

BACONIANA

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The Bacon Society

(INCORPORATED).

THE objects of the Society are expressed in the Memorandum of Association to be:—

1. To encourage study of the works of Francis Bacon as philosopher, lawyer, statesman and poet; his character, genius and life; his influence on his own and succeeding times and the tendencies and results of his work.
2. To encourage study of the evidence in favour of his authorship of the plays commonly ascribed to Shakspeare, and to investigate his connection with other works of the period.

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BACONIANA

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EDITORIAL.

THE Bacon Society's annual celebration of the birthday of Francis Bacon took the form as usual of a Dinner, an account of which will be found in this issue of BACONIANA. On the 21st January a beautiful wreath was taken by members of the Council to the Church of St. Michael, near St. Albans, and placed near the monument of Francis Bacon there. Upon the wreath was placed a silver spear and the word "Shake-spear," and the inscription read "To Sir Francis Bacon. Born January 22nd, 1561."

The principal guests at the Dinner were Dr. G. B. Harrison and Mr. Robert Atkins. Speaking of "Labeo," we believe Dr. Harrison was recalling a discussion in the columns of the "Times Literary Supplement" in July, 1936, in the course of which Mr. Sidney Atkins endeavoured to identify "Labeo" with Drayton. "Labeo," said Mr. Atkins, is the typical bad poet, the name being taken from Persius. Hall was writing of a type, and the particular "Labeo" identified with Drayton is satirised in Book VI, i.e. one of those containing personal references. "Drinking Bowl," in Book II (1) is Diogenes and the Shepherd Boy. The reference to "Labeo" in VI (7) is a general piece against Roman Catholicism, and here again "Labeo" is the bad poet in general. Hall even uses "Lolio" to represent the upstart rustic.

It seems to us that Mr. Atkins completely overlooked the fact that the Puritan Joseph Hall reproved "Labeo" for writing in what he considered a lascivious vein—a reproof which Drayton certainly did not deserve, and which could not possibly apply to any of the poems written by him up to the time. It might well, however, be taken as a

censure of "Venus and Adonis." Again, orthodox scholars either cannot or will not realise the significance of Marston's allusion to someone whom he calls "Mediocria firma," which can only mean a member of the Bacon family, since that was the family motto, and it is quite clear that the person referred to as "Mediocria firma" is the same person as "Labeo," whom both Hall and Marston identify as the author of "Venus and Adonis."

Mr. Robert Atkins referred to a stage-struck youth afflicted with a broad Lancashire dialect. Mr. Atkins, we are thankful to say, advised the aspirant to rid himself of this before he attempted to play Shakespeare. According to Mr. Atkins, in six months' time he returned perfectly cured, having acquired indeed a splendid diction. Mr. Atkins compared this, somewhat audaciously, with the achievement of William Shakspeare, who he thought freed himself of his Warwickshire dialect by similar methods. In the sixteenth century, however, variations were far more pronounced and certainly teachers of elocution were neither as numerous nor as adept as they are now. Dialects of the different shires were so marked that militia-men were unable to comprehend their orders unless given by an officer from their own district.

Writing of an English county gentleman as late as the time of William III, Macaulay observes:—"His language and pronunciation were such as we should expect to have only from the most ignorant clowns. His oaths, gross jests and scurrilous terms of abuse were uttered with the broadest accent of his province." A century earlier, when language was even more unformed, the surrounding speech must have struck the ear almost as strangely as a foreign tongue, and Englishmen had to pick up their mother tongue as best they could, there being no English Grammar until 1586.

As Mr. Harold Bayley points out in "The Shakespeare Symphony," there is little doubt that the spelling, pronunciation and grammar even of the Elizabethan gentry were very uncouth, and the speech of the illiterate lower orders must have been many degrees more barbarous and rude.

An example of the discordant jargon of playhouse habitues may be found in the "Roaring Girl" of Middleton, and a letter written from Elizabeth, Duchess of Norfolk, to her brother, Lord Stafford, though perhaps an extreme instance, gives some idea of the difficulties which the young Warwickshire countryman would have to surmount, either by expert tuition or association with aristocratic circles. In any case, he must have been conspicuously successful, for by 1593 he was able to write "Venus and Adonis," a poem free of any trace of jargon or dialect, and the result of the highest culture of the time. Burns, coming from the plough, expressed his genius in dialect familiar to himself and to his auditors, and so did the West Country poet, William Barnes, and many others. William Shakspeare alone, if orthodox authorities are to be accepted, sang in the purest academic English.

Dr. W. H. Melsome's remarkable parallelisms between the thought and expression of Bacon and "Shakespeare" are among the most impressive we have read, and his article is only a very small instalment of most valuable manuscript with which he has entrusted us for publication in *BACONIANA*. Dr. Melsome breaks entirely new ground, and his discoveries are little less than sensational. Many parallelisms and identities relied upon in the past have been shown to be common to several writers in the 16th and 17th centuries. Mr. J. M. Robertson, for example, in *The Baconian Heresy* and Mr. Harold Bayley in *The Shakespeare Symphony* demonstrated this beyond cavil or question; but Dr. Melsome's work is of an entirely different order and shows, we think equally conclusively, that, as Gerald Massey wrote in *The Secret Drama of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, "when all deductions are made there does remain a considerable residuum of likeness not only distinguishable in separate ideas, for the philosophical writings of Bacon are suffused and saturated with Shakespearean thought." It is this residuum of likeness which is the fascinating subject of Dr. Melsome's articles, the first of which appears in these pages.

Mr. R. L. Eagle's article in the following pages replies once more to the orthodox objection that Bacon's idea of Love is radically different to that of "Shakespeare." We think it a very great mistake to judge Bacon's solely upon the evidence of the famous Essay. This was written six years after his marriage and it is by no means unlikely that this greatly affected his attitude to Love and to life. The marriage certainly brought him no lasting happiness. But if we look at Bacon's "Device" written fourteen years before his marriage we shall very quickly be able to refute the silly suggestion that he knew nothing about Love and could never have written "Romeo and Juliet."

"My praise," he writes, "shall be dedicated to the happiest state of mind, to the noblest affection. I shall teach lovers to love, that they have all this while loved by rote. I shall give them the alphabet of love." And with wonderful insight—"Assuredly no persons ever saw at any time the mind of another but in love. Love is the only passion that opens the heart. If not the highest, it is the sweetest affection of all others." "When one foreseeth withal that to his many griefs cannot be added solitude, but that he shall have a partner to bear them, this quieteth the mind."

BACON-SHAKESPEARE ANATOMY

(Part I).

By W. S. MELSOME.

IN modern times many believe that the Shakespeare plays were not the work of one man. It is a fact that many plays and poems were published in the name of Shakespeare, which Shakespeare, whoever he may have been, did not write. It is, however, admitted that neither Shakespeare nor anybody else, claiming to be or to act for Shakespeare, ever took any action whatever to suppress or restrain such publications, or, so far is known, uttered any protest whatever with regard to them. "Shakespeare" became a *nom de plume* or pseudonym in the sense that it was found profitable to publish in a name likely to sell the works which bore it, and moreover a name which might be used with impunity and without fear of molestation.

Many people believe that part of the work published in the Folio of 1623 is not Shakespearean and that the work of several pens may be found there, that is to say a large part of "Shakespeare" was not written by Shakespeare, but by others whose work was at least published in the same name.

But whatever theory we may hold concerning the authorship, and however numerous the pens who contributed to the various plays contained in the First Folio, no one will deny that there was one master mind whence flowed all that glorious literature which has made the name of Shakespeare supreme.

That master, whoever he was, borrowed extensively from the "De Augmentis Scientiarum" of Francis Bacon, which was not published before 13th October, 1623.

By this time the MSS of all the plays were in the hands of the printers of the First Folio which was published not less than twenty-six days later. It follows from this that none of the reputed authors, not even Bacon himself,

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could have borrowed from the printed "De Augmentis." Bacon, however, is the only one who had *no need* to await the printing of his own work before making use of it, and therefore he must have been either one of the authors or have collaborated with some other man or men having access to his mind or manuscripts of many years earlier.

We shall probably never know how many men collaborated in the authorship of the plays. But when people ask who Shakespeare was, they mean the Shakespeare who wrote the speeches of Ulysses in "Troilus and Cressida," and those speeches in "Hamlet" so full of affectation, and the still more affected speeches in "Love's Labour's Lost." This was the man who borrowed so extensively from the "De Augmentis," and this is the book which provides the best introduction to the Shakespeare philosophy ever written.

Study of the comparative anatomy of minds is not very different from study of the comparative anatomy of bodies. No surgeon is satisfied with second-hand information with regard to the latter. He must obtain first-hand information by the dissection of the human body itself, and this first-hand information which is gleaned by his own eye and corroborated by his own experience can never be contradicted by knowledge and information which reaches him at second-hand. So, if the anatomy of Bacon's mind is to be compared with that of Shakespeare, information at first-hand with regard to both is a *sine qua non*, and this can only be obtained by the reading and re-reading of the fourteen volumes of Spedding, Ellis and Heath which contain Bacon's letters and speeches as well as his literary works.

It will save much trouble and time if the anatomist will begin by reading Bacon's "Exempla Antithetorum" (De Augmentis vi. iii). These antitheta, which are theses argued *pro et contra*, were first published in 1623. "They were collected in my youth, and . . . I was unwilling they should be lost." As more than half of them occur in the plays the question is, how did they get there?

If we are careful to compare Bacon and Shakespeare while arguing *pro*, and again while arguing *contra*, we shall find that they never differ in opinion upon any subject about which they both write at the same period, but only in the way they express themselves. But are not the two sides of a simple quadratic equation also expressed differently? and when they are reduced to simplicity do they not amount to the same thing?

Again, it will save time if one reads Bacon's explanation of the parables in "Proverbs" and "Ecclesiastes" (*De Augmentis* viii. ii), and especially of those, such as Proverbs xii. 10 and Ecclesiastes x. 1., which were not published before October 1623.

In his preface to the "Wisdom of the Ancients" he says, "I expect to be new in these matters," and he certainly was new; and, in his commentaries upon the parables, he is again dealing with the wisdom of the ancients, and again he is new; and, because these new opinions are scattered about in the plays, it is as easy to trace them as it is for schoolboys playing "Hares and Hounds" to trace the hares by the pieces of paper they scatter behind them. Bacon's comments upon "Ecclesiastes X. 1" will enable a man to trace him in eight or nine different plays, and also in "Lucrece;" and his explanation of "Proverbs XII. 10." will enable the hunter to double-trace him in many of the same plays, and again in "Lucrece."

A good surgeon who knows, or should know, every cubic centimetre of the human body, can tell at once whether a writer upon human anatomy is writing correctly or not; and no man would care to submit to the knife of a surgeon whose knowledge of anatomy was obtained from books only.

Similarly, no man who wishes to know Bacon's mind should be content with other men's opinions; for he will very soon find that the words of one writer cancel those of another. Shelley says "Bacon was a poet." Other men flatly contradict this statement. A man who is content with other men's opinions becomes a slave to authority; and if you meet such a slave and try to teach him the

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shortest way to trace Shakespeare in *Henry VIII*, he will probably tell you that this play was not written by Shakespeare; yet, if there is any one play in which it is easy to trace Shakespeare it is *Henry VIII*.

If we follow the surgeon's example and insist on first-hand information, no second-hand information can shake us. We shall not need Ben Jonson's, or any other man's opinion of Bacon or Shakespeare.

It is certain that one of the authors of the plays turned over the pages of the Bible; and, out of more than 30,000 verses picked out Ecclesiastes x. 1., and drew the same conclusions from it as Bacon did. There is, however, this difference between them. Bacon draws a distinction between eminent men and ordinary men in one paragraph, and Shakespeare, in Hamlet's pre-ghost speech, which is based upon Ecclesiastes x. 1., deals with eminent men only, and leaves the distinction between eminent and ordinary men to *Lucrece*; and the distinction between folly in wise men and folly in fools is dealt with in *Love's Labour's Lost*; and, while drawing this distinction, he makes it quite clear that he has this parable in mind.

If the reader will go to the nearest public library and ask the librarian to show him a fascimile copy of the outside sheet of the famous Northumberland MSS, he will, with the aid of a magnifying glass, be able to make out the following names, one above the other, in this order: Francis Bacon, William Shakespeare and Thomas Nashe.

Bacon wrote a great deal of material which passed under the names of other people,—Elizabeth, James I, Essex and others; and some think he wrote at times under the names, William Shakespeare and Thomas Nashe. I shall give the reader an opportunity of judging for himself whether there is any justification for this opinion. First, I shall write down what they have to say when their minds are fixed upon Ecclesiastes x. 1., and for the sake of brevity and contrast, I shall write Bacon and Nashe in italics and Shakespeare in Roman type.

The following is Bacon's version of Ecclesiastes x. 1:—

"Sicut muscae mortuae foetere faciunt unguentum

optimum, sic hominem pretiosum sapientia et gloria, parva stultitia." (*De Augmentis, viii. ii, Parabola xi*).

(As dead flies cause the best ointment to stink, so does a little folly to a man in reputation for wisdom and honour).

The exact equivalent of "unguentum optimum" is not to be found in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin or any English version of this parable, but certain it is that Bacon looked upon it as a simple analogy between the corruption of the best ointment by putrid flies, and the corruption of the best men by vice. In his speeches in the Star Chamber, and again in the lower House, he changes the analogy from the best ointment to the fairest crystals or the best precious stones:—

"It is certain that the best governments, yea and the best men, are like the best precious stones, wherein every flaw or icicle or grain is seen and noted more than in those that are generally foul and corrupted." (*Life vii, p. 178-1620*).

Again while addressing judges in the Star Chamber:—

"Though the best governments be always like the fairest crystals wherein every little icicle or grain is seen, which in a fouler stone is never perceived." (*Life vi, p. 213-1617*).

Compare these quotations with the following passage from Bacon's explanation of Ecclesiastes x, 1., which I shall first write down in Latin and then in English.

"Verum, quemadmodum in gemma valde nitida minimum quodque granulum aut nebecula oculos ferit et molestia quadam afficit, quod tamen si in gemma vitiosiore repertum foret, vix notam subiret." (*De Augmentis viii. ii, Parabola xi-1923*).

(But, as in the fairest crystal every little grain or little cloud catches and displeases the eye, which in a duller stone would scarcely be noticed).

From the dates in the margin it will be seen that none of the judges or members of the House could have guessed that Bacon had Ecclesiastes x. 1. in mind while addressing them; so, when he wrote the following for the ear of Queen Elizabeth in 1595, no man could have guessed that he had in mind Proverbs xxix. 21. yet it is quite certain that he had:—

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"Your Majesty shall see the true proportion of your own favours, so as you may deliver them forth by measure, that they neither cause surfeit nor faintness." (*Life i*, p. 390).

Twenty-eight years later he tells us what this measure is, and we shall come to it later.

This habit of making use of the Bible, without allowing the reader to know what parable he has in mind, is also common to Shakespeare. Who would think that he had Ecclesiastes x. 1. in mind while writing:

"Gnats are unnoted whereso'er they fly,
But eagles gaz'd upon with every eye" ?

or while writing:

"Since the more fair and crystal is the sky,
The uglier seem the clouds that in it fly" ?

The direct references to this parable in the plays are much less frequent than the indirect. Some of the direct references are:—

A. "Folly, in wisdom hatch'd" (*L.L.L. v. 2. 70*).

B. "Wise men, folly-fall'n, quite taint their wit."
(*T.N., iii, 1, 75*).

C. "Turn then my freshest reputation to a savour that may strike the dullest nostril." (*W.T., i. 2. 420*).

This should be compared with the "reputation" and "stinking savour" of the 1611 Bible.

D. "They would but stink and putrefy the air."
(*1 H. 6, iv. 7. 90*).

This may be compared with the Geneva Bible (1583) "Dead flies cause to stink, and putrefy the ointment." The stink coming before the petrefaction is unusual, and contrary to nature.

As Bacon preferred to liken the best men with flaws in their characters to the best precious stones, or the fairest crystals, with flaws, icicles or grains in them, rather than to the best ointment; so, Shakespeare preferred to liken an eminent man with flaws in his character to a fair and crystal sky with ugly clouds in it:—

"Now, Thomas Mowbray, do I turn to thee, . . .
. . . Thou art a traitor and a miscreant,
Too good to be so and too bad to live,

Since the more fair and crystal is the sky,
The uglier seem the clouds that in it fly."

(R2, i. 1. 35).

But Shakespeare also likens the best men and women to the best precious stones, and we shall come to them later.

If we compare the main features of these quotations they appear the more striking.

Best precious stones *flaw, icicle, grain.*

Fairest crystals *icicle, grain.*

Fairest crystal *grain, cloud.*

Fair and crystal sky *clouds.*

In the *Advancemnt of Learning* (1605) the order is *grain, cloud, ice.* (ii. 21. 5, *Oxford World's Classics*).

Keeping these analogies in mind, we shall now begin the story of Bacon, Shakespeare, Nashe and Ecclesiastes x. 1.

"As dead flies cause the best ointment to stink" by tainting it; so,

"Wise men, folly-fall'n, quite taint their wit" (T.N., iii. 1. 75) or wisdom and cause their names to stink.

Whenever we come upon the tainting or corrupting of wisdom or honour in the writings of Bacon and Shakespeare, we may almost certainly conclude that they have their origin in Ecclesiastes x. 1.

Examples:—

"Leaveth that taint upon honour." (*Life* ii, p. 178.)

"To taint that honour." (H8, iii. 1. 55).

"Your honour untainted." (Meas., iii. 1. 264).

"A man sorely tainted." (H8, iv. 2. 14).

"To keep mine honour from corruption." (Ib. iv. 2. 71)

"Corrupt or tainted wisdom." (*De Aug.*, viii. 2).

"Pray heaven his wisdom be not tainted." (Meas., iv. 4. 5).

"Corrupt and tainted with a thousand vices." (I H6, v. 4. 45).

"Or any taint of vice whose strong corruption inhabits our frail blood." (T.N., iii, 4. 390).

"Wise men, folly-fall'n, quite taint their wit." (Ib., iii. 1. 75).

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In a letter to Rutland, Bacon dissuades him from "*an infectious collection of base vices of men and women and the general corruption of these times,*" (*Life ii*, p. 18) but rather to strive after "*virtue, wisdom and honour*" (*sapientia et gloria*, *Eccles. x. 1.*)

Bacon thought that the dead flies were the infective agents which tainted and corrupted the sweet-smelling ointment and caused it to stink, and as many diseases of the body are infectious, so he thought that many of men's vices were "like to infection" which tainted and corrupted their wisdom and honour and caused their names to stink, and these infections he applies sometimes to states, sometimes to men, and sometimes to things in general, just as Shakespeare does.

"*Envy. . . it is a disease in a state like to infection.*"
(*Essay ix*).

It is like the "envious fever" in "*Troilus and Cressida,*" by which "many are infect." (*Troilus*, i. 3. 33, and i. 3. 187).

In "*Lucrece*" there are five of these infections in one line, and envy is one of them:—

"Advice is sporting while infection breeds:
Thou grant'st no time for charitable deeds:
Wrath, envy, treason, rape and murder's rages,
Thy heinous hours wait on them as their pages."

(*Lucrece*, 907).

But did Shakespeare look upon rape as an infection? Let this be the answer:—

"Who does infect her?"—"Why, he that wears her like her medal hanging about his neck, Bohemia." (*W.T.*, i. 2. 306).

In relation to infection Bacon uses the following terms:

Infect and corrupti. (*Adv. ii. 14. 9*).

Infect and defile. (*De Aug. viii. ii. Parabola xxv*).

Infection. . . tainteth. (*Essay ix*).

If, then, rape is an infection we should expect it to corrupt, taint and defile:—

"And ever since as pitying *Lucrece*' woes,
Corrupted blood some watery token shows:
And blood untainted still doth red abide,

Blushing at that which is so putrefied."

(*Lucrece*, 1747).

The remedy:—

"A patient will ever part with some of his blood to save and clear the rest." (*Life ii*, p. 86).

"The remedy indeed to do me good

Is to let forth my foul—defiled blood."

(*Lucrece*, 1028).

This to save and clear her honour; but what of the traitor?

"Solomon saith 'The mercies of the wicked are cruel,' such is the sparing to use the sword of justice upon wicked and guilty men." (*De Aug. viii. ii. Parabola xiv*).

Then "Let the traitor die;

For sparing justice feeds iniquity." (*Lucrece*, 1686), because "impunity lets loose the whole army of evil doers and drives them upon the innocent" (*Ib.*, *Parabola XIV*), and "*salus populi est suprema lex.*" (*Life iii*, p. 383).

This argument of Bacon's comes in the plays at least seven times, and in every instance it is used in connection with infection; such infections as heresy, treason, murder, immorality and others.

Sometimes Bacon and Shakespeare speak of these infections as the passions of the mind, and sometimes as the sicknesses of the mind.

"Health consisteth in the unmovable constancy and freedom from passions which are indeed the sicknesses of the mind." (*Life ii*, p. 7). "Give me the man that is not passion's slave." (*Ham. iii. 2. 77*).

As to the sicknesses of the mind:—

"Not sick, my lord, unless it be in mind;

Nor well, unless in mind." (*M. of V.*, *iii. 2. 238*).

"A sickness caught of me, and yet I well" (*W.T.*, *i. 2. 398*) can only be a sickness of the mind.

As to unmovable constancy:—

"There are some shrewd contents in yon same paper,
That steals the colour from Bassanio's cheek:
Some dear friend dead; else nothing in the world

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Could turn so much the constitution

Of all constant man." (M. of V., iii. 2. 246).

Of all passions of the mind Bacon and Shakespeare thought "fear" the worst. We will, therefore, see what they have to say about it:—

"Physic hath not more medicines against the diseases of the body, than reason hath preservatives against the passions of the mind." (Life ii, p. 8).

"The passions of the mind

That have their first conception by mis-dread."

(Pericles, i. 2. 11).

"The passions of the mind work upon the body the impressions following. Fear causeth paleness, trembling, the standing of the hair upright, starting and skriehing."

(Works ii, p. 567).

As to *fear and trembling*:—

"I would entreat you,—not to fear, not to tremble."

(Dream, iii. 1. 43).

As to *paleness and trembling*:—

"You tremble and look pale." (Ham., i. 1. 53).

"Why look'st thou pale? Why tremblest thou?"

(2H6, iii. 2. 27).

"Pale trembling coward." (R2, i. 1. 69).

"The standing upright of the hair is caused, for that by shutting of the pores of the skin, the hair that lieth aslope (your bedded hair) must needs rise (start up, and stand an end)." (Ham, iii. 4. 121).

For "life in excrements" see appendix.

As to *trembling and starting*:—

"Tremble and start at wagging of a straw."

(R3, iii. 5. 7).

As to *fear and skriehing*:—

"You would fright the duchess and the ladies, that they would shriek." (Dream, i. 2. 78).

As to *fear and paleness*:—

"Let pale-faced fear keep with the mean born man."

(2H6, iii. 1. 335).

"That which in mean men we in tittle patience,

Is pale cold cowardice in noble breasts."

(R2, i. 2. 33).

"Of all base passions fear is the most accurst" (1H6, v. 2. 23. First Folio) and can only be allayed by "fortitude, which is not given to man by nature, but must grow out of discourse of reason." (Life ii, p. 10).

As to reason and fortitude:—

"Clearness of judgement. . . leadeth us to fortitude,"
(Ib., p. 9).

and

"Defect of judgement

Is of the cause of fear," (Cymb, iv. 2, First Folio)

" . . . for it teaches us that we should not too much prize life which we cannot keep." (Life ii, p. 9).

"Reason thus with life:

If I do lose thee, I do lose a thing

That none but fools would keep." (Meas., iii. 1. 7).

" . . . nor fear death which we cannot shun." (Life ii, p. 9).

"Merely, thou art death's fool;

For him thou labour'st by thy flight to shun,

And yet runn'st towards him still." (Ib., iii. 1. 12).

"Mors et fugacem persequitur virum." (Promus, fol. 84). (Death pursues even the man that shuns him by flight).

"I know many wise men that fear to die; for the change is bitter. . . besides the expectation brings terror, and that exceeds the evil." (Essay "On Death").

"Dar'st thou die?

The sense of death is most in apprehension."

(Meas., iii. 1. 78).

" . . . but I do not believe that any man fears to be dead, but only the stroke of death." ("On Death").

"If thou and nature can so gently part,

The stroke of death is as a lover's pinch

Which hurts and is desired." (A. & C. v. 2. 297).

"More welcome is the stroke of death to me

Than Bolingbroke to England." (R2, iii. 1. 31).

"This is the strength and the blood to virtue, to contemn things that be desired, and neglect that which is feared."
("On Death").

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"Thy best of rest is sleep,
And that thou oft provok'st; yet grossly fear'st
Thy death, which is no more." (Meas., iii. 1. 18).

"*He who dies nobly doth live for ever. . .*" (Life ii, p. 9)
And she who lives ignobly doth die for ever.

"Better it were a brother died at once,
Than that a sister, by redeeming him,
Should die for ever." (Meas., ii. 4. 107).

" . . . and he who lives in fear doth die continually." (Ib., p. 9).

Therefore "*better eye out than always ache*;" (Colours of good and Evil, x) for that eye is better eye, past giving pain, than that which stays to ache; so too,

"That life is better life, past fearing death,
Than that which lives to fear." (Meas., v. 1. 402)

"Why, he that cuts off twenty years of life
Cuts off so many years of fearing death." (J. Caes., iii. 1. 102).

"Grant that, and then is death a benefit." (Ib., iii. 1. 103).

"Death is a friend of ours." ("On Death").

"And if wishes might find place, I would die together, and not my mind often, and my body once." ("On Death").

"O! our lives' sweetness!
That we the pain of death would hourly die
Rather than die at once." (Lear, v, 3, 185).

"Cowards die many times before their deaths;
The valiant never tast of death but once." (J. Caes., ii. 2. 32).

"Physicians in the name of death include all sorrow, anguish, disease. . . but these things are familiar to us, and we suffer them every hour." ("On Death.")

"Reason thus with life" . . . "A breath thou art,
Servile to all the skyey influences,
That do this habitation where thou keep'st,
Hourly afflict." (Meas., iii. 1. 6).

As Bacon thought that "*reason hath preservatives against the passion of the mind*" so did the author of "Henry VIII" (i. 1. 130):—

“Stay, my lord,
 And let your reason with your choler question
 What 'tis you go about . . . anger is like
 A full hot horse.”

“Be advised:

I say again, there is no English soul
 More stronger to direct you than yourself,
 If with the sap of reason you would quench,
 Or but allay, the fire of passion.” (H8, i. 1. 145).

No man has given to the world better pictures of these
 “*passions or sicknesses of the mind*,” which are “*like to
 infection*,” than one of the authors of the plays, and we
 shall return to them again.

SHAKESPEARE AND THE "ESSAY OF LOVE."

By R. L. EAGLE.

THE Bacon-Shakespeare controversy is seldom prolonged before the point is put forward that the author of the *Essay Of Love* could not have written *Romeo and Juliet*. At the first impression this certainly appears to present a serious difficulty. There is no need to apply the comparison solely to *Romeo and Juliet*, for the argument might equally well apply to *As you Like It*, *The Winter's Tale* and other romances.

The assumption is, of course, that Bacon could not have adapted his soul, nor his style, to *Romeo and Juliet* (1590-1595), and that the Stratford rustic, presumably, could; though on what grounds this assumption is based has never been stated. In my opinion, however paradoxical the case for Bacon may appear, it is the acme of reason and common-sense compared with the notion that John Shakspeare's eldest son *was* capable of such an achievement either in sensitiveness, in command of language, or in that experience which caught the true Italian atmosphere and character. Had that miracle happened, we need not marvel that young William, fresh from the stench of his father's muck-heaps, had stolen by moonlight to Anne Hathaway's farm and wooed and seduced her, as no yokel had ever wooed and seduced before, in this illiterate neighbourhood. Then there was poor Anne Whateley, like Romeo's first love Rosaline, who had also "sucked the honey of his music vows!" In spite of all the research which has been patiently pursued, not one fact has been brought to light which shows him to have been a sensitive soul. Such evidence as there is proves the opposite. Bacon was, however, a man of moods in spite of his reserve and disciplined mind. Rawley states that his temperament was so mercurial as to be influenced by the moon. Believe me, it does not need a passionate lover to write a

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passionate love-poem, any more than it requires a detective to write a detective story. What is required is the gift of transporting oneself into the atmosphere and characters—"and as *imagination* bodies forth the forms of things unknown, the poet's pen turns them to shapes and gives to airy nothing a local habitation and a name."

I see nothing extraordinary in the fact that a highly gifted writer and thinker, such as Bacon, should have written in his youth the tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet*, for we know that he had a fine ear for the beauty of language.

It has often been objected against Bacon that his view of love is so cold, passionless, unromantic, that he must have been incapable of understanding the sweeter aspects of the passion. This view fails to take into account the real purpose of the Essays in general and this one in particular. The Essays are very brief, never discursive nor rhetorical, but severely practical. They are, as Bacon said, intended "to come home to men's *business*," and the topic of the Essay of Love is the business side. Its theme is love and its bearing on public life. Take the opening sentences:

"The Stage is more beholden to love than the life of man. For as to the Stage, 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."

By "life" Bacon means *public life*, especially of the public man. You will recall the scene in *Henry, IV*, part I where Hotspur keeps his wife in ignorance of his destination and business when setting forth on his expedition. On the other hand, there is the disastrous result of Anthony allowing Cleopatra to enter with him into the war with Octavius. "They do best," says Bacon, "who, if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter." He goes on to say that "great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion." This observation is to be found in *Measure for Measure*:

Believe not that the dribbling dart of love
Can pierce a complete bosom.

Bacon says that "the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole is

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comely in nothing but love.' There is no lack of instance in the Plays of such use of hyperboles, of "taffeta phrases, silken terms precise, three-piled hyperboles" by lovers. In *Love's Labours Lost* both Biron and Armado employ the most extravagant language, though in totally different styles, in keeping with the characters and their respective approaches to love.

Consider the Essay further:

"For there was never proud man thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved; and therefore it was well said that it is impossible to love and be wise."

Could anybody think and speak more "absurdly well" of his lady than Romeo does?

O, she doth teach the torches to burn bright;
It seems she hangs upon the cheek of night
As a rich jewel in an Ethiop's ear.
Beauty too rich for use, for earth too dear.

It was not Bacon's own observation that "it is impossible to love and be wise." He found it in Suetonius and gave it his approval, but originally it was applied to the Gods:—

To love and be wise is hardly granted to a God.

Shakespeare, like Bacon, converted the Gods into men:—

To be wise and love

Exceeds man's might; that dwells with Gods above.

Troilus and Cressida, iii-2.

The same idea frequently occurs in the Plays as, for instance, "Reason and love keep little company together nowadays." Nobody can deny the separation of reason and love in *Romeo and Juliet*. It turns Romeo faithless to Rosaline. It leads to the violent death of Mercutio, Tybalt, Paris, Romeo and Juliet. There is no "living happy ever after" about the play. Indeed, it illustrates Bacon's remark, "In life it doth much mischief, sometimes like a Siren, sometimes like a *Fury*." Both the lovers are "transported to the mad degree of love." Says the Friar, very wisely:

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These violent delights have violent ends,
And in their triumph die.

Thy wild acts,

Denote the unreasonable *fury* of a beast.

The truth is that when you come to search the plays, it is astonishing how little the author was "beholden to love." In *Love's Labours Lost* it is shown as upsetting business and study. It is introduced for the purpose of ridicule in amazing salvoes of brilliant repartee. In the end the "lovers" part, and we do not know whether they ever returned to each other.

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the lovers find themselves in ridiculous situations owing to the influence of fairies. Lovers are coupled with madmen as both have such "seething brains that apprehend more than cool reason ever comprehends."

In *The Merchant of Venice* Bassanio wins Portia with a lie about his wealth. She is offered in a lottery. Jessica robs her father, is false to her religion, and elopes. In this play we have:

Love is blind, and lovers cannot see

The pretty follies they themselves commit.

As You Like It shows up the follies of lovers. Of real romance there is very little. Rosalind and Orlando maintain a quick battle of words and run into some strange capers deserving of Rosalind's, "Love is merely a madness," and Touchstone's "As all is mortal in nature, so is all nature in love mortal in folly." What an abject fool the shepherd, Silvius, makes of himself in his devotion to the scornful Phoebe!

The very title of *The Taming of the Shrew* is sufficient! Love here is conditional upon wealth.

If Angelo in *Measure for Measure* had remembered that "great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion," he would have saved himself from disgrace. There is no real love in the play. The same must be said of *All's Well that Ends Well*. It is impossible to understand why Helena should have pursued that ungracious, heartless snob, Bertram.

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In *Twelfth Night*, Viola is the only true and worthy lover. The Duke drops his infatuation for Olivia and is betrothed to Viola within a few lines of one scene. The Countess marries Sebastian with equal suddenness under a mistaken identity. As the Duke says:

For such as I am all true lovers are,
Unstaid and skittish in all motions else,
Save in the constant image of the creature
That is beloved.

As Bacon puts it, "there was never proud man thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved."

The Two Gentlemen of Verona illustrates Bacon's saying that "Love is the child of folly." The expression itself is paralleled in the play:

By love, the young and tender wit
Is turned to folly.

The Essay also reflects the lament of Proteus that love has

Made me neglect my studies, lose my time;
War with good counsel, set the world at naught.

for, says Bacon, "whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection quitteth both riches and wisdom," and again, "all who, like Paris, prefer beauty quit, like Paris, wisdom and power."

The Winter's Tale has a charming background for a fairy-tale romance. It is borrowed from Greene's *Dorastus and Fawnia* (including the famous sea-coast of Bohemia). Here one might imagine is Love in contrast to Bacon's views! But, divested of the lovely lines, there is no denying the fact that it shows a prince transported to the "mad degree of love." He falls in love at first sight with a girl who is not doubted by him to be any more than an old shepherd's daughter. Like her "brother," the father is alluded to as a "clown." The King discovers what is going on and orders an immediate end of the folly, but so far does Florizel's passion "check with business" and make him "untrue to his own ends" (as Bacon puts it) that he replies:

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From my succession wipe me father, I
Am heir to my affection.

He would, therefore, "quit both riches and honour."

The Tempest has a beautiful episode in enchanting language picturing the love of Miranda and Ferdinand. The whole play is so high above all earthly matters that we find ourselves in the midst of a vision. It does not concern the affairs of life, and therefore cannot be judged in comparison with the *Essay*. *Antony and Cleopatra* is a tragedy of unbridled affection; or rather lust. "I know not how," says Bacon, "but martial men are given to love." Anthony comes to Egypt on State business. He falls at once for Cleopatra's charms. He fails to keep out this passion from his business, and it "does great mischief, sometimes like a Siren, sometimes like a Fury." It ends in death and defeat.

I see no necessity to quote any further plays as illustrating Bacon's *Essay*. I have chosen those in which love is most prominent. The historical plays have no concern with love. In about thirteen of the thirty-six plays in the *Folio*, love is almost or entirely absent. The truth is that love is nearly always subordinate in Shakespeare. It is rarely the leading *motif*, and even where it is prominent it is often shown as a form of weakness, or a subject for jest.

The *Essay* was not included until the 1612 edition. It was written sometime between 1606 and 1612 when Bacon was between forty-five and fifty-one—a greater age in those days than it is to-day. His own marriage had proved a failure, and he must have felt that disillusionment which is so marked in *Hamlet* and *Troilus and Cressida*.

There are many striking parallelisms on the subject of love between other works of Bacon and the Shakespeare plays. There is for instance a line in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (written about 1590, but not published until 1623) which is borrowed from a saying of Dante:

Love will creep in service where it cannot go.

In a letter to King James, Bacon wrote, "Love must creep where it cannot go." But the most extraordinary and unaccountable collection of parallelisms was noted by

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Mr. Edwin Reed as occurring between a speech in Bacon's Masque *A Conference of Pleasure* (written about 1591), and Shakespeare's *Love's Labours Lost*, Act iv, Sc. 3 (also written about 1591, and published in 1598). The Masque was unknown until discovered at Northumberland House in 1867, forming one of the pieces contained in the Northumberland Manuscript. Bacon must have been familiar with the play in manuscript, or Shakespeare with the Masque, or the same man wrote both Masque and play. Shakespeare is quoted first in each case:

Love gives to every power a double power.
Love gives the mind power to exceed itself.

Love is first learned in a woman's eyes.
The eye, where love beginneth.

Is not love a Hercules?
What fortune can be such a Hercules?

Love . . . with the motion of all elements.
Love is the motion that animateth all things.

But for my love . . . where nothing wants, that want
itself doth seek.

When we want nothing, there is the reason, and the
opportunity and the spring of love.

St. Cupid then, and soldiers to the field!
Lovers never thought their profession sufficiently
graced until they had compared it to a warfare.

So far as the *Essay of Love* in its relation to the Shakespeare plays is concerned, it must be admitted that far from those relations being opposed they are, in fact, united in mind though, in outward appearance, they are very different.

SHAKSPERE'S "COAT-OF-ARMS."

By H. KENDRA BAKER.

"**A**RMS and the Man I Sing" wrote Virgil, and he had a truly heroic subject for his theme. In the present case the subject is sordid rather than heroic. But it merits attention, for it is not at all unusual to hear it said that "it is ridiculous of Baconians to assert that the Stratford man was a nonentity, seeing that his father was granted a Coat-of-Arms."

Superficially this is a good point but its merits evaporate on closer inspection.

The "Life" of William Camden in the "Biographia Britannica" illuminates early seventeenth century methods at the College of Heralds.

Before dealing, however, with these interesting disclosures, let us see what the late Sidney Lee had to say about this "coat armour" business. Ingenious and imaginative though his biography of Shakspeare was, we find him somewhat sparing in his use of the word "doubtless" in connection with his hero's armorial ambitions! Indeed the "Crusted Stratfordian" could derive little comfort from his findings, and unless the acquisition of "arms" is to be regarded as another of those marvels attributable to "genius," we are left groping for a solution of the mystery.

We are informed (I quote from the 1915 edition of the "Life") that "at the same date (1596) the poet's father, despite his pecuniary embarrassments, took a step, by way of regaining his prestige, which must be assigned to the poet's intervention. He made application to the College of Heralds for a "coat-of-arms." A footnote informs us that it is still customary at the College of Arms to inform an applicant who has a father alive that the application should be made in the father's name, and the transaction conducted as if the father were the principal. "It was *doubtless* on advice of this kind that Shakespeare was

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acting in the negotiations that are described below." He goes on to say that "heraldic ambitions were widespread among the middle classes of the day, and many Elizabethan actors besides Shakespeare sought heraldic distinction." And then comes this interesting passage: "The loose organisation of the Heralds College favoured the popular predilection. Rumour ran that the College was ready to grant heraldic honours without strict enquiry to any applicant who could afford a substantial fee. In numerous cases the heralds clearly credited an applicant's family with a fictitious antiquity. Rarely can much reliance therefore be placed on the biographical or genealogical statements alleged in Elizabethan grants of arms."

Now, it must be admitted that this is all rather unsettling for the "crusted Stratfordian," but when he goes on to show that the "allegation" of a "pattern" or sketch of the "coat" having been "obtained" from the College in 1568, "is not confirmed by the records of the College, and may be an invention designed by John Shakespeare and his son to recommend their claim to the notice of the easy-going heralds in 1596," even a "crusted Stratfordian" might be excused a passing doubt as to the probity of his hero!

He continues: "The negotiations of 1568, if they were not apocryphal, were certainly abortive; otherwise there would have been no necessity for further action in later years." Anyhow, they got their "coat," and Lee informs us that "Garter stated, with characteristic vagueness, that he had been 'by credible report' informed that the applicant's 'parentes and late antecessors were for their valeant and faithful service advanced and rewarded by the most prudent prince King Henry the Seventh of famous memorie, sythence which tyme they have continewed at those partes [i.e. Warwickshire] in good reputation and credit'; and that 'the said John had maryed Mary, daughter and one of the heyres of Robert Arden, of Wilmcote, gent.'

One marvels at their modesty: why such recent "valeant service" as to Henry VII: why not to William the Con-

queror or even to Charlemagne? Such lack of imaginative effort is unworthy of a "genius"!

"In consideration of these titles to honour," says Lee (presumably with his tongue in his cheek) "Garter declared that he assigned to Shakespeare this shield, viz., 'Gold on a bend sable, a spear of the first, the point steeled proper, and for his crest or cognizance a falcon, his wings displayed argent, standing on a wreath of his colours, supporting a spear gold steeled as aforesaid.' In the margin of this draft-grant there is a pen sketch of the arms and crest, and above them is written this motto 'Non Sans Droict'."

All that seems to be missing from this imposing 'coat' is the note of exclamation after the motto! Perhaps it was a little touch of irony on the part of the "harrots"!

But the "coat" didn't quite "fit" after all. "Grandfather" had to be substituted for "antecessors," and "esquire" for "gent." as regards Robt. Arden: one can't be too careful in these matters!

"Neither of these drafts was fully executed," says Sir Sidney Lee. "It may have been that the unduly favourable representations made to the College respecting John Shakespeare's social and pecuniary position excited suspicion even in the credulous and corruptly interested minds of the heralds. At any rate, Shakespeare and his father allowed three years to elapse before (as far as extant documents show) they made a further endeavour to secure the coveted distinction. In 1599 their efforts were crowned with success. Changes in the interval among the officials at the College may have facilitated the proceedings. In 1597 the Earl of Essex had become Earl Marshal and chief of the Herald's College (the office had been in commission in 1596);" This circumstance should be carefully noted. "While the great scholar and antiquary, William Camden had joined the College, also in 1597, as Clarenceux King-of-Arms . . . His father's application now took a new form. No grant of arms was asked for. It was asserted without qualification that the coat, as set out in the draft-grants of 1596, had been *assigned* to John Shakespeare

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while he was bailiff, and the heralds were merely invited to give him a 'recognition' or 'exemplification' of it."

A footnote to this tells us that "an 'exemplification' was invariably secured more easily than a new grant of arms. The heralds might, if they chose, tacitly accept, without examination, the applicant's statement that his family had borne arms long ago, and they thereby regarded themselves as relieved of the obligation of close enquiry into his present status." A delightfully simple arrangement, sparing all concerned much agony of mind!

But the Shaksperes also wanted to "impale" on their "ancient coat-of-arms" that of the Ardens of Wilmcote, John Shakspere having married Arden's daughter Mary. "The College officers," says Lee, "were characteristically complacent." Presumably these "complacent" officers would have impaled *anybody's* arms—for a consideration! But the question seems to have arisen, what *were* the arms of "the Ardens of Wilmcote"? The Shakespeares, with their customary modesty, desired the heralds to recognise the title of Mary—wife and mother—to the arms of "the Great Warwickshire family of Arden, then seated at Park Hall." But when this was brought to the notice of Dethick (Garter) and Camden (Clarenceux) we are told they "betrayed conscientious scruples." They had the bad taste to regard the relationship, "if it existed," as "undertermined"! The Warwickshire Ardens, as Lee points out, were "gentry of influence in the county, and were certain to protest against any hasty assumption of identity between their line and that of the humble farmer of Wilmcote." The heralds accordingly "erased" the impalement, but, with further "characteristic complacence," substituted for it "the arms of an Arden family living at Alvanley in the distant country of Cheshire," and Lee continues in these words: "With that stock there was no pretence that Robert Arden of Wilmcote was lineally connected; but the bearers of the Alvanley coat were unlikely to learn of its suggested impalement with the Shakespeare shield, and the heralds were less liable to the risk of complaint or litigation. But the Shakespeares wisely

relieved the College of all anxiety by omitting to assume the Arden coat."

Lee goes on to say that "Shakespeare's victorious quest of a coat-of-arms was one of the many experiences which he shared with professional associates." Some might find a less euphemistic expression than "victorious quest" for the operation! At any rate we shall hope to show presently that the grant of spurious "arms" was not confined exclusively to his "professional associates." True it is that protests were raised by "two or three officers of the Heralds College, who disapproved of the easy methods of their colleagues," against the bestowal on actors of heraldic honours.

Indeed, Ralph Brooke, York Herald (whom Lee describes—with very little warrant, it is to be feared—as "a rigorous champion of heraldic orthodoxy") drew up a list of 23 persons whom he charged with "obtaining coats-of-arms on more or less fraudulent representations." The fourth on his list is Shakespeare! Though the name is merely mentioned in Brooke's indictment without annotation, "elsewhere," as Lee records, "the critic took the less serious objection that the arms 'exemplified' to Shakespeare usurped the Coat of Lord Mauley, on whose shield a 'bend sable' also figured." Dethick and Camden in their reply confined themselves to the technical point and disputed the infringement of the Mauley coat, adding, as Lee says, "with customary want of precision, that the person to whom the grant was made had 'borne magistracy and was justice of peace at Stratford-on-Avon: he married the daughter and heire of Arderne, and was able to maintain that Estate.' "

Here we may take our leave of Sidney Lee, whose testimony can hardly be called reassuring.

But the whole transaction is suspect. Granted that certain officers of the College may have been "complacent," not to say corrupt, does it not seem remarkable that such men as Dethick, Garter King-of-Arms, and Camden, Clarenceux King-of-Arms, should, even after an open charge of fraud against the Shakespeares, seek to

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bolster-up so transparent an imposture? If there is anything in the alleged arrangement between Bacon and the Actor-Manager by which, in consideration of £1,000, and the promise of a grant of arms, he was to return to the home-fires of Stratford and figure as the author of *Richard II.*, which was engaging the Queen's rather embarrassing attentions for its "seditious" features; if, we say, there is anything in all this, it is certainly remarkable that the action of the Heralds should fit in so aptly with the theory.

With Essex as Earl Marshal and Chief of the Heralds, Dethick as Garter and Camden as Clarenceux—all associates of Bacon—their "complacence" assumes a somewhat different complexion.

And now let us consider for a moment this Ralph Brooke who poses as the champion of "heraldic purity."

For many years he had been Camden's bitter enemy. When in 1594, shortly after he had been appointed as Head-Master of Westminster School, Camden published the fourth and much enlarged edition of his great work "*Britannia*," we are told in the *Biographia Britannica* that "this Edition exposed him to a very warm, and in many respects indecent, attack" from Ralph Brooke, York Herald, who went so far as to publish a book with the title, "A Discovery of certain Errors published in print in the much commended 'Britannia' &c.," without license, and without name either of Printer or Bookseller.

Though the collections for this book, we are told, were framed "soon after the publication of the fourth Edition of *Britannia*," yet it was not published until 1597, and "the common stream of authors represent this attack upon Mr. Camden as proceeding from the envious malice of its author, arising from Mr. Camden's promotion, and his own disappointment."

It is not improbable that "the common stream of authors" was fully justified in their surmise, for this venomous attack on Camden followed immediately upon his appointment as Clarenceux King-of-Arms—for which he had been specially recommended to the Queen. Now, Brooke, as York Herald, had an eye to that appointment

himself, and was immeasurably disgruntled at this miscarriage of his schemes, which he, no doubt, attributed to Camden's evil machinations! "The greater his assurance was," we are told, "the disappointment lay so much the heavier upon him, and (as men who lay too much stress upon their own merit are always hurried on to revenge upon the least injury) his next business was to find out a fair opportunity of shewing his resentments." From which it will be seen that Heralds are not free from human imperfections!

His criticisms were directed to certain armorial bearings as given in the "Britannia," but for our purpose they are immaterial, as also is the history of the controversy. Suffice it to say that the latter "developed energy" and Brooke became quite inordinate in his venom.

It is not disputed that Brooke, when he compiled his book, may have had good grounds for believing his criticism to be just, but the fact that he did not publish it until after Camden had occupied Naboth's vineyard has the definite appearance of malice.

For years this animosity on the part of Brooke towards the ageing Camden continued unabated, until "in the latter end of the year 1616," as we read, "there happened an affair which exposed Ralfe Brooke, who had given our author so much trouble, to very severe censure."

The "affair" was this, and it forms an illuminating commentary on the methods obtaining among "certain officers" of the College of Arms and our promoter of the "purity league" in particular.

On the 27th Dec., 1616, complaint was made to the King that Garter King-at-Arms, had granted to a certain applicant the Royal Arms of Arragon, with a canton of Brabant, "at which his Majesty was highly offended. But," the record continues, "upon strict enquiry, the fact came out to be, that Ralfe Brooke (or Brookesmouth, as they here call him) York Herald, had actually drawn these arms which were not unlike those of Arragon and Brabant, and, by an emissary of his, imposing upon the credulity of Garter, for a fee of two and twenty shillings,

procured the confirmation of them, and then caused them to be presented to the King. Thus Mr. Camden plainly, clearly, and fully relates this story: but Dr. Smith, who had seen a relation of this affair by another hand, gives some further circumstances. . . . He says that the man who came from Brooke pretended that he was in a mighty hurry, and was to embark that very day on board a ship for Spain, by which means he the more easily drew Sir William Segar (Garter) to confirm to him, what he called the Arms of his family. On the 30th of the same month, the whole affair was heard before the Commissioners appointed to execute the Office of Earl Marshal, where York Herald openly took upon him the whole affair; and upon report of it made to the King; himself, for his malicious subornation, and Garter for his weakness and credulity in confirming those arms for the sake of a little money, were both committed to the Marshalsea."

The significance of this interesting incident will be better appreciated when we say that this aspirant to the Arms of Arragon and Brabant was no other than George Brandon, *the Common Hangman!*

The incident enables us to understand more clearly how, with a "complacent" herald such as Brooke at the "seat of honour," an actor-manager was enabled to secure "coat armour," if not perhaps quite as ambitious as the Arms of Arragon and Brabant!

An influential petition to the King, "together with a certificate from the Herald's Office, of his integrity and upright behaviour before this unhappy accident" secured Sir William Segar's release from durance vile. It is more difficult to believe, however, that "soon after the friends of York Herald procured his discharge likewise."

Presumably it was *after* his incarceration in the Marshalsea (during which he had had time to ponder on the vanity of vanities) that he was moved to indite his work on the corruptions of the Office of which Sir Sidney Lee has told us, but how he "escaped the consequences" is not clear. Seeing that he had been York Herald all the time and had

already been caught out in a nefarious transaction for which he had been imprisoned, it is more than strange that he should have embarked upon such a literary effort.

But what is even more unintelligible is that two years later "he dedicated a large work of his to King James, and to the Lords Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal of England."

The nature of this enterprise is not disclosed by the writer of the article in the *Biographia Britannica*—possibly it was a treatise on how to make the College of Heralds a profitable concern! But the same writer in commenting on Brooke's enormities says: "This plainly shews the restless and turbulent temper of the man and his *impious malice*, as Mr. Camden calls it, against his Superior." Thus it may very well be that though *apparently* conniving at the grant of fictitious arms to the Shakespeares, father and son—Camden and Dethick may in reality have been grossly deceived by this man Brooke and his "fellows," and were in fact quite innocent of any irregularity.

However, in view of the "hangman" incident one cannot but feel that Camden was to be congratulated on escaping the consequences of so fraudulent a transaction on the part of the Heralds College. That the minor officials—at any rate—whose job it was to investigate the claims, were hopelessly corrupt and venal is obvious: the responsibility of those confirming grants on representations made is not so manifest. While affording the *opportunity* for turning the blind eye to undeserved honours where thought desirable, there is always the plea that they relied on the investigations of subordinates.

The moral of the whole thing is that when the arms of Arragon can be granted to the common-hangman, the grant of a "coat" to the Shakespeares implies nothing whatever—except, perhaps, a touch of "genius" for shady transactions.



THE ANNUAL BIRTHDAY DINNER.

The Annual Dinner commemorating the Birth of Francis Bacon on the 22nd January, 1561, was held on Monday, the 23rd January, 1939, at the Langham Hotel, Portland Place, London. Dr. G. B. Harrison was the chief guest, and others present included Mr. Bertram G. Theobald (president), Miss M. Theobald, Lady Sydenham, Mr. Valentine Smith, Mr. and Mrs. L. Biddulph, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Atkins, Mr. Howard Bridgewater, Mr. T. Blackburn, Mr. J. W. Cairns, Mr. E. P. Corbetta, Mr. N. V. Dagg, Miss G. da Silva, Mr. Walter Ellis, Miss A. Ellis, Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Eagle, Mr. and Mrs. F. G. Evans, Mr. and Mrs. Dingle Foot, Mrs. K. Garnier, Mr. Claud Golding, Mr. F. E. C. Habgood, Dr. D. Hitchin, Mr. Walton Harvey, Mr. B. Hooker, Mr. and Mrs. V. Holding, Mr. J. H. Hayes, Mr. Percy Izzard, Mr. S. Jacomb-Hood, Miss Durning Lawrence, Sir Kenneth Murchison, Mr. J. Marshall, Mr. H. Oswell, Mr. F. R. Pike, Mr. Greville, Mr. J. Roffey, Mr. H. Rix, Mr. R. Read, Mrs. H. J. Scott, Mrs. S. M. Sheridan, Mr. G. Scheff, Mr. W. Walter, Mr. Percy Walters, and Mr. E. T. H. Wright.

After the loyal toast had been honoured, the President proposed "The Immortal Memory of Francis Bacon," referring especially to the complete absence of information concerning the private life and occupation of Bacon during his early years. Although sixteen of those years were spent in Gray's Inn, his biographer James Spedding wrote that he could not assign more than six months' literary work to that period. This was utterly incredible of a man who described himself as "born for literature." Moreover, apart from the tiny first edition of the *Essays* in 1597, nothing appeared under Bacon's own name until 1605, when he was 44 years of age. In his early days Bacon had described himself as "poor, sick and working for bread." What kind of work was he doing? Serious literature would not then, any more than it would now, fill his pockets and there was every likelihood that he was doing what many another needy scholar was compelled to do, namely eke out a scanty income by writing plays. This would account for part of his occupation. Versatility was one of the outstanding characteristics of this extraordinary man.

Mr. Theobald mentioned some of the evidence which pointed to Bacon as a poet and dramatist, and recalled that both Hall and Marston had identified Bacon as the author of "Venus and Adonis," published in 1593, and that Ben Jonson, in his play "Every Man out of his Humour," in 1599, contemptuously sketched Will Shakspeare under the character of "Sogliardo." In other plays there were sly allusions to Bacon as a concealed poet and playwright. Orthodox scholars neglected to mention such facts as these when they pointed to the fine eulogy of "Shakespeare" in the the 1623 Folio. There was no doubt that Jonson had discovered the authorship secret, and honoured "Shakespeare," knowing this to be the pen-name of Francis Bacon. Mr. Theobald described the occasion on which Bacon referred to himself as a concealed poet, and in conclusion mentioned those magnificent posthumous eulogies which plainly alluded to him, not only as poet, but as the supreme among all poets of his or any other age. Even allowing for the

customary vein of exaggeration, the significance of evidence like this ought surely not to be overlooked.

The toast of "The Visitors" was proposed by Miss Mabel Sennett, who protested against the frequent aspersions made against Bacon's character and conduct, both in regard to the trial of the Earl of Essex and his receipt of bribes. It had been shown that popular prejudices were groundless and that careful historians had abundantly vindicated the honour of Francis Bacon. Miss Sennett quoted a parallel from Irish history with Bacon's conduct in prosecuting Essex, and told the story of a man who had received general approbation for having brought about the conviction of his own son for treason.

Responding to the toast of "The Visitors," Dr. G. B. Harrison said: I feel a little like Daniel in the lions' den or maybe like Bottom among the fairies. However, I find it difficult to address this assembly without being, we won't say quarrelsome, but at least argumentative. But as this is no occasion for prophecy, I might perhaps give away a little of my biography. I was brought up by an individual who instilled this subject into me at an early age, in so much as, at the age of sixteen, I carried at a School Debating Society meeting, a motion that Bacon was the author of the works attributed to William Shakespeare. Then, after several years of experience, I went to Cambridge and began to study the Elizabethan period. Since then I have not believed that Bacon was the author of quite so much as you here attribute to him. Nor do I see that there is any particular mystery in not knowing much about certain periods of Bacon's life. There are many incidents in the life of Queen Elizabeth of which we know nothing. If we only could, how gratified we would be! It is not strange if one does not know anything of Bacon in the years when he was a young man and in London. The more one digs into Elizabethan records, the more one realises how scanty they are as a record of the happenings in those days. I will not go into the matters mentioned by your President, except merely to point out that Labeo has been identified as Drayton by a student of mine who has made a considerable study of the Elizabethan period, the most complete study that has yet been indulged in. Bacon is a very rare type among Englishmen. He was one of those men who had a large head and a small heart, whereas most Englishmen have large hearts and small heads. Bacon was a man who used his head for the proper purpose and his heart for its proper purpose. I don't think he was a man that loved much, yet he was lovable. His clarity of thought is extraordinary. It was a great age when Bacon was at his best. That first quarter of the seventeenth century will, when it is properly studied, be shown as a peak of English intellect—a great period which was unfortunately blotted out by our own version of a Nazi revolution. Bacon's greatness of thought is shown in the way that he writes with the perfectly balanced academic mind. He writes on a thing like the *Advancement of Learning*, which may still be taken as a Government report on University teaching in England and still appertains to many of the difficulties of the University system. He writes one letter which is one of the most momentous pieces of political prophecy ever indulged in. It was not a prophecy of what would happen to the State or himself, but a piece of moral courage

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written at the moment when Essex was at the peak of his own success. Bacon's law subjects have clear thinking, they have perfect arrangement and in proportion they are unapproachable. Bacon had a hard dry mind like a diamond, and diamonds are rare and very valuable, but they are not the tools of artists.

Mr. Robert Atkins quoted an instance of a young man speaking a broad Lancashire dialect, who wanted to become an actor, but was told that he must first rid himself of his northern accent. After six months he had learned to speak with a thoroughly good diction. Mr. Atkins pleaded for the adequate and conscientious production of all the Shakespeare plays, as far as possible in their entirety, and in simple but effective settings, which would not detract from the value of the poetry.

Proposing the toast of "The Bacon Society," Mr. F. E. C. Habgood said that he was doing so for the third time, and that it was his custom to review the year's contributions to our ignorance of Shakespeare. Since Sir E. K. Chambers confessed in 1930 that the last word of self-respecting scholarship was nescience, it appeared that we had been growing more and more ignorant, and in the words of the Society's distinguished guest, to sketch the life of Shakespeare must now be largely guesswork. Professor Crofts only a few weeks ago had confessed that with the exception of his birth, his marriage and its issue, we could know nothing of the youth of Shakespeare—in other words, of those formative years in which we ought to be able to see the child as father to the man.

Dr. Dover Wilson had gone even further. He had said what the Bacon Society had been saying for years, that to credit the amazing piece of virtuosity, as he described "Love's Labours Lost" to a butcher boy who left school at thirteen, or even to one whose education was nothing more than grammar school and residence in a little provincial borough could provide was to invite one either to believe in miracles or to disbelieve in the man from Stratford. They could not believe in miracles any more and it seemed equally difficult for Stratfordians to disbelieve in the man from Stratford, but the timorous toe of orthodoxy was thrust from time to time into the icy stream of scepticism.

As might be expected in 1938 they found orthodox biographers creating Shakespeare for themselves in their own images. How far what they wrote could be called biography or history was very difficult to say. They labelled their work "Creation," "Critical Reconstruction," "Imaginative Identification"—anything except what of course it was, "Fiction." It was not surprising that they gave us Shakespeare in their own strange and questionable shapes, and that these did not resemble each other in the slightest degree. Madame Chambrun, for example, had rediscovered Shakespeare as a Catholic, one of a noble army of Elizabeth's martyrs, yet interested in pig meal. The late Mr. Fripp had on the other hand left us a Puritan Shakespeare, a godly righteous and quite sober Shakespeare. The Dark Lady who happened to be a blonde was banished from the chaste pages of Mr. Fripp's two portly volumes. Anne Hathaway had gone with her husband to London, while to them both Stratford remained "Home sweet Home." Mr. Habgood said he wished they would read the imaginative reconstruction of Shakespeare's marriage and funeral in Mr. Fripp's book.

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It was funny without being in the least vulgar. The fever-result of the drinking bout was fiercely repudiated. The story of William the Conqueror preceding Richard III. with the citizen's wife was omitted. Shakespeare died as he had lived, in the most odorous of the odours of sanctity.

Mr. Fripp indeed had referred to the wretched Bacon controversy, yet he had written that Shakespeare and Bacon had met and admired each other very much. The lawyer-poet and the lawyer-philosopher had much in common. Bacon being so interested in the stage—there was a gleam of sanity here—but being never in love himself, must have thought "Romeo and Juliet" rather silly. The lucid interval quickly passed.

The process of whitewashing William had, however, proceeded apace in many other respects. He was no longer the lad apprenticed to a butcher, but a singing boy in the household of a Lord. Instead of killing calves and making a capital speech over the corpse, the fair frail fingers of ladies played in the young minstrel's hair. Madame Chambrun had assured us that he must have learned music. How otherwise could he have written so beautifully about it?

He had entered the Stratford Town Clerk's office, but forsook it for the joys of poetry and the playhouse, which, of course, a lawyer's office could never afford. Somehow he learned law—Mr. Habgood did not suggest this was any part of the whitewashing process—but Shakespeare was a good lawyer—not a very good one, as otherwise serious difficulties might arise in the orthodox position. The Stratford Bottom was translated indeed. Gone were the calf-killing, the deer-stealing, the whipping, and the imprisonment. There remained the Plays and five signatures, and the Will which might be that of a dealer in Lears and Twelfth Nights as a sideline, but whose real interests were somehow in bricks and mortar, and whose symbol was not one "Globe," but three brass balls.

Shakespeare was indeed a genius, but he was not a contradiction in terms. Genius and Imagination were wings upon which some had taken flight and escaped the shadows of themselves, but neither genius nor imagination had ever taught man or woman the difference between the common of pasture and the common of turbary nor wherein hereditament was to be distinguished from tenement. The Law defied imagination and often eluded genius. It would yield its expensive secrets only to experience and to knowledge. Mr. Habgood recalled, when invited to contemplate the Shakespeare genius, the confession of the young lady who sighed. . . .

I cannot cook, I cannot draw,
I don't resemble Venus,
I cannot read, I cannot write,
I guess I'm just a genius.

Not the least important task of the Bacon Society was to discover a credible Shakespeare—a Shakespeare in which men and women could believe. It was not necessary for members of the Bacon Society to make him in their own images. They would find the real Shakespeare in Francis Bacon, who was the fact and not the fiction—the man and not the mask—the reality and not the pretence.

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Mr. Valentine Smith, Chairman of the Council, responded, giving a brief account of the work of the Society during the past year and of the progress it had made owing, in a great measure, to the publicity resulting from the search for the tomb of Spenser in Westminster Abbey. He cordially thanked the Press for the fairness with which, apart from a very few insignificant exceptions, it had treated the Baconian aspect of this investigation.

Guests were interested in a large picture of Francis Bacon by Van Somer recently shown at an Exhibition of Historical Paintings in London, and kindly lent for the occasion by Messrs. Leggatt Bros.

THE BACON SOCIETY'S LECTURES.

During the past winter season the following lectures have been given at the Society's Lecture Room, Prince Henry Room, 17, Fleet Street, London:

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| Sept. | 1 | Bacon's England.
Miss Dorothy Gomes da Silva. |
| Oct. | 6 | Bacon and Shakespeare on Love.
Mr. R. L. Eagle. |
| Nov. | 3 | "Measure for Measure."
Mr. Francis E. C. Habgood. |
| Dec. | 1 | Open Evening for Informal Discussion. |
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| Jan. | 5 | The Northumberland Manuscript.
Mr. F. Gwynne Evans. |
| Feb. | 2 | Portraits of Francis Bacon and William Shakspere.
Miss C. M. Pott. |
| Mar. | 2 | Annual General Meeting.
No lecture. |

REVIEWS.

SHAKESPEARE'S LIFE AND ART. By Peter Alexander. Nisbet, 8s. 6d. net.

The Oxford Dictionary defines tradition as "opinion or belief handed down from ancestors to posterity." Stories gather around the memory of remarkable men and women which have found expression in writing—in letters, in diaries and other chronicles. These are evidence in differing degrees of reliability of the reputation among contemporaries of their subject's character and circumstances. Such stories require to be closely scrutinized but ought not to be hastily rejected as unworthy of discussion. Malone's rule was that "where a tradition has been handed down by a very industrious and careful inquirer who has derived it from persons most likely to be accurately informed concerning the facts related, and subjoins his authority, such a species of tradition must always carry great weight along with it." "It is possible," as Sir E. K. Chambers writes, "to underestimate the value of biographical tradition where it is not inconsistent with other evidence. Provincial memories are long lived, and so are those of professions which are, like that of the stage, largely recruited as hereditary castes."

Now according to the traditional records which have come down to us, what sort of a man was Shakspeare? What was his posthumous reputation as an artist?

The first we hear of this, after the enigmatic reference of Ben Jonson to his "small Latin and less Greek," is from Thomas Fuller, who wrote of the "Worthies of Warwickshire" some forty years or so after Shakspeare's death, and Fuller writes that Shakspeare was an eminent example of the truth that poets are born and not made. "Indeed," he says, "his learning was very little, so that as Cornish diamonds are not polished by any lapidary but are pointed and smooth even as they are taken out of the earth, so Nature itself was all the art which was used upon him."

Fuller does not agree with Ben Jonson in this respect, for Ben Jonson wrote in his prefatory verses to the First Folio,

"Yet trust I not give nature all; thy art,
"My gentle Shakspeare, must enjoy a part.
"For a good poet's made as well as born,
"And such wert thou."

But Fuller appears to agree with Jonson that Shakspeare had small Latin and less Greek, for he says his learning was very little, and adds that if he, Shakspeare, were alive he would confess himself never any scholar.

Now those who accept the orthodox opinion as to the authorship of the Plays are in a curious dilemma where Jonson's evidence is concerned. Upon his poem prefaced to the Folio rests practically the entire case that Player Shakspeare and Poet Shakspeare were one and the same. Jonson must be trusted all in all or not at all.

If it is once admitted that Jonson in writing of the small Latin and less Greek was writing with his tongue in his cheek and with something up his sleeve, knowing perfectly well that the real Shakespeare was a great Latin and Greek scholar, how is the contention to be answered that the whole poem is capable of an esoteric interpretation—that it does not mean what, or means much more than, it seems to say?

The next witness is the Rev. John Ward, Vicar of Stratford, who kept a diary which he began in February, 1661, and finished in 1663. He was appointed in 1662, and so had only just settled in the town when he wrote of the local gossip about Shakspeare. "I have heard," he writes, "that Mr. Shakespeare was a natural wit, without any art at all. He frequented playns in his youth, but in his age lived at Stratford and supplied the stage with two Plays every year, and for that had an allowance so large that he spent at the rate of a thousand a year. Shakespeare, Drayton and Jonson had a merry meeting, and drank too hard, for Shakespeare died of a fever there contracted."

John Aubrey, who at the time of Shakspeare's death in 1616 was ten years old, completed his "Lives of Eminent Men" in 1680. He does not enjoy an unblemished reputation for veracity as a witness. He was referred to by Anthony Wood, the biographer of Jonson, as "a roving, magotty-pated man, who thought little, believed much, and confused everything." His notes about Shakspeare were made about sixty years after the death of the latter, and are to the effect that his father was a butcher; the son exercised his father's trade; when he killed a calf, he would do it in a high style and make a speech; he was inclined to poetry and acting, was an actor and did act exceedingly well. He began early to make essays of dramatic poetry and his plays took well. He was handsome, well-shaped, good company and witty, and "though as Ben Jonson says of him that he had but little Latin and less Greek, he understood Latin poetry well for he had been in his younger years a schoolmaster in the country."

We hear of Shakspeare's theft of venison and rabbits, his whipping and imprisonment, his flight from his native country to London where from an actor of plays he became a composer, and his death as a Papist at Stratford, aged 53.

The Rev. William Fullman, writing some little time before 1688, does not appear quite certain where Shakspeare did die, but he says probably at Stratford, "for there he is buried and hath a monument."

In 1693 a Mr. Dowdall visited Stratford and saw the effigies of our English tragedian, Mr. Shakespeare. The clerk who showed him the church was over 80 and he said that Shakspeare in the town was bound apprentice to a butcher, that he ran away to London, and was there received into the playhouse as a servitude and by this means had the opportunity to be what he afterwards prov'd. So far Dowdall confirms Aubrey's testimony. He says nothing of Shakspeare's works, although he quotes the inscription on his monument.

Eighty years pass since the death of Shakspeare and we hear from William Hall, an Oxford graduate, who wrote in 1694 to a friend of his about a visit to Stratford, and this is what he writes:—"The

little learning these verses (i.e. the verses upon the tombstone) contain would be a very strong argument of the want of it in the author, did not they carry something in them which stands in need of a comment. There is in the Church a place which they call a bone-house, a repository for all bones they dig up, which are so many that they would load a great number of wagons. The poet, being willing to preserve his bones unmoved, lays a curse upon him that moves them and having to do with clerks and sextons, for the most part a very ignorant set of people, he descends to the meanest of their capacities and disrobes himself of that art which none of his co-temporaries wore in greater perfection."

The last witness is William Winstanley, an Oxford Don, who, in 1686, published "Lives of the Most Famous English Poets." He writes of Shakespeare, "By keeping company with learned persons, conversing with jocular wits, whereto he was naturally inclined, he became so famously witty or wittily famous that by his own industry without the help of learning he attained to an extraordinary height in all strains of Dramatic Poetry."

Professor Alexander apparently considers that a great deal more is now known of Shakspeare's personal history and character than those who lived and wrote in the 16th and 17th centuries knew, and he has adopted, with regard to the meagre traditions which have reached us, the attitude of several recent biographers who seem to have inquired of themselves whether the traditional Shakspeare of Stratford can possibly be reconciled to the Shakspeare of the Universe revealed in the Plays and Poems. The tendency was first noticeable in the work of the late Sir Sidney Lee. It was checked by Sir E. K. Chambers, but violently re-asserted itself in the late Dr. J. S. Smart's "Shakespeare, Truth and Tradition."

Mr. Middleton Murry, Madame de Chambrun, the late Mr. E. E. Fripp and several others, finding apparently that such reconciliation was extremely difficult, have been followed by Professor Alexander, whose particular treatment of the Shakspeare tradition in his new book is remarkable evidence of the length to which orthodox biographers will go in scouting tradition when it cannot be made to confirm the orthodox view of the authorship of the Plays and Poems. The author of "Hamlet" could not have been a butcher's boy, therefore Aubrey must have been wrong; but Aubrey also writes that Shakspeare was a country schoolmaster. In this respect Aubrey is a very careful and industrious enquirer. Nothing could, of course, be more unscientific or indeed dishonest than to cite testimony when it supports the orthodox view of the authorship problem and reject it when it does not. When we are told that Shakespeare was a butcher's apprentice with no learning, we must not reject the testimony, and at the same time appeal to the same witness in support of the theory that Shakespeare was a country schoolmaster because the latter squares with the Stratford case and the former does not.

Professor Alexander seizes the village schoolmaster idea but rejects the rest. Why? The Stratford neighbour who told Aubrey that John Shakspeare was a butcher was wrong; he was a glover. There is no reason to suppose that he was any better informed about the poet's own early business. Unfortunately, however, for Professor Alexander, Aubrey's testimony that Shakspeare was

apprenticed to a butcher is confirmed in this respect by Dowdall (Sir Sidney Lee saw nothing improbable in it) and he really must not discredit his own witness when the evidence does not happen to suit his preconceived theories. Just as Shakspeare has been made an attorney's clerk in order to account for his knowledge of law, and has been sent as soldier into the Low Countries to study men and manners in France, Germany and Italy, and "to see the wonders of the world abroad," the Stratford rustic and the London actor of tradition who could not have been responsible for the early Plays and Poems has now been accepted as a schoolmaster. Aubrey supposes Shakspeare went to London about 18, so that he must have been a very young one indeed. When and where he could have taught matters nothing. He was a schoolmaster; early employment as such would not be incompatible with the literary interests displayed or the learning demanded by his first compositions. And so the Professor begs the question! The stories of horse-holding outside the theatre door and of his being a servitor inside it are quietly dropped.

Let us compare the Shakspeare of tradition with the new Shakspeare of Professor Alexander. We have on the one hand a butcher's apprentice whose learning was very little, but who, in any case, was without reputation for talent, industry or genius, and who, perhaps, was given to poaching; who ran away from school to become a servitor and then an actor, who was a natural wit, a boon companion and perhaps a deep drinker. This is the posthumous reputation. There is no word of Shakespeare's education. The witnesses are all silent as to this, although the monument is mentioned, as is his playgoing in youth and residence in Stratford in old age.

Nothing is heard of the Free School, then, until 1709, when Nicholas Rowe attempted to write the first Life of Shakespeare. He was a dramatist in the reign of Queen Anne, and was Poet Laureate to George I. He stated his authority was the actor Betterton, who is said to have visited Warwickshire, not Stratford-on-Avon, in 1690, more than 70 years after Shakespeare's death. Rowe's biography was written nearly a century after that. He differs in many respects from the early chroniclers of the Shakespeare tradition, and is really the first to embark on the sea of conjecture, for he says a study of the works justifies certain propositions, for example, "'Tis certain he (Shakspeare) understood French."

Professor Alexander adopts just the same attitude. We must bid good-bye to the tradition of the unlearned Shakespeare. We must throw over not only Jonson's testimony but all the rest, because the real author of the Poems and Plays must have been a man of wide reading, particularly in the classics, familiar with the life of Court and courtier, and of the highest possible contemporary culture. The author of the Poems and Plays ex-hypothesi was William Shakspeare of Stratford-on-Avon, therefore the traditions of him which cannot be made to square with this are tales of things that never were, as Professor Smart called them. The method is simplicity itself.

But by thus playing fast and loose with the Shakspeare tradition, these orthodox biographers defy all canons of literary and historical

criticism. Traditions may or may not be true, but they no doubt express the opinions of the persons most likely to know the supposed dramatist and the bent of his mind and character.

Professor Alexander in "Shakespeare's Life and Art," "a notable assessment of Shakespeare as a dramatic artist and a synthesis of Shakespearian scholarship and research, wisely discerning in its judgment of truth and substance and clearly illuminated by his own learning and criticism," as the publishers describe the work, declares that "Shakspeare left his native place not ill-equipped to make the most of his adventure. His earliest works declare literary ambitions, and where could such a young man with a wife and family to support go but to London?"

Now by what process, intellectual or imaginative, has the Professor's "discerning judgment and illuminated learning and criticism" reached this conclusion, on page 26 of his "consistent and convincing picture of the development of the supreme Dramatist" (see publisher's puff)? In his first thirteen pages he disposes of Nicholas Rowe by telling us he was content with hearsay, and that he had no real historical knowledge of the Elizabethan age that would have enabled him to interpret the few facts he did know. "Conjectural history" declares the Professor, "is almost inevitably wrong." Here we emphatically agree with Professor Alexander, but are free to confess that for the moment we do not appreciate why his conjectures are more valuable than Rowe's, who was Poet Laureate, a dramatist himself, and lived more than two centuries nearer Shakespeare than does his last biographer.

Rowe's view that Shakespeare's schooling was so incomplete that he had no knowledge of the writings of ancient poets persisted, and is fundamentally absurd. Why? Because, according to Professor Alexander, the minute research of modern scholars has shown that Rowe's picture of Shakspeare's early environment is the very opposite of the truth. The Professor cites no authority whatever for this. Modern research has not discovered that the actor Shakspeare ever went to school at all. It has indeed found out a lot about the corporate borough of Stratford and the Guild of the Holy Cross, and it may be, although there is a great deal of evidence to the contrary, that Stratford was not, as Garrick described it, "the most dirty, unseemly, illpaid, wretched-looking town in all Britain," but all this is really nothing to the purpose.

It is claimed for him that the Professor has drawn a consistent and convincing picture of the Supreme Dramatist. If he has, it is not a recognisable portrait of Shakspeare of Stratford. It is not enough to answer he was a genius. His latest Biographer, no more than his earliest, has shown what the conditions were which enabled his genius to develop itself: led him to discover the form of expression which best suited its character and secured for what it produced contemporary popularity and lasting fame.

The picture of William in London is also discarded, because it was not put into print until 1765, when Dr. Johnson added it as a kind of postscript to Rowe. Neither does any problem arise with regard to Shakspeare's marriage. It is unfortunately, however, a matter of fact, not of conjectural history, that there is no record whatever of this to any woman. The licence for one between William Shaxpere and Anna Whateley of Temple Grafton and a

bond to hold the Bishop of Worcester harmless was given the next day when the woman's name appears as Anne Hathway and the man's as William Shagspere of Strafod. The existence of a pre-contract imagined by Professor Alexander has been described as a "kindly sentiment" by Sir E. K. Chambers and shown by Sir Sidney Lee to be highly improbable. Why should Professor Alexander's view that the evidence of irregularity is merely another instance of the dangers of conjectural history be adopted in the face of the evidence pointing in the other direction? It should be added that the Professor uses the name Hathway and not Whateley. There seems little excuse for this error.

The next section of Professor Alexander's book deals with the First Folio and its dedication to the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery. Nothing is said of any association by the actor with these august personages in his lifetime, presumably because there is no evidence of any. Shakspeare was referred to by Cuthbert Burbage, in his petition to the survivor of this "Incomparable Pair," not as a great dramatist (Did the Earl of Pembroke know better?) but as a deserving man and Man-Player. Indeed, some of the omissions of Professor Alexander are very significant. No mention is made of William the Conqueror coming before Richard III with the citizen's wife. Nothing is said of the malting and moneylending activities of Shakspeare's last days when he returned to Stratford to brew and to buy land and not to read nor to write; about the petty litigation, about the daughter's illiteracy there is a silence that can be felt.

Instead, Professor Hotson's "I, William Shakespeare," is quoted as "a most valuable clue to one side of Shakspeare's social life"—a book which piles mountains of conjecture upon one tiny molehill of fact. There was no need for him to mention books or MS. in his Will, for what Shakspeare had to give to posterity he gave in his Plays. Will it be believed that no other explanation is given of the utter indifference of the greatest poet and dramatist of all time to the children of his genius? He was concerned, we are told, only with worldly possessions, among which we should have thought would have been included the copyright of the Plays which appeared seven years after his death, the authorship of which he never claimed, and the publication of which was undertaken not by his representatives, but by strangers for the benefit of others.

We have no space to deal with the extraordinary theory that the very roughness of the "First Folio" text is a guarantee of its authenticity. Critical opinion in the past is worthless. Pope cannot have sufficiently considered Shakespeare's dislike of gagging; Theobald is wrong in thinking the first editors printed from stage copies, and Dr. Johnson was also mistaken in exploiting with all the rigour of his logic that Shakespeare's text was handed down by thieving publishers and dishonest editors. It is left to modern scholarship and Professor Alexander to correct them all.

Modern scholarship believes the printed text was set up directly from Shakspeare's own papers. So much the worse, we think, for modern scholarship.

In Sir Sidney Lee's introduction to the First Folio Facsimile he shows quite clearly that the text was derived from three distinct sources, and the idea that the players had Shakespeare's unblotted

MS. is futile. Only eighteen (or with Pericles, nineteen) of the thirty-seven dramas remained in 1623 in the repertory of the theatre. In other cases, the "promoters" of the work had to use transcripts and obtain permission to do so.

The entirely arbitrary division of the Quartos into good ones and bad is adopted, and statements entirely unsupported by a shred of evidence are offered as historical fact; for example, there is not the slightest evidence that Shakspeare joined the Chamberlain's men in 1594, nor that he ever became a leading man in it. Nothing whatever is known of his career as a dramatist: all is guess work. The Greene reference is said to deal with Shakspeare's work as a dramatist, which, as has been shown over and over again, is to say the least extremely doubtful. Chettle is quoted as though the "Kind Heart's Dream" offered an apology to Shakspeare; his name is not even mentioned in it. Professor Alexander does not, we are glad to say, insert his name as if it did, but his conduct is nearly as reprehensible when he states as a fact that Chettle speaks of Shakspeare's excellence as an actor. We certainly cannot say that the Archbishop of Canterbury, in licensing "Venus and Adonis" with his own hand, did so because he was an admirer of Shakspeare's genius and wished to help a poet from his old diocese. Why does Professor Alexander, who we presume is writing seriously, make such a foolish suggestion?

Shakspeare was born not only into an enlightened community but of parents whose connections and position suggest that from his earliest days he would lack neither breeding or education.

The use of a mark was not evidence of inability to write one's name in Elizabethan times. John Shakspeare apparently could keep the borough accounts with the necessary entries and give receipts, but could not execute a deed. He was content to be marksman then!

Neither can John Shakspeare ever have been in serious poverty. In 1580 the Government by its severe fine did not regard him as a poor man. Professor Alexander omits to mention the fine was apparently unpaid and that John Shakspeare died intestate, having presumably nothing to bequeath. There is, of course, no evidence whatever that William brought his family to London with him. It is far more likely that his wife's age or her temper or her fecundity drove him there. Another reason has been found in his alleged prosecution by Sir Thomas Lucy, but this does not appeal to Professor Alexander, as might be expected. Neither does it surprise him that the author of "Hamlet" ("neither a borrower nor a lender be") should bring actions to recover money lent nor that, unlike his son-in-law—a country doctor—Shakspeare bequeathed no books and no manuscripts, no Holinshed, no Plutarch, no Montaigne, not a single French or Italian Romance, not even his own "Venus and Adonis" and "Lucrece"; and he wrote no word of his wishes concerning those masterpieces compared to which his land and his quantity of personal effects were dross, and such (had he written the Plays) he would have accounted his "dirty lands," his rings, his plate, his silver gilt bowl and the rest.

Professor Alexander tries to suggest Shakspeare's marriage may have been a happy one. The evidence is directly contrary. His wife's name was omitted from the original draft of the Will. By

interlineation she was given the second best bed and its furniture. No other bequest was made to her. No Will has ever been discovered except Shakspeare's in which a second best bed is the sole bequest. Her right to dower was barred, as was indeed customary. And the great Poet and Dramatist, "not of an age but for all time," who wrote "there is no darkness but ignorance" left one daughter unable to write her name and another apparently unable to recognise her own husband's handwriting.

We cannot follow the remaining follies and fancies of this book. We can only describe it as another pleasant fable, constructed with something like poetic rapture. The author's thought runs gracefully free from the trammels of precision into the realms of airy conjecture. He has obviously constructed an ideal figure and has then rejected any facts or traditions that do not suit it.

It is perhaps well that Professor Alexander no longer sees Shakspeare as the Warwickshire peasant, and who knows but that, in due course, he may grow dissatisfied with the dreams of his fancy and seek a Shakespeare to correspond with him that the Plays reveal? Until then we feel it is no more than the duty of any critic with any sense of responsibility and unattached to the log-rolling fraternity to discountenance such books as these. They are not only mischievous in themselves, but they form precedents for others more mischievous still; the fancies of one writer, especially one of such academic authority as Professor Alexander, are apt to pass for facts in the work of successors; and therefore, while we admire his enthusiasm and share his obvious love of the Great Genius whom we know by another name, we would advise him to reduce the dimensions of that ambition, which we think very unhappily has led him to write of Shakespeare's Life and Art, to that more restricted shape wherein his monograph on "Henry VI and Richard III" attained a much greater measure of success.

EXTRACT FROM THE "SUNDAY TIMES," MARCH 12th. 1939.

STRATFORD-ON-AVON.

By H. M. BATEMAN.

"What an immense and incalculable legacy Shakespeare left in the shape of good-will to the district, and how nobly the inhabitants have taken hold of it and developed the business! I am not thinking merely of the many Shakespeare souvenirs, the teashops and restaurants, hotels, bookshops, and others equally obvious, which flourish in Stratford itself. These are but a small part of the interested parties. The benefits extend to such things as the railways, motor industries, steamship companies, and travel agencies, who reap big harvests in the transportation of the throngs of worshippers who come to pay their respects to the place of his origin from all parts of the globe. The ramifications seem to be incalculable. . . . As I left Stratford, thoughtfully, I could not help feeling I would like to hold a few shares in the business."

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITORS OF BACONIANA.

Dear Sirs,—I have considered the Society's "Research Scheme," dated March, 1936, which reads: "that all material could be classified under the following headings," of which number 14 is, "The Problem of Bacon's parentage," and although no official action has been taken to work this Scheme, I venture to give briefly two statements; *First*: from Mrs. Gallup's deciphering of the italics in the 1623, "De Augmentis"; as, "Francis Bacon avows that he was the eldest son of Queen Elizabeth and Robert Dudley." *Second*: in "Nat. Hist." sec. 986, Francis Bacon writes, "there be many reports in History that upon the death of persons in near relationship, men have had an inward feeling of it. I myself remember that, being in Paris, and my Father (i.e., Sir Nicolas Bacon) dying in London; two or three days before my Father's death, I had a dream which I told to divers English gentlemen, that my Father's house in the country was plastered all over with Black mortar."

The Council's "Research Scheme" says:—"the evidence of Bacon's royal birth, though extremely interesting, is not conclusive if it is a mare's nest, then the sooner we can prove this, the better."

It will be interesting, therefore, to have from some of our operative Members their judgment of which is the more acceptable evidence; the deciphering, or Bacon's own testimony? We know the saying, that only a wise man knows his father; and, surely Francis Bacon was a wise man.

Yours truly,
W. A. VAUGHAN.

TO THE EDITORS OF BACONIANA.

I had intended answering Mr. Bridgewater's article, "A Plea for Moderation," which appeared in the July issue of your magazine, but Mr. H. Kendra Baker has done this so acceptably and so convincingly that there is nothing I would wish to add.

Nevertheless, I would like to comment on one or two statements made by Mr. Bridgewater. First, neither Mrs. Gallup nor the Bi-literal Cipher was responsible for the story of Bacon's Royal Birth; this was first published in the Word Cipher story by Dr. Orville W. Owen fifty years ago, and at least ten years before the Bi-literal was found to have been used by Bacon. This does not mean that I concur that the Bi-literal Cipher is unreliable.

Mr. Bridgewater objects to any claim that Bacon may not have died in 1626. It was, as he states, your Society's founder, Mrs. Pott, who first raised the question. Having received a letter from Prof. Georg Cantor of Germany, stating that he had found evidence that Bacon lived until a much later date, she at once set to work to find, if possible, some proof of this statement. I so well remember, when we were guests in her home in the Spring of 1900, she told us the story of calling on the then Lord Verulam and asking permission

to enter the crypt of St. Michael's Church and see for herself Bacon's burial place. Lord Verulam told her that at the time of his father's death, his was the last Crypt burial allowed, and that he had had a careful examination made at that time of every tomb, that all names were easily distinguishable, and that every one entered in the church records as having been buried there was found, *except Francis Bacon*. Mr. Bridgewater states there were many witnesses of Bacon's death. Is there any account of a funeral or burial, and where may I find it?

It may be presumptuous of me to discuss Masonry, but my late husband, Dr. Prescott, was deeply interested in the history of Masonry and of Bacon's possible connection with its appearance in England. Dr. Prescott found great unwillingness among high Masons in England with whom he talked, as well as in America, to consider any but the accepted date (1723 or thereabouts) for its foundation in England. Like the Stratfordians, they accepted what they were told by their historians and were not interested to seek further.

More than fifty years ago Dr. Owen published a little pamphlet containing quotations from the Shakespeare plays, each one to be found in the Masonic Ritual used to-day. These were not just coincidences, one or two words brought together by chance, but entire passages and phrases which any Mason would recognize as ritual.

There have been one or two articles written recently on that rare old book, "Truth brought to Light," 1651, of which I own a copy. If you have not already done so, examine the watermarks in this edition, and you will find the hat of the Grand Master worn, I am told, to-day in one of the higher degrees, having streamers ending in the square and compass. I sent a tracing of this water-mark to Mr. Alfred Dodd some time ago, which reached him just as he was to lecture before a Lodge in Manchester, and which he showed to his brother Masons at the meeting. He wrote me that it made a great impression.

I cannot feel that all puzzles have been solved in this search after the true Shakespeare, and until they are, let us have the results of all serious investigators.

KATE H. PRESCOTT.

NOTES AND NOTICES.

Yet another sign of the growing interest in Francis Bacon and the problem of the Shakespeare plays was provided by the publication in the New Year Number of *Pearson's Magazine* of a long article, fully illustrated, entitled "Shakespeare Degthroned," by Mr. R. M. Bucke. The interest in this lies chiefly in the fact that this article appeared in *Pearson's* no less than forty years ago, and was reprinted by the present editor without any alteration. Even though in some few details the matter is not quite up to date, and minor emendations might be desirable, it must be considered as a remarkable effort by a man writing in the early days of the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy. We hope it has received the attention it deserves, and congratulate the editor on his happy thought.

In *Punch* for 14th December, 1938, along with several other verses of a somewhat feeble nature, there appeared the following:

When their Lordships asked Bacon
How many bribes he had taken
He had at least the grace
To get very red in the face.

This stupid and offensive reference to the slanders on Francis Bacon which were fully exposed many years ago by Hepworth Dixon, called forth numerous letters of protest from Baconians in all parts of the country, and even abroad.

On 11th January these protests were noticed editorially and a few extracts were published. But after much verbiage the so-called apology ended as follows: "But the accusation of bribery was indefensible; it should never have been printed. I am humbled. I bow the knee. I may publish abominable slanders in the future, but I will not publish that one again. I wish to make it absolutely clear that I have no proof of any kind (and I am sure that Mr. E. C. Bentley has none) that Francis Bacon, first Viscount St. Albans, ever took bribes. We only know that he said he did."

On seeing this, Mr. Theobald wrote again, this time not as a private individual, but on behalf of the Bacon Society, making a further protest; saying that he knew perfectly well the words of Bacon which the editor had in mind, but that these must not be torn from the whole context and treated as a confession of guilt, which they certainly were not. This drew a personal letter from the editor, Mr. E. V. Knox, which reads thus: "Dear Sir, Accepting (without prejudice) your version of the affair, I should like to ask whether, if I publish it, you will pay the wages of my cook." Mr. Theobald felt inclined to hit back, and hit hard, but on second thoughts he replied as follows: "Dear Sir, I am in receipt of your letter of 30th January. The fact that you have offended a large number of admirers of Francis Bacon does not appear to me to be a subject for levity."

To this the editor wrote: "Dear Sir, Considering that the whole affair was entirely nonsensical, it does seem to be a subject for levity to me." Thereupon Mr. Theobald wrote a final letter to this effect:

"Dear Sir, I regret I am unable accept your view that "the whole affair was entirely nonsensical." Whatever may have been the opinions or intentions of Mr. Bentley, it is clear that his reference to Francis Bacon was both offensive and unjust because of its implication that Bacon was guilty of corruption. Your editorial comments confirmed this implication, since the concluding words must have misled thousands of your readers into believing that Bacon actually confessed his guilt and that nothing more remained to be said. Thus you perpetuate the slanders on his good name and fame. Is that "entirely nonsensical?" Of course not. I can only say that as a matter of elementary justice and chivalry a genuine apology is still needed."

Dr. Richard Parr was chaplain and biographer of James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland: Born 1580: Died 21st Mar. 1655.

Parr published Usher's "Life," 1686, with a collection of 300 letters from eminent persons of the period, among whom is Sir Thomas Bodley, the laudable founder of that excellent library, The Bodleian, at Oxford. He was Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador, and James the First knighted him. Bodley was Francis Bacon's staunch friend, and during Bacon's residence in France, Sir Thomas frequently wrote him letters of encouragement and sent monetary grants for his educational advancement.

On Sunday evening, 5th March, Mr. Bertram Theobald lectured in the Repertory Theatre, Birmingham, to the members of the Repertory Theatre Playgoers' Society, his subject being "Shakspeare the Mask, Bacon the Man." Although Birmingham is so near to Stratford-on-Avon and thoroughly imbued with orthodox tradition, yet the large audience listened with keen attention to the reasons adduced for Baconian theories, and the discussion which followed showed clearly that most of the speakers had not realised what a strong case could be made out for Bacon's authorship of the Shakespeare works. The lecturer was kept busy replying to questions until much later than the usual time for closing the meeting, and the vote of thanks to him was obviously no mere formality but a genuine expression of appreciation.

Mr. Theobald also lectured to the Blindley Heath Discussion Group on 3rd March, and to the Bookman Circle at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on 8th March.

On Tuesday, 28th February, Miss Dorothy Gomes da Silva gave a lecture to the students of Queen's College, Harley Street, London, when there was a large attendance, including the Principal and several members of the staff. Many questions were asked, and much appreciation shown, some of the students even confessing themselves almost converted to the Baconian theory.

On 3rd February, Mr. R. L. Eagle gave an address at the Royal Normal College for the Blind at Upper Norwood, London. He was listened to with keen attention by a good audience, who were evidently much impressed. A notice of this lecture appeared afterwards in "The Norwood News."

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