to the claims set out by many modern students that Francis St. Alban was most intimately associated with the Rosicrucian movement, and probably the prime mover. There are other equally strong testimonies of a different order, which it is not proposed to touch on here.

Yours faithfully,

L. BIDDULPH.

## NOTES AND NOTICES.

The Council wish to call the especial attention of Members to the valuable additions made to our library at Canonbury Tower during the last month, and to the assistance for its re-arrangement, by the family of the late Mrs. Henry Pott, Founder of the Bacon Society.

The gifts so generously presented to us comprise a large terracotta reproduction of the seated figure of Francis Bacon in St. Michael's Church, Gorhambury; also the handsome book case on which the figure rests, containing many valuable books which were Mrs. Pott's particular favourites, and a copy of the well known death-mask of Shakespeare. All these are now placed in the library, and greatly add to its attraction.

In addition to these gifts, the family of Mrs. Pott have kindly contributed the funds for the shelving and fitting up of our new room as a store for the back numbers of *BACONIANA*, etc. This will be called the "Promus" room.

We wish also to record our hearty thanks to Miss Constance M. Pott, who has for many weeks given her time and energy to the re-arrangement of the books, a laborious work, most graciously and successfully accomplished. Mr. L. Biddulph also gave considerable assistance.

All these contributions are given by the family of Mrs. Henry Pott in affectionate memory of their mother, who had devoted her life to Baconian Problems.

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In the course of an interesting article which appeared in a recent issue of the *Daily Mail* Michael Morris wrote of poets who have turned politician and political poets born and not made. The writer notices that there are many instances in England's history of poets who have wielded great influence other than that of their pens. First mentioned is Francis Bacon "who was Lord Chancellor of England and a great poet." Then there was John Milton the lovely youth who became the poet of his age, later Secretary to the Commonwealth and Cromwell's Foreign Secretary; his colleague Andrew Marvell the metaphysical poet who was Latin Secretary to the Council; Joseph Addison another poet who became an Under Secretary and Lord Byron who played so great a part in the cause of Greek Independence. James Elroy Flecker, Humbert Wolfe and W. B. Yeats are modern examples of poets in power.

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Professor J. Dover Wilson, writing in *The Times Literary Supplement* of May 7th, observes that *Love's Labour's Lost* was "obviously written for a special and highly-educated audience." We quite agree. But as it requires a highly-educated author to write for "a special and highly-educated audience," the playwright must have belonged to the class for whom the play was specially written.

There is a fashion now prevailing to date *Love's Labour's Lost* much later than 1588-1589 as estimated by Dr. Furnivall. The earliest year now suggested is 1594. The reason is, no doubt, that William Shakspeare could have scarcely settled in London in 1588, and would still be struggling to shake off his native patois, and still waiting to be introduced by Lord Southampton into that society with which the play shows such familiarity. That the play was but a memory by 1598 is clear from an allusion to a performance about which Robert Tofte writes in reminiscent vein:

Loves Labour Lost, I *once* did see a Play  
Y-cleped so.

This indicates a long interval of time. In fact, the play was not "y-cleped so" and he had evidently forgotten the correct title. The meeting of the King of France and Catherine de Medici in 1586 concerning the cession of Aquitaine for the sum of 200,000 crowns is referred to in Act II Sc. 1. This allusion would have lost all point and significance after a considerable interval. It would have to be topical to be appreciated by the "special" audience.

R. L. EAGLE.

The "vesture of humility" worn by "Coriolanus" in the recent production at the Old Vic, when soliciting the voices of the people for the office of Consul, was black. This was a mistake as the garment should be white. The Latin term for a competitor for a public office was "Candidatus" and was so called from the "toga candida"—the white toga—which he wore, according to custom, when showing himself to the people. Shakespeare knew this and alludes to it with more detail in *Titus Andronicus*:

Titus Andronicus, the people of Rome,  
Whose friend in justice thou hast ever been,  
Send thee by me, their tribune and their trust,  
This palliament of white and spotless hue,  
And name thee in election for the empire,  
With these our late-deceased emperor's sons.  
Be *candidatus* then, and put it on.

R. L. EAGLE.

"The Admirable Crichton" is one of the mystery figures of the period. He was born in 1560. Nothing is known of his life until at the age of ten he entered St. Salvator's College of St. Andrew's University. At 17 years of age, he is said to have been able to converse in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Italian, Spanish, French, Flemish, German, Scottish, and English. In 1577 he is said to have challenged the leading scholars in Paris to debate with him on any subject and in any language they might choose. He left France in 1579 for Italy and is reported to have criticised the instructors at Padua for their teaching of Aristotle. It was stated on somewhat doubtful authority that he was assassinated at Mantua in 1583.

There are coincidences here with Bacon's early life—the date of birth, the years during which he visited France and the existence of such another phenomenon who was apparently unknown to Bacon and his contemporaries. Crichton, according to The Dictionary of National Biography, was a famous swordsman. That

accomplishment is not open to the same doubt as the legends of his intellectual achievements and if young Francis Bacon disputed with the pillars of learning in France and Italy, he may have done so under the name of James Crichton who was abroad at that time.

R. L. EAGLE.

The Stanford University Press, California, announces its intention to publish in two folio volumes facsimiles of all the major documents concerning Shakespeare together with transliteration, translation and a commentary by Professor B. R. Lewis who is Professor of English and Director of the Shakespeare Laboratory in the University of Utah.

This is another important contribution from the U.S.A. to Shakespearian research and the task of students of the text, future biographers and historians should be greatly facilitated.

The documents to be reproduced range from early Stratford records of the Shakspere family to late seventeenth century manuscripts.

An interesting correspondence has recently been carried on in the "Times" *Literary Supplement* with regard to the problem of the sonnets. Lord Alfred Douglas, author of "The True History of Shakespeare's Sonnets" which was published in 1933 has been defending the theory that the enigmatical Mr. W. H. was Will Hughes (or Hews). He will not have the theory that the sonnets were addressed to Southampton, but refers to this as so obviously absurd that he cannot patiently discuss it and to a great extent he is entitled to sympathy, although not for the reasons perhaps that Baconians would offer him. It has always seemed incredible that as early as 1590 Shakspere of Stratford should have been entreating the young Earl of Southampton to marry. There are so many things about the Sonnets which seem quite irreconcilable with the authorship by an actor of humble origin. Why should he complain of being "in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes" when Shakespeare is supposed to have been so successful that he was able to retire after ten years' work in London. Similarly the poet complains of being "barred of public honours;" that his name had received a "brand" because he had to earn his living by public means. He mentions that he had on one occasion borne the "canopy," which must mean the Queen's, in a procession and thought nothing of that; and he alludes to a threat of assassination which we know Bacon feared at one time, but of which there is no evidence that Shakspere was ever in danger.

However we must leave Shakespearians to settle their difficulties in their own way.

It is naturally the desire of all Baconians that our problems may one day be solved by the discovery of authentic documents, such as manuscripts of some of the Shakespeare plays; and Mr. A. E. Loosley believe he has lighted on clues which may lead to that end. We have not space to describe his methods in detail, but may say that his former co-worker, the late William Safford, noted several passages, one for example in Bacon's *Novum Organum* and another in No. III of the Shakespeare Sonnets, which appeared to him to contain secret allusions to a locality where original MSS. may lie hidden. Naturally such indications would not be very definite, or they might have been prematurely discovered; and therefore the

sceptic will doubtless say they are imaginary. Yet without imagination even the scientist would be severely handicapped in formulating hypotheses.

At all events, Mr. Loosley has thought it worth while to test the theories elaborated by Mr. Safford, and for this purpose he has for several years past been excavating the ground on the spot apparently indicated. This piece of ground is in the form of a large letter E; and after making a series of measurements Mr. Loosley is convinced that the position of the ground corresponds with the hints in the above mentioned books. Nearly 30 ft. below the surface he discovered a number of shaped stones each about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. square, and on one of them a sign denoting "entrance." He has also found underground chambers and tunnels at this spot; so that clearly there are remains of some kind of building made by man; and further investigation should reveal whether or not this is of the nature expected. The results already obtained give Mr. Loosley hopes that he is on the right track, and he is persevering steadily. We cannot express a definite opinion on the value of these researches, but wish him good fortune in his task. Should his efforts eventually be crowned with success, he will have earned not only fame but the gratitude of all seekers after truth.

#### BACON v. SHAKESPEARE.

##### SHAKSPER.

To gain command of English words and every grammar rule,  
 'Tis best to be a butcher's son and never go to school.  
 To form good plays in perfect style, and full of classic knowledge,  
 'Tis best to be a poacher bold, and never go to college.  
 To write of ladies, lords and dukes, of kings and kingly sport,  
 'Tis best to be a common man and never go to court.  
 To write about philosophy and law and medicine,  
 'Tis best to stand at horses' heads, and never read a line.  
 To treat of foreign lands in strains that all men must applaud,  
 'Tis best to stay in England and never go abroad.  
 To scale the heights of human bliss and sound the depths of woe,  
 'Tis best to make a steady "pile" and never let it go.  
 If come to ripe maturity when genius has full play,  
 'Tis best to lead an easy life and lay the pen away.  
 To show that "knowledge is the wing wherewith we fly to Heaven,"  
 'Tis best that to your own dear child no lessons should be given.  
 To surely earn immortal fame as England's greatest bard,  
 'Tis best to leave no manuscripts and die of "drinking hard."

##### BACON.

To win injustice and contempt from every biassed mind,  
 'Tis best to be "the wisest and the brightest of mankind."

##### L'Envoi Serieux.

##### SHAKE-SPEARE.

To warn the strong, to teach the proud, to give new knowledge scope,  
 'Twas best to use a nom-de-plume, and write in faith and hope  
 That future ages, wiser grown, would learn the royal rule,  
 That knowledge does not come to those who never go to school.

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## EDITORIAL.

**M**R. H. BRIDGEWATER'S article "Shakespeare and Italy" raises once more the question of the Poet's knowledge of the Italian language. The main incidents in the story of "The Merchant of Venice" were derived from "Il Pecorone," a fourteenth-century collection of Italian novels by Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, of which no English translation existed. The Italian collection itself was not published according to Sir Sidney Lee's "Life of William Shakespeare" (New Ed. p. 131, note 4) until 1558, and the story followed by Shakespeare was not accessible in his day in any language but the original.

The celebrated speech of Portia in the Trial Scene is an echo of the "De Clementia" of Seneca. There was no translation of the Latin into English until ten years after "The Merchant of Venice" was written. The Trial Scene itself is strictly accurate and according to the procedure of Roman Law which was in force in Florence at the time. The author of "Il Pecorone," one of "the sources" of the play, was himself a Florentine notary.

Again the use of the word "unhoused" in "Othello," Act I, Sc. 2, affords according to Hunter (New Illus. Shakespeare Vol. ii, p. 282) one of the best proofs of Shakespeare's acquaintance with the Italian language. "Unhoused" conveys to English ears no idea of anything which anyone would be unwilling to resign. "But that I love the gentle Desdemona" cries Othello, "I would not my unhoused free condition Put into Circumscription and Confine For the Sea's worth." It is only by recollecting the way in which the Italians use "cassare" that we arrive at its true meaning which is "unmarried." A soldier was

as much "unhoused" in the ordinary meaning of the term after marriage as before. Othello would not resign the freedom a bachelor enjoys. Knight and Furness quote this with approval (Shakespeare New Variorum, Vol. VI., p. 33. A husband is the head or band of the house—the unmarried is the unhouse-banded—the "unhoused.")

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Dr. Johnson, in the preface to his edition of "Shakespeare," wrote that no one had discovered in the plays any imitation of Italian poetry, although the latter was held in high esteem at the time they were written. There is, however, a very strong resemblance between some lines of the Italian author, Matteo Boiardo, who died eighty years before Shakspeare, and the well-known speech of Iago's, "Who steals my purse steals trash." The extract referred to may be found in BACONIANA, Vol. XVIII, No. 68, while Iago's speech is also, according to Richard Grant White, a perfect paraphrase of a stanza of Berni's poem, "Orlando Innamorato," untranslated into English at the time "Othello" was written.

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Although the name of the Bacon Society appears by unfortunate inadvertence upon the cover of the pamphlet distributed with this issue of BACONIANA and is described as a supplement thereto, the Editors accept no responsibility for statements made and opinions expressed by the Author.

In particular Mr. Dawbarn's attitude to the Oxford theory and its apologists is certainly not that of many members of the Society.



## “SHAKESPEARE” AND ITALY.

By HOWARD BRIDGEWATER.

ONE of the difficulties in contending that Francis Bacon was the author of the plays of “Shakespeare” is this, that if in evidence for this you refer to his familiarity with Italy and things Italian, the critic will be very likely to meet you with the question “What evidence is there that Bacon ever travelled in Italy: Spedding says nothing about it?”

That is perfectly fair criticism. Spedding spent some thirty years in collecting all the information he could obtain with reference to Bacon; yet he makes no reference at all to his ever having been in Italy. The simple explanation is that he had no evidence of any visit to that country. But that his visit to France in the care of Sir Amyas Paulet was a matter of State and therefore referred to in State papers, there would have been no evidence other than the reference to this fact in “De Augmentis” that Bacon had even visited France, for Spedding was unable to find a single letter from Bacon to anyone relative to his having done so. Two hundred years after a man’s death represents much sand in the hour glass, and the marvel of Spedding’s Life is, not that it is lacking in certain details, but that it is so complete a record. The fact that fresh information has since been brought to light by assiduous students, or by chance, reflects not at all upon Bacon’s great biographer. Spedding admitted that there were unfortunate gaps in the life of Bacon which he was unable to fill in, and he refers particularly to the almost complete absence of any record of Bacon during the period from 25th September 1576 until the middle of 1582—nearly six years, when Bacon was between the ages of 16 and 22. He tells us of his residence for three months in the year 1577 in Poitiers “in the wake of the French Court” and adds “so that he had excellent opportunities

of studying foreign policy. Of the manner in which he spent this time, however, we have no information."

Spedding then prints four letters of Bacon dated July, September and October of 1580, to a Mr. Doyle at Paris, and to his Uncle and Aunt, Lord and Lady Burleigh, written from Gray's Inn, and then adds "From this time (1580) we have no further news till 15th April 1582"—18 months.

Now not only is there this gap of 18 months, during which Bacon might have gone abroad, but there is the more important period of three years between 1577, when we know he was in Poitiers, and July 1580 when we find him writing from Gray's Inn. What is more likely than that when on the Continent in 1577 he went to Italy?

But while the time of his journey can only be inferred, that point is quite unimportant as compared with the evidence that he did travel in Italy; for if this is well founded it will at once explain how it is that the knowledge of Italy manifested in the Plays of "Shakespeare" is so extraordinary, and admitted by orthodox critics as unlikely to have been acquired by anyone not having visited that country.

That evidence was apparently first discovered by Rev. Walter Begley, who describes in his work "Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio" (vol. 3) how in 1905 he found in Paris a French book written by Pierre Amboise, Escuyer, Sieur de la Magdeleine. It is dated 1631 and is important in that it is the first biography of Francis Bacon. It consists of a dedication to the Lord Keeper of the seals of France: an explanatory address to the reader; "A Discourse on the life of Francis Bacon, Chancellor of England" and last the body of the work, pp. 1 to 567, containing "the translations which the author had made, being helped, as he gives us to understand, by Bacon's original manuscripts." How he obtained these documents we are not told, but Mr. Begley surmises that they were part of those numerous collections for natural history which occupied so fully the attention of the fallen Chancellor shortly before his death. He thinks Amboise probably obtained them from Sir William Boswell, who was sometime English Minister in

Holland, and who had a considerable quantity of Bacon's papers left him by will. Rawley and Boswell and, apparently, Archbishop Tenison had between them the disposal of all the MSS. left by Bacon. Boswell did not print any of those left in his charge, but evidently gave some of them to a certain Isaac Gruter who published them in Holland. Amboise states that he obtained his material when he was with M. de Chasteauneuf's train during an embassy, though whether this embassy was to Holland or England he does not say, but it appears that Chasteauneuf visited England in 1629.

Chief interest in this book of Pierre Amboise—which incidentally had no engraved title page to recommend it—lies in the fact that in this contemporary work we are told that, thanks to the generosity of his father, Francis was sent on his travels at an early age, and that he went both into Italy and Spain, especially with a view to learn the laws and customs of the people and their different forms of government. Pierre Amboise says that these travels occupied “quelques années de sa jeunesse,” but does not mention the years in which they occurred.

It appears from the “*Privilège du Roi*,” which in France secures the author's copyright, that Amboise's original intention was to include in the book some letters of Bacon, but unfortunately that intention was not carried out. Mr. Begley infers that it was probably these letters which informed him of Bacon's early travels.

But from whatever source Pierre Amboise obtained his information we have in his book (a copy of which is preserved in the British Museum) the unqualified statement that Bacon went both to Italy and Spain, and, touching the veracity of that statement I should say that there was no inducement to Pierre Amboise to invent it. It is a fair presumption, therefore, that he had good authority for it. Moreover his book is quoted as an authority by Gilbert Wats in 1641, while Sir Toby Mathew's Italian edition of Bacon's *Essays* contains evidence that Bacon was a friend of the then Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo de Medici.

William Ball in his edition of Bacon's works, 1837, reprints as being by Bacon a paper entitled “*Observations*

## 160 "Shakespeare" and Italy.

on the State of Christendom." Spedding was not satisfied that this was Bacon's work, but if by chance Wm. Ball was correct, it reveals knowledge of the Princes and people of Italy which could hardly have been gained otherwise than by a visit to that country. Spedding apparently thought this paper was the work of Anthony Bacon; but if so, it is, I believe, the only document of his we have. Moreover Mallet, writing in 1740, records F. Bacon's authorship of this paper.

We now come to the internal evidence that the author of "Shakespeare" must have travelled in Italy, and this evidence is as clear as that which, without any actual knowledge of the fact, would be taken without question to prove that Robert Burns was familiar with Scottish homesteads.

As you know, I like nothing better than to confute the orthodox out of their own mouths. Prof. Dover Wilson himself agrees that the knowledge of Italy displayed in the Plays argued personal acquaintance with that country on the part of the author of them.

I am going to quote that great orthodox Danish student of "Shakespeare," Prof. George Brandes, because he not only expresses the same opinion but gives chapter and verse in support of it. No one, I think, who has read George Brandes' work "William Shakespeare, A Critical Study" could fail to have been impressed with his wonderful insight into the genius of "Shakespeare." He writes of the author that he stood co-equal with Michael Angelo in pathos and with Cervantes in humour, and his comments upon each of the plays reveals him as one of the greatest literary critics who have ever lived. He is not surpassed in the scholarship which he brings to bear on the subject even by Dr. R. M. Theobald, Ignatius Donnelly in the First Part of "The Great Cryptogram" or Prof. A. C. Bradley or Samuel Taylor Coleridge. His book was published by Heinemann, just 40 years ago. He laboured under the terrible handicap of apparently having never heard that there was any question as to the authorship. Thus while he bitterly deplores the lack of knowledge concerning the life of the author, he attempts with the totally inadequate

material at his disposal to indicate some connection between Shakspur's life-incidents and the sequence of the Plays—and this notwithstanding that he himself writes “It has become the fashion to say, *not without some show of justice*, that we know next to nothing of Shakespeare's life.”

In a chapter headed “Did Shakespeare Visit Italy” he freely admits that there is no certain knowledge that Shakespeare ever did. But he is most anxious to indicate that he might have done so, for the reason, as he says of some of the Plays such as *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello*, that there is in them “such an abundance of details pointing to actual vision that it is hard to account for them otherwise than by assuming a visit on the poet's part to such cities as Verona, Venice and Pisa.” So he thinks he may have gone there in 1593 when the London theatres were closed because of the plague. He says “To the Englishman of that day Italy was the goal of every longing. Men studied its literature and imitated its poetry. It was the beautiful land where dwelt the joy of life. Venice especially exercised a fascination stronger than that of Paris. Many of the distinguished men of the time are known to have visited Italy—men of Science like Bacon, and afterwards Harvey, etc. . . . Most of these men have themselves given us some account of their travels, but the absence of any mention of such a journey on his (Shakespeare's) part is of little moment if other significant facts can be adduced in its favour. And such facts are not wanting. There were in Shakespeare's time no guide books for the use of travellers. What he knows then of foreign lands and their customs he cannot have gathered from such sources. Of Venice, which Shakespeare has so vividly depicted, no description was published in England until after he had published his *Merchant of Venice*. Lewkenor's description of the City, itself a mere compilation of second-hand, dates from 1598, Coryats from 1611, Moryson's from 1617.”

“In Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*” he says, “we notice with surprise not only the correctness of the Italian names, but the remarkable way in which at the very begin-

ning of the Play several Italian cities and districts are characterised in a single phrase. Lombardy is "the pleasant garden of great Italy;" Pisa is "renowned for grave citizens," and here the epithet "grave" is especially noteworthy, since many testimonies concur to show that it was particularly characteristic of the inhabitants of Pisa." C. A. Brown in "Shakespeare's Autobiographical Poem," has pointed out the remarkable form of the betrothal of Petruchio and Katherine (namely, that her father joins their hands in the presence of two witnesses) and observes that this form was not English but peculiarly Italian. It is not to be found in the older Play, the scene of which, however, is laid at Athens.

Special attention was long ago directed to the following speech at the end of the second act, where Gremio reckons up all the goods and gear with which his house is stocked.

First, as you know, my house within the city  
Is richly furnished with plate and gold;  
Basins and ewers to lave her dainty hands;  
My hangings all of Tyrian tapestry;  
In ivory coffers I have stuffed my crowns;  
In Cyprus chests my arras counterpoints,  
Costly apparel, tents and canopies,  
Fine linen, Turkey cushions boss'ed with pearl,  
Valence of Venice gold in needlework,  
Pewter and brass and all things that belong  
To house or housekeeping.

Lady Morgan long ago remarked that she had seen literally all of these articles of luxury in the palaces of Venice, Genoa and Florence. Miss Martineau, in ignorance alike of Brown's theory and Lady Morgan's observation, expressed to Shakespeare's biographer, Chas. Knight, her feeling that the local colour of *The Taming of the Shrew* and *The Merchant of Venice* displays "such an intimate acquaintance, not only with the manners and customs of Italy, but with the minutest details of domestic life, that it cannot possibly have been gleaned from books, or from mere conversation with this man or that, who happened to have floated in a gondola."

On such a question as this the decided impressions of feminine readers are not without a certain weight. Brown pointed out as specifically Italian such small traits as Iago's scoffing at the Florentine Cassio as “a great arithmetician, a counter caster,” the Florentines being noted as masters of arithmetic and bookkeeping. Another such trait is the present of a dish of pigeons which Gobbo, in *The Merchant of Venice*, brings his son's master. Karl Elze, who has strongly insisted upon the probability of Shakespeare's having travelled Italy, dwells particularly upon the apparent familiarity with Venice. The name of Gobbo is a genuine Venetian name and suggests moreover the kneeling stone figure “Il Gobbo di Rialto” that forms the base of the granite pillar to which, in former days, the decrees of the Republic were affixed. Shakespeare knew that the Exchange was held on the Rialto island.

An especially weighty argument lies in the fact that the study of Jewish nature to which his Shylock bears witness would have been impossible in England where no Jews were permitted by law to reside, since their expulsion began in the time of Richard Coeur de Lion and was completed in 1290. Not until Cromwell's time was the embargo removed in a few cases. On the other hand there were in Venice more than 1100 Jews (according to Coryat as many as 5,000 to 6000). One of the most striking details, as regards *The Merchant of Venice* is this; Portia sends her servant Balthasar with an important message to Padua, and orders him to ride quickly and meet her at the common ferry which trades to Venice. Now Portia's palace at Belmont may be conceived as one of the summer residences, rich in art treasures, which the merchant princes of Venice at that time possessed on the banks of the Brenta. From Dolo on the Brenta it is 20 miles to Venice—just the distance which Portia says that she must measure in order to reach the city. If we conceive Belmont as situated at Dolo it would be just possible for the servant to ride rapidly to Padua, and on the way back to overtake Portia, who would travel more slowly, at the ferry which was then at Fusina at the mouth of the Brenta. How exactly Shakespeare knew this, and how uncommon the

knowledge was in his day, is shown in the expressions he uses and in the misunderstanding of these expressions on the part of his printers and editors. The lines in the fourth scene of the third act, as they appear in all the quartos and folios are these:—"Bring them I pray thee with imagined speed unto the *tranect*, to the common ferry which trades to Venice." "Tranect" which means nothing, is of course, a misprint for "traject" an uncommon expression which the printers clearly did not understand. This, as Elze has pointed out, is simply the Venetian word "traghetto" (Italian "tragitto"). How should Shakespeare have known either the word or the thing if he had not been on the spot?

In the induction to *The Taming of the Shrew* where the nobleman proposes to show Sly his pictures, there occur these lines:—

"We'll show thee Io as she was a maid,  
And how she was beguiled and surpris'd  
As lively painted as the deed was done."

These lines, as Elze has justly urged, convey the impression that Shakespeare had seen Correggio's famous picture of Jupiter and Io. This is quite possible if he travelled in North Italy at the time suggested, for from 1585 to 1600 the picture was in the palace of the sculptor Leoni at Milan and was constantly visited by travellers. Brandes says, "If we add that Shakespeare's numerous references to sea-voyages, storms at sea, the agonies of sea sickness, etc., together with his illustrations and metaphors borrowed from provisions and dress at sea, point to his having made a sea-passage of some length, we cannot but regard it as highly probable that he possessed a closer knowledge of Italy than could be gained from oral descriptions and from books."

In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* it is said that Valentine takes ship at Verona to go to Milan. This seems to betray a gross ignorance of the geography of Italy. Karl Elze, however, has discovered that in the sixteenth century Verona and Milan were actually connected by a canal. In *Romeo and Juliet* the heroine says to Friar Lawrence, "Shall I come again at evening mass?" This sounds



strange, as the Catholic church knows nothing of evening masses; but R. Simpson has discovered that they were actually in use at the time, and especially in Verona. Again Shakespeare has been criticised for having referred to Giulio Romano as a sculptor, whereas he was generally known as a painter. But Elze points to a Latin epitaph on Romano, quoted by Vasari, which speaks of “*Corpora sculpta pictaque*” by him, and here again finds testimony to the author’s exceptional knowledge of Italy.

In *The Nineteenth Century* of Aug., 1908, Sir Edward Sullivan contributed an article on the subject of “Shakespeare and the Waterways of North Italy,” in which he proves by quotations from Italian writers of and prior to the seventeenth century, and with the aid of a map of Lombardy published in 1564, reproduced by permission of the British Museum, that the high road from Milan to Venice was by water, thus justifying Prospero’s description of his midnight journey with Miranda to the sea. The Italian writer quoted by Sir Edward is Bruschetti, in his “*Istoria dei progetti e delle opere per la Navigazione del Milanese.*” Not only are other Italian authors quoted in confirmation, but English writers. Old English books entitled “*The Pylgrymage of Sir R. Guylforde*” relating a journey made in 1506 and another describing the pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington in 1517, are quoted in support of the contention that much travelling in Italy was then done by water. Guicciardini’s *History of Italy* is requisitioned to prove that in June 1431 Nicolo Trevisano a captain of the Signorie of Venice had a powerful fleet all but wiped out by the Milanese ships under Ambrogio Spiniala, close by Cremona.

Sir Edward also refers to the fact that critics, from Ben Jonson downwards, have described as a blunder the passages in *The Winters Tale* which attribute a sea coast to Bohemia. He says “There is nothing in the play to warrant the assumption that the period of the action is that during which it was written. The mention of the oracle of Delphos suggests the Bohemia of a very much earlier date. Under the rule of Ottocar (1255-1278) . . . his dominions extended . . . from the *Adriatic to the*

*shores of the Baltic.*" Bohemia then comprised all the territories of the Austrian monarchy.

Even Mr. Horatio Brown, who, owing to his own lack of some of the knowledge above referred to, was critical as to the author of Shakespeare having been in Italy (he being an orthodox Stratfordian) has this to say in reference to the topographical knowledge displayed in *The Merchant*. "Yet in spite of this ideal geography we are startled every now and then, by a touch of topographical accuracy so just as almost to persuade us that Shakespeare must have seen with outward eye the country which his fancy pictured; must have travelled there and carried thence a recollection of its bearings." But having said that, and being persuaded that the Stratford yokel wrote the plays, he has to eat his own words by remarking at the end of a long description showing how accurate in fact the author was, "yet we cannot believe that this accuracy is due to more than a striking but fortuitous coincidence!"

## WORD AND BI-LITERAL CYPHERS.

By KATE H. PRESCOTT.

**I**T is several years since I outlined this present article, simply for my own satisfaction, but I feel the results are important and should be preserved. Several requests recently to see the results of my work, induced me to get it into shape.

I had at that time begun to realize that a number of Baconians who were willing to accept the Bi-Literal Cypher, since Bacon claimed it as his invention in his *De Augmentis* (1623), were absolutely ignoring the Word Cypher of Dr. Owen. Even when shown that directions were given in the Bi-Literal for this Key Word Cypher, making Dr. Owen's work still more remarkable, doubts were frequently expressed as to the possibility of the deciphering being correct without the rules given in the Bi-Literal. Having been convinced by personal investigation and study, that both cyphers were correct, I thought it would be of not a little interest to parallel the instructions as given in the "Letter to the Decipherer" found in the first volume of *Word Cypher Story*, deciphered by Dr. Owen in 1893, and those given in the Bi-Literal deciphered by Mrs. Gallup 1900; (These directions were collected and printed in the work entitled "The Lost Manuscripts," published in 1910, where my quotations will be found) and also to give the titles of the different divisions of the story as given in both cyphers. The Word Cypher has been only in part deciphered while the Bi-Literal has been applied to works from 1579-1671.

I believed that such a parallel would prove at least two things; First, that Bacon left a system perfected, which was possible (though he feared not probable) to be discovered and applied without the aid of the rules given in the Bi-Literal: and secondly, that where there are seeming differences in the method, they do not in any way affect the results. Long before the Bi-Literal was found

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to have been used by Bacon, the material in the fifth volume of the Word Cypher Story, was entirely deciphered by Dr. Owen's assistants, Mrs. Gallup among them, while he was in the far west. I am not claiming the impossibility of any errors having been made; indeed it would be quite inconceivable that no errors crept into Bacon's part of it; but knowing the exactness of the cyphers, it is not possible that any fundamental rules were wanting in Dr. Owen's work. "If any questions were passed over, there will be so much rawness that the History will be rejected, and pronounced untrue." (Word Cypher Vol. 1, page 30.)

I will say for the benefit of those who have never read the first volume of the Word Cypher Story, that the first chapter is called "The Letter to the Decipherer" (whom-ever he may be) and is in form of a dialogue or questions and answers, carried on between Bacon and his Decipherer. "My first important letter to you concerns my greatest inventions of a means of transmitting what so ever I wish to share." (Bi-L. page 66). In this letter are the directions which Bacon gave for unravelling the story. At the close of each division of the story, the title and keys for the next part are clearly set forth. These keys were not published at the time; that they must have been the same in both cyphers, my parallels prove.

### *Word Cypher.*

"By the asking of questions and the answers tell you in what disjoined and separate books the secrets are laid up—If only care be taken that the text be torn to pieces and diligently sifted for the questions and these answers, which are well shadowed out in endless variety; for the story begins with questions and we put together the questions and the answers plainly. It is necessary to take all the questions to find our cues." (Page 2.)

### *Bi-Literal Cypher.*

"My keys are Question or Inquiry and every noun or verb, from any Interrogative or answer. (Page 54.)

Keys are used to point out the portion to be used. These keys are words imploied in a natural and common way but are marked by capitals, the parenthesis, or by *frequent and unnecessary iteration.*" (Page 62.)

"Reade easy lessons first, and forsooth the Absey in Life and Death of King John, act one, is a good one; it shewes the entrance to labyrinth."

(3rd Edition B-L., page 166.)

In 'Life and death of King John' (Folio 1623, Act 1, scene i) where occurs the first line of the word cypher story, we read in the soliloquy of Bastard—"and when my knightly stomache is sufficed, why then I suck my teeth and catechize My picked man of Countries: 'my deare sir, Thus leaning on mine elbow I begin,' I shall beseech you; that is the question now, And then comes answer like an Absey booke: O sir, sayes answer, at your best command, At your employment, at your service sir: No sir, sayes question, I sweet sir at yours, And so ere answer knowes what question would, Saving in Dialogue of Complement," etc. The "unnecessary iteration" of Question and Answer is plainly seen here.

*Word Cypher.*

"The first question is therefore what simple plain rule is there to teach me the way to shift Sir, the mightiest space in fortune nature brings, to join like, likes and kiss like native things. (Page 3.)

Therefore let your own discretion be your tutor, and suit the action to the word and the word to the action. With this special observance, that you match conjugates, parallels and relatives by placing instances which are related one to another by themselves." . . . (Page 8.)

"Match the syllogisms duly and orderly and put together systematically and nimbly the chain or coupling, links of the argument. This is to say the connaturals, concurrences, correspondents, collocations, analogies, similitudes, relatives, parallels, conjugates and sequences of every thing, relating to the combination, composition, renovation, arrangement, and unity revolving in succession part by part through the whole." (Page 25.)

—"throw your eyes upon Fortune that goddess blind that

*Bi-Literal Cypher.*

"You must likewise keep in mind one very important rule, it is that like must be joined to like. Match each key with words of like meaning, like nature or origin.

These are sometimes called, in many prose pamphlets and the works of Philosophy or science, Conjugates, Connaturals and Similars or Parallels." (Page 69.)

"There will with a little observing bee discried words which are repeatedly used in the same connection. These must be noted specially since they form a series of combining or joining words, which like the marks the builders putteth on the prepared blocks of stone showing the place of each in the finished building, point out with unmistakable distinction its relation to all other parts." (Page 62.)

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### *Word Cypher.*

stands upon a spherical stone, that turning and inconstant rolls in restless variation. Mark her the prime mover. She is our first guide." "Have I discovered your first great guide and stop?" "You have, and the first chapter by its aid will now be laid open and found out." (Page 3.)

"Doth Fortune show all?" "One touch of Nature makes the whole world kin. Our second guide is the Latin Word Natus." (Page 6.)

"It is certain you shall see that now and then Fortune and Nature are at fault and then we made Honor and Reputation the two words to guide you toward the end." (Page 6.)

### *Bi-Literal Cypher.*

On pages 53-4 of the Bi-Literal we find Bacon shows seven of these guides each representing one of the seven masques used in the Word Cypher. "Time" standing for Bacon, "Reputation" Marlowe, "Art" Shakespeare, "Honor" Spenser, "Truth" Burton, "Fortune" Green, "Nature" Peele,—and shows when a sudden shift is to be made."

Here occurs the first marked difference between the rules in the two cyphers, and yet if we examine the differences we shall find they are not vital. It is fair to ask: Could the work have been accomplished with four guides when seven are given in the Bi-Literal? It was shown that these seven guides were used simply to facilitate the work; for instance, the keys to the first "Letter," as given in both Cyphers, were Question and Answer, and we are told to search for all these keys. Dr. Owen's method was to go through every line of the seven sets of works and mark these keys and the passage or line to be set aside. Had he used the "Guides" as each standing for a particular author, when a passage from Bacon gave the Guide word "Reputation," he would have known that his next passage would be found in Marlowe, but having found his keys to Marlowe, he must still apply the rules given in both Cyphers for bringing parts together by the use of the "joining words," so that the ultimate results must be the same. To explain further,—we must remember that Dr. Owen's studies were in the first instance concerned *only* with the *Shakespeare plays* and with *no* thought of any

*other authorship.* He was however early in his studies convinced of a message other than the exterior ones. When after many years he was led to the passage in King John and the Words "Question and answer," he tried to find still other passages with these words conspicuously in or near them, and brought the parts together. He soon found that there were breaks in the message and that some other work must be joined with the plays. Gradually all his masques were revealed, all given in the Shakespeare plays. "The basis of our devise is the stage, and we insert the titles of every play, and of all our books, plainly about the keys to prompt and instruct you." (Word Cypher page 24.)

As soon as he placed the necessary books upon the "Wheel" the method in its perfection was before him. These "Guides" were no more a necessary factor in the results than the "Wheel" upon which he placed the books for ready reference.

### *Word Cypher.*

"And it now becomes absolutely necessary for you to search out the works of which you are not already possessed and put them upon your Wheel."

Will you name the works under which you have concealed, hid, and masked yourself? "We will enumerate them by their whole titles from beginning to the end; William Shakespeare, Robert Green, George Pell, and Christopher Marlow's stage plays; The Fairy Queen, Shepherd's Calendar, and all the works of Edmund Spenser; The Anatomy of Melancholy of Robert Burton, The History of Henry the Seventh, The Natural History, The Interpretation of Nature, The Great Instauration, Advancement of Learning, the De Augmentis Scientiarum, our Essays, and all the other works of our own." (Page 22.)

### *Bi-Literal Cypher.*

If you have written all this in order, a supposition very improbable, you know the names chosen as masques. Green, Spenser, Peel, Shakespeare, Burton and Marlowe. (Page 41.)

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Having found that both Cyphers give us the same masques, or exterior works to be used in the Word Cypher, let us next compare the subjects decyphered by the Word Cypher, with what we are told in Bi-Literal we shall find. The five volumes of Word Cypher story contain "The Letter to the Decipherer." "The Epistle Dedicatory," "Description of the Queen, General Curse," "Bacons Life at the Court of France," "The Spanish Armada," two plays, the "Tragedy of My Brother, the Earl of Essex," "Mary Queen of Scots."

(Bi-Literal page 66) "My first important letter to you contains my greatest invention of a means of transmitting what so ever I wish to share" (page 32) "Keys of the History of my Beloved Essex."

(Page 33) "Making your next portion of the work the Armado for Spain." (page 41) "Your next should be my Life at the Court of France, then a drama, Mary Queen of Scots."

On pages 66-7 of the same work Bacon tells us that he has hidden his translations of Homer and Virgil in Cypher. This was found many years ago by Dr. Owen; but his publishers, not realizing the literary importance of a translation so buried, did not have it deciphered.

I cannot see how it would be possible for the results to be so far identical, if the rules as found by Dr. Owen were not entirely adequate. And when one realizes that omitting one key-marked passage throws the whole story off, one must be impressed with the completeness of the method. Furthermore, when we read on page 64, Bi-Literal cypher, "If he discover the key of my newe invention himself, before it bee explained, it shall redound to his credit," we must admit as I have before stated, that Bacon knew it was possible to find his rules and apply them without the aids given in the Bi-Literal.



## “MODERATION IN MODERATION!”

By H. KENDRA BAKER.

**M**R. BRIDGEWATER'S recent "Plea for Moderation" (BACONIANA, July 1938) raises questions which need careful consideration. All will agree as to the necessity for moderation in presenting all aspects of the Baconian case, the insistence upon theories based on inadequate evidence being undoubtedly calculated to do more harm than good to the Cause. But there are matters which, treated with a due sense of proportion, would seem to be not only legitimate but desirable subjects for study and research.

In fairness to those who devote a good deal of time and energy to these, it is felt that some of Mr. Bridgewater's premisses and conclusions call for a little qualification.

1. Is it, for example, quite accurate to allege "the scant consideration given to the Baconian theory both by the public and the Press?"

As a subscriber to a Press Cutting Agency and a fairly frequent contributor to Press correspondence, my experience leads me to a different conclusion. One has frequently been surprised at the readiness with which contributions have been received by the Press, and the genuine interest they seem to arouse judging from the correspondence to which they give rise.

Baconians would seem to be justified in believing that the question is receiving a more sympathetic consideration than it has had for many years.

2. With regard to the allegation that "assertions by individual members are often extravagant and sometimes absurd," one ought first to define these terms, and as opinions differ widely—even among Baconians themselves—may we not ask for "moderation" in framing a definition?

It thus seems desirable to decide not what lines of research are permissible to Baconians individually, but those which the Society should recognise and advocate as its own before opinions thereon are so stigmatised; for otherwise discouragement may ensue.

3. For the same reason it seems hardly fair to assert, inferentially, that the Society gives "overt support to theories which its own members regard as highly controversial." The objects of the Society, a statement of which are to be found on the cover of *BACONIANA*, are of so wide a character as to admit of the study of practically any phase of Bacon's life, and not merely the Authorship question. Many such matters are undoubtedly controversial but, falling as they do within the objects of the Society, they are surely admissible subjects for discussion, and might not the Society be charged with partiality if it failed to afford facilities for such discussion? This can hardly be called "overt support" but rather "legitimate opportunity."

4. And thus we come to the question: What *are* legitimate subjects for study and discussion. The royal-birth theory, for example, is one which should be handled with great discretion. It is certainly not one to dogmatise upon until we know a great deal more than we do at present. But none the less it is one connected with Bacon's life (within the meaning of the objects of the Society) and as such would seem to be an admissible Subject for study and research, so long as it is not pressed as an Article of Faith. Mr. Bridgewater's assertion that "even though this could be established, it would be of no advantage to us," may surely be considered as rather beside the point. The society exists for the purpose of bringing Truth to light, whether it be to our advantage or otherwise. We must take the rough with the smooth, and it might operate to our undoing were we to reject evidence if such were found, solely on the ground that it was not to our advantage.

5. The same principle would apply to the point that "the fame of Francis Bacon would be no fairer, if Leicester was his Father." That may be so, but we must take our chance of it. Those who can find no reason-

able explanation for the disinheriting of Francis Bacon by his reputed Father would seem to be quite justified in seeking some solution of the mystery surrounding his upbringing.

That such evidence, if and when found, should conflict with the theory of the Baconian authorship of the collection known as “*The Northumberland MS*” would not surely justify us in rejecting it: one is as much a theory as the other, and a great deal more evidence is needed before we can confidently attribute *Leycester’s Commonwealth* to Bacon any more than we can to Parsons. On the MS itself it is stated to be “*Incerto auth(ore).*” It is a subject for study, and, as many think, a very interesting one. It does not rest exclusively on the so-called “*cipher story*”; there are independent indications of a mystery surrounding his parentage which cannot be ignored. The very interest exhibited by Elizabeth in the education and upbringing of Francis (entirely wanting in the case of Anthony) is of itself sufficiently strange to put an investigator “*on his enquiry*”, and this without any reference to ciphers. And with regard to Burleigh “*urging the Queen to marry the Duke d’Alencon, Leicester being still alive,*” it would surely be exceedingly risky to base any hypothesis on that. Have we the slightest evidence that Elizabeth ever really *intended* to marry d’Alencon, any more than any other of her numerous suitors? She was, as I have shewn elsewhere, an “*Enigma*” and we need to know a vast deal more of what went on beneath the surface before we can venture to express any opinion on what passes for the history of that period. Does anyone, for instance, really believe that when Elizabeth “*urged*” Leicester to marry Mary Queen of Scots she meant him to?

6. And so, too, with other problems concerning Bacon’s life, apart from the authorship question. With the oft-repeated qualification as to a due sense of proportion, it would, I feel, be unwise to accept Mr. Bridgewater’s view that in supporting the Society in the consideration of such Baconian problems “*we only weaken its case and prejudice his claims by associating them with speculations, too often offered in the guise of facts.*” There is, of

course, no justification for offering speculations as facts; but I hardly think such an indiscretion is common among members of the Society. So long as all theories are put forward tentatively, it is difficult to see why they should not be discussed as possibilities. To take two concrete cases: Bacon's attitude towards Essex, and his conduct as Lord Chancellor have no direct bearing on the authorship question. Yet most of us know perfectly well that one of the commonest objections we have to meet is that a man who could "so shamelessly betray his friend" and was "a corrupt judge," "could not possibly have been the author of Shakespeare's Works." Indeed they regard the suggestion as "extravagant" and "absurd!"

Before all things it is necessary, therefore, to demonstrate to such people that their prejudice is entirely without foundation, and not until then will they even begin to consider the authorship claim. Yet, how are we to do this if we are to confine ourselves solely to the authorship question? One feels that one could take no interest whatever in a person capable of such enormities as are—ignorantly—attributed to Bacon. His vindication in this respect should be regarded as a prime necessity, and this whether or no it has the slightest bearing on his authorship. But one cannot admit that it has no such bearing, seeing that his relations with Essex involve the inditing of a Sonnet to Elizabeth on the latter's behalf, "though I profess not to be a poet;" and his protest against his being included in the prosecution on the ground that "it would be said I put in evidence mine own tales," referring to the play of Richard II and possibly, too, that of Henry IV.

7. The question whether Bacon was a Freemason appears an interesting and a harmless one. Treated discreetly, it seems in no way calculated to "weaken our case": he could have been a Poet—or even a Prince!—and yet have been a Freemason. But here again, as in every case, we should be careful to see that the evidence—like the quality of mercy!—"is not strained."

8. Again, if enquiry is permissible into the facts concerning Bacon's birth it would be equally permissible into those concerning his death. Much has come

to light in the years that have elapsed since Mr. Bompas made the statement quoted by Mr. Bridgewater. All knowledge is progressive: were it not so the Bacon Society would hardly be able to justify its existence. And when it is asked, “What possible purpose could be served by substituting for history a tale told with the object of enshrouding the time and manner of his death in mystery?” my answer would be, “the need of investigation.”

Just as his birth, his life, his literary pursuits, are shrouded in mystery so it would appear is his death, and when there are indications of a conflict between such “history” and the facts, one cannot but feel that the subject is a legitimate line of research—subject to all the safeguards already mentioned. Where Bacon is concerned, History has proved rather a broken-reed in so many particulars that one is not greatly encouraged to lean upon it too confidently. Besides, are we not all up to the neck in historical heresy already—Mr. Bridgewater included!—in claiming Shakespearean honours for Bacon?

9. I have left the subject of ciphers to the last. Without special qualification, any opinion as to the genuineness or otherwise of the “cipher-story” would be valueless. Having none I do not propose to rush in where experts fear to tread! But I have a due regard for the value of expert evidence, and thus when I find one who is considered the greatest living cryptographer—General Cartier—taking the field on the side of Mrs. Gallup and her collaborators, I am compelled to take notice of it. In the *Mercure de France* of September 1st and 15th, 1922, he dealt with the biliteral cipher at considerable length by way of introduction to the cipher-story which he sets out. The space available to me admits of but one extract which is this (as translated):—

‘Granted that the document which we are about to publish *in extenso* is susceptible of provoking numerous comments, and that certain parts will probably give rise to very serious objections, we think we ought to insist upon the fact, that from the cryptographic point of view, we have personally undertaken the task of verification of quite a large number of texts, and we consider that the discussion

should leave on one side the cryptographic point of view which seems to us unassailable." Now, this from such a man as General Cartier cannot possibly be ignored, whatever may be our preconceptions and prejudices.

If the Narrative set out, and thus vouched for, by him is genuine, there is no longer an "authorship question": the facts are disclosed for all to see, and other matters which may have been regarded as "extravagant" and "absurd" are also made manifest.

Thus, the question of a cipher as used by Bacon, so far from being a subject for suppression, seems to me to be one of vital importance.

But quite apart from the cipher-story itself, there are many indications that Bacon made use of a cipher.

Are we not entitled to apply to these indications similar principles to those we apply to his writings on the Drama in support of his authorship? We should be lacking, surely, in deductive reasoning were we not to do so: and besides, can we ignore what Archbishop Tenison says of the *De Augmentis* in his *BACONIANA* (1679)?

In conclusion: to Mr. Bridgewater I would say with Portia: "I have spoke thus much to mitigate the justice of thy plea," not from any lack of appreciation of or respect for the motives for his article which we all know to be in the best interests of the Cause, but merely with the object of soliciting for members a somewhat wider liberty of conscience and expression (within the limit of the Society's Objects) than he seems to think wholly desirable.

We are all engaged upon the same great work: let us see to it that our views at all times are tempered with that moderation for which he pleads.

## BACON WROTE THE SHAKESPEARE PLAYS.

### *Reason II.*

“The author of the Shakespeare plays was essentially aristocratic in temper and sympathy. He was profoundly interested in the public events of his time, employing the drama as a commentary on current state affairs and a direct means of political education.” (Prof. Churton Collins *Studies in Shakespeare*.) His life and environment were those of an aristocrat: he was familiar with the courtly science or art of Heraldry: with the lore and chivalry of courts and kings: with falconry and hunting, not with deer stealing and rabbit catching.

He was a philosopher. “In the construction of Shakespeare’s dramas there is an understanding manifested equal to that in Bacon’s *Novum Organum*.” (Carlyle: *Heroes and Hero Worship: the Hero as Poet*.) “The philosophical writings of Bacon are suffused and saturated with Shakespeare’s thought.” (Gerald Massey: *Secret Drama of the Sonnets*.)

The real Shakespeare was a classical scholar: Edward Dowden, one of the greatest Shakespearian authorities refers to the frequency of classical allusions in the plays. Coleridge wrote that Shakespeare’s habits were scholastic and those of a student. The poems, according to Cowden Clark, “bear palpable tokens of college elegance and predilection both in story and treatment, with almost unmistakable signs of having been written by a schoolman: his acquaintance with college terms and usages makes for the conclusion he had enjoyed the privilege of a University education.”

He was a gentleman by birth and education. “In Shakespeare, the speakers do not strut and bawl: the dialogue is easily great and he adds to so many titles that of being the best bred man in Christendom.” (Emerson). “What has perhaps puzzled readers most is the courtesy of

## 180 Bacon wrote the Shakespeare Plays

Shakespeare: his easy movement in the give and take of social intercourse among persons of good breeding." (E. K. Chambers *William Shakespeare*.)

The real Shakespeare was a Lawyer with an intimate knowledge of the Common and Statute Law of England and the principles and practice of the Court of Chancery. "Only those who have had a legal training can appreciate Shakespeare's knowledge of the Law. He was never incorrect and never at fault." (Lord Penzance: *The Bacon-Shakespeare Controversy*.)

"His extraordinary knowledge of legal terminology and procedure" is emphasized in Shakespeare's most recent biography. "More convincing is the unconscious intrusion of the lawyer to the detriment in not a few cases of the poetry and the art. His legal terms are legion: sometimes they are highly technical: frequently they are metaphorical: often they are wrought into the very fibre of his verse: but most remarkable of all they flow from him in many instances unawares. No woman even is too simple in Shakespeare to know law." (Fripp: *Shakespeare—Man and Artist*.)

The real Shakespeare was the Supreme Lord of Language. "There are few lines," writes Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, "in Milton's poems which are less intelligible now than they were at the time they were written. This is partly to be ascribed to his limited vocabulary: Milton, in his verse, using not more than 8,000 words or about half the number used by Shakespeare. And one remembers that "Paradise Lost" is easily the most learned poem in our language and that Shakespeare by repute was an indifferently learned man!"

It will be seen there is nothing in the orthodox biography of William Shakespere of Stratford to correspond with the Shakespeare of the Plays. It is Francis Bacon who as aristocrat and great gentleman, philosopher, poet, passionately interested in the Drama and its Mission, learned in law and legal procedure: in ancient and modern languages: myriad-minded with innumerable interests in life and living who is the real Shakespeare—the author of the Shakespeare plays.



# SHAKESPEARE AND THE CRISIS.

WHAT DARK DAYS SEEN.

(SONNET XCVII.)

A MASQUE.

Fearful wars point at me.

*Cymbeline. IV.iii.*

*Hitler.* Come, here's the map: shall we divide our right?  
*I H.IV.III.1.*

*Chorus.* I heard a bustling rumour like a fray.  
*J.C.II.10.*  
In this troublous time, what's to be done?  
*III.H.VI.II.1.*  
What ho! Chamberlain!  
*I H.II.1.*

*Chamberlain.* Up in the air.  
*H.V.II.10.*  
By flight I'll shun the danger which I fear.  
*P.I.1.*  
To be a make peace shall become my age.  
*R.II.I.1.*  
I will make peace with him if I can.  
*T.N.III.10.*

*Chorus.* This morning are they fled away and gone.  
*J.C.V.1.*

*Atlee.* What peace you'll make advise me.  
*C.V.iii.*

*Chamberlain.* I would have peace and quietness.  
*T. & C.II.1.*  
I entreat true peace of you.  
*R.III.II.1.*

*Hitler.* With their high wrongs, I am struck to the quick.  
*T.V.1.*  
Despiteful and intolerable wrongs!  
*T.A.IV.10.*

*Chamberlain.* What wrongs are these?  
*T.A.IV.10.*

*Hitler.* Wrongs unspeakable, past patience.  
*T.A.V.iii.*

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*(Aside)*. I will invent as bitter-searching terms  
As curst, as harsh and horrible to hear  
Deliver'd strongly through my fixed teeth.

*2 H. VI. III. ii.*

*(Aloud)*. If you would the peace, you must buy that peace  
With full accord of all our just demands.  
Whose tenors and particular effects  
You have enscheduled briefly in your hands.

*H. V. V. ii.*

*Chamberlain*. To come thus was I not constrained, but  
did it on my free will.

Thou hast astonish'd me with thy high terms.

*A. & C. III. vi.*

With other vile and ignominious terms.

*1 H. VI. I. ii.*

Thou art too wild, too rude and bold of voice.

*1 H. VI. IV. s.*

The bitterest terms that ever ears did hear.

*M. V. II. ii.*

*T. A. II. iii.*

*Chorus*. Parted you in good terms?

*K. L. I. ii.*

*Hiliter*. I do not know that Englishman alive  
With whom my soul is any jot at odds.

*R. III. II. s.*

This must be answer'd either here or hence.

*K. J. IV. ii.*

We trifle time away.

*H. VIII. V. iii.*

*Chamberlain*. We all expect a gentle answer.

*M. V. IV. s.*

*Hiliter*. I am not bound to please thee with my answers.

*M. V. IV. s.*

Peace be to France, if France in peace permit

Our just and lineal entrance to our own.

If not bleed France, and peace ascend to heaven!

*K. J. II. s.*

Peace be to England, if that war return

From France to England there to live in peace.

*K. J. II. s.*

*Chamberlain*. This is no answer, thou unfeeling man.

*M. V. IV. s.*

Thou troubler of the poor world's peace.

*R. III. I. iii.*

This is the way to kindle not to quench.  
C.III.5.

*Chorus.* His incensement at this moment is so implacable.  
T.N.III.5v.

Pursue him, and entreat him to a peace.  
T.N.V.5.

. . . To him again. . .  
M.M.II.55.

*Czecho-Slovakia.* Welcome is peace if he on peace consist.  
If wars, we are unable to resist.  
P.I.5v.

*Chamberlain.* Peace ho! no outrage, peace!  
C.V.5v.

*Chorus.* If he do fear God he must necessarily keep peace.  
If he break the peace, he ought to enter into a  
Quarrel with fear and trembling.  
M.A.A.N.II.555.

*Chamberlain.* I hold the olive in my hand.  
My words are as full of peace as matter.  
T.N.I.5v.

*Chorus.* Feed his humour kindly as we may  
Till time beget some careful remedy.  
T.A.IV.555.

A little time will melt his frozen thoughts.  
T.G.III.55.

The time must by us both be spent most preciously.  
T.I.55.

*Chamberlain.* I shall show you peace and fair faced  
league.

Thou art a Roman, be not barbarous.  
K.J.II.5.

Kind Rome,  
Rome, the nurse of Judgment.  
T.A.I.5.

Glad my heart.  
H.VIII.II.55.

T.A.I.5.

*Hitler.* Time and place will be fruitfully offered.  
K.L.IV.55.

*Chorus.* And now the matter goes to compromise.  
I H.VI.V.5v.

Induce their mediation,  
A. & C.V.55.

To trembling clients be you mediators.  
Luc.

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- So sensible seemeth their conference. L.L.L.V.ii.
- Czecho-Slovakia.* I must be present at your conference. W.T.II.ii.
- The Powers.* Let them guard the door. H.IV.v.
- Chorus.* They humbly sue unto your excellency  
To have a godly peace concluded of. 1 H.VI.V.i.
- The states of Christendom  
Mov'd with remorse of these outrageous broils  
Have earnestly implored a general peace. 1 H.VI.V.ii.
- The Powers.* And therefore are we certainly resolved  
To draw conditions of a friendly peace. 1 H.VI.V.iii.
- Rumour.* I hear there is an overture of peace  
Nay, I assure you a peace concluded. A.W.IV.iii.
- This from rumours' tongue  
I idly heard: if true or false, I know not. E.J.IV.ii.
- Chorus.* Peace be amongst them!  
Dig deep trenches in thy beauty's field. 1 H.VI.V.ii.  
Sonnets 2.
- Retire into your trenches. 1 H.VI.I.v.
- Come, my spade!  
Save thou the child. H.V.I.
- Thy child shall live and I will see it nourished. T.A.IV.ii.
- To the wars, my boys! To the wars!  
T.A.V.i.  
A.W.II.iii.
- Youth.* Go to the wars, would you? Where a man may  
serve seven years for the loss of a leg and have not  
money enough in the end to buy him a wooden  
one. P.IV.vi.
- Chorus.* Hew them to pieces, hack their bones asunder  
Whose life was England's glory, Gallia's wonder!  
O no, forbear. 1 H.VI.IV.vii.

With news, the times with labour and throws forth  
Each minute, some.

A. & C. III. vii.

A member of the country's peace  
Enjoys it: but in gross brain little wots.  
What watch the king keeps.

H. V. IV. s.

*Hitler.* The English army is grown weak and faint.

1 H. VI. I. i.

Now it is time to arm! come, shall we about it?

H. V. III. vii.

*Chorus.* By sea he is an absolute master.

Wake not a sleeping wolf.

A. & C. II. ii.

Let us be keen and rather cut a little  
Than fall and bruise to death.

2 H. IV. I. ii.

Let's reason with him.

M. M. II. i.

R. III. I. iv.

*Chamberlain.* Sir, you shall find me reasonable.

M. W. W. I. i.

*Chorus.* He will maintain his argument as well as any  
military man in the world.

H. V. III. ii.

*Chamberlain.* Be moderate, be moderate.

T. & C. IV. iv.

*Hitler.* Why tell you me of moderation?

T. & C. IV. iv.

*The Powers.* We are politicians.

T. N. II. iii.

We have made peace  
Our peace we'll ratify.

Cy. V. v.

*Hitler.* I have been feasting with my enemy.

R. & J. II. iii.

*Chamberlain.* If we can make our peace  
Upon such large terms and so absolute  
As our conditions shall consist upon  
Our peace shall stand as firm as rocky mountains.

2 H. IV. IV. ii.

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Not to break peace or any branch of it  
But to establish here a peace indeed  
Concurring both in name and quality.

2 H. IV. IV. i.

And knit our powers to the arm of peace.

2 H. IV. IV. i.

*Chorus.* Urge them while their souls  
Are capable of this ambition  
Lest zeal now melted by the windy breath of soft  
petitions  
Pity and remorse, cool and congeal again to what it  
was.

R. J. II. i.

The word of peace is rendered: hark, how they shout.

2 H. IV. IV. ii.

They threw their caps, . . . shouting their emulation.

C. I. i.

Applaud his courage.

P. II. v.

For his acts

So much applauded thro' the realm of France.

1 H. VI. II. iii.

Applause and universal shout

I never saw the like.

C. I. e.

All clapt their hands and cried Inestimable!

T. & C. II. iii.

*Duff Cooper.* A proper title of a peace! and purchased  
At a superfluous rate!

H. VIII. I. i.

There is a thing within my bosom tells me

There is no conditions of our peace can stand.

2 H. IV. IV. i.

*Chorus.* A peace is of the nature of a conquest  
For then both parties nobly are subdued  
And neither party loser.

2 H. IV. IV. iii.

For living murmurers

There's places of rebuke.

H. VIII. II. iii.

*Churchill.* O inglorious league!  
 Shall we upon the footing of our land  
 Send fair-play orders and make compromise  
 Insinuation, parley and base truce  
 To arms invasive?

R.J.V.4.

*Chorus.* Their peace is made with heads and not with  
 hands.

R.II.III.4.

And therefore as we hither came in peace  
 So let us still continue peace and love.

I.H.VI.IV.1.

Infer fair England's peace from this alliance.

*Churchill.* Which she shall purchase by still lasting war.

R.III.IV.40.

This England that was wont to conquer others  
 Hath made a shameful conquest of itself.

R.II.II.1.

*Chamberlain.* Sword, pike, knife, gun or need of any  
 engine  
 Would I not have.

T.II.1.

So now dismiss your armies when ye please  
 Hang up your ensigns, let your drums be still  
 For here we entertain a solemn peace.

I.H.VI.V.40.

All things shall be peace.

M.N.D.III.44.

*Chorus.* Truly your country's friend.

C.III.1.

Your praise shall find room  
 Even in the eyes of all posterity.

Sonnets. LV.

What fools these mortals be!

M.N.D.II.III.

F.E.C.H.

## SHAKESPEARE, MAN AND ARTIST.

"SHAKESPEARE, MAN AND ARTIST," by EDGAR I. FRIPP.  
2 vols., illus. OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS. 38s.  
net.

SOME recent words of Mr. Desmond MacCarthy seem appropriate to a review of this latest study of William Shakespeare, the man and artist. "Respect for truth is under the weather. In politics, in history, in biography, there is a feeling everywhere that it is no use trying to disentangle truth and falsehood; that the lie in practical affairs if backed with force will prevail. History can easily be re-written to cover anything up. In literature also if backed by talent; anyhow that does not matter. I believe we shall never get straightened until we revive our respect for truth and justice. It is therefore worth while pillorying . . . ." and Mr. MacCarthy proceeded to castigate a recently published biography of Oscar Wilde.

Since Sir E. K. Chambers confessed that about the life of Shakespeare the last word of self-respecting scholarship can only be nescience, there have been several attempts by scholars to trace his development as man and dramatist, relating it to the events of his day. Dr. Harrison tried to do this in his "Shakespeare at Work" which, however, he describes as a personal interpretation, a conjectural reconstruction built up from such fragments as remain. He frankly confessed that much of his book was and must be sheer guesswork, but because he thought the documentary evidence for the life of Shakespeare and for the history of the stage easily available, he chose the form of plain narrator, unqualified by "doubtless," "probably," "we may be sure that," and other phrases, expressing scholarly diffidence. "All," Dr. Harrison wrote, "who are familiar with Shakespearian times create their own imaginary portraits of the author," and as long as these



are labelled imaginary, little mischief is done by the day dreamers.

But it is quite another matter when those responsible for the publication of this new study of Shakespeare claim that its main interest is biographical and historical, because those who look for truth or for fidelity to fact in Mr. Fripp's work will find neither biography nor history, but romance instead. Mr. Fripp deserves sympathy. William Shakspeare of Stratford was not a romantic figure. He does not resemble in the least either Shelley, Keats, Byron or Swinburne. What is known of his life suggests that he was a successful business man—nothing of the artist or idealist or visionary; he was not a great failure nor a martyr nor the leader of a lost cause. As Professor George Saintsbury wrote in 1909 "We are left with a skeleton which is itself far from complete and which in most parts can only be clothed with the flesh of human and literary interest by the most perilous process of conjecture." This perilous process has had no terror for Mr. Fripp, but the skeleton grins at us through the tissue of Mr. Fripps' fancy nevertheless and the new William Shakspeare refuses to come to life.

The truth must be told once more. It is worth while pillorying those who are responsible for the publication of his work, because it is still worth while disentangling fancy and fact or endeavouring so to do.

We are told that "William Shakspeare was seven in April, 1571, and about that time we may believe his father took him to be enrolled in a school in Church Street." "He learned his catechism before he went to the King's School and there he learned it again in Latin." "He had three masters. One of them (Hunt) was distinguished. Hunt died at Rome on the 11th June, 1585. The greatest of his pupils was William Shakespeare. Under Roach, Hunt and Jenkins, Shakespeare, as we know from his writings, became an excellent Latin scholar. Efforts to belittle his learning due to Jonson's dictum or the wretched Bacon controversy are wide of the mark. Every poem, every play, almost every scene in the plays, exhibit training and scholarship."

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The fact is there is no contemporary evidence of any kind whatever that Shakspeare ever went to school at all. We simply do not know whether he did or did not.

This biography can tell us nothing of how Shakspeare acquired the scholarship which the plays and poems indeed exhibit, and which, in a footnote is said to smack rather of the University man than of the Stratford Shakspeare. Yet it is with this we think a real biography would concern itself. It would describe conditions which enabled the Shakespeare Genius to develop itself, led it to find the form of expression which best suited its character and secured for what it created both contemporary recognition and lasting fame. Perhaps "the wretched Baconian controversy" may yet establish the claim of the University man to acquaintance with Lilly's "Short Introduction to Grammar" "the good old Mantuan," Caesar, Livy, Virgil, Seneca, Plautus and Ovid. The difficulty was not, Mr. Fripp assures us, to bring young Shakespeare to the school book, but to keep him from it.

The fact is there is not a record even of his name as a scholar. There is no evidence that Shakspeare possessed a single book, or of any opportunity to acquire one; there is nothing to suggest the young Shakspeare was a student or that he was a youth of intellectual or indeed any other promise. There is no word of tribute extant either from master to genius nor from Genius in later years to a master who surely must have "taught it to lisp in numbers till the numbers came." As he became an actor he probably learned to read, but it is uncertain whether he could write more than his own name. His parents could not do this and he did not have his daughter taught to do so.

Francis Bacon as an alternative "Shakespeare" was the child of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the Great Seal, and of Lady Ann Bacon, one of the most intellectual women of her day. He was a precocious boy indeed: at twelve years of age he was sent to Cambridge and at fifteen asked to leave as he had learned all the University could teach him. He was then enrolled as a student at Gray's Inn and subsequently went in the suite of Sir Amyas Paulet, British Ambassador to the Court of France.

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We are told that with Ovid, the Bible stands out pre-eminently for its influence on Shakspeare. This would, of course, be perfectly true of the Shakespeare plays, as Bishop Charles Wordsworth in "Shakespeare's Knowledge and Use of the Bible" demonstrated in 1864. Dr. Thomas Carter in "Shakespeare and the English Bible" (1905) and Raymond Noble in "Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge and Use of the Book of Common Prayer" (1935) have pointed out not only the allusions by Shakespeare to Biblical persons and events but often actual quotations. Every single play furnishes examples: no fewer than forty-two books are quoted: eighteen from the Old, eighteen from the New Testament and six from the Apocrypha. It seems, however, yet another example of the eternal difficulty in reconciling the Shakespeare of the Plays with the Shakspeare of Stratford: nothing that we know of the life of the latter indicates an obligation to the Bible: it certainly had little effect upon his life as we know it.

The statement that he gathered this knowledge from the morality plays, legends, sermons, lessons in church tapestry, painted cloth and what not seems utterly inadequate when it is recollected that according to Mr. Fripp himself, although it is not clear how he arrives at the figures, Shakespeare's familiarity with the Bible is at least five times that of Peele or Marlowe or any other contemporary dramatist.

"Only Francis Bacon among contemporary laymen knew his Bible so well. Not the most subtle allusion in Shakespeare to Scripture would be lost on Bacon" admits Mr. Fripp. Bacon was a student of the Bible and of the works of the Early Fathers of the Church. The First Edition of the Authorised Version contains an "Address to the Christian Reader": above it is a design which is also to be found in the First Folio over the dedication and the catalogue. Every record of the translators' proceedings has disappeared.

This wretched Baconian controversy!

When Shakespeare left school we may judge that he was a voracious young reader. Here again we must not so judge

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if the commonly accepted traditions are any guide. Quiet days on the Avon, love of books, are difficult to reconcile with imprisonment for poaching, removal from school at an early age in the intervals of apprenticeship to the trade of butchery and the begetting of babies.

William, too, we may be sure was vocalist and instrumentalist. His lovely songs prove it: he could not otherwise have attained his eminence as actor and playwright. We must not think Shakspeare as less than his fellow Phillips who in his will bequeathed his bass viol, cittern bandon and lute to apprentices. What a pity Shakspeare did not think of his as well as the silver gilt bowl, keen musician as we are assured he must have been!

There is of course no evidence whatever that Shakspeare could play or sing a note, and he attained no eminence as an actor.

Bacon's love and knowledge of music however is fully attested: he wrote a book about it. "In my own case," he says, "when I am feeling happy, music adds to my happiness of mind, and when I feel sorrowful or vexed, it makes me yet more so."

On leaving school Shakspeare was articled for three years to an attorney. This we are seriously assured is the natural inference from his marriage in 1582 (for the moment it seems a little difficult to draw any such inference from the fact of his marriage: many, indeed the majority of men, marry who are not subsequently articled to attorneys!) and from his extraordinary knowledge and large and accurate usage in his writings of legal terminology and procedure.

There is of course not one iota of evidence, nor faintest vestige of tradition that William Shakspeare was ever in the office of any attorney, Registrar or pleader, whatever. He may, we are told, have served in the office of Henry Rogers the Stratford Town Clerk, and he may not. "The law is part of Shakespeare and slips from him unawares, and the facts demand professional experience in an attorney's office and without doubt at Stratford in or about the years 1579-1587."

Fancy is thus piled on Folly.

The fact is of course that it is with this knowledge of Law that, from any orthodox view of the authorship problem, it is impossible to endow Shakspeare; and the worst of it for the attorney's clerk theory is that it does not account for the facts. Shakespeare's knowledge as Gerald Massey wrote is not office sweepings, but ripe fruit, mature as though he had spent his life in their growth.

By page 183 of the first of these two portly volumes we have reached Shakspeare's marriage. The fancy portrait of the Poet's Bride is attractive in the extreme. She *was* Anne Hathway and not Agnes Whateley; she was her father's eldest daughter: she was of the godly, closely connected with the parish church: there is evidence of friendship between herself and her father's shepherd who entrusted to her 40s. of his savings as a gift for the poor of Stratford.

This is "pretty Fanny's way": the facts are that we are by no means certain of the identity of Shakspeare's wife. We do not know, save by inference, that Anne Hathway and Shakspeare ever went through the ceremony of marriage at all. The identity of his wife is uncertain. If her name were Hathway her first name was Agnes: if Whately it was Anne. Mr. Fripp suppresses the facts that if they did marry the bride was eight years older than Shakspeare and the latter "cropt his own sweet rose before the hour." Perhaps these facts would darken a little the picture of the completely mythical Anne who sat for his portrait of Constance: who like Perdita, a queen of curds and cream, inspired Shakspeare with a romantic passion, for it must be recorded that his view of wedlock was holy, high and happy: Hymen an honoured welcome guest: marriage a natural and blissful consummation.

It is Shakspeare of Stratford whose life story this is—that same William whose married life we have not hitherto thought exemplary: (his age was not in general one of respect for marriage), whose Sonnets seem hardly consistent with an exalted idea of holy wedlock and the duties owed to the partner of board and bed—the same Shakspeare who as William the Conqueror came before Richard III with the citizen's wife, a story which incidentally finds no

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place in the story of the Puritan Shakspere as Mr. Fripp portrays him.

He seems to have deserted his wife: there is no indication that she joined him in London where he is supposed to have prospered. After his return to Stratford he certainly barred her dower in the Blackfriars property and there is no correspondence between husband and wife at all—a striking contrast to those exquisite letters which another actor, Edward Alleyn, exchanged with his Beloved.

Instead of entrusting his savings to her, her father's shepherd instructed his executors to distribute among the Stratford poor a debt of forty shillings which the wealthy Shakspere left unpaid and which the executors were directed to recover.

O Bottom thou art translated indeed!

Mr. Fripp's is (as will be seen) a new Shakspere for whose story alas! his new study is the only authority. "To his father's house in Henley Street Shakspere brought his wife: here we may believe he, when at home, had his study and Anne kept house and here among the apple trees and early summer flowers we will venture to think Anne gave birth to her child in May 1583. The young Father on Trinity Sunday (he was a month off nineteen) not unproudly accompanied the baby in her embroidered bearing cloth to the sacred edifice," and we read about the unusually large congregation, that the vicar probably officiated, and so on and so forth. Instead of suggesting that the church was a kind of rural St. George's, Hanover Square, it might have been recorded that the vicar in 1635 was suspended for suffering his poultry to roost and his hogs to lodge in the chancel.

The facts are that the cottage to which Shakspere brought his bride was probably no more than four walls and a roof, destitute of a chimney, with windows unglazed: already so overcrowded by the parents of the Poet and their family of six as to be quite unfit, we should imagine, for human habitation.

Shakspere however soon forsook the unromantic drudgery of an attorney's office for poetry and acting. For this unwarranted and outrageously unsupported

statement there is, it need hardly be said, no justification whatever: the author contemptuously rejects the tales of a runaway butcher boy, fugitive poacher and ostler at the theatre door because they are too remote in time and fact to concern the historian. This particular historian seems to prefer that of which there is no word in *any* time and which is so remote as to find no place in any domain of fact—something that never was in time and never was a fact. It is more than enough (here we may register our complete agreement) that one day in the summer of 1587 the Earl of Leicester's jesting player was taken with a well-shapen youth of 23 with auburn hair and hazel eyes, musical, an old Latin-School boy, able to use his pen in a song or poem in the revision of an old play or writing of a new, talented and trained in declamation, an athlete and a fencer, a Johanne's Factotum, passionately eager to enter the dramatic profession.

This is the revised version of Aubrey.

But the Aubrey Legends are "noticeably true and not all ill-founded" when they describe Mr. Fripp's hero as inclined to acting, able to make a speech in a big style: when however they call his father a butcher, record that his son exercised his father's trade and killed calves, they are but Egyptian darkness.

Mr. Fripp rejects the poaching tradition, yet Sir S. Lee calls it a credible one: there is small doubt, he confesses, that Shakspeare's sporting experiences passed at times beyond the orthodox limits. This and the other traditions may or may not be true, but they no doubt faithfully represent the opinion of the only persons who knew the supposed dramatist in his youth and the bent of his mind and character. But having first constructed an ideal Shakespeare, Mr. Fripp, like so many others who have created Shakespeare in their own images, rejects any fact or tradition which does not suit it.

"So we must believe" Shakspeare departed from Stratford and with the Earl of Leicester's men went to London to find scope for the rare histrionic and literary powers he had attained somehow, somewhere. This imaginary journey was taken by way of Norwich and Oxford: dates

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(day and month) are offered. The facts are that we do not know when he began his dramatic career nor what made him choose it. The journey to London was first heard of more than a century afterwards: the deer stealing reason twenty years after that. In London, of course, he met Field, a Stratford friend. There is not one jot or tittle of evidence they ever met. But there is evidence that in 1592, the year before *Venus and Adonis* was published by Field, he and Francis Bacon rode down to Twickenham together with other friends to escape the plague which had broken out in London.

After Christmas in the Armada year the players went to the South coast on a provincial tour and Shakspeare probably saw the sea for the first time, Shakspeare's stately cliff, to be immortalized in *King Lear*, the beach and pier, not to mention the Castle at Dover. All these places are mentioned in the plays; therefore Shakspeare saw them. On May 15th the company arrived at Plymouth where all was excitement, the Armada being awaited with impatience. Thence reluctantly we may believe northward to Exeter, Bath, Gloucester, Coventry, where they took 40s., and finally York which perhaps gave Shakespeare ideas for scenes in *Henry VI, Part III*.

Such is Mr. Fripp's fancy: the fact is the industrious Halliwell Phillips personally examined the records of forty-six of the principal cities and towns visited by the company, including Oxford, Cambridge, and Stratford itself, but in no single instance could he discover any notice of the player-poet. Later investigations have likewise been completely without result.

When the Earl of Leicester's company was disbanded no doubt Shakspeare joined Lord Strange's men. There is a great deal of doubt indeed. All that is known is that by 1594 he had become an actor: there is an entry in the accounts of the Treasurer for this year of a payment to him and two other actors for performances at Greenwich. Nothing is known of his life in London except that he probably lodged in Bishopsgate and Southwark, defaulting in payment of subsidies at each address, and that one Wayle sought a guarantee against his breach of the peace.



Shakspeare's life in London is however now illuminated for us in this way. He did not smoke or drink. Convivial and jovial are not the terms to apply to him. Drinkers suffer ill at his hands. There is no evidence to connect him with the Mermaid Tavern (surely this is as reliable as the story of John Shakspeare's ability to crack a jest which Mr. Fripp appears to accept). He went home to Stratford once a year—his comings and goings are recorded in astonishing detail: we know now when William was at Oxford: when he was on tour: when his father rode to Barton: when and why the son advised the father not to go to law.

It is difficult to decide whether we ought to describe these statements as aberrations from the path of accuracy, as economy of truth, as disclosing an almost Oriental proclivity for romance, or as imaginative gems of purest ray serene. To what kind of reader do they appeal? What purpose do they serve? With what object are they written down and printed?

To create a Puritan Shakespeare in the place of one whose anti-puritan sympathies were distinguishing traits and whose preoccupation with sex even a moderately careful examination of the works reveals.

But to proceed. On Nov. 30th or Dec. 1st 1592, Shakspeare celebrated his wedding day. Did this inspire Sonnet CXVI, asks Mr. Fripp? We think quite certainly it did not; although Shakspeare may have indeed recollected the Form of Solemnization of Matrimony, as we are invited to think he did, we very much doubt whether it was of his marriage he was thinking when he wrote of that Love which is not the Fool of Time.

The late attorney's clerk showed himself in every act, in every scene of the *Comedy of Errors*. It was played at Grays Inn and Bacon was responsible for the particular revels, but facts are intruders into the realms of faerie. Shakspeare goes on another tour, becomes a sportsman, loves a horse (all his kinsmen had horses) may have purchased roan Barbary on which, preceded by a trumpeter, he would ride into a town, through gazing streets in the garb of a king—as yet we have only reached 1594 and page

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406 of Vol 1. But we must pause and associate him this Christmas not only with his young patron Southampton, but with his admirer Francis Bacon who though, of course, himself lacking in poetic and dramatic art loved plays—delighted in the show of life on the stage—few must have appreciated Shakspeare more keenly. He would be one of the first to appreciate Shakspeare's genius.

We feel that only the author is capable of justice to himself and we cannot forbear to quote: "He (Francis Bacon) was lover of the drama and refers often to plays in his writings. He himself contributed speeches to dramatic devices and the orations at Grays Inn revels. He was probably the 'sorcerer' responsible for bringing Shakespeare's company from Shoreditch." He speaks of the *Comedy of Errors* in his *Advancement of Learning*. The legal jests of Shakespeare's plays would not escape him. The lawyer poet spoke to the lawyer philosopher and made him laugh despite his lack of humour. Nor would the Scriptural allusions be missed. Of Elizabethan laymen Shakespeare and Bacon probably quote the Bible most frequently. The Northumberland MSS. is evidence of the popularity of both. It suggests Bacon's reminiscence of *Love's Labour Lost* which he would enjoy as a human weakness, never being in love himself.

Yet Bacon never mentions Shakspeare once nor Shakspeare Bacon—Bacon who indeed laid the greatest stress on the value of the drama as a means of education and of making history visible never hailed the Rising Stratford Star. And here at the end of Volume 1 we, too, will come to an end with the reflection that many wise men have written foolishly about Shakespeare and many foolish men have written occasionally wisely. We really do not know in which category to place the new study of Shakespeare, Man and Artist.

F.E.C.H.

## OBITUARY.

The older members of the Bacon Society will learn with deep regret of the death, at the age of 73, of Mr. Horace Nickson, a former Chairman of the Council and a Vice-President of the Society. Mr. Nickson will long be remembered for his activity in the cause and the unflagging interest which he maintained in things Baconian until illness prevented him. Mr. Nickson took an especial interest in the problem of "Don Quixote," and gave some interesting talks on this subject at the Society's Rooms. There is the same kind of mystery surrounding "Don Quixote" as that which hangs around the Essays of Michel de Montagne. We believe it was Mr. Nickson who first detected the incorrect drawing of the sleeve in the Droeshout engraving, and suggested that this might indicate the concealed anagram BACK FRONT for FR. BACON KT. We take this opportunity of expressing the Society's deep sympathy with Mrs. Nickson in her bereavement.

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## THE SOCIETY'S LECTURES

PRINCE HENRY'S ROOM, FLEET STREET, LONDON.

- Sept. 1. "Bacon's England," by Miss D. Gomes da Silva.  
Oct. 6. "Bacon and Shakespeare on Love," by Mr. R. L. Eagle.  
Nov. 3. "Measure for Measure," by Mr. F. E. O. Habgood.  
Dec. 1. Not yet fixed.

## REVIEWS.

ELIZABETH AND SIXTUS: A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SIDELIGHT ON THE SPANISH ARMADA. By H. Kendra Baker. London, The C. W. Daniel Company. Price 7s. 6d. net.

A brief notice of Mr. Kendra Baker's book was given in our last issue, but the work deserves more detailed description. We already know that Elizabeth is an enigma, but to the average reader the character and qualifications of the Italian historian, Gregorio Leti, are almost unknown. Some English scholars have written of him in a disparaging vein as untrustworthy. But Mr. Baker shows, conclusively we think, that at least so far as the doings of Elizabeth and Sixtus are concerned, Leti's narrative is entirely reliable, being corroborated at many points by other historians such as Ranke. The importance of this lies in the fact that his *Life of Elizabeth* is more than 100 years earlier than any published elsewhere. Not only so, but Leti claims that he had access to important books and documents in the library of the Earl of Anglesey, himself a man of great learning and an accomplished Italian linguist.

Leti's *History of England* gave offence in English Court circles; and this, combined with the independence of spirit shown in all his writings, may well have been the reason of his unpopularity in official quarters. Yet, as Mr. Baker points out, he was an historian of sufficient international repute to be offered the post of Historiographer to Charles II on his arrival in England. He was likewise the first biographer of Oliver Cromwell, and both this and his life of Elizabeth are replete with a mass of historical detail, the accuracy of which cannot be challenged. Mr. Frederick Chamberlain has considerable respect for Leti's reliability. As Mr. Baker remarks, "The fact that nothing recorded by Leti conflicts with what we know already concerning the Armada, but rather illumines certain dark places, such as the source from which Elizabeth obtained the information so essential to her defence, should entitle Leti to a patient and impartial hearing."

Leti's *Life of Sixtus* was published, doubtless as a precaution, under the pseudonym of Signior "Geltio Rogeri," which is merely an anagram for Gregorio Leti. It is a vivid and lively narrative, obviously based on first-hand knowledge, and gives a wonderfully interesting description of that remarkable and unconventional Pope Sixtus V, so humble and inoffensive before his election, and so masterful and ruthless the moment he was in the Chair. For English students Leti's detailed narrative of the many intrigues of

this extraordinary man, his correspondence with Queen Elizabeth, for whose statesmanship he had great respect, his account of the Spanish Armada, and many other matters of historical import, will be of the greatest interest. He tells, for example, of the activities of a certain spy known as the Chevalier Carre. This man was a Catholic, who owed his life to the Earl of Essex, and gladly showed his gratitude by performing what service he could for the benefit of Elizabeth. His identity is very doubtful. Leti also quotes in full the Papal Bull for the excommunication of Elizabeth, showing the exact grounds on which this was based.

It is well to remember that one of the chief ambitions of Sixtus was to recover the Kingdom of Naples for the Church, and it was this which caused him to encourage every kind of political plot which would embarrass Philip II of Spain and prevent his giving support to Naples. Strangely enough, at the very time when this object appeared to be within his grasp, Sixtus died. In spite of the appalling severity of his methods, it cannot be denied that he was extremely successful in purging the Ecclesiastical State from its vices and degradation. Evil doers shrank at the very mention of his name.

Leti tells many humorous stories of this remarkable man, apart from the numerous Pasquinades to which his eccentric conduct gave rise. One or two examples must suffice here. On one occasion when visiting the Jesuits they drew his attention to the fact that they had never been so poor as then. "Continue so still," replied Sixtus, "for unless you be poor you shall never be truly religious; for your poverty is beneficial to the Church, and your riches prejudicial to the Popes!" His sister, Donna Camilla, had privately remonstrated with him for wearing patched shirts, which were a disgrace for a Sovereign Pontiff; but his reply was the laughing one that "Our elevation, dear sister, should not cause us to forget our place of origin, and that rags and tatters were the first arms of our house."

Mr. Baker has done good service in drawing attention to the historian Gregorio Leti and his graphic account of a very eventful period in European history.

THE FOURTH FORGER. John Mair. Cobden-Sanderson. 8s. 6d.

The Fourth Forger is William Henry Ireland, the other three being Lauder, Macpherson and Chatterton., This study of Mr. Mair's is an interesting one of a type of mind by no means uncommon. Ireland was not alone among young men in desiring to make a fool of his father: it is even fairly common for young men to desire to prove to their fathers they are not the fools the latter think them: the problem lies in their desire to impose upon other people—doubtless the psychologists can supply an explanation of

the forgery of a lease, a note of hand and Shakspeare's own copy of a letter to the Earl of Southampton.

These and many other "discoveries" were incorporated in biographies and appreciations of William Shakspeare during the nineteenth century and were duly pressed into service to buttress his claims to the authorship of the plays by orthodox correspondents in a long newspaper discussion subsequently printed by the Bacon Society under the title "Shakspeare Dethroned."

Ireland's success was considerable: not only his father but his dupes were anxious to believe that pages of the "Hamlet" MS. and the whole of the "King Lear" had been discovered. What were Shakspeare's own portrait of himself and the fact that he had been saved from drowning by one of the forger's own ancestors to this "proof" that Shakspeare and Shakespeare were one?

It is to Malone that the pricking of the bubble was due. Before the fiasco of "Vortigern" which was too much for the Drury Lane audience—it knew its Shakespeare apparently and howled the newly discovered masterpiece down—Malone, an exceedingly astute lawyer-critic, was not deceived and in the end Ireland confessed everything.

It is a most interesting story: the need for some identification of the player with the poet has, of course, been the crux of Shakespearean biographers and the Fourth Forger set out to meet it. And he is not so different to the Romantics of to-day, whose work amuses even if it cannot instruct.

**SHAKESPEARE CRITICISM: AN ESSAY IN SYNTHESIS.** By C. Narayana Menon. Benares Hindu University. Milford, Oxford University Press. 5s.

This is a work of considerable importance which is bound to provoke thought and argument. The author has set himself a tremendous task—to reconcile almost everything that has been written about the Shakespeare plays. Whether such a synthesis is possible and whether if it is Mr. Menon has supplied it must remain a matter for discussion. For our own part we can only offer the sincerest tribute to the author's erudition, clarity of style and enormous energy in research and promise ourselves, after a third or fourth perusal of his book, to offer readers of *BACONIANA* the results of our efforts to follow Mr. Menon in his pioneering path.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITORS OF BACONIANA.

Dear Sirs,

Mr. W. A. Vaughan takes me to task for suggesting that Francis Bacon may have founded, or been connected with the Rosicrucian Brotherhood. He complains of my making 'assertions' (though I was rather making propositions and suggestions): a fault, I fear, of which he himself cannot be held guiltless!

I disagree with Mr. Vaughan's dogmatic statement as to the composition and aims of the Society, though it is quite possible that there were numbered in its ranks charlatans whose object was the exploitation of a superstitious and gullible public. Medical science, influenced by the writings of Galen, was not in the 16th and 17th centuries any way in advance of Rosicrucian ideas and practices. As the Philosopher's Stone, when discovered, was to be a universal panacea for the physical ills which plagued mankind, the search for it was not unworthy of, and was quite in keeping with the aims of the Brotherhood. We cannot judge the seeker after knowledge of those days by the scientific standards of the XXth century.

I maintain that the objects of the Brotherhood would appeal to Francis Bacon. We know that he was active on the Continent in the cause of the Reformation, and his lively and eager mind would never allow that "they also serve who only stand and wait;" he could see no use in the monastic life of contemplation unless coupled with activity.

Mr. Harold Bayley says in his "Tragedy of Sir Francis Bacon": "According to its manifestors, the object of the Rosicrucian Fraternity was to expel from the world all those things which darken human knowledge," and the shy and retiring Brethren seem to have acted up to their ideal, as God's Deputies upon Earth. Their publications deal with every conceivable subject tending to the advancement of learning, the pleasing of men's minds, and 'the bettering of men's bread and wine.' Here we come across a political pamphlet, written to resist some threatened aggression or to redress some wrong; and there a stately volume on Divinity or History, or an educational handbook on Mathematics, Euclid, or Arts and Crafts. In the great scope of their operations the Brethren seem to have taken all knowledge to be their province, and to have aimed at supplying all, or as many as possible of those things which Bacon had registered as 'deficient.' "

And if the Rosicrucians were interested in the art of prolonging life—short enough in most cases in those days—so was Francis Bacon. In his "History of Life and Death" he brings forward an idea of longevity on the basis that the principle of life resides in a subtle fluid or spirit which permeates the tangible part of the organisation of plants and animals—(the origin of speculative physiology).

The Rosicrucian Brotherhood, in the form in which it startled Europe, presents the Baconian idea of a total reconstruction and a new inception; but it may have been a reorganization, a resurrection of older societies, and it may have had an unbroken connection with the Eleusinian Mysteries. As the drama took its origin from the Demeter and Persephone myth ("The Winter's Tale" is based thereon), which formed the central doctrine of the Mysteries, together with the worship of Apollo and Bacchus (in every work of Bacon the symbolic paper-mark of 'grapes' in various forms is found) this would most profoundly stimulate Bacon's interest. He believed that an age of higher intellectual development than any the world then knew had flourished and passed out of memory long before Homer and Hesiod wrote; and he declared that he was going "the same road as the ancients." He cannot be referring to his method of philosophy, which was inductive, and he had disclaimed Aristotle. The true solution is that he joins hands with the ancients in their Mysteries, around their altars, with Heraclitus, Empedocles and the creative doctrine of Orpheus, and with Platonic Philosophy. "The question between them and me," Bacon remarked, "being only as to the way."

With further reference to the 52 rules instituted for the use of the Fraternity, there were to be 63 members of various grades of initiation, apprentices, brethren, and an "imperator," who were all sworn to secrecy for 100 years. Whilst passing in public under their own names, they adopted feigned initials or mottoes in order to be identified by their initiated friends. The Brethren, upon interrogation, were to profess ignorance on all subjects relating to the Society—except the art of Healing. They were to cure the sick in body and mind without payment or reward. In his "Promus" we find Bacon registering his resolve to do good to others, without regard of private advantage or profit; and if Plato had contemned the healing art, Bacon vindicated its dignity by appealing to the example of Christ, and reminded man that the great Physician of the soul did not disdain also to be the physician of the body. If "a man set before him honest and good ends . . . and be resolute, constant, and true unto them: it will follow that he shall mould himself into all virtue at once."

It needs no strong imagination to realize what power such a Society would possess under the driving force of so original a mind



as that of Francis Bacon, endowed in almost equally balanced proportions with every intellectual faculty.

It would not appear that the Society in the form we know it existed before 1575, or that it issued any publication before 1580: Bacon was in France for the last three years of that period. What was he doing besides studying the art and inventing a system of cipher, or writing the Essays fathered by Michel de Montaigne? The chronicle is silent.

What individuals or Society—if not the Rosicrucians—were responsible for the expensive and elaborate effort of publishing the First Folio; a volume of 1,000 pages? How came it about that a number of books were published during 17th century as written by various authors; but which it is now generally believed were original works of Bacon left in MS. on his death? It must be added could any man, however colossal his powers, however long his literary life, have written all the works which evidence shows to be Bacon's, or his at least in conception, substance, and diction, even though often it would seem paraphrased, interpolated, or altered by other hands. Yet with the help of the Rosicrucian Fraternity in its obscurity and mystery this could be accomplished.

The whole circle of publications covering a certain period bear a strange connection and affinity, possessing as they do the same typographical errors, variations in type, woodcuts, water-marks, paper-marks, and secret signs.

That these works were produced with the highest motive is to be inferred from the frequency with which after the word "Finis," such sentences are to be found as, "To God only wise be praise through Jesus Christ for ever": "Laus Deo": "Soli Deo Gratia": "Non nobis Domini non nobis sed nomini tuo da gloriam." Even in purely secular works the letters "L.S.D." (Laus Soli Deo) are given.

What was the cause of Bacon's great poverty, when he was living very quietly and at small personal expense? Was he straitening his means by publishing in order to carry out part of the "Universal Reformation?" Was Anthony Bacon's long sojourn abroad entirely aimless; and were his continuous letters to his brother for the sake of retailing mere gossip? Is it not significant that all these letters are missing? Was Anthony not acting as propagandist on the continent for Francis's secret society and new philosophy and collecting and forwarding to him important intelligence and books? Twin in heart and soul Anthony energetically collaborated with his brother, devoting to the service of the cause not only his means, but life itself, until his untimely death in 1601.

There is a mystery besides about the correspondence between Bacon and Sir Tobie Matthew—his most intimate friend, and "kind inquisitor," and to whom Francis dedicated his Essay on

"Friendship." Sir Tobie wandered abroad and was sometimes mysteriously occupied. The letters referred to are as a rule not only without date but likewise appear to have been stripped of all particulars that might serve to fit the occasion for which they were penned. Having become a priest in the Jesuit College at Douai, Matthew may well have aided Bacon in the translation and dissemination of his works, and in the production of the Douai Bible.

Bacon thought that every properly instructed tongue could be made to bear witness, and that it was part of his task to draw together a great cloud of witnesses to the philosophy he was propounding. There was, for instance, a certain Mr. Doyly, whom Bacon addressed as "My verye deare friend," who was Anthony's companion abroad: after residing in Paris, Doyly appears in Flanders: what his business was is unknown. And there was also Nicholas Faunt, Walsingham's one time secretary, a Puritan, and also Anthony's intimate associate! He is described as an "able intelligencer," who from 1580-2 was travelling with no ostensible object through France and Germany, visiting also Geneva and Northern Italy.

These and many other of Bacon's devoted friends must have had some definite aim in their travels. Were they not maintaining, strengthening and extending contacts between the Society abroad, and the English counterpart at home? There is little doubt that Ben Jonson, known to have been one of Bacon's "able vens," was under his master one of the leading workers in the Rosicrucian cause. He twice refers to the Fraternity in his play "The Staple of News."

Mr. Vaughan says that I should have shown that "Bacon had anything at all to do with Masonry." I thought the fact that he was the father of modern Masonry was so well established, among Baconians at least, that proofs were uncalled for. I hope, however, that he does not include Mr. Alfred Dodd among those "writers whose work is the subject of ridicule." If so, nothing I can say will shake Mr. Vaughan's invincible prejudice. "For," remarked Bacon, "as Solomon saith, he that cometh to seek after knowledge with a mind to scorn and censure, shall be sure to find matter for his humour, but no matter for his instruction."

As the Templars were the successors of the Knights of the Round Table, so the Rosicrucians appear to have assumed the mantle of the Templars. "The names change," wrote W. F. C. Wigston; "the rites alter, the philosophy may be different, but the principles remain affiliating all these societies to Masonry, which is the oral method of transmission of which Bacon hints in his works."

It is an interesting coincidence that at Gorhambury, Bacon would live in a house constructed out of the stones of the Abbey, which the Hond Masons of King Offa erected to the memory of St. Alban

the martyr. "And St. Alban . . . loved well masons, and cherished them much, and made their pay right good . . ." (Lansdowne MS. 1560). The abbey of St. Alban's it is claimed was the cradle if not the birthplace of Masonry in England. Therein was the tomb of the "good Duke Humphrey," of Gloucester, and there was there a Latin inscription to his memory, containing an allusion to the legend of the miraculous restoration to sight of a blind man at St. Alban's shrine, and said to have been exposed by the Duke. To this incident 'Shakespeare' alludes in 2nd Part Henry VI.

Mr. Vaughan thinks that any suggestion that Francis Bacon wrote the "Chemical Marriage" is an insult to his memory. I can see nothing incompatible with the belief that such a romance could and might well have been written by Bacon, in his youth. The book is not a 'ludibrium,' but betrays a serious purpose and conceals a recondite meaning; and if the author and founder of the Brotherhood was a boy of 15, is it likely that in the same era two different youths of like ages should each harbour the same world-embracing plans for the benefit of humanity; and that one should establish a great secret society, which spread all over Europe, and the other build up a great philosophy, destined to live and bear fruit so long as civilization endures?

Many of Bacon's works, notably "Sylva Sylvarum," the "New Atlantis," and "The History of Life and Death" seem to be parables or figurative pieces conveying a double meaning to those capable of discerning.

The further evidence on the question supplied by your correspondent, Mr. L. Biddulph, is both interesting and valuable.

Yours faithfully,

R. J. A. BUNNETT.

## NOTES AND NOTICES.

The *Times Literary Supplement* reports the offer of a First Folio Shakespeare by an Exeter bookseller, for which its owner is asking £1,500. The leaf of verses before the title-page, the title-page itself, the first leaf of the dedication and the last two leaves are in facsimile. The name of the previous owner and that of the house from which the treasure came have not been made public, but it was purchased in a bundle of old folios at the sale of a small country-house library in South Devon. The previous owner had never recognised it.

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Yet another portrait said to be of Shakespeare has recently come into the market. "There are at least two hundred portraits for which," writes Mr. A. C. R. Carter, in the *Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*, "the claim has been made that they truly represent the features of Shakespeare." The verdict of the market for the one in question was 12 guineas; yet we are told it was confidently believed to portray Shakespeare in black dress and white collar at the age of 29. It was an oval panel, too.

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The Prime Minister quoted *Measure for Measure*, Act II, Sc. 2, in the House of Commons during a review of the international situation last Session. "Although it is good to have a giant's strength," he said, "it is tyrannous to use it like a giant." The Premier was accused, in a letter in *The Times* next day, by Dr. Temperley, Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, "of a conscious (or unconscious) echo" of one of Canning's speeches delivered in 1826. To the Professor's "remarkable parallel" the Premier replied that he had never read either of the passages quoted and his words were entirely his own!

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The Prime Minister's quotation of Hotspur's lines in *Henry IV* Part I, Act 2, Scene 3,—"Out of this nettle danger, we pluck this flower, safety"—has passed into history. In the same play (Act 5, Sc. 1) there is a tribute to that same Hotspur offered by the Prince

of Wales, afterwards Henry V, which we can surely echo in all gratitude to Mr. Chamberlain—

"A braver gentleman  
More active-valiant, or more valiant young  
More daring or more bold, is now alive  
To grace this latter age with noble deeds"

Mr. Chamberlain's love of Shakespeare is well known as was the late Lord Grey of Falloden's. In Arthur Mee's "One Thousand Famous Things," Lord Grey is quoted as saying—

"When I was out of office after eleven years, very tired and for the time not fit for anything, I spent some weeks alone in the country.

"During this time I read several of Shakespeare's plays.

"The impression produced upon me by his incredible power and range was really that of awe; I felt almost afraid to be alone in the room with him, as if I were in the presence of something supernatural."

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"There is Shakespeare in front of the building and I have put bacon inside. What more would you like?" asked the grocer who converted the Theatre Royal, Worthing, into a warehouse eighty years ago. To this grocer the building owes its preservation, and Sir J. Martin Harvey recently unveiled a tablet commemorating the glorious days of Macready, Phelps and Edmund Kean.

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We are indebted to the *Daily Telegraph and Morning Post* for the following interesting theory about the origin of Shakespeare's surname, developed in C. L'Estrange Ewen's recently published "Guide to the Origin of British Surnames":—

The explanation depends on Mr. Ewen's "doctrine of synonymous change." He suggests in this that in the 13th century, when secondary descriptive surnames were becoming commoner, a man might be equally correctly described by several synonyms in one or more languages.

Mr. Ewen gives some convincing illustrations.

A 13th-century Israelite known as Cohen—priest—might alternatively be described as Episcopus, l'Eveske, or Bishop. Occasionally, such synonyms were only suppositional, consisting of a mistranslation of a misunderstood word.

An elaborate process of the sort, Mr. Ewen believes, occurred in the case of the name Shakespere, later Shakespeare, which is described as having the greatest fame of all misunderstood surnames.

Although very widespread throughout England, research does not reveal it to be of greater age than the 14th century, except for

one example in Surrey in 1268 and a possible one in Gloucestershire in 1248.

By collating all known synonyms in the same or different families from 1200 to 1543, Mr. Ewen is able to list as true or suppositional equivalents the name of the only English Pope, Adrian IV, Brekespeare, Bruselaunce, Brekestaf, Waggebastun, Waggestaf, Waggespere, Bricelaunce, Shakelaunce, Brekedaunce, Shakehaft, Shakstafe, Shakeshafte, Skakelock, Schakelock, Skatheloc, Shakeloc, Longstaf, Longestak and Shakespere, as well as de Saxby and Shakespey.

The equivalence depends in most cases on the fact that "to spar or sperre" formerly signified "to lock or bolt," and that "to shak," when speaking of wood, signified to "split" or "crack."

From the older names in Coventry, Scatheloc and Shakeloc, Mr. Ewen works back to an Old English personal name, Scaft-loc, both elements of which were of the type used for names in the Anglo-Saxon period. He emphasises and clarifies his conclusion by a pedigree of the name of Shakespere in Warwickshire and Gloucestershire, which, although he admits is partly conjectural, is plausible and impressive.

Starting from Scaft-loc, he works through Skatheloc and Shakeloc to Shakespere, and from there to Shakehaft, Shakstaff and Shakeshaft.

The rest of Mr. Ewen's study examines the problems of surnames in a scholarly and documented way, providing a basis for study for the beginner and pointing out the pitfalls of interpreting a surname at its face value.









