

BACONIANA

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THE FRANCIS BACON SOCIETY

(INCORPORATED)

Among the Objects for which the Society is established, as expressed in the Memorandum of Association, are the following:

1. To encourage for the benefit of the public, the study of the works of Francis Bacon as philosopher, statesman and poet; also his character, genius and life; his influence on his own and succeeding times, and the tendencies and results of his writing.
2. To encourage for the benefit of the public, the general study of the evidence in favour of Francis Bacon's authorship of the plays commonly ascribed to Shakespeare, and to investigate his connection with other works of the Elizabethan period.

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Members would assist the Society greatly by forwarding additional donations when possible, and by recommending friends for election. Those members who prefer to remit their subscriptions in American currency, are requested to send \$6.



Commander Martin Pares, R. N., President of the Francis Bacon Society 1956 to 1958, and from 1962.

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It should be clearly understood that BACONIANA is a medium for the discussion of subjects connected with the Objects of the Society, but the Council does not necessarily endorse opinions expressed by contributors or correspondents.

EDITORIAL

Truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature.

(Francis Bacon).

Our space being as usual devoted to our two principal Objects, we are delighted to be able to re-print, with grateful acknowledgments to P.M.L.A., an exceptionally well-documented article, *Shelley's Admiration for Bacon*, by William O. Scott. This parallels Vivien C. Hopkins' fine essay *Emerson and Bacon* in *Baconiana* 159. Neither of these articles is concerned with the Shakespeare problem, but rather with the character and genius of Francis Bacon himself. We mention this because some of our readers, especially our opponents, are apt to forget the wider scope of our activities.

In pursuance of our second Object our comments on *The Shakespeare Claimants* by Dr. H. N. Gibson, appear in this issue. Dr. Gibson makes a vigorous attack on all rival theories about the Shakespearean authorship, except the orthodox tradition, which is treated as more or less sacrosanct. Clearly, this book could not afford full space to the Baconian theory, though it conveys the impression that the author, if not orthodox himself, would have more respect for this than for other rival theories.

To the newcomer to the controversy *The Shakespeare Claimants*, in spite of its one-sided approach, provides a stimulating introduction. To those who are familiar with the arguments it provides

a most salutary exercise. In so far as it helps us to re-examine our own theory, Dr. Gibson's burlesque is not wasted. If we see a reflection of ourselves in a distorted mirror, and if destructive criticism leads us no nearer the truth, we are certainly led to re-consider aspects of the problem which are too often taken for granted.

Dr. Gibson holds no brief for orthodox bardolatry; but whereas all rival claims to the Shakespearean authorship are regarded as matters to be considered upon evidence, the Stratford legend is excepted. In spite of its imperfections it is regarded as the proper theory to fall back on when the others have been dismissed, thus becoming, in a sense, an article of faith. Indeed *The Shakespeare Claimants* has all the fascination of a mediaeval disputation, going round and round the controversy with great selective skill, but always with an eye to the orthodox *credo* as its magnetic North.

This sometimes leads to absurdities. For instance — we cannot agree that conflicting theories which, rightly or wrongly, are grounded upon the same facts must be regarded as cancelling out. There must still be a consistent solution somewhere. Existing manuscripts which once belonged to Francis Bacon are not invalidated because someone has confounded them with a rival claim for the Earl of Derby; they remain as Baconian landmarks. No authentic document vanishes just because it is claimed as evidence for an untenable theory; it retains its proper value as evidence, no more, no less. . . .

A Hair perhaps divides the False and True ;
 Yes ; and a single Alif were the clue —
 Could you but find it — to the Treasure-house,
 And peradventure to THE MASTER too.

Truth, which is the object of our controversy, is one of the most fascinating of goals. However elusive it becomes, the effort to reach it should never be abandoned. The pursuit of it was the guiding star of Bacon's life and inspired one of the finest of his essays.

* * *

No original Shakespearean manuscript of any play or poem has yet come to light. The First Folio of 1623 was title-paged to

“William Shakespeare”, which is a near enough approximation to the actor’s name to satisfy many people, although it was never spelt this way in the Stratford records. The nearest approach is Shakespere and other forms are Shaxper, Shacksper and Shagspere. English spelling in those days was not yet fixed, so it is natural for many people to regard all these versions as referring to the actor, or to a person with the same name, which was a fairly common one.

What does require explanation — and it is a point which Dr. Gibson evades — is the hyphenated version which appears in various forms in the early quartos, in *The Sonnets*, and once in the First Folio, as Shake-spear, Shake-speare, and Shak-speare. The hyphenated form may or may not have been introduced to suggest a pseudonym; this is a matter of opinion. But it is certainly not a printer’s error, since it appears in 1609 as the running title on each leaf of *The Sonnets* and *A Lover’s Complaint*. And it is in this very book, in Sonnet 76, that the author warns his readers that Shake-speare is *not* his real name, but the “noted weed” in which he kept “invention” . . .

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

Dr. Gibson broad-mindedly distinguishes between the actor of Stratford and the author of the plays and poems by referring to the former as Shakspere and the latter as Shakespeare. This distinction, as he makes clear, is not a concession to the anti-Stratfordian viewpoint, but simply a measure to avoid confusion. And although he cannot refrain from describing it as “a favourite device of the theorists”, it is clear that he adopts it for the same reason that we do, namely to avoid ambiguity. Most Shakespearean scholars use the same spelling in both cases and we are indebted to Dr. Gibson for his candour in breaking this custom; also for disdaining the meaningless *cliché*—used *ad misericordium* by almost all hack-writers on the subject — about people who believe that “Shakespeare didn’t write Shakespeare”, thus begging the whole question of identity. By generally meeting us on our own ground, Dr. Gibson becomes a more formidable and more worthy opponent.

The Northumberland MS.

A number of genuine Baconian MSS are extant, some in Bacon's own hand and some in that of copyists but not a single Shakespearean MS of any kind appears to have survived. Hence the obvious importance of the Northumberland MS which was originally the property of Francis Bacon and which then contained the two Shakespearean plays *Richard II* and *Richard III*, as noted in the list of contents. Here is documentary evidence of Bacon's personal interest in the Shakespearean drama, a fact which most orthodox scholars are afraid to admit. We also have his private notebook called *The Promus* in which he collected phrases and "gags", some of which appear in the plays.

It is part and parcel of Dr. Gibson's defence of orthodoxy to belittle both these MSS and to allow them no significance or importance at all. We shall presently quote his own words on this point. Meanwhile we must strongly insist that these documents, so far from being worthless, are links in a chain which before had conspicuous gaps in it. Bacon's extraordinary reticence about the Shakespeare Plays, which were coming out at intervals throughout his adult life, demands explanation. It is an awkward fact for orthodox scholars who, for want of a better argument, ascribe it to ignorance or indifference. To any student of Bacon this argument is untenable. Ignorance on his part of a great contemporary would be quite incredible. Indifference is ruled out by his remarks on stage plays in the *De Augmentis*, his essay *Of Masques and Triumphs*, and also by his lifelong interest and delight in theatricals. The survival of these two important MSS proves, if any proof were necessary, that the right hand of the English Renaissance knew very well what the left hand was doing.

Bacon's interest in the drama as an instrument for general enlightenment is extremely well documented. His remarks on dramatic or representative poesy and on the use and abuse of stage-plays, and his esteem for play-acting as a form of personal discipline and training, cannot be lightly set aside. His attitude to these things is even echoed in the words of Jacques . . .

Invest me in my motley ; give me leave
To speak my mind, and I will through and through
Cleanse the foul body of the infected world
If they will patiently receive my medicine.

Bacon himself, in a moment of devotion, when composing a very beautiful prayer to which Addison drew attention, seems to have had the same thought in mind. . .

I have, though in a despised weed, procured the good of all men.

Whether the "despised weed" of Bacon had some affinity with the "noted weed" of Shake-speare and both with the "motley" coat of Jacques, is a perfectly fair question which we will leave to our readers.

It is astonishing that Dr. Gibson seems to find nothing more in Bacon's extensive remarks on stage-plays than a general condemnation of corruption and vice in the Elizabethan theatre. This is indeed to put the cart before the horse. No one would deny the corruptions of those theatres as places of entertainment, nor the predilection of some of those dramatists for satire. But Bacon's lofty ideals for the stage are very clearly expressed, and quite consistent with a concealed attempt to supply the deficiency.

Let us reconsider some of the fine passages in which Bacon's attitude to the drama is expressed. Speaking of the emotions (which he calls the affections) Bacon writes as follows: —

Dramatic Poesy is as History made visible; for it represents actions as though they were present, whereas history represents them as past.

De Augmentis II (13)

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

(Ibid.).

For Plato said elegantly (though it has now grown into a commonplace) "that virtue, if she could be seen, would move great love and affection", and it is the business of rhetoric to make pictures of virtue and goodness, so that they may be *seen*.

De Augmentis VI (3)

But to speak the real truth, the poets and writers of history are the best doctors of this knowledge, where we may find painted forth with great life and dissected, how affections are kindled and excited, and how pacified and restrained, and how again contained from act and further degree; how they disclose themselves, though repressed and concealed. How, I say, to set affection against affection, and to use the aid of one to master another; like hunters and fowlers who use to hunt beast with beast, and catch bird with bird.

De Augmentis VII (3)

It is a thing indeed, if practised professionally, of low repute; but if it be made a part of discipline, it is of excellent use. I mean stage-playing: an art which strengthens the memory, regulates the tone and effect of the voice and pronunciation, teaches a decent carriage of the countenance and gesture, gives not a little assurance, and accustoms young men to bear being looked at.

De Augmentis VI (4)

How could Bacon, holding these lofty views, have failed to notice that the dramatic representation of the emotions and of the conflicting wills of men and nations, had already begun? This very treatment, which Bacon assigns to the poets and writers as "the doctors of this knowledge" was even then being given to the world, visually and dramatically, within the framework of the Shakespearean universe. And by its very nature it was a mental exercise, "restrained and contained from act", like Bacon's "literate experience" or his "Georgics of the Mind".

Not only does Dr. Gibson ignore or disparage Bacon's enthusiasm for the drama, and for all forms of masques, ceremonies and frivolities, but he confounds this with the official attitude of the

Attorney-General, representing the Government, towards the bank-side theatres which were then well known to be places of vice. He drags in an incident in 1614 as what he calls a "practical demonstration of Bacon's lack of sympathy with the theatre". This involves a legal decision in a case in which Bacon was required to arbitrate between the players and the watermen on the Thames. On the grounds that "the public weal was to be regarded before pastimes" Bacon very naturally gave judgment for the watermen. Dr. Gibson, by confusing the drama itself with the actual places of entertainment on bank-side, draws the following unwarranted conclusion:—

It is clear that he (Bacon) regarded the drama as mere frivolous entertainment not to be compared in importance to the community with the services of those who plied for hire in boats on the Thames.

Not only is this in direct contradiction to Bacon's exalted conception of the drama as quoted above but, to anyone familiar with his life and times, it is obvious that questions of local government and propriety (and not of the value of the drama as such) were involved here. The proposal of the players to remove their theatres to the North bank did not find favour with the authorities, and may well have been far from desirable. Performances at Court and performances on the South bank were two different things. The condition of the actual theatres has been described as disgusting. Concern as to their situation was perfectly natural, and not at all incompatible with the writing of plays and poems.

Performances at Court would always have interested Bacon. In later life he probably avoided the actual theatres, but it is difficult to believe that he could have been quite ignorant of actor-manager Will Shakspeare and his hard-drinking companions. In his own younger days he and his brother Anthony had been good mixers, and had even been upbraided by their mother, Lady Anne, for "mumming and masking and sinful revelling".

The modern attempt to ignore this side of Bacon's character is inspired by Stratfordian devotees who neither know, nor wish to know, the truth about him. It is Dr. Gibson's sense of fairness, that leads him to consider *The Northumberland MS.*, in detail, although the reasons he gives for discarding it as worthless evidence

are puzzling to say the least. He begins with a fair description which, while omitting certain points noticed by Spedding in 1870, is accurate so far as it goes. We notice, however, the interposed suggestion that the greater part of the MS contains nothing of interest to our purpose, and that "all such interest is concentrated entirely on the outer sheet that served as cover for the others". It is impossible to agree to this sweeping statement. To any unbiased scholar the very existence of 88 folio pages in manuscript as an integral collection belonging originally to Bacon, and which once included two Shakespearean plays, must be of considerable significance, not to mention the outer cover on which the contents are listed. Dr. Gibson treats the scribblings as unimportant details to which Burgoyne, the second editor of the manuscript, gave undue prominence. Once again this is special pleading. Burgoyne was completely objective; he saw clearly that the survival of most of the pages containing known works of Bacon, and the removal of the pages containing two Shakespearean plays in manuscript, must be of great historical and literary interest. Indeed the survival of the whole document is very much to our purpose.

Dr. Gibson then goes on to suggest that "later investigation makes it almost certain" that the naming of the two Shakespearean plays was not part of the contents as originally listed, but simply added as part of the scribbling. This attempt to push these tell-tale plays out of the picture by a mere conjecture is altogether too transparent. We may well wonder what has been done to these papers since Spedding examined them in 1867. The ink is now said to be fading, but the printed photo-facsimiles remain. It may no longer be possible for anyone to say with certainty in what order this collection was originally made or when the two Shakespearean plays were included, or when the scribbling began. We can, however, refer to Spedding's description of the document when it first came to light. In his opinion the book, the contents list and the scribbling were all written no later than the reign of Queen Elizabeth. James Spedding was as anxious as Dr. Gibson is to defeat any Baconian implications. He was the first editor of the MS and his description of it in a *Conference of Pleasure* is as follows:—

A paper book, much damaged by fire about the edges.

(page viii)

The writing for the most part, is remarkably clear.

(page xiii)

It is a folio volume of twenty-two sheets, which have been laid one upon the other, folded double (as in an ordinary quire of paper), and fastened by a stitch through the centre. But as the pages are not numbered, and the fastening is gone, it may once have contained more, and, if we may judge by what is still legible on the much bescribbled outside leaf which once served for a table of contents, there is some reason to suspect that it did.

(page xv)

At the top, however, — distinguished from the rest by ink of the same colour with the earlier portions of the MS., — may be clearly read the words which I have chosen for a title-page, viz:

Mr. Frauncis Bacon
of tribute or giving what is dew . . .

. . . . And if a line be drawn down the page, ranging with these, and the interstitial scribblings be overlooked, we may still trace the following additional titles, written in order, below:

Earle of Arundell's letter to the Queen.
Speeches for my lord of Essex at the tilt.
A speach for my lord of Sussex tilt.
Leycester's commonwealth. Incerto auth (ore).
Orations at Graie's Inne revells.

. . . Queene's Majs . . .

By Mr. Frauncis Bacon.

Essaies by the same author.
Richard the second.
Richard the third.
Asmund and Cornelia.
Isle of dogs fr (?),

by Thomas Nashe, inferior plaiers.*

What follows is all scribbling; but at the *head* of this latter list two other titles seem to have been inserted afterwards, and are imperfectly legible, viz.:

. . . Phillip against Mounsieur.
Pa revealed.

* In this list the archaic spelling of the MS is not strictly followed.

This then I take to be all that the page originally contained, and to represent its proper business ; the rest being idleness.

(pages xviii & xix)

That "Richard the second" and "Richard the third" are meant for the titles of Shakespeare's plays so named, I infer from the fact — of which the evidence may be seen in the facsimile — that, the list of contents being now complete, the writer has amused himself with writing down promiscuously the names and phrases that most ran in his head ; and that among these the name of William Shakespeare was the most prominent.

(page xxii)

All I can say is that I find nothing either in these scribblings, or in what remains of the book itself, to indicate a date later than the reign of Elizabeth ; and if so, it is probably one of the earliest evidences of the growth of Shakespeare's personal fame as a dramatic author ; the beginning of which cannot be dated much earlier than 1598. It was not till 1597 that any of his plays appeared in print ; and though the earliest editions of *Richard II*, *Richard III*, and *Romeo and Juliet* all bear that date, his name is not on the title-page of any of them.

We may conclude, therefore, that it was about 1597 that play-goers and readers of plays began to talk about him, and that his name would naturally present itself to an idle penman in want of something to use his pen upon. What other inferences will be drawn from its appearance on the cover of this manuscript by those who start with the conviction that Bacon and not Shakespeare was the real author of *Richard II*, and *Richard III*, I cannot say ; but to myself the fact which I have mentioned seems quite sufficient to account for the phenomenon.

(pages xxiii & xxiv)

I think I am in a condition to assert that there is no trace of Bacon's own penmanship in any part of the volume ; and the name of Shakespeare is spelt in every case as it was always printed in those days, and not as he himself in any known case ever wrote it.

(page xxv)

(*A Conference of Pleasure*. London 1870.)

Spedding is evidently at some pains to attribute these scribblings to "an *idle* penman in want of something to use his pen upon" rather than to someone with something on his mind, as for example the choice of a pseudonym! The name "William Shakespeare" is written in full several times over, apart from such abbreviations as Shak, Shakespe, Sh and Wlm. If this name had been originally chosen as a pseudonym, and if the Stratford man had discovered this and had agreed (for a consideration) to say nothing about it, he certainly kept his bargain. He made no claim to the plays, either during his life or in his will.

Dr. Gibson rightly believes that the employment of a living person to act as cover for an anonymous author is unusual and not unattended with risk. This is true; but could not such a risk be forced upon an author by a person out for gain, (such as William undoubtedly was) on discovering that a name like his own had been used? As for the pseudonym itself, with its suggestion of Pallas Athene, Shaker-of-the-Spear, it would have been hard to find a better. It was a common name and, according to Halliwell Phillips, to be found in nearly every part of England in various spellings. If it chanced to resemble that of a player, and if people were misled by the similarity, that was no immediate concern of the author, though it could have involved him in difficulties in the end. If the pseudonym were chosen in the first place without reference to the player, then the latter had no reason to complain if he were taken to be the most successful dramatist of his time. But his reactions would be very different if a play was accounted treasonable; the possibility of blackmailing the real author would then arise. Not everyone was misled by the pseudonym; Jonson, Greene, Nashe, Hall and Marston all appear to have suspected it. Jonson's "poet ape that would be thought our chief" and Greene's "Upstart crow beautified with others' feathers" are among the more caustic references to Will Shakespeare.

All the papers listed on the cover of the Northumberland MS. were clearly once part of a growing collection such as any author might make, and to which additions were made and perfunctorily listed at different times. We believe, with Spedding and Burgoyne, that the two Shakespeare plays were once included, but later removed and possibly burnt. The removal of *Richard II* suggests a connection with the proposal of Queen Elizabeth to find

and prosecute the "real" author of Haywarde's prose version of this particular play. (See page 34.)

Spedding and Burgoyne have both stated the facts and drawn their conclusions. Spedding is at pains to dissociate Bacon from the scribbling, but not from the ownership of the document, and he accepts the list of contents as including the plays. Burgoyne goes more deeply into the cover sheet. He notices *Honorificabilitudine* — the variant of the long word in *Love's Labour's Lost* — and the conjunction and association of the names Francis Bacon and William Shakespeare, as follows: —

The name Shakespeare or William Shakespeare and the name Baco, Bacon, or Francis Bacon have been written upon the page eight or nine times. The initial letters S. Wlm. B. Sh. and Mr. also frequently occur. This association of the names and their conjunction on the title-page of a collection of manuscripts ascribed to each, must be of deep interest to all students of English literature. It should be remembered that no trace of any original manuscript of any play or poem ascribed to Shakespeare has ever been discovered. On the title-page, however, of the collection of manuscripts here facsimiled, mention is made of Shakespeare's plays of *Richard II* and *Richard III*, as having formed part of the original contents. And the fact that this title-page is scribbled over in a contemporary handwriting, with the names of "Bacon" and of "Shakespeare" in close proximity and seemingly of set purpose, has caused believers in the Baconian authorship of the Shakespeare plays to cite this page as confirmatory evidence of their theory.

pages xvii & xviii

Of course we regard this page as evidence. Students must draw their own conclusions and choose between Spedding's reluctant fairness, Burgoyne's open-minded enthusiasm, and Dr. Gibson's far-fetched interpretation which, it is only fair to say, he advances amusingly and lightly and as an unsupported conjecture, as follows: —

I suggest that . . . two secretaries were having a quill-sharpening session. They collected all their pens, and sat down at a table on which lay a sheet of paper, begun as an inventory of Bacon's manuscripts but for some reason abandoned. This they both use to try out each pen as they sharpen it; if a pen is not quite satisfactory when tried, they subject it to further trimming and then test it again.

In this way the paper would soon be covered with a mass of words. Being lawyers, they naturally write down many legal phrases, quite haphazard and having no association with one another, which would account for the chaotic positioning of these phrases. Their employer's name also figures naturally in this connection. Quill-sharpening, however, does not demand great mental concentration; they soon begin to talk on general subjects, and odd scraps from the conversation find their way on to the paper — not to assist the understanding of the hearer, as Titherley, against all reason, assumes to be the purpose — but because the words they are speaking communicate themselves almost automatically to the random movements of the pens which are being tested. Presently the talk turns on the drama, and it would be surprising if the most popular dramatist of the day and some of his plays were not mentioned. The repetitions are naturally explained as successive attempts to get a refractory pen right; the same words or part of the same words would be written several times to test the result by comparison. When the quill-sharpening is finished, the two secretaries leave the paper lying about, for it contains no momentous secret and is of no importance whatever. Eventually it is used as a cover for the pile of manuscripts with which it was found.

Such is my interpretation, and it is not merely author's pride that makes me think it may well be the correct one. But whether it is or not, one thing is certain — the Northumberland MS is nothing more than a page of idle scribble, and, while exceedingly interesting as a literary curiosity, has no bearing on the problem with which we are concerned. It only intrudes into this discussion because of the desperate anxiety of the theorists to erect an imposing façade of argument regardless of the material with which it is built.

(The Shakespeare Claimants p. 234-5)

As to the so-called "desperate anxiety of the theorists" we believe we can justly return this comment to its author. The reader, however, should note that the insinuation in the last paragraph that the "Northumberland MS is nothing more than a page of idle scribble" is quite untrue. It is at complete variance with every true description of the document, including that which has already been given by Dr. Gibson himself. Apparently it is lifted from Chapter VIII of Colonel Friedman's book *The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined*, where it can only be regarded as an attempt

to beguile the reader into thinking that the document has no literary significance whatever and is merely a simple page of scribble; whereas it actually consists of 88 folio pages of careful copyhand script. The reappearance of this mistake in Dr. Gibson's book is rather a mystery, since we credit him with taking much more trouble over these things than most of our opponents.

In his book Dr. Gibson makes the point, in reference to famous men who have become Baconians, that great ability in one sphere of life does not necessarily mean pre-eminence as a scholar, and it is to scholars that we should turn to decide the Shakespeare problem. But questions of personal identity are not necessarily confined to scholars and may surely be referred to those who, by their training, are accustomed to weighing evidence. We will therefore conclude our remarks on the Northumberland MSS. by quoting the words of a judge. . . .

The Northumberland Papers not only supply indications of the authorship of *Richard the Second* and *Richard the Third*, but, in *The Praise of the Worthiest Virtue*, they give the germ of *Julius Caesar*.

Richard the Second was registered on the 29th of August 1597, and *Richard the Third* was registered on the 20th of the following October; and if Bacon was their author he might well have been alarmed by the imprisonment of Nashe and this would account at once for their abstraction from the packet, and for their publication as anonymous productions. The two plays were reprinted in 1598 with the name of 'William Shake-speare' as their author; and as this was the first time that the name of Shakespeare was published in connexion with the plays, a Baconian might suggest that the scribblings indicate a deliberation as to whether the name which had been attached to the poems in 1593 and 1594 could with safety be attached to the plays in 1598.

Whatever may be the conclusions at which different persons, according to their different prepossessions, may arrive upon this much debated subject, there are three facts in connexion with the Northumberland Papers which are certain, and which are recognised as certain by Mr. Spedding. It is certain that on the title-page of the packet the name of William Shakespeare is

written eight or nine times over in association with that of Bacon; it is certain that 'the name of Shakespeare is spelt in every case as it was always printed in those days, and not as he himself' — the Player — 'in any known case ever wrote it'; and it is certain that fronted, flanked, and followed by the name of Shakespeare, two of the Shakespearean plays are catalogued with compositions which are acknowledged to have been the work of Bacon.

(*The Mystery of William Shakespeare* by Judge Webb.)

Parallelisms and The Promus

The second surviving Elizabethan MS, which Dr. Gibson would have us put out of our minds, is Francis Bacon's notebook; in modern parlance his "gag-book". This cannot be so easily dismissed by a fanciful theory because it contains much in Bacon's own handwriting. It is a careful and methodical collection of happy phrases, words and slogans, and is still in the British Museum. One of the folio pages, as Dr. Gibson candidly tells us, is dated December 1594 in Bacon's hand. This date precedes the initial publication of all the 36 Shakespeare Plays but four, though not necessarily the earliest performances, of which no record survives.

Dr. Gibson's argument is that, since Bacon and Shakespeare must have read the same literature and borrowed from the same sources, *The Promus* has no significance whatever. It means nothing to him that Bacon took the trouble to compile these notes — thereby signifying an intention to use them — whereas William has not left us so much as a single note on any subject. Dr. Gibson opens with a definition of parallelisms to which no one can take exception. . .

A literary parallelism, as its name implies, is a passage occurring in a work by one author which bears a marked resemblance in thought and expression to a passage occurring in a work by another author. When such a parallelism is discovered it naturally suggests some connection between the two works.

We agree with this definition, believing that, if actor-manager Will Shakspeare had compiled even one page of *The Promus*, it would now be regarded as a priceless literary treasure. Probably it would be reposing today in the Folger Library at Washington,

together with the largest collection in the world of Shakespeareana, including 80 copies of the First Folio, but not one single Shakespearean MS. But happily for us the gag-book being in Bacon's hand, remains in England. Let us now see how Dr. Gibson, having begun with a fair definition of parallelisms, tries to get rid of this piece of evidence . . .

To sum up then, there is nothing mysterious about the 'Promus'. It is simply a note-book containing phrases and sentences collected by or for Bacon from various sources. These sources were equally open to other writers, including Shakespeare, and are certainly responsible, as Crawford has proved, for many of the Bacon-Shakespeare parallelisms. For the rest, Shakespeare could certainly have borrowed some from Bacon's published works, and, as we have seen (pp. 167-168), it may well have been possible for Bacon to have borrowed some from him. In the light of these considerations the 'Promus' cannot be regarded as evidence for the Baconian theory. (p. 171.)

Here we see the skilful advocate obscuring the weak part of his case. No one claims the *Promus* as being "mysterious", but it is very definitely a notebook, and a notebook implies a purpose. No one denies that the sources of the notes in the *Promus* were equally open to Will Shakspeare, the actor, provided he was familiar with the classics and with the Latin, French, Spanish and Italian languages. But was he? And did he ever trouble to make a note on any subject?

Dr. Gibson's claim that Shakspeare "could have borrowed" from some of Bacon's published works can be urged only in respect of parallels derived from the earliest works. Will Shakspeare could certainly not have borrowed from *The Wisdom of the Ancients* in 1619, from the *De Augmentis* in 1623, from the final *Essays* in 1625 or from the posthumous *Sylva Sylvarum* in 1626, because these works were not available until three, seven, nine and ten years after his death. Nor, of course, could the actor have possibly borrowed from *The Promus*.

No one disputes that every author owes something to those who have gone before. The evolution and perfection of language has been going on for thousands of years. But to conclude from this that identities of thought and diction, and even of plan and

purpose, can mean absolutely nothing when they occur in the writings of two contemporaries, one of whom had actually made notes of them, is naive in the extreme. If a modern detective adopted this process of reasoning, all clues as to personal identity would soon be invalidated. Before we treat *The Promus* in this contemptuous way, let us remember that it is in any case a literary relic of one of England's greatest minds. But it could also be all that survives of the personal notes of Shakespeare!

Considerations of space now compel us to conclude our remarks on the *Shakespeare Claimants*, as there are other things to be mentioned in the editorial. Our readers will find some additional comments on the chapters headed "Richard II and the Missing Link" and "Parallelisms and the Promus", in an article by Commander Pares. There is also, in *A Claimant Without Record*, an excellent refutation of Dr. H. N. Gibson's bibliographical arguments by his name-sake, R. W. Gibson, author of *A Preliminary Bibliography of St. Thomas More* (1961) and *A Bacon Bibliography* (1950).

We are pleased to print an interesting article on the Shakespeare Tomb by Mr. T. D. Bokenham. His suggestion that Anne Shakespeare's grave may provide a clue to the missing manuscripts is worthy of serious consideration. His theme has already received publicity in *Past and Future*, a monthly magazine, with which many of our Members are familiar. The Editor, Francis Carr, strongly supports the Baconian cause and has already proved a stalwart champion of our controversy.

Dr. Gibson apparently sees no mystery in the Stratford Monument and firmly believes that the present effigy is the original, and that it has remained unaltered. Yet he is ready to agree that R. L. Eagle is a sound and careful scholar whose views deserve careful consideration. Sir William Dugdale's own drawing, which was entirely accurate, was engraved by the famed Wenceslaus Hollar; and Nicholas Rowe's engraving which corroborates it, was evidently not a copy. Dr. Gibson may be interested to know that the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum has informed our Vice-Chairman as follows:

The engraver of Rowe's frontispiece to his *Shakespeare's Works*, 1709, is Michael Van der Gucht (1660-1728). This bears no relation at all to the monument in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*.

The difference in the two monuments is a definite link in the chain of circumstantial evidence relating to the authorship of Shakespeare. Dr. Gibson's version of this story, that Dugdale made a glaring mistake which Rowe copied, and that neither of them troubled to check their illustrations with the monument as it then was, entirely misses the mark. This being so, the statement that "the theorists have offered us nothing but a mare's nest," is surely quite unrealistic.

* * *

Our correspondence section includes letters which appeared in *The Times* last year with reference to the public request for the opening of the Shakespeare Tomb in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon. We believe our Members will value a permanent record of this lively controversy. Unfortunately the reply from our President to Professor Dover Wilson was not published as the Editor had decided that no more space could be allotted to the subject. We print this on page 91. We were, however, assured that this was not because *Cet animal est très mechant . . .* and, should the opportunity recur, our views would receive publicity. *The Times* controversy received widespread publicity at home and overseas, particularly in the U.S.A., and we await further developments.

Members will also find reprinted letters which appeared in *The Sunday Telegraph* after *The Times* controversy on the Birthplace. These show a more open approach. A national newspaper of repute cannot overlook the fact that all appeals for any evidence of the authenticity of the Birthplace are ignored. Publicity extending over several weeks failed to persuade Mr. Levi Fox, the Director, to come into the open. Indeed, we understand that at least one newspaper reporter, genuinely seeking guidance on the Appeal, was rather discourteously refused access to Mr. Fox. This reaction to the Press shows a curious reluctance to accept nation-wide coverage for the Appeal, and perhaps alarm lest the spurious nature of the Birthplace be revealed.

PARALLELISMS AND THE PROMUS

By M. P.

Carrying a waking and a waiting eye. (Francis Bacon)

The survival of Bacon's personal notes, and the fact that they were used or paralleled in the Shakespeare Plays, has a definite significance. The compiling of notes, even of commonplaces or proverbs, indicates a purpose. The fact that many of these parallels are so involved as to suggest the working of a single mind or wholesale plagiarism, increases their significance; presently we shall give examples.

Of course every parallel must be judged on its merits. Proverbs and wisecracks are of little value if in general use. Such phrases as "thought is free", "seldom cometh the better", and "a fool's bolt is soon shot", would have little significance if they had not been included by Bacon in his MS notes. But he happens to have noted them down, and there are in addition a great number of unconscious parallels in Bacon and Shakespeare which no serious investigator of personal identity can afford to ignore.

Lord Bacon observed that "men believe what they prefer" and Dr. Gibson's preference for the Stratford legend has led him, in *The Shakespeare Claimants*, to reduce much valuable evidence to airy nothing. A good advocate (and he is certainly one) can explain away almost anything, even the obvious meaning and purpose of a notebook!

The following axiomatic points in regard to parallelisms cannot be ignored . . .

When two contemporary writers quote from the same text, two things become established; firstly, that their reading of classical or contemporary literature covered the same ground; secondly, that they were both interested enough in the same quotation to recall it.

When two contemporary writers not only quote, but misquote from a common source, and misquote in exactly the same way, then coincidence is unlikely and either plagiarism, collaboration, or the unity of their writings, is the more probable explanation.

When two contemporary writers, who never once mention each other, give repeated expression to the same sequence of thoughts or words; and when one of them actually leaves us a private notebook written in his own hand, which contains proverbs, slogans and gags which appear later in the second writer's plays, then some kind of association is indicated.

When, having considered a great number of parallels — ranging from abstruse classicisms to complex identities of thought — we are asked to swallow the fact that the second writer was not known to be educated at any school, never wrote a letter to anyone that has survived, never left a notebook of any kind, and even in his will made no mention of books, literature or the drama, then we must entertain the possibility that he was acting as a mask or, as we should now say, doing a job!

* * *

The self-evident fact that Bacon's notes in *The Promus* were put to good theatrical use in the Shake-speare plays, and were by no means confined to professional or forensic use, is naturally repugnant to the orthodox. Bacon, they say, had no interest in the theatre, and they even maintain the absurd fiction that he was quite ignorant of the Shakespearean Plays. They forget the masques and devices in which he was personally involved, and which show how close these theatricals lay to his heart.

In 1589 he designed the 'Dumbshow' of *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, which was played at Gray's Inn before the Queen.

In 1592 he composed what Mr. Spedding calls 'A Conference of Pleasure' which contains the germ of *Julius Caesar*, and which was included in the Northumberland papers with two Shakespearean Plays.*

In 1594 he contributed the speeches of the Six Counsellors to *The Masque of the Order of the Helmet* which was performed at the Gray's Inn Revels contemporaneously with *The Comedy of Errors*.

* There is now a conspiracy among the orthodox to suggest that these MSS did not belong to Bacon, although his name heads the cover page and most of the surviving compositions are his work.

He composed or assisted in composing *The Device of the Indian Prince*, which contains much that is suggestive of passages in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

He composed *The Philautia Device* for Essex, in which Southampton tilted and Tobie Matthew played the part of Squire.

When Solicitor-General, he was the chief contriver of *The Marriage of the Rhine and Thames*, which celebrated the nuptials of the daughter of the King.

In 1612-13, when Attorney-General he rivalled the magnificence of Wolsey in the preparation of *The Masque of Flowers*, which celebrated the marriage of Somerset and Lady Essex.

As Lord Chancellor he patronised, if he did not assist in, the production of the *Masque of Mountebanks*, which was produced in *his* honour by the members of his Inn.

This impressive list of Bacon's own revels finds its counterpart in the masques and dumbshows which play so considerable a part within the Shake-speare plays, being often introduced without any kind of dramatic necessity. The following plays contain masques, dumbshows and plays within plays: *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Hamlet*, *Timon of Athens*, *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale*, *The Tempest*, *Henry the Eighth*.

Masques and revels were the fashion of the times, but evidently Francis Bacon and "Shake-speare" had both an especial fondness for them. Shakespeare, at considerable dramatic risk, introduces them into his plays. Bacon, besides contriving them, writes a charming essay about them. He describes them as "Toyes" but he cannot conceal his interest in their technicalities. Acting in song, alteration of scenes, coloured and varied lights, and above all the quality of the acting and mime, are all to be given most careful consideration. The truth is that Bacon, in his early days, did not seriously practise the law; nor did his philosophical writings, apart from a few fragments, begin to emerge until he was 45. That he was pondering them at an early age is true; but there must have been some other time-absorbing employment for the pen of this restless and imaginative genius during the first 25 years of his adult life. Parliamentary duties were few and far between, and there were years spent at Gray's Inn for which Spedding is at a loss to account.

The parallels which follow are divided into two lists. The names of their original discoverers are not given, and they are arranged somewhat differently. The first list is a brief selection of almost verbatim parallels with Bacon's *Promus*. These are mostly in the form of happy phrases and greetings, common perhaps to many writers, but which Bacon actually inscribed in his notebook and which later appeared in Shakespearean drama. No claim is made that they were original; it is enough that they were carefully noted by one pen and actually used by the other.

- | | | |
|--------------|---|---|
| Bacon: | Thought is free | (<i>Promus</i> 653) |
| Shakespeare: | Thought is free | (<i>The Tempest</i>) |
| " | Thoughts are no subjects | (<i>Measure for Measure</i>) |
| Bacon: | Qui dissimulat liber non est | (<i>Promus</i> 72) |
| Shakespeare: | The dissembler is a slave | (<i>Pericles</i> 1/1) |
| Bacon: | A fool's bolt is soon shot | (<i>Promus</i> 106) |
| Shakespeare: | A fool's bolt is soon shot | (<i>Henry V</i> 3/7) |
| Bacon: | Seldome cometh the better | (<i>Promus</i> 472) |
| Shakespeare: | Seldome comes the better | (<i>Richard III</i> 2/3) |
| Bacon: | All is not gold that glisters | (<i>Promus</i> 477) |
| Shakespeare: | All that glisters is not gold | (<i>Merchant of Venice</i> 2/7) |
| Bacon: | Things done cannot be undone | (<i>Promus</i> 951) |
| Shakespeare: | What's done cannot be undone | (<i>Macbeth</i> , v.1) |
| Bacon: | All's well that ends well | (<i>Promus</i> 949) |
| Shakespeare: | All's well that ends well | (title) |
| Bacon: | Of sufferance cometh ease | (<i>Promus</i> 945) |
| Shakespeare: | Of sufferance cometh ease | (1 <i>King Henry IV</i> , v.4) |
| Bacon: | Plumbeo jugulare gladio | (<i>Promus</i> 725) |
| Shakespeare: | Wounds like a leaden sword | (<i>Love's Labor's Lost</i> , v.2) |
| Bacon: | An ill wind that bloweth no
man to good | |
| Shakespeare: | The ill wind which blows no
man to good | (<i>Promus</i> 498)
(2 <i>Henry IV</i> , v.3) |
| Bacon: | Happy man, happy dole | (<i>Promus</i> 940) |
| Shakespeare: | Happy man be his dole | (<i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i> , iii.4) |
| Bacon: | Might overcomes right | (<i>Promus</i> 964) |
| Shakespeare: | O God that right should
overcome this might | (2 <i>Henry IV</i> 4/4) |
| Bacon: | Good wine needs no bush | (<i>Promus</i> 517) |
| Shakespeare: | Good wine needs no bush | (<i>As You Like It</i> . Epilogue) |
| Bacon: | Diliculo surgere, | (<i>Promus</i> 1198) |
| Shakespeare: | Diliculo surgere, | (<i>Twelfth Night</i> 2/3) |
| Bacon: | To stumble at the threshold | (<i>Promus</i> 75) |
| Shakespeare: | Men that stumble at the
threshold | (3 <i>Henry VI</i> 4/7) |
| Bacon: | Always let losers have their
words | (<i>Promus</i> 972) |
| Shakespeare: | Losers will have leave to ease
their stomachs with their bitter tongue | (<i>Titus Andronicus</i> 3/1) |

The important point in the above selection is that Francis Bacon took the trouble to enter these notes for future use, and that they were so used by Shake-speare. It matters not that many of them are wisecracks or proverbs, unless it can be shown that a contemporary writer other than Shake-speare used them to something approaching the same extent.

* * *

The next selection of parallels is of a different kind; there is no complete identity of diction, though the same keywords often appear in a different sequence. But since in these we are not dealing with platitudes but with individual thought of a very subtle nature, the identity of purpose and expression is even more striking.

PRISON

In the *Essex Device* (1595) Bacon tells us that:—

There is no *prison* to the prison of the *thoughts*.

Hamlet, in speaking of Denmark as a "prison", and on Rosencrantz replying "We *think* not so, my Lord", exclaims:—

Why then 'Tis none to you; for there is nothing either good or bad but *thinking* makes it so; to me it is a *prison*.

And again, Octavius Caesar, in counselling Cleopatra to be of good cheer, exclaims:

Make not your *thoughts* your *prisons*; no dear Queen. . . .

Thought is as much a *prison* to Bacon as to Hamlet and so, in a darker mood, is the world

"Denmark's a *prison*" cries Hamlet. "Then is the *world* one" answers Rosencrantz.

"The *world* is a *prison*" writes Bacon in a letter to Buckingham at the time of his fall.

It will of course be said that Bacon was quoting Rosencrantz, but why not?

SPIRITS

Bacon tells us that "soft singing" and the sound of falling waters, and the hum of bees, are conducive to sleep; and the cause is:

for that they move in the *spirits* a gentle *attention*.

In the *Merchant of Venice*, when Jessica remarks, "I am never merry when I hear sweet music", Lorenzo replies, somewhat inconsequently:

The reason is, your *spirits* are *attentive*.

In Bright's *Treatise of Melancholy* (1586) and in Burton's *Anatomy* (1621) there are references to the power of music in influencing the spirits. But the use of the words "attention" and "attentive" in reference to the "spirits" is peculiar to Bacon and Shake-speare.

In the *Sylva Sylvarum*, in his Experiments in Consort Touching Venus (S.693.) Bacon attributes the ill-effects of excess in "the use of Venus" to the "expense of Spirits" by which it is attended.

In *The Sonnets* (129), Shakespeare declares

The expense of Spirit in a waste of shame
Is lust in action. . . .

The expression "expense of Spirit" is not claimed to be peculiar to Bacon and Shake-speare, but its use in connection with "Venus" is, and constitutes a remarkable parallel.

Bacon tells us that the outward manifestations of the passions are:

the effects of the dilation and coming forth of the *spirits* into the *outward* parts.

In *Troilus and Cressida* (4/5) when Ulysses beholds the heroine for the first time, he remarks

Her wanton *spirits* look out at every joint and
motive of her body.

SHADE

Bacon, in the *Sylva Sylvarum* (S.441) tells us that:

Shade to some plants conduceth to make them large
and prosperous more than the Sun.

Accordingly, if you sow borage among strawberries:

You shall find the *strawberries* under those leaves
far more than their fellows.

In *Henry V* (1/1) the Bishop of Ely, using this strange analogy, expounds on the large and luxuriant development of the Prince's nature on his emerging from the shade of low company:—

The *strawberry* grows underneath the nettle
 And wholesome berries thrive and ripen best
 Neighbour'd by fruit of baser quality
 And so the Prince. . . .

"GREATER" AND "LESS", IN LIGHT AND WATER

In 1603 Bacon sent the King a discourse on Persian Magic, giving specimens of certain laws of nature which are equally laws of mind and thought. He also sent the King a discourse on the "Happy Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland" — in which the following aphorism occurs:—

The second condition is that the *greater* draw the *less*. So we see when two lights do meet, the greater doth darken and drown the less. And when a *smaller river* runs into a greater, it lesseth both the name and the stream.

In *The Merchant of Venice* Portia repeats both Bacon's similes and in the same order.

So doth the *greater* glory dim the *less*.
 A substitute shines brightly as a king
 Untill a king be by, as doth an *inland brook*,
 Into the Main of waters. . . .

This is a triple parallel. Here, in totally different context, we have identical chains of thought expressed independently, but using the same symbols of light and water, and both referring to the "greater" and the "less".

SORROW TEACHES

In *The Promus* Bacon makes this note:—
 Our *sorrows* are our *schoolmasters*.

The same sentiment seems to have appealed to the author of Shake-speare, who mentions it more than once. . . .

. . . to wilful men,
The injuries that they themselves procure
Must be their *schoolmasters*. . . .

(*King Lear* 2/4)

Give *sorrow* leave awhile to tutor me

(*Richard II.* 4/1)

FIRE AND NAILS

Bacon's theory that "flame doth not mingle with flame" (*Sylva Sylvarum* S. 31) and that "When two heats differ much in degree, one destroys the other" (*De Principiis atque Originibus*.) is repeatedly echoed in Shakespeare as follows. . . .

As fire drives out fire, so pity pity

(*Julius Caesar* 3/1)

One fire drives out one fire: one nail one nail
Rights by rights alter; strengths by strengths do fail

(*Coriolanus* 4/7)

Even as one heat another heat expels
Or as one nail by strength drives out another

(*The Two Gentlemen of Verona* 2/4)

In two of these parallels Shake-speare couples the simile of "heat" with the simile of a "nail", whereas Chapman only uses that of "heat" (*M. D'Olive* 5/1). However Bacon, like Shake-speare, is interested in both similes as appears from his note in *The Promus*. . . .

Clavum clavo peltare

(To drive out a nail with a nail)

(*Promus* 889)

A MASTERING SPIRIT

As an example of the fascination which one man may exert over another, Bacon relates the following story:—

There was an Egyptian soothsayer, that made Antonius believe that his genius (which otherwise was brave and confident) was, in the presence of Octavianus Caesar, poor and cowardly: and therefore he advised him to remove *far from him*.

(*Sylva* S. 940)

In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Bacon's Egyptian Soothsayer is brought upon the stage in Shakespeare's lines:—

Therefore, O Antony, stay not by his side!
 Thy demon, that's thy spirit that keeps thee, is
 Noble, courageous, high, unmatchable,
 Where Caesar's is not, but near him thy Angel
 Becomes a Fear as being overpower'd; therefore
 Make *space* enough between you!
 I say again, thy spirit
 Is all afraid to govern thee near him,
 But he *away*, 'tis noble.

(*A. & C.* 2/3/19).

In the *Comedy of Errors*, there is another variation of this theme:—

One of these men is genius to the other
 And so of these. Which is the natural man
 And which the spirit? Who deciphers them?

(*Com. Errors* 5/1/334)

In the *Sylva Sylvarum* Bacon goes on to say:—

Howsoever the conceit of a predominant or mastering spirit
 of one man over another is ancient, and received still.
 (*Sylva* 5. 940)

In the same vein Antony confesses to Cleopatra:

. O'er my spirit,
 Thy full supremacy thou knew'st

(*A. & C.* 3/9/58)

. . . . and in *Julius Caesar* Brutus confides to Cassius . . .

. I do lack some part
 Of that quick spirit that is in Antony.

(*Julius Caesar* 1/2)

Bacon goes on to elaborate this idea as follows:—

The affections do make the spirits more powerful and active,
 and especially those affections which draw the spirits into the
 eyes: which are two; *love* and *envy* . . .

. . . . But yet if there be any such infection from spirit to spirit,

there is no doubt that it worketh by *presence*, and not by the eye alone; yet most forcibly by the *eye*.

(*Sylva S.* 949)

This drawing of the spirits into the eyes finds an echo in the Shake-speare lines:—

But *love*, first learned in a lady's eyes
Lives not alone immured in the brain . . .
But . . . gives to every power a double power . . .
It adds a previous seeing to the *eye*.

(*L.L.L.* 4/3/327)

. for we are gentlemen
That neither in our hearts nor *outward eyes*
Envy the great

(*Pericles* 2/3/26)

Lastly, we find that these speculative ideas on the nature of spirits (or what we should now call soul-contact) are rationalised by Bacon with his usual charm.

Certainly it is agreeable to reason, that there are at least some light effluxions from spirit to spirit, when men are in *presence* one with another, as well as from body to body.

(*S.* 941)

Bacon and "Shake-speare" were both interested in the story of the Egyptian Soothsayer. They both used this story to illustrate the same psychological theory of the effect of propinquity, and of the actions of spirits at a distance. They both believed in the theory of a predominant spirit when two people are close together. They both entertained the belief that the emotions of love and envy draw the spirits into the eyes. All these points, when taken together, constitute a very strong parallel.

F L O W E R S

One of the most charming parallels between Bacon and "Shake-speare" is their love of exactly the same flowers, as chiefly expressed in Bacon's essay *Of Gardens* and in *The Winter's Tale*. In this single essay Bacon lists the names of 54 flowers, trees and

Which you say adds to nature, is an *art*
 That *nature* makes this is an art
 Which does mend *nature*, change it rather, but
 The *art* itself is *nature*.

(*The Winter's Tale* 4/4)

Bacon devotes many pages to this particular theory. In 1605 he writes: "It is the duty of *Art* to perfect and exault *Nature*." In 1609, when interpreting the myth of Atalanta he writes:

For *Art*, which is meant by Atalanta is in itself far swifter than *Nature* . . . and it comes sooner to the goal . . . But then this prerogative of *Art* is retarded by those golden apples . . . And therefore it is no wonder if *Art* cannot outstrip *Nature*, but on the contrary, *Art* remains subject to *Nature*.

(*Wisdom of the Ancients*)

In 1612 Bacon complained that it was "the fashion to talk as if *Art* was something different from *Nature*". In 1620 he writes: "*Nature* to be commanded must be obeyed", and in 1623 he writes:

Still therefore it is *Nature* which governs everything: but under *Nature* are included these three; the course of *Nature*, the wanderings of *Nature*, and *Art* — which is *Nature* with man to help.

(*De Augustis* 2/2)

Clearly the point is much laboured by Bacon and, to a Baconian it is not surprising to find it thrust (at some dramatic risk) into a lovely pastoral scene by Shake-speare. For it is surely a recondite and unusual philosophy on which this country lass chooses to lecture King Polixenes at a sheep shearing!

SMALL BEGINNINGS

In a letter written to his friend Launcelot Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, Bacon writes as follows: —

Great matters have many times *small beginnings*.
 This idea is reversed in the Shake-speare line:

Most poor matters point to rich ends.

(*The Tempest* 3/1)

In *The Promus* Bacon makes the following note:

The nature of everything is best considered in the *seed*.

(*Promus* 1451)

This proposition is worked into the Shake-speare Plays in several places as an element of prophecy:

I will tell you the *beginning*: and if it
please your ladyships, you may see the end.

(*As You Like It* 1/1/119)

If you can look into *seeds* of time

Speak then to me

(*Macbeth* 1/3)

The which observed, a man may prophesy,
With a near aim, of the main chance of things
As yet not come to life, which in their *seeds*
And *weak beginnings* lie intreasured.

Such things become the hatch and brood of time.

(*2 Henry IV* 3/1)

The strange theory that all bodies (animate and inanimate) are inhabited by "spirits" pervades the universe of Bacon and Shake-speare. The conclusion that these two were one in their creative thinking as in their choice of classical allusions will, I fear, be intolerable to most orthodox critics. But the cumulative evidence of parallelisms must count in the end.

Dr. Gibson's analysis of *The Promus* — which, to be just, he candidly admits to be a special case of parallelism — does not seem to recognise the deadly significance of personal notes. He claims, that the sources from which Bacon derived *The Promus* notes were equally available to Will Shakspeare. But availability is not evidence of use. Where, may we ask, is William's note book? And where was the library which provided that rich storehouse of sources?

In the case of Francis Bacon there is much external evidence of a kind which would normally be admitted in a court of law, for example the production of an authentic notebook in the handwriting of the culprit. It is difficult to see why this should not be given equal consideration in the field of literary criticism. We have to face the fact that the emotional appeal of a popular idol can still usurp the seat of judgement.

Without one scrap of external evidence on which to base the legend of William's scholarship, with no record of schooling, tutorship or University residence, and with no authentic documents or personal correspondence, the unsupported internal evidence of the Plays falls to the ground. All it can do is to prove — like most of the allusions in the famous *Shakespeare Allusion Book* — that the author of Shakespeare was known as the author of Shakespeare! For by abolishing any distinction of name between the actor and the author — a distinction which existed in fact — the problem of identity can be indefinitely shelved, and with it the entire controversy. While this is so, all we can do is to open people's eyes to the fact that Bacon and "Shakespeare" thought alike, planned alike and imagined alike so often that coincidence is out of the question.

* * *

The discerning reader will be awaiting some explanation of the caption at the head of this article

Carrying a waking and a waiting eye

It is bad manners to wink, but this whimsical reference to a conspirator named Walpole, which occurs in a letter written by Bacon to "A Gentleman at Padua" in 1599, is quite in the manner of King Claudius in the *Hamlet* of 1604

With an auspicious and a dropping eye
or, as finally corrected in the *Hamlet* of 1623

With one Auspicious and one Dropping eye

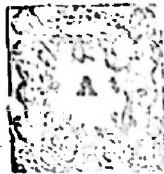
No parallel of meaning exists here, but only one of manner — a quaint conceit which became more vividly expressed by "someone" as the years went by; perhaps too, a good way of closing this article. For it may be with some such waiting eye, quizzical, derisive

With mirth in Funeral, and with dirge in Marriage

In equal scale weighing Delight and Dole

. . . . that the real author of *Hamlet* is regarding our controversy over the span of four centuries.

Illustrissimo & honoratissimo Roberto Comiti Essexiae & Ewe, Comiti Marecallo Angliæ, Vicecomiti Herefordiæ & Bourchier: Baroni Ferrariis de Chartley, Domino Bourchier & Louen: Regiæ Maiestati Hypothecarum: Machinarum bellicarum prefecto: Academia Cantabrigiæ Cancellario: Ordinis Georgiani Equiti aurato: Secretarius Domini Regiæ a sandioribus Corsijs: Domino meo plurimum obiectuando.



Ἄριστον καὶ ἠνωτατόν: optimo & Nobilissimo (inquit Euripides) ex qua sententia tu primus ac solus fere occurrebas (illustrissime comes) cuius nomen si Henrici nostri fronti radiaret, ipse & laetior & tutior in vulgus prodiret. Magnus siquidem es, & presenti iudicio, & futuri temporis expectatione: in quo, veluti recuperasse nunc oculos, caeca prius fortuna videri potest; Dum cumulare honoribus eum gisti, qui omnibus virtutibus est insignitus. Hunc igitur si leta fronte excipere digneris, sub nominis tui umbra (tanquam sub Aiacis clipeo Teucer ille Homericus) tutissime latebit. Deus opt. max. celsitudinem tuam nobis, rei que publicæ diu seruet incolumen: quo nos vix tam fide quam armis potenti tua dextra defensi, vltique, diutina cum securitate tum gloria perfruamur.

Honori tuo deditissimus.

J. HAYWARDE.

The dedication to the Earl of Essex. Printed in 1599 in Haywarde's "Henry IV". For translation see overleaf.

The Latin dedication to the Earl of Essex, printed in 1599 in Haywarde's "Henry IV" and illustrated overleaf, has been kindly construed for us by Miss I. Marcia King of Bristol University. The alternations between italic and roman type have been only roughly followed, and the dedication reads as follows:—

To the most illustrious and honoured *Robert, Earl of Essex and of Ewe*, Earl Marshal of England, Viscount of Hereford and Bouchier, Baron Ferrars of Chartley, Lord Bouchier and Louen; Master of Horse to the Queen's Majesty; *Master of the Ordnance; Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; Golden Knight of the Georgian Order; a Lord of the Most Serene Queen by reason of her more sacred counsels*, my most revered Lord.

To the best and noblest (says Euripides) from which observation you first, you almost alone, came to my mind, most illustrious earl whose name, were it to shine on the title page of our "Henry", the play itself would be launched both more joyfully and more safely upon the public. Since you are indeed great, both by present judgment and future expectation; wherein, as if she had but now recovered her sight, Fortuna before may seem blind while she failed to load with honours him who is adorned with all virtues. Deign, therefore, to receive him ("Henry") with a cheerful face; he will hide under the shadow of your name with perfect safety (just like Homer's Teucer beneath the shield of Ajax). May the best and highest God long preserve your eminence untouched both for us and for the state; so that we, defended and taking vengeance by your powerful right hand, as much by faith as by arms, may long enjoy both freedom from care and glory.

Most devoted to your honour
J. HAYWARDE.

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND RICHARD THE SECOND

By M.P.

In *The Shakespeare Claimants* Dr. Gibson presents us with a brisk and interesting chapter entitled *Richard II and the Missing Link*. The conclusions he draws from the historical records which centre round this famous Shakespearean play, are in direct opposition to the conclusions of many other writers, all well qualified in weighing evidence, such as Judge Holmes, Judge Webb, and Mr. Edward Johnson. One reason for this divergence is that, besides rebutting the Baconian theory, Dr. Gibson is occupied with other theories as well, so that a great deal of this particular chapter goes from one rival theory to another, and the documentary evidence of Bacon's connection with *Richard II*, is neither given consecutively nor in its entirety. The object of this article is to present this evidence as a whole, without reference to other rival claims. As for these, like Dr. Gibson, I believe them to have been largely borrowed from the Baconian theory.

It is generally accepted that two Shakespearean plays were removed from *The Northumberland MS*, probably while it was in possession of its original owner, Francis Bacon. A sound reason for the removal of *Richard II* would have been the Queen's suspicion that Bacon had something to do with the prose version of this play, and perhaps with the play itself, both of which she regarded as seditious and treasonable. Dr. Gibson is at pains to dissociate Bacon altogether from the play, but the evidence is too strong to be disregarded. Not only was Bacon the undoubted owner and compiler of the Northumberland papers — which once included this play in MS — but his reactions to the Queen's interrogation are strange and raise many irrelevant points. Clearly he was on the defensive.

In 1599 a book entitled *The First Part of the Life and raigne of King Henrie the IIII*, but actually dealing with the deposing of Richard II, was published by John Haywarde, whose initials appear on the title page and who signed the dedication to the Earl of Essex. Queen Elizabeth sent for Bacon about this and interrogated him as to whether there were grounds for prosecuting the

author for treason. According to Bacon the Queen could not be persuaded that it was Haywarde's work, and suspected "some more mischievous author."

Dr. Gibson maintains that the Queen, when she interrogated Bacon, was only interested in finding out who was the author of the book. This is an assumption which is hardly defensible. In the first place the Queen's objections to the play are sufficiently documented, and it must have been in her mind; in the second place the book was tacitly admitted by Haywarde to be his own work, and he eventually went to the Tower for it. However it provided the Queen with a pretext for sending for Bacon, and he was disturbed enough to record their conversation in several places. It is a charming historical anecdote and shows how both of them were masters in the art of fencing.

The book of deposing King Richard the Second, and the coming in of Henry the Fourth, *supposed* to be written by Dr. Haywarde, who was committed to the Tower for it, had much incensed Queen Elizabeth; and she asked Mr. Bacon, being of her learned counsel, whether there was any treason contained in it? Mr. Bacon intending to do him a pleasure, and to take off the Queen's bitterness with a merry conceit, answered, 'No Madam, for treason I cannot deliver an opinion that there is any, but very much felony.' The Queen apprehending it gladly, asked 'How? and Wherein?' Mr. Bacon answered, 'Because he had stolen many of his sentences and conceits out of Cornelius Tacitus.'

(*Apophthegms No. 58.*)

It was of course a mere pretence that Haywarde had troubled himself to translate out of Tacitus. On the other hand it can be shown that Shake-speare had often drawn from this particular source. But why should Bacon suddenly come out with this strange argument? He could hardly have expected the Queen to be taken in by it, and he probably knew that, whatever might be her suspicions, he was too useful to be cast aside. Perhaps, as I have said before, the whole charming episode might be summed up as follows (with apologies to Kipling) . . .

She knew 'e stole, 'e knew she knowed.
They did not tell nor make a fuss
They winked at Tacitus down the road
And 'e winked back — the same as us!

A pseudonym may not always be a secret in fact; it may become an "open" secret, accepted as a convention, and not openly challenged. There is no doubt that Bacon had this matter of *Richard II* and its treasonable implications, very much on his mind. We know from the records of the Privy Council that in 1597 Nashe had been imprisoned for some "seditious and slanderous matter" in the *Isle of Dogs* — another play which is catalogued as a "fragment" on the cover page of the Northumberland MS. Bacon may have become sufficiently alarmed to remove this fragment and also *Richard II* and *Richard III* from the collection. Another possible explanation would be that the MSS. of *Richard II* and *Richard III* — both of which were first published anonymously in 1597 and printed by Valentine Sims — had been detached from the collection and sent to the printers. On the whole Bacon's uneasiness leads us to favour the former explanation, as he refers to this matter on several occasions and always in a rather peculiar way . . .

About the same time, I remember an answer of mine in a matter which had some affinity with my lord's cause, which, *though it grew from me, went after about in other's names.* For her Majesty being mightily incensed with that book which was dedicated to my Lord of Essex, being a story of the first year of King Henry IV., thinking it a seditious prelude to put into the people's head boldness and faction, said she had an opinion that there was treason in it, and asked me if I could not find any places in it which might be drawn within case of treason: whereto I answered: For treason, surely I found none; but for felony, very many. And when her Majesty hastily asked me, Wherein? I told her the author had committed very apparent theft; for he had taken most of the sentences of Cornelius Tacitus, and translated them into English, and put them into his text. *(Apology.)*

And another time, when the Queen could not be persuaded that it was his writing whose name was to it, but that it had some more mischievous author; and said with great indignation. That she would have him racked to produce his author: I replied, 'Nay, Madam, he is a doctor; never rack his person, but rack his style; let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help

of books, and be enjoined to continue the story where it breaketh off, and I will undertake, by collating the styles, to judge whether he were the author or no'.

(*Ibid.*)

It is clear from the above two extracts that Bacon was under some pressure from the Queen and that she either knew or strongly suspected his complicity with Haywarde. He also seems to have been indignant at the task allotted to him by the Lords, for he writes as follows:—

And the Lords falling into distribution of our parts, it was allotted to me, that I should set forth some undutiful carriage of my Lord, in giving occasion and countenance to a seditious pamphlet, as it was termed, which was dedicated unto him, which was the book before-mentioned of King Henry the fourth. Whereupon I replied to that allotment, and said to their Lordships, that it was *an old matter*, and had no manner of coherence with the rest of the charge, being matters of Ireland, and therefore that I having been wronged by bruits before, this would expose me to them more; and it would be said I gave in evidence *mine own tales*.

(*Ibid.*)

In this rather oddly worded account Bacon is plainly on the defensive, and seems to be trying to pass off Haywarde's book as "an old matter". But it was not old; my copy bears the date 1599 which is the year previous to this Inquiry. It seems more probable that the "old matter" which was weighing on Bacon's mind, had to do with the play, and not with Haywarde's book. This appears in the following extracts where the play is clearly described as "old" and "stale".

The afternoon before the rebellion, Merrick, with a great number of others, that afterwards were all in the action, had procured to be played before them the play of deposing King Richard the Second; neither was it casual, but a play bespoken by Merrick, and not so only, but when it was told him by one of the players, *that the play was old*, and they should have loss in playing it, because few would come to see it, there was forty shillings extraordinary given to play, and so, thereupon, played it was.

Francis Bacon (*Declaration of the Treason etc.*, 1601)

The story of Henry IV., being set forth in a play, there being set forth the killing of the king upon a stage; the Friday before, Sir Gilly, and some others of the earl's train, having an humour to see a play, they must needs have the play of Henry IV. The players told them that *was stale*: they should get nothing by playing of that; but no play else would serve; and Sir Gilly gives forty shillings to Phillips the player to play this, besides whatever he could get.

(Howell's *State Trials*, 1422-5; 1411-2.)

We do not know when *Richard II* was first played but it was first printed (without the deposition scene) in 1597 and reprinted in 1598. Haywarde's book, which included the deposition, followed in 1599, close on the heels of the play. It was far from being an old matter (as Dr. Gibson suggests), at the Essex Inquiry in June, 1600, and it was followed early in 1601 by street performances of the play during the Essex rebellion.

The ageing Queen must have been bored and annoyed at the continual harping on this obnoxious theme. She had interrogated Bacon without success, and her thrusts at him had been parried. In 1600 came the opportunity of curbing Essex and disconcerting Bacon at the same time, by commanding him to press this charge against Essex. On the subject of *Richard II* she was always extremely sensitive. Even in August 1601, when Essex had been tried and executed, she exclaimed to Lambard, Keeper of the Records. "I am Richard, know you not that".

Haywarde's book touched upon the point of hereditary succession, and also represented Bolingbroke as a hero. It was not the kind of book that Bacon would have published under his own name at that time or any other, nor would it have been of use in promoting a rebellion. The history of King Richard II was no news to the Lords or the Commons. As for the populace, Haywarde's treatise would not have interested them any more than its Latin dedication to Essex. But a play was a much more dangerous thing. Here in the public eye was the dramatic spectacle of a reigning monarch being deposed and murdered on the stage.

The book, then, was the pretext, the play was the thing. Well might Bacon in his alarm have removed it from his papers when the hue and cry began, and placed it with other manuscripts in safe custody until the following reign, when it was printed in full.

The Queen's quick reaction to Haywarde's book must have caused him anxiety for its connection with the play was sufficiently obvious.

There is another important point which Dr. Gibson avoids. In all these proceedings the name of Shakespeare is not once mentioned, although it had appeared on three plays printed in 1598. It was on the title pages of *Richard II* and *Richard III* spelt with the tell-tale hyphen, SHAKE-SPEARE. If the Stratford actor had really been identified as the offending dramatist, he would certainly, like Haywarde, have been mentioned at the Essex Trial. But as an individual he seems to have been completely ignored, even when his supposed patron, Southampton, was on trial for his life. Neither the Lords nor the players, have a word to say about him. He attracted no more attention than would a country fellow whose real name happened to be "George Eliot" or "Ian Hay", in a later age. The hyphen proclaims the pseudonym, and the Lords would realise that to trouble themselves about the player would be to embark on a wild goose chase. Like the Queen, they evidently had their suspicions as to the identity of the dramatist.

Bacon's uneasiness over *Richard II* is extremely revealing. Apparently it was also relished by the Lords; for in making the distribution of the parts in the Essex Inquiry, they assigned to him the charge relating to Haywarde's book, thus exposing him to the risk of "giving in evidence" his own "tales". And when he objected they appreciated the joke, because they insisted that this part was "fittest" for him!

Throughout the Essex Inquiry, rebellion and trial, there was something which weighed heavily on Bacon's mind. According to well documented evidence . . .

It was an "old matter"
 It "grew" from Bacon
 It "went about in others names"
 It had to do with the deposing of King Richard II
 It exposed Bacon to the risk of "giving in evidence" his own
 "tales".

It failed to provide him with sufficient cover or pseudonymity to screen him from interrogation and censure by Queen Elizabeth

It was followed by the removal from his papers of the manuscripts of two Shakespearean plays, *Richard II* and *Richard III*.

Dr. Gibson's anxiety to dismiss the authentic Northumberland papers makes it tempting to reply with his own words (p. 235). He charges "the theorists" with "desperate anxiety to erect an imposing facade of argument regardless of the material". But the material is ours and the anxiety and argument is his. Yet we cannot turn his words against him without frankly acknowledging that he has made a greater effort to meet us on our own ground than many of our critics. The trouble he has taken to dispose of our evidence is a measure of his respect for it. Fortunately for us the Northumberland MS has been reproduced in full photo-facsimile. Apart from its historical interest, it provides a valid link in the chain connecting Francis Bacon with the Shakespearean drama, and especially with *Richard II*, the play which so nearly involved him in giving in evidence his own "tales".

A CLAIMANT WITHOUT RECORD

By R. W. GIBSON

Dr. H. N. Gibson, in his recently published book *The Shakespeare Claimants*, commences chapter XV. 2 (Lack of Shakspeare Records) with the reiteration of an indisputable truth: "We saw that it was the complete failure to find anything . . . to connect Shakspeare with the authorship (of the plays) . . .". A statement confirmed by all of our standard books of reference.

Even after years of persistent and extensive search, no written evidence of any kind connecting in any way the actor of Stratford with the writer of the plays can be produced. Numerous forgeries have been made in an attempt to prove that a connecting link existed between actor and playwright, but all are discredited. The name of Shakspeare, Shakspere (spell it as you like it) was common enough in Elizabethan times, several colonies of them are known to have lived in the South of England, and those signatures reputed to belong to either the actor or the writer of the plays or both, could relate to any other unidentified writer bearing that name. The fact that not a single letter or document is extant in the holograph of either actor or author creates a position probably unique in the annals of our literature. Did any ever exist? Were they deliberately destroyed? When, and by whom? For what conceivable purpose?

The absence of any connecting link between Shakespeare as actor and Shakspere as author, is only part of the great mystery. Consulting the standard works of reference we are told, in plain terms, that the very identity of Shakespeare is questioned. The *Dictionary of National Biography* allots more than 50 double-column pages to describe Shakespeare and his works, though it is true that it admits including possibilities, unsupported claims and unproven identifications. Again, it gives references to evidence of which "no definite information is accessible" and interposed with this is material stated to be "fully authenticated", together with matter "less fully authenticated". How curious is that subtle and undefined difference of authenticity!

The *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. V is equally cautious regarding Shakespeare and refers to the whole matter as "a great Perhaps", admitting that "almost all of the commonly received stuff of his life story is shreds and patches of tradition, if not positive dream work. No biography of Shakespeare, therefore, which deserves confidence, has ever been constructed without a large infusion of the tell-tale words, 'apparently', 'probably', 'there can be little doubt', and negations of the like. The apt quotation from Chapman used to backpage the dedication to *The Shakespeare Claimants* could be equally well-placed here:

Your wit is of the true Pierian Spring
That can make anything of anything.

The *Concise Cambridge History of English Literature* opens its Shakespeare contribution with the confusing statement: "Of William Shakespeare, in a biographical sense, we know both too much and too little." This seems contradictory. It continues: "The diligence of investigators has amassed a quantity of information (regarding Shakespeare), most of which is utterly useless and irrelevant", and further: "the more frankly we admit our ignorance the less likely are we to be deceived, firstly by the sentimental biographers whose piety fills the blanks in Shakespeare's life with pleasing hypothetical incidents." This is reminiscent of the description Jonathan Swift gave to our early cartographers:

So geographers in Afric-maps
With savage-pictures fill their gaps
And o'er unhabitable downs
Place elephants for want of towns.

Dr. Gibson quotes from Dr. Titherley: "Nor are there any records . . . showing that he (Shakespeare) wrote any letters, or had anything to do with books and writing . . . It is incredible that prolonged search should have drawn a literary blank." Dr. Titherley tells us nothing but the truth.

In this chapter (XV.2) there is a statement that "almost nothing is known" of Shakespeare. The word "almost" is questioned in view of the want of one single fact; and "in good faith" should

be deleted. Also it is curiously phrased by reason of the numerous biographies of Shakespeare — detailing minutely every possible stage of his life from the cradle to the grave. Are these lives then nothing but conjectures, assumptions and imaginings? Are they exemplifications of much ado about nothing?

The author continues condescendingly: "It is only natural then that this lack of records should be used by the theorists as an argument against his (Shakespeare's) claims". Why not? The lack of any record appears an excellent cause for argument, particularly alongside with the "almost nothing known" support of the authorities.

Dr. Gibson goes on to state that "most of the professional dramatists of the time are in exactly the same position as that which Titherley ascribes to Shakspeare." Is this strictly true? Of Ben Jonson there are numerous letters and official documents extant, proving beyond doubt his identity. John Selden refers to the "well-furnisht librarie of his beloved friend that singular Poet Ben: Jonson". Available is a list of over 200 books which were known to have been in his possession. Almost all of them carry his holograph notes and bear his signature and motto *Tanquam Explorator*. The autograph manuscript of his *Masque of Queens*, and an inscribed presentation copy of his *Volpone*, are in the British Museum. The position of Jonson is offered as an example, not as the exception.

The mystery that surrounds the life of Marlowe is often cited as a parallel to the "almost nothing is known" life of Shakespeare, but there is no analogy. Mr. F. P. Wilson, in his Clark Lecture, 1951, positively states that "we know more about his (Marlowe's) twenty nine years than about Shakespeare's fifty two". Thanks to the conservers of our records many facts regarding Marlowe are extant, apart from those examples referred to by Dr. Gibson in chapter VI of his book.

Of Peele we have a lengthy and "classified list of unprinted manuscript records pertinent to his life and works" appended to the dramatist's life and minor works, by Mr. D. H. Horne, 1952. Of Ford, two plays are in manuscript, as well as several poetical pieces.

There are the manuscripts of Beaumont's plays in the Dyce collection at Kensington, the holographs of Fulke Greville's *Alaham* and *Mustapha* at Warwick Castle, Gascoigne's *Jocasta*, Redford's *Wit and Science*, John Heywood's *Witty and Witless*, Massinger's *Believe As Ye List* and other Elizabethan plays in manuscript in the British Museum. J. S. Farmer in his *Tudor Facsimile Texts of old English Plays* provides reproductions of several early plays in manuscript, others are reprinted by the Malone Society and in Prof. Bang's *Materials for the Study of the old English Drama*.

There are also extant hundreds of letters and documents of Francis Bacon. Many of his books are at Trinity College, Cambridge. Odd it may seem that they should include a copy of the first folio edition of Shakespeare, 1623. How can it be honestly stated that the "almost nothing is known" is the "common position of many of the Elizabethan dramatists"?

In the first chapter of his book Dr. Gibson attends to a matter in the text "that remains true for the purpose of this book." It is difficult to conceive how a matter of truth can remain other than true, whether, or no, it be for his or for any other book. So long as it is true it remains unalterable.

There are some facts that cause one to qualify the quotation taken from Ivor Brown's *Amazing Monument* that "the theatre (of those times) was taboo". An association with Ben Jonson was certainly not 'taboo'. The scholars of the day, Donne, Selden, Bacon, Cotton and Inigo Jones, as well as the nobility, were his intimate friends, as the interchange of extant letters proves. Those were the days when the drama was beginning to get a firm hold on the pleasure-loving people of Elizabethan England. It was not so much the State that was the great opponent of the theatre, but the clergy on moral grounds and the publicans for financial reasons. While sermons were being preached denouncing corrupt influences, the innkeepers took advantage of this and did the obvious thing to keep their customers by staging their own dramatic performances in their own taverns. Lady Bacon, with all her strict puritanical ideals, wrote a letter (extant) to her son Francis stating that she did not object to him visiting theatres, but that her fear was for his servants who might be corrupted by going to the plays,

now acted nightly. *Why* all this effort to dissociate Francis Bacon from his youthful delight in the theatre?

Chapter XV.2 ends with a somewhat perplexing sentence: "It is therefore by no means surprising that no record of this connection is to be found if Shakspeare were in fact the author of the plays; on the contrary, it would be surprising if any were."

What an extraordinary statement! Would Dr. Gibson really find it surprising if Henslowe's Diary, which carefully mentions most of the players and dramatists, had actually mentioned Shakspeare? I believe Francis Bacon would have summed up this chapter (XV.2) on the "lack of Shakspeare records" with those words which he was wont to use "it is a curious thing. . . ."

SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE THROCKMORTON DIARIES

By WILFRED WOODWARD

It is important to remember the following dates:—

Sir Arthur Throckmorton born 1556; died 1626

Francis Bacon born 1561; died 1626

William Shakespeare born 1564; died 1616

The three volumes of the *Diary* recently discovered at Canterbury cover the period of 1578 to 1613, with some breaks. Dr. A. S. Rowse in his exciting book *Raleigh & the Throckmortons* quotes extensively from the *Diary* and it is fair to assume that all the important literary matters have been extracted by him. Further, he states that in the *Diary* "Throckmorton gives as full a picture of the times as of any man of his age that I know" — and this means much from one so interested in this period. To appreciate what Throckmorton says in his *Diary* the reading of Doctor Rowse's book is, therefore, a "must".

Arthur Throckmorton was a great collector of books and plays — most of which he mentions in his *Diary*, with the prices he paid for them. When quite a young man he inherited the Manor of Alderminster, near Stratford-on-Avon, but surprisingly he makes no reference whatsoever either to Shakespeare or Stratford, or to any of the plays. His editor, Dr. Rowse, makes no mention of Francis Bacon although Throckmorton's greatest friend— to whom he frequently referred — was Anthony Bacon. Throckmorton's sister Elizabeth (Bess) was a Lady-in-Waiting or Maid-of-Honour to the Queen. Bess was compromised by and secretly married to Walter Raleigh while still serving at Court, and gave birth to a son. "My sister was delivered of a boy" says the *Diary*, and Damerei Raleigh was baptized by Robert Earl of Essex, Arthur Throckmorton, and Anna his wife on Monday, 10th April. "Two days later my sister returned to the Court and the child went to Enfield" says the *Diary*. A month passed before the Queen knew of this — or indeed of the marriage — and on the 2nd June Bess and Walter Raleigh were both sent to the Tower because of the Queen's rage over the whole affair.

As this amorous adventure happened to Bess — bearing in mind the fashion of the period — could it not also have happened to the Queen herself in her earlier years? We know for instance of her behaviour with Seymour.

In Dr. Rowse's book particulars are given of three wills left by members of the Throckmorton family — all follow the same pattern; a long list of what today we should call "chattels" — my horse to one person; my cloak to another; my sword to someone; my silver cup to somebody else, and so on. Surely the most interesting will was that of Sir Arthur Throckmorton himself. A long list as before; a gilt cup; a horse; a mourning gown; cloth cloaks, etc., etc. But his most treasured possessions he left to Magdalen College, namely all the books in his study that he had collected, excepting whatever English books his wife would like to keep for herself. His papers and plays are mentioned, too. Compare this with the will of William Shakespeare who makes no mention at all of plays, books, or papers or literature of any kind, in a detailed list of his possessions, even to his "Second best bed"!

One other interesting point is that, like all people of quality of that period, he made use of cipher in his *Diary*. As yet Dr. Rowse has not been able to decipher this, and possibly it is of little interest because any writing in cipher would probably refer to intimate matters that he did not care to write in long hand — just as Samuel Pepys dealt with *amours* in his diary.

It seems to me that the omissions in Arthur Throckmorton's *Diary* are almost as interesting as the *Diary* itself.

THE STRATFORD MONUMENT AND
MRS. SHAKESPEARE'S TOMB

By T. D. BOKENHAM

*Shake-speare, at length thy pious fellowes give
The world thy Workes: thy Workes, by which, out-live
Thy Tombe, thy name must when that stone is rent,
And Time dissolves thy Stratford Monument,
Here we alive shall view thee still. This Booke,
When Brasse and Marble fade, shall make thee looke
Fresh to all Ages*

L. Digges (Shakespeare Folio 1623).

It has many times been pointed out that the Shakespeare monument in the chancel of Holy Trinity, Stratford, differs considerably from the engraving given in Sir William Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656). In 1904 Mrs. Charlotte Stopes disclosed that the monument had been subjected to considerable "restoration" in about 1749. The extent of this operation has never been decided. Many people, including Dr. H. N. Gibson in his recent book *The Shakespeare Claimants*, maintain that no monument as shown by Dugdale ever existed and that his engraving was grossly inaccurate.

It is known, and was long ago pointed out by Sir George Greenwood, that the engraving from Dugdale's drawing was made by the great Bohemian artist, Wenceslaus Hollar, whose pictorial maps of London, and many others of his works, are famous. Hollar, who is also noted for accurate portraiture, was a protege of Thomas, second Earl of Arundel, who brought him to this country in about 1637 and at whose house he lived for a while. Dugdale, a native of Warwickshire, was introduced to the Earl in this very year. The engraving is therefore likely to have been carefully executed and, unless there were some very significant reasons for doing otherwise, it is unlikely that Dugdale would have allowed so glaring a misrepresentation to appear in his important work. The monument, as it was before its "restoration", was presumably

acceptable to Shakespeare's friends and relatives, and it could be that Hollar's engraving in Dugdale is the nearest likeness to William Shakespeare that the world is ever now likely to see.

The reason for the alteration in 1749 is not far to seek. Somebody felt that it was not in very good taste that the man whom Ben Jonson had called the "Soul of the Age" should be exhibited in his local town as a sad but crafty-looking individual who is pressing to his belly a large sack which looks as though it might contain a headless pig. Someone once described it as a pig in a poke! At any rate, the monument seems to have been entirely rebuilt, the figure transformed and provided with a pen, and the offending sack, adroitly changed to a cushion or writing pad. The little figures at the top of the memorial, which are undoubtedly emblematic, were replaced in a different posture and given a less precarious perch on the entablature.

The present monument was discussed at some length by W. F. C. Wigston in his *New Study of Shakespeare* (1884). He tells us that the spade held by one of the little figures, though not necessarily inviting anybody to do any digging, was anciently a phallic emblem relating to *new birth*. It seems to be an extremely rare ornament to use on a monument of this nature, and one that only a scholar would have suggested. The meaning of the hour-glass on the old monument is of course fairly obvious. This was replaced by a reversed torch, meaning Death. Wigston believed that the entire monument, and also the Latin epitaph, which appears below on the grave of Shakespeare's widow, were closely connected with the play *Cymbeline*, with its curious prophecy which occurs on the last page of the 1623 Shakespeare Folio.

When as a Lyons whelpe shall — without seeking
finde — and when from a stately Cedar shall
be lopt branches — shall after revive — and
freshly grow, then shall Posthumus end his miseries.

On the monument is an invitation to the "Passenger" to "Read if thou canst." What is this strange prophetic mystery which these stones are trying to tell us?

The lines by L. Digges quoted at the head of this article also sound the same prophetic note and promise that the Works will not only outlive the Stratford Monument but that they will give



THE STRATFORD MONUMENT TODAY

October	20.	John Pace of Shotton to Annys Debcak.
	26.	Richard Colchester & Isabell Warner.
Novēber	3.	James Apletree & Annes Cawdrey.
	3.	George Badger & Alys Cowrt.
	27.	William Harinton & Jone George.
	27.	Thomas Boltonne & Elnor Aston.
	29.	Henry Wilsonne & Elnor Heap.
		1579.
Januari	17.	William Wilsonne & Anne Hathaway of Shottleye.
	26.	James Allen to Annys Peate.
	27.	Richard Duckworth & Jone Stevens.
Februi	2.	William Harris & Elizabeth Jacksonne.
	3.	William ffakener & Margery Tylar.

We would like to see the original MS. entries in this register. For it appears that Anne Hathaway, long before the famous courtship, had entered into a marriage bond with William Wilsonne. But as, three years later, on her marriage with WILLIAM SHAGSPERE (sic) she is described as "maiden" it is difficult to guess what transpired. Even William, on the previous day, had taken out a licence to marry Anne Whateley of Temple Grafton! Is it perhaps due in part to the irregularity of these proceedings that we are indebted for William's early escape to London? And was Anne Hathaway's cottage merely a pipe dream?

to their author's name, "when that stone is rent" a new glory which, like the Phoenix, will be "Fresh to all Ages."

The original inscriptions on the Monument and on the Shakespeare family tombstones, seem to have been accurately retained. They are all given in full in Dugdale's text. In view of the recent publicity given in the Press to opening the Shakespeare grave, the very curious inscription which appears on a small brass plate on Anne Shakespeare's stone *which lies strangely enough immediately below the Poet's monument* is of considerable interest:—

Here lyeth interred the body of Anne,
 Wife of William Shakespeare, who departed this life
 the 6 day of Aug. 1623, being of the age of 67 years.
 Ubera, tu mater, tu lac, vitamque dedisti
 Vae mihi pro tanto munere saxa dabo
 Quam mallet, amoueat lapidem bonus angel'ore
 Exeat ut christi corpus, imago tua —
 Sed nil vota valent venias cito Christe resurget
 Clausa licet tumulo mater et astra petet.

The last line seems to be taken from Ovid and should possibly read *spiritus astra petet*. A free translation reads as follows:—

To you Mother who hast given breast, milk and
 life, all I can offer for such great gifts is,
 to my shame, these stones.
 How I should prefer to pray the good angel
 to move away the stone and for your image
 to come forth, like the body of Christ.
 But prayers that thou O Christ should come quickly
 are not called for. The Mother, though
 imprisoned in the tomb, will rise again and
 (her spirit) will seek the stars.

This last sentence seems to reflect Prospero's last words in *The Tempest*, "Let your Indulgence set me free." In all these prophetic hints it is not just immortality which is promised but a new valuation or recognition at some future time.

Digges, in his tribute, uses the expression "when Brasse and Marble fade" which may, of course be hyperbole, for in fact there is no brass on Shakespeare's Monument or on his grave, *only on that of his wife*. However, poetic licence can hardly be stretched, where Anne's epitaph is concerned, to require a stone to be removed

in order to release the spirit from a grave. Further, it is mighty strange that on one famous but unnamed grave in this chancel are the lines: —

Blest be the man that spares these stones
And curst be he that moves my bones

While on Mrs. Shakespeare's adjacent grave is a Latin line which reads

Pray the good angel to move away the stone.

My suggestion therefore is that something of considerable interest might have been deposited in Anne Shakespeare's grave and that L. Digges was somehow aware of this vital secret and was hinting at it. I suggest also that the incongruous original monument (or the Dugdale engraving if preferred) was intended as a signpost or question mark to attract the attention of scholars and perhaps to point to this grave below.

graves, at my command,
Have wak'd their sleepers, ope'd and let them forth
By my so potent art . . .

And deeper than did ever plummet sound
I'll drown my book.

The Tempest V, i.

There has always been doubt about the statement by the Folio Editors that there was "scarce a blot" on Shakespeare's manuscripts when they were prepared for the Press. If by chance, however, this were true and they had, after all, obtained fair copies of the plays "perfect of their limbes", where did they deposit them? Not surely in Shakespeare's grave, already sealed seven years previously? Why not in the grave of his widow who had just died? There is an interesting precedent for this in history. Francis Bacon, in one of his works, quotes a story from Livy that a certain man being long since dead, his wife's tomb was opened and found to contain nothing but manuscripts.

That there is a very great mystery surrounding the author of these stupendous works is unquestionable. The whereabouts of the original manuscripts of both plays and poems and of the author's personal letters and notes is no small part of this mystery, and every opportunity should therefore be taken to make a respectful investigation and search wherever clues seem to point.

SHELLEY'S ADMIRATION FOR BACON

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SHELLEY'S curious admiration for Francis Bacon has attracted enough attention to make references to Bacon fairly common in studies of Shelley, but a full study of the poet's interest in the philosopher has not yet appeared. In 1933 David Lee Clark published information on Shelley's marked copy of Bacon to supplement the list of marginalia in W. E. Peck's biography, but Clark disclaimed any attempt at a final study.¹ Perhaps the best approach is not through source study as such, but through an attempt to reconstruct the effect his reading of Bacon had on Shelley's mind, with special attention to his changing attitude toward Bacon and his ultimate assessment of him. If, as Clark says, Shelley's debt to Bacon was mainly indirect, what we need is a study of Bacon's whole impact rather than a list of supposed parallel passages.

The first problem is whether Shelley's markings in his copy of Bacon can tell us much about his understanding of the philosopher. Clark thinks the annotations may date from as early as 1811 (p. 534, n. 23), and the perfunctory nature of many marginalia suggests that Shelley made them merely to help clarify Bacon's complex organisation. Though many annotations are thus routine, others, along with some underlining, are worth close attention.

Shelley shares Bacon's interest in the advancement of learning and the social conditions that facilitate it. He checks a remark that Virgil lived at the time when the art of government was best perfected,² as well as a passage connecting the Renaissance and Reformation as periods of cultural advancement (vi, 143). In the *Defence of Poetry* and *A Philosophical View of Reform* Shelley himself developed similar correlations between good poetry and

¹ "Shelley and Bacon," *P.M.L.A.*, XLVIII (June 1933), 529-546; *Shelley, His Life and Work* (Boston, 1927), II, 344-348.

² *Works*, ed. Spedding, Ellis, Heath (Boston, 1861), VI, 105. Subsequent references will be given in the text, prefixed by "Spedding" in case of ambiguity. For page numbers in Shelley's edition (the 1778 quarto), see Clark. Unless otherwise noted, Clark is the authority for all markings.

good government and between intellectual and religious progress. Shelley marks a passage in which Bacon expresses by imagery his conception of the true aim of learning and of the false aims which prevent its advancement:

as if there were sought in knowledge a couch, whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace, for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state, for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground, for strife and contention; or a shop, for profit or sale; and not a rich storehouse, for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate. (VI, 134)

Baconian ethics likewise interest Shelley. Bacon connects the true and the good: "Imagination ever precedeth Voluntary Motion: saving that this Janus of Imagination hath differing faces; for the face towards Reason hath the print of Truth, but the face towards Action hath the print of Good; which nevertheless are faces, 'Quales decet esse sororum'" (VI, 258; see also VI, 165). In the *Speculations on Morals* Shelley arrives at a similar conclusion, though by different means: "The only distinction between the selfish man, and the virtuous man, is that the imagination of the former is confined within a narrow limit, whilst that of the latter embraces a comprehensive circumference. In this sense, wisdom and virtue may be said to be inseparable, and criteria of each other."³ Shelley annotates another of Bacon's comments on ethics, his praise of charity as uniting all virtues (VI, 344); the poet even repeats the word in a later note where Bacon does not use it.⁴

Another of Shelley's notations concerns a passage in which Bacon urges investigation of "simple natures" (separate qualities of objects) rather than compound bodies (objects consisting of these qualities):

the Forms of Substances I say (as they are now by compounding and transplanting multiplied) are so perplexed, as they are not to be enquired; no more than it were either possible or to purpose to seek in gross *the forms of those sounds which make*

³ *Works*, Julian ed. (London, 1930), VII, 75. Subsequent references will be listed in the text, prefixed by "Julian" in case of ambiguity

⁴ Peck, II, 347, for both notes.

words, which by composition and transposition of letters are infinite. But on the other side, to enquire *the form of those sounds or voices which make simple letters* is easily comprehensible, and being known, induceth and manifesteth the forms of all words, which consist and are compounded of them. In the same manner to enquire the Form of a lion, of an oak, of gold, nay of water, of air, is a vain pursuit: but to enquire the Forms of sense, of voluntary motion, of vegetation, of colours, of gravity and levity, of density, of tenuity, of heat, of cold, and all other natures and qualities, which like an alphabet are not many, and of which the essences (upheld by matter) of all creatures do consist; to enquire I say the *true forms* of these, is that part of Metaphysic which we now define of (vi, 220-221).⁵

Shelley makes the qualification "If by forms is meant elements" (Peck, II, 346), showing that he has an adequate understanding of Bacon's thought; Bacon's new method can indeed be compared with the investigation of chemical elements rather than of things as the basic units of the physical world. We must not underrate Shelley's ability to understand philosophical technicalities. Shelley presumably noticed too that these "alphabetical" qualities are few in number and so tend to unify nature.

In his own writings Shelley echoes a few passages which he marks in Bacon. In the *Defence* he declares that "epitomes have been called the moths of just history; they eat out the poetry of it" (VII, 115). Bacon, in a passage marked by Shelley, refers to "the corruptions and moths of history, which are Epitomes" (VI, 189), Shelley's marginal criticism of Bacon for succumbing to the idols of the tribe shows an interest which continues in his reference to idols of the cave in the *Essay on Christianity* (Spedding, IX, 98-100; Julian, VI, 241).

A whole chain of allusions is to be found in *The Triumph of Life*, lines 261-273. Aristotle and Alexander are

The tutor and his pupil, whom Dominion
Followed as tame as vulture in a chain.
The world was darkened beneath either pinion

⁵ For the importance of simple natures in Bacon's philosophy, see A. E. Taylor, "Francis Bacon," *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, XII (1926), 273-294; C. D. Broad, "The Philosophy of Francis Bacon," *Ethics and the History of Philosophy* (London, 1952), pp. 117-143.

Of him whom from the flock of conquerors
 Fame singled out for her thunder-bearing minion ;
 The other long outlived both woes and wars,
 Throned in the thoughts of men, and still had kept
 The jealous key of Truth's eternal doors,
 If Bacon's eagle spirit had not leapt
 Like lightning out of darkness — he compelled
 The Proteus shape of Nature, as it slept
 To wake, and lead him to the caves that held
 The treasure of the secrets of its reign. (iv, 175-176)

Shelley had marked Bacon's comment on Aristotle, "crediderim facile hanc ambitionem eum a discipulo suo accepisse, quem fortasse aemulatus est; ut si ille omnes nationes, hic omnes opiniones subigeret, et monarchiam quandam in contemplationibus sibi conderet" (II, 265; the English version reads: "I will think of him that he learned that humour of his scholar, with whom it seemeth he did emulate, the one to conquer all opinions, as the other to conquer all nations"). In *De Sapientia Veterum* Proteus represents matter and is compelled to assume various shapes which reveal the secrets of nature. Again, since Shelley has Bacon in mind, the caves are probably an echo of Democritus' statement, recorded by Bacon, "That the truth of nature lieth hid in certain deep mines and caves" (vi, 214). By this skillful combination of allusions Shelley uses Bacon's own ideas to portray him as the discoverer of hidden truths of nature and the liberator of man from intellectual tyranny.

Although these samplings of Shelley's marks and notes are not fully representative, they show the range of his interests. Shelley apparently comprehends Bacon's metaphysics and is impressed by his parallels of poetry and learning with politics and religion, by his linking of truth and good, and by his treatment of charity in ethics. Since Shelley also marks some physical speculations which I have not quoted, those interests should be remembered as well.

Shelley's verse and prose references to Bacon are likewise varied, but when they are arranged in chronological order (as well as this can be done), a pattern can be seen as Shelley's interests progress from religious inquiry to historical speculations and finally to a conception of Plato and Bacon as great poets. Bacon is first used

in arguments over religion. The title page to *The Necessity of Atheism* (1811) quotes as from the *De Augmentis* a sentence which I have not located: "Quod clarâ et perspicua demonstratione careat pro vero habere mens omnino nequit humana." In the note "There is no God!" to *Queen Mab* (1813) Shelley cites what he calls Bacon's "Moral Essays";

Lord Bacon says, that "atheism leaves to man reason, philosophy, natural piety, laws, reputation, and every thing that can serve to conduct him to virtue; but superstition destroys all these, and erects itself into a tyranny over the understandings of men: hence atheism never disturbs the government, but renders man more clear-sighted, since he sees nothing beyond the boundaries of the present life." (I, 148)

Bacon's own words in "Of Superstition" differ:

Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation; all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men. Therefore atheism did never perturb states; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further. (xii, 135-136)

Shelley's version is not as close to Bacon's wording as to Holbach's translation of the passage:

L'athéisme, dit le Chancelier Bacon, laisse à l'homme de raison, la philosophie, la piété naturelle, les loix, la réputation & tout ce qui peut servir de guide à la vertu; mais la superstition détruit toutes ces choses, & s'érige en tyrannie dans l'entendement des hommes: c'est pourquoi l'athéisme ne trouble jamais les états, mais il rend l'homme plus prévoyant lui-même, comme ne voyant rien au-delà des bornes de cette vie.⁶

⁶ *Système de la nature* (London, 1775), II, 380. For suggestion of this similarity I am indebted to Professor Carlos Baker of Princeton. The Latin version of the essay is not as close to Shelley's as Holbach's is: "Atheismus non prorsus convellit dictamina sensus, non philosophiam, affectus naturales, leges, bonae famae desiderium; quae omnia, licet religio abesset, morali cuidam virtuti externae conducere possunt: at superstitionis haec omnia, licet religio abesset, morali cuidam virtuti externae conducere possunt: at superstitionis haec omnia diiicit, et tyrannidem absolutam, in animis hominum exercet" (Bacon, *Works*, ed. Montagu, London, 1834, xv, 287-288).

Even the title, given in footnote as "les essais de morale de Bacon," agrees. Apparently Shelley was reminded of the passage in Bacon by Holbach (whom he quoted extensively in this passage) and saved himself the trouble of hunting for it by translating it; or he may not yet have read the *Essays*, especially since he gives an inexact title. It is tempting to suspect that the sentence prefixed to the *Necessity* is also from a secondary source and that as yet Shelley did not know Bacon firsthand.⁷

In *A Refutation of Deism* (1814) Bacon is placed in a materialistic and atheistic school:

it is an egregious offence against the first principles of reason, to suppose an immaterial creator of the world, *in quo omnia moventur sed sine mutuâ passione*; which is equally a superfluous hypothesis in the mechanical philosophy of Newton, and a useless excrescence on the inductive logic of Bacon.

I have proved, that on the principles of that philosophy to which Epicurus, Lord Bacon, Newton, Locke and Hume were addicted, the existence of God is a chimera. (vi, 51, 57)

Both passages are spoken by Eusebes, who exposes the atheistic implications of rationalism professedly to lead his opponent back to non-rationalistic faith.

Shelley does know the *Novum Organum* first-hand by 1815, according to Mary Shelley's list of the poet's readings for that year. Shelley footnotes references to *Novum Organum* I.iii and *De Augmentis* v.iv in the *Essay on Christianity* (which Rossetti dates 1815 and Koszul 1817) and uses the idols of the cave: "Every human mind has, what Lord Bacon calls its 'idola specus,' peculiar images which reside in the inner cave of thought. These constitute the essential and distinctive character of every human being, to which every action and every word bears intimate relation, and by which in depicting a character the genuineness and meaning of those words and actions are to be determined" (vi, 241).

⁷ A quick check of Locke, Hume, Godwin, Hobbes, and Voltaire has failed to yield anything, except that, as one might expect, these writers (Hume excepted) were highly laudatory of Bacon and probably predisposed (or confirmed) Shelley's opinion.

By 1817, if not before, Shelley evidently knows the Essay "Of Superstition" firsthand. Horace Smith relates that on his last walk with Shelley

He quoted Plutarch's averment, that even atheism is more reverent than superstition, inasmuch as it was better to deny the existence of Saturn as king of heaven, than to admit that fact, maintaining at the same time that he was such a monster of unnatural cruelty as to devour his own children as soon as they were born; and in confirmation of the same view he quoted a passage from Lord Bacon, asserting the superiority of reason and natural religion.⁸

The quotation from Plutarch appears, though in somewhat different form, in the original essay, and Holbach does not quote it.

Shelley apparently turns the idols of the market place against Bacon's followers in a critique in the *Speculations on Metaphysics* (1815-19). He attacks supposed Baconians:

Nor have those who are accustomed to profess the greatest veneration for the inductive system of Lord Bacon adhered with sufficient scrupulousness to its regulations. . . . Their promises of deducing all systems from facts has [sic] too often been performed by appealing in favour of these pretended realities to the obstinate preconceptions of the multitude; or by the most preposterous mistake of a name for a thing. (vii, 63)

Plato is perhaps a source for the distinction between names and things (e.g. *Cratylus* 435-439), but Shelley had been interested in Bacon's version and had just referred to Bacon.

In the Preface to *The Revolt of Islam* (1818) Shelley begins to mention Bacon in historical speculations:

there must be a resemblance which does not depend upon their own will, between all the writers of any particular age . . . those mighty intellects of our own country that succeeded the Reformation, the translators of the Bible, Shakespeare, Spenser, the Dramatists of the reign of Elizabeth, and Lord Bacon; the colder spirits of the interval that succeeded; — all resemble each other, and differ from every other in their several classes. (1, 244).

⁸ A. H. Beavan, *James and Horace Smith* (London, 1899), p. 173.

In the preface to his translation of the *Symposium* (1818), Shelley praises Bacon's style and for the first time associates him with Plato:

Plato exhibits the rare union of close and subtle logic, with the Pythian enthusiasm of poetry, melted by the splendour and harmony of his periods into one irresistible stream of musical impressions, which hurry the persuasions onward, as in a breathless career. His language is that of an immortal spirit, rather than a man. Lord Bacon is, perhaps, the only writer, who, in these particulars, can be compared with him . . . (vii, 161)

This emphasis on the fusion of logic and poetry should remind us that Shelley read Bacon in part also as a metaphysician. The doctrine of simple natures is clearly in Shelley's mind in a letter to Hunt, 3 November 1819: "I conceive him [Socrates] to have been the author of some of the most elevated truths of ethical philosophy; to have been to the science of the conduct of men in their social relations, what Bacon was to the science of the classifications of the material world, and metaphysics" (x, 116). It is unlikely that anyone would say "classifications" who did not recall that Bacon was reclassifying forms according to qualities (simple natures) rather than objects.

In 1820 Shelley, on Medwin's questioning, described his ideal library. In this library "Lord Bacon's Works" join Greek drama, Plato, Shakespeare, Milton and others.⁹ In the Preface to *Prometheus Unbound* (1820) Shelley acknowledges his "passion for reforming the world" and pronounces, "For my part, I had rather be damned with Plato and Lord Bacon, than go to Heaven with Paley and Malthus" (ii, 174; for Shelley's objections to Malthus, see *Philosophical View*, vii, 32-33). In her journal for 8 November 1820, after the publication of *Prometheus*, Claire Clairmont amuses herself with descriptions of Shelley and inserts this remark.¹⁰ She could have taken it from the Preface, but the details seem as if they had been directly observed; and the declaration is just the sort of thing one might improvise in discussion and save for a preface.

⁹ Thomas Medwin, *Life of Shelley* (London, 1847), ii, 31. The context refers to events of 1820

¹⁰ Newman I. White, *Shelley* (New York, 1940), ii, 602.

Bacon again is mentioned in speculations on history in *A Philosophical View of Reform* (1820) when Shelley is showing the coordinate growth of thought and political freedom:

The exposition of a certain portion of religious imposture drew with it an enquiry into political imposture, and was attended with an extraordinary exertion of the energies of intellectual power. Shakespeare and Lord Bacon and the great writers of the age of Elizabeth and James the 1st were at once the effects of the new spirit in men's minds, and the causes of its more complete development. (vii, 7)

The new epoch was marked by the commencement of deeper enquiries into the forms of human nature than are compatible with an unreserved belief in any of those popular mistakes upon which popular systems of faith with respect to the cause and agencies of the universe, with all their superstructure of political and religious tyranny, are built. Lord Bacon, Spinoza, Hobbes, Bayle, Montaigne, regulated the reasoning powers, criticized the past history, exposed the errors by illustrating their causes and their connexion, and anatomized the inmost nature of social man. (vii, 8)

This philosophy [political philosophy] indeed sprang from and maintained a connexion with that other [natural philosophy] as its parent. What would Swift and Bolingbroke and Sidney and Locke and Montesquieu, or even Rousseau, not to speak of political philosophers of our own age, Godwin and Bentham, have been but for Lord Bacon, Montaigne and Spinoza, and the other great luminaries of the preceding epoch? (vii, 9)

The mechanical sciences attained to a degree of perfection which, though obscurely foreseen by Lord Bacon, it had been accounted madness to have prophesied in a preceding age. (vii, 10)

if the honourable exertion of the most glorious imperial faculties of our nature had been the criterion of the possession of property, the posterity of Shakespeare, of Milton, of Hampden, of Lord Bacon would be the wealthiest proprietors in England. (vii, 38)

The first four of these passages are part of a survey of the Renaissance, Reformation, and Enlightenment, showing that art and learning rise with religious and political liberty. It will be recalled that Shelley marked such parallels in his copy of Bacon.

A letter to John Gisborne, 22 October 1821, associates Plato and Bacon: "What Godwin is compared with Plato and Lord Bacon we well know. But compared with these miserable sciolists [his attackers in the *Edinburgh Rev.*], he is a vulture (you know vultures have considerable appetites) to a worm" (x, 333-334).

In the *Defence of Poetry* (1821) Shelley speaks of Bacon several times, using him to expound poetic theory and making him a poet:

[Poets'] language is vitally metaphorical; that is, it marks the before unapprehended relations of things and perpetuates their apprehension, until the words which represent them, become, through time, signs for portions or classes of thoughts instead of pictures of integral thoughts. . . . These similitudes or relations are finely said by Lord Bacon to be "the same footsteps of nature impressed upon the various subjects of the world" [Shelley footnotes "*De Augment. Scient.*, cap. 1, lib. iii"] — and he considers the faculty which perceives them as the storehouse of axioms common to all knowledge. (vii, 111)

Lord Bacon was a poet. [Shelley footnotes "See the *Filum Labyrinthi* and the *Essay on Death* particularly."] His language has a sweet and majestic rhythm, which satisfies the sense, no less than the almost superhuman wisdom of his philosophy satisfies the intellect; it is a strain which distends, and then bursts the circumference of the hearer's mind, and pours itself forth together with it into the universal element with which it has perpetual sympathy. All the authors of revolutions in opinion are not only necessarily poets as they are inventors, nor even as their words unveil the permanent analogy of things by images which participate in the life of truth; but as their periods are harmonious and rhythmical, and contain in themselves the elements of verse; being the echo of the eternal music. (vii, 114-115)

it exceeds all imagination to conceive what would have been the moral condition of the world if neither Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Calderon, Lord Bacon, nor Milton, had ever existed. . . . (vii, 133)

Let us assume that Homer was a drunkard, that Virgil was a flatterer, that Horace was a coward, that Tasso was a madman, that Lord Bacon was a speculator, that Raphael was a libertine, that Spenser was a poet laureate. . . . Their errors have been weighed and found to have been dust in the balance. . . . (vii, 138)

Edward Trelawny records a conversational statement by Shelley in 1822: "With regard to the great question, the System of the Universe, I have no curiosity on the subject. I am content to see no farther into futurity than Plato and Bacon. My mind is tranquil; I have no fears and some hopes."¹¹

In *Charles I*, Scene i, Shelley makes poetic use of Bacon:

There goes

The apostate Strafford; he whose titles
[hiatus in MS] whispered aphorisms
From Machiavel and Bacon: and, if Judas
Had been as brazen and as bold as he . . .

The tribute to Bacon in *The Triumph of Life* has already been examined among the few passages in Bacon which Shelley marked and later used specifically.

The development of Shelley's attitude toward Bacon can now be seen in greater clarity. He first seems struck by Bacon's ideas on the prerequisites of belief; later he is interested in induction and in Bacon's position as one of the great men of his age. He assigns him a role of historical importance, drawing parallels between learning and politics such as he had found in his reading of Bacon. About 1818, evidently stimulated by his work with Plato, Shelley begins associating Plato and Bacon, and in assertions of Bacon's ultimate value Plato's name is almost invariably near by. They are great idealistic reformers in the Preface to *Prometheus*, and they know the limits of earthly knowledge in the conversation with Trelawny. In the *Symposium* preface and the *Defence* they are the two great "prose poets" of the world.

To what extent did his reading of the *Novum Organum* in 1815 stimulate the development of Shelley's attitude toward Bacon? In Shelley's work before this date Bacon is being used in spite of himself to attack religion. Shelley's reading of the *Novum Organum* evidently interested him in the doctrine of idols, since he cites it in the *Essay on Christianity* and is quite likely making use of it in the *Speculations on Metaphysics*. It is noteworthy that Shelley is still twisting Bacon, for in his one explicit reference to

¹¹ *Recollections of the Last Days of Shelley and Byron*, ed. Humbert Wolfe (London, 1933), II, 199.

the doctrine of idols in the *Essay on Christianity*, in which he calls the idols of the cave "peculiar images which reside in the inner cave of thought," he removes the strongly pejorative overtones intended by Bacon.

Shelley's praise of Bacon as a poet in the *Defence* ("Lord Bacon was a poet," etc.) is worth special notice. It is the highest praise he can give anyone; it connects Bacon with Plato as Shelley's maturer thought characteristically does; it is supported by reasons and can be viewed within the context of Shelley's poetics; and two works which Shelley especially admired are mentioned. To understand Shelley's ultimate and best-grounded appraisal of Bacon, then, we must ask, using the passage as keynote, in what sense Bacon is a Shelleyan "poet."

The first thing to notice about the statement in the *Defence* is that, as in the preface to Shelley's translation of the *Symposium*, thought is an important part of poetry; Bacon's philosophy has an "almost superhuman wisdom." Thought is apparently manifested through images which "unveil the permanent analogy of things"; besides comparing the imagery of the two authors, we should also consider more general similarities of thought between Shelley and Bacon.

In certain ways Bacon and Shelley are both humanitarians; that Shelley felt this is suggested by his marking of the two passages uniting truth and good, along with his special annotation on charity.

The full significance of charity in Bacon's thought is not at first apparent. An excellent article by Moody E. Prior, "Bacon's Man of Science," shows the connection of this idea with Bacon's conception of a new natural philosophy. Knowledge is to be gained by a patient, co-operative effort from generation to generation rather than by the disputatious tour de force of an individual. Further, use, the ability of man to control nature, is to be the aim of knowledge; as Prior says, "The identification of scientific truth with use and therefore with charity, with power and therefore with pity, is fundamental to Bacon's conception of true learning."¹² That Shelley saw the importance of this conception and agreed

¹² *JHI*, xv (June 1954), 355

with it seems to be indicated by his marking of the passage in which the philosopher suggests that knowledge should be "a rich storehouse, for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate."

Another phase of Bacon's thought which presumably appealed strongly to Shelley in his later career is the emphasis on unity. Bacon cites the opinion of Plato and Parmenides "That all things by scale did ascend to unity" (vi, 222). Indeed,

it is the duty and virtue of all knowledge to abridge the infinity of individual experience as much as the conception of truth will permit . . . which is performed by uniting the notions and conceptions of sciences. For knowledges are as pyramides, whereof history is the basis: so of Natural Philosophy the basis is Natural History; the stage next the basis is Physic; the stage next the vertical point is Metaphysic. As for the vertical point, *Opus quod operatur Deus à principio usque ad finem*, the Summary Law of Nature, we know not whether man's inquiry can attain unto it. (vi, 221-222)

Bacon says the stage near the vertical point is metaphysics. As seen already from a passage Shelley marked, metaphysics investigates the forms of simple natures; and since these forms are relatively few, they reduce the variety of nature. As Bacon says in *Novum Organum* II.iii, "qui Formas novit, is naturae unitatem in materiis dissimillimis complectitur" (I, 343). But still nearer the vertical point, apparently, is *Philosophia Prima*, which collects from the axioms of the various sciences "the same footsteps of nature, treading or printing upon several subjects or matters" (vi, 211). In the *Defence*, as already quoted, Shelley translated this latter statement loosely from Bacon's Latin version to explain the poet's function. Through metaphor we learn the "before unapprehended relations of things" and so approach to a greater knowledge of unity. "A poet participates in the eternal, the infinite, and the one" (vii, 112). Some twisting of Bacon's thought is inevitable in transferring its application from axioms to metaphor (as Shelley does, despite his explanation of Bacon's meaning), but Shelley is at least making effective use of the core of Bacon's thought. As he developed his personal philosophy Shelley found a place in it for Baconian conceptions of unity.

According to Shelley's statement in the *Defence*, the poet's thoughts are supposed to be expressed by images; therefore we must see what images Bacon uses which also appeal to Shelley. There is often no reason to assert influence in particular instances, and in fact the question at the moment is primarily what Shelley would admire in Bacon to the extent of bestowing on him the title of poet.

Bacon mentions Plato's cave in first presenting his doctrine of the idols of the cave (*De Augmentis* v.iv). This image became a favorite with Shelley. For instance, in *Speculations on Metaphysics*, Section iii, he says, "The caverns of the mind are obscure, and shadowy; or pervaded with a lustre, beautifully bright indeed, but shining not beyond their portals." Laon asks (ix. 202-203), "Has not the whirlwind of our spirit driven/Truth's deathless germs to thought's remotest caves?" (I, 371). In *The Cenci* II.ii. 88-91 Orsino tries to get Giacomo to speak his evil thoughts:

But a friend's bosom
Is as the inmost cave of our own mind,
Where we sit shut from the wide gaze of day,
And from the all-communicating air. (II, 99)

In his study of Platonism in Shelley, James A. Notopoulos says, ". . . Plato's Cave became for Shelley a regular symbol for the mind, even when it has no direct connection with the metaphysical context of Plato's myth."¹³ In the quoted passages Shelley leaves the Platonic context for the Baconian, which is novel at least in its emphasis. According to Bacon the errors are due to the bias of individual predilections, as Aristotle's for logic (*Nov. Org.* I.IV). Shelley takes up the idea of isolation or subjectivity, though not quite bias, in these passages — "shining not beyond their portals," "remotest," "shut." Regardless of whether Shelley's actual source was Bacon or Plato, the image as he used it seems more Baconian than Platonic in its significance; Shelley apparently thought so, since in describing the "peculiar images which reside in the inner cave of thought" in the *Essay on Christianity* (already quoted), he alluded to Bacon.

¹³ *The Platonism of Shelley* (Durham, N. C., 1949), p. 328.

It appears, then, that Shelley's reading of the *Novum Organum* in 1815 (before almost all his important poetry) led him to import part of the doctrine of idols, which now interested him particularly, into his poetry in the form of cave imagery. In this case Shelley probably thought of Bacon as a poet because he gave Shelley poetic material.

In the course of some scriptural interpretation Bacon declares that "God hath framed the mind of man as a mirror or glass capable of the image of the universal world, and joyful to receive the impression thereof, as the eye joyeth to receive light" (vi, 93). In the Preface to *Prometheus* Shelley makes the mind "the mirror upon which all forms are reflected, and in which they compose one form" (ii, 174). Again, in *Adonais*, lines 484-485, all objects are mirrors of "the fire for which all thirst" (ii, 405). The image is not novel, but it may have impressed Shelley to see it in Bacon, though he did not mark it.

One of the most eloquent passages in the *Advancement* distinguishes Divinity and Philosophy: "The knowledge of man is as the waters, some descending from above, and some springing from beneath; the one informed by the light of nature, the other inspired by divine revelation. The light of nature consisteth in the notions of the mind and the reports of the senses . . ." (vi, 207). Fountains and streams are legion in Shelley, but we can limit our attention to a few which most clearly approach Bacon's conception. In *Alastor*, lines 502-508, the Poet speaks to a stream:

"O stream!

Whose source is inaccessibly profound,
Whither do thy mysterious waters tend?
Thou imagest my life. Thy darksome stillness,
Thy dazzling waves, thy loud and hollow gulphs,
Thy searchless fountain, and invisible course
Have each their type in me . . ." (i, 191)

Here life replaces knowledge, but Shelley invokes all the mystery which Bacon would associate with revelation. The well-known river image in *Mont Blanc* is close to Bacon's meaning, though with elaborations:

The everlasting universe of things
 Flows through the mind, and rolls its rapid waves,
 Now dark — now glittering — now reflecting gloom —
 Now lending splendour, where from secret springs
 The source of human thought its tribute brings
 Of waters . . . (I, 229)

In the *Speculations on Metaphysics* the mind "is like a river whose rapid and perpetual stream flows outwards" (VII, 64); more important, in the *Defence* "A great poem is a fountain for ever overflowing with the waters of wisdom and delight" (VII, 131). In *Adonais*, lines 338-340, the fountain is used for the highest being of all: ". . . the pure spirit shall flow/Back to the burning fountain whence it came,/A portion of the Eternal . . ." (II, 400). It would be no wonder if Shelley were impressed, perhaps influenced, by Bacon's image.

These passages show that Shelley could find highly congenial imagery in Bacon, though this imagery is not exactly integral to Bacon's most important ideas. It should be worth while now to examine for imagery and thought the two works Shelley cites as especially poetic, the *Filum Labyrinthi* and the *Essay on Death*, in order to account for his particular interest in these works.

Unfortunately Bacon liked the title *Filum Labyrinthi* so well that he used it twice in titles of works and once in a subtitle; and Shelley's copy contained all three. To which does Shelley refer in his praise? *Scala Intellectus, sive Filum Labyrinthi* is a highly figurative Latin refutation of scepticism and substitution of Bacon's own position of tentative doubt and humility. *Filum Labyrinthi, sive Inquisitio Legitima de Motu* is a Latin preface to tables investigating the nature of motion. *Filum Labyrinthi, sive Formula Inquisitionis* is an English treatise on the obstacles to knowledge. The first treatise might interest Shelley with its description of the search for truth as climbing a mountain and with its attitude of humble unwillingness to settle ultimate questions prematurely (see Shelley's remark to Trelawny), but otherwise there seems nothing of special importance; the second is on a subject which probably would interest Shelley less in his later days than before, though as a preface the work is not too technical and materialistic. The third treats a subject which interested Shelley before, to judge from

the large number of his markings in Book I of the *Advancement*, and there seems to be no reason to expect his interest to diminish. This work therefore deserves special attention.

Bacon tells us in Section 3 of the work that he thought "that the original inventions and conclusions of nature, which are the life of all that variety, are not many, nor deeply fetched . . ." (Shelley's edition, I, 396). Here again is Shelley's much-beloved idea of unity. In Section 5 Bacon says: "He thought also, that knowledge is almost generally sought either for delight and satisfaction, or for gain or profession, or for credit and ornament, and that every of these are as Atalanta's balls, which hinder the race of invention" (p. 396). Shelley marked a similar idea in the *Advancement*, though there it was expressed in metaphors like a couch and other objects.

Again in Section 7 Bacon surely must have attracted Shelley's attention with his remark that

all knowledge, and specially that of natural philosophy, tendeth highly to the magnifying of the glory of God in his power, providence and benefits, appearing and engraven in his works, which without this knowledge are beheld but as through a veil: for if the heavens in the body of them do declare the glory of God to the eye, much more do they in the rule and decrees of them declare it to the understanding. (p. 398)

Here, in a slightly different usage, is the image of the veil which Shelley loved so well. In "Death is the veil which those who live call life" (*Prometheus* III.iii.113) Shelley is thinking of the most significant kind of knowledge just as Bacon is, except that it can be attained only in the hereafter. On the other hand, "The painted veil, by those who were, called life" (III.iv.190) is in fact torn aside, though by moral regeneration rather than recognition of a conventional God. In the sonnet "Lift not the painted veil" Shelley is much farther from Bacon, since Shelley asserts that search for ultimate truth during this present life can bring only trouble. Shelley used this image as early as *Queen Mab* II.180-181, when the Fairy said, "it is yet permitted me, to rend/The veil of mortal frailty . . ." (I, 72). Baconian influence is unlikely unless Shelley read this piece quite early, but the image is probably a major reason for Shelley's approval of this essay as a Baconian "poem."

Bacon's other great "poem," the *Essay on Death*, at first seems to present a problem. The famous essay beginning "Men fear Death, as children fear to go in the dark" contains none of the imagery noticed thus far as common to Shelley, and the essay offers little more imagery which one might find in him. The answer probably is that Shelley was referring not to the famous essay "Of Death" (note that the title does not fit exactly) but to a work which Bacon's editors call spurious, *An Essay on Death*, which was included as a separate piece in the first volume of Shelley's edition of Bacon. The most interesting imagery here is used when the unknown author describes (Sec. 8) the state of unfortunate people whose life is miserable: "These wait upon the shore of death, and waft unto him to draw near, wishing above all others, to see his star, that they might be led to his place, wooing the remorseless sisters to wind down the watch of their life, and to break them off before the hour" (p. 573). Shelley liked stars or starlike lights, and he used them to beckon to death, as in *Alastor*, lines 489-492:

two eyes,

Two starry eyes, hung in the gloom of thought,
And seemed with their serene and azure smiles
To beckon him. (I, 190)

At the end of *Adonais*

burning through the inmost veil of Heaven,
The soul of Adonais, like a star,
Beacons from the abode where the Eternal are. (II, 405)

The resemblance between Shelley's and Bacon's star imagery is not close enough to indicate borrowing on Shelley's part; rather we have an indication of why Shelley singled out this essay as being "poetic" in his sense of the term.

The connection of Plato and Bacon in Shelley's mind can now be better understood. We know from the Preface to *Prometheus* that Shelley thought of both as idealists whose views could be put into practice only in a reformed world; and he would presumably associate the two philosophers because of their ideas of unity, especially since Bacon had approved of Plato on that score. But Bacon also has a great deal in common with Plato (or the Platonic tradition) in imagery; among the imagery of Platonism, Notopoulos

discusses the cave, fountain, stream, and veil. Since the two philosophers shared so much that mattered to Shelley, it is no wonder that he thought of them together.

Shelley's praise of Bacon as a poet in the passage from the *Defence* is not only for thought but for style as well; the reason for Shelley's approval of Bacon's style may be sought in the common stylistic features of the two authors. Since Shelley praises philosophy and style together, he apparently admires Bacon's philosophic style, not necessarily his essayistic style. Bacon's philosophical writing is most clearly Shelleyan in style when he offers a simile or metaphor for emphasis or shock value and follows with explanation or elaboration. For instance, he tells us that "this Janus of Imagination hath differing faces," "knowledges are as pyramides," "God hath framed the mind of man as a mirror or glass," and "the knowledge of man is as the waters," expanding in each case upon the figurative statement. Here are a few passages from the *Defence* in which Shelley does the same (note that the first alludes to Bacon):

Hence epitomes have been called the moths of just history; they eat out the poetry of it. (vii, 115)

A great poem is a fountain for ever overflowing with the waters of wisdom and delight; and after one person and one age has exhausted all its divine effluence which their peculiar relations enable them to share, another and yet another succeeds, and new relations are ever developed . . . (vii, 131)

the mind in creation is as a fading coal, which some invisible influence, like an inconstant wind, awakens to transitory brightness . . . (vii, 135)

Shelley may have been attracted by this stylistic feature, especially since further analysis of the Baconian passages would show a concern for the "harmonious and rhythmical" periods which Shelley thought requisite.

This discussion of Shelley's praise of Bacon as a poet should be an additional guide to us in reading his own poetry. Bacon gives us examples of thought embodied in imagery after the manner attempted by Shelley, and the two writers have many ideas and images in common. Bacon is so well integrated into Shelley's thoughts and attitudes that the philosopher ought to be remembered in connection with the poet.

This integration, being a part of Shelley's intellectual growth and related to his finding of a distinctive idiom of poetic imagery, was only gradually achieved. By a process of assimilation probably stimulated by his reading of the *Novum Organum* in 1815, Shelley made Bacon his own.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

New Jersey.

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(Editor's note: Readers of this fine essay may be a little disturbed to find Shelley citing Bacon in his *The Necessity for Atheism*, while classing him with Plato and Socrates as poet and philosopher. In our next issue, however, we are printing a new and important contribution, *The Christianity of Francis Bacon*, by Professor Benjamin Farrington.)

TRAVELLER'S TALES

(I) POET - ADVENTURER

By NOEL FERMOR

On the 11th November, 1961, a plaque in memory of Sir Edwin Sandys was unveiled at Northbourne, in Kent, by his kinsman Mr. Duncan Sandys, now Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary. No history of the Virginia Company would be complete without reference to Edwin Sandys' administration over a number of years from its foundation to the establishment of the Colony under King James I, but his versatile younger brother, George, also has a special niche.

George Sandys (1578-1644) travelled extensively in Europe and the Near East from 1610-1612, but soon became interested in the Virginia Company, and acted as a colonial official from 1621-1625, returning to England only on the dissolution of the Company he had served so faithfully. The remaining years of his life, however, are of greater interest from the Baconian point of view. George Sandys was widely reputed to have been a classical scholar of considerable accomplishments, and in 1615 the first edition of his *A Relation of a Journey Began in Anno Dom. 1610.* appeared. This was followed in 1626 by *Ovid's Metamorphosis* including a title-page containing a classical proscenium with an "open space" in the centre. In the 1632 edition a curtain was placed in the centre — a favourite device in contemporary literature, the significance of which could hardly have been lost on the reader. According to the well-known American authority, Richard Beale Davis, in *George Sandys Poet-Adventurer* (1955), a similar title-page appeared in a 1619 French edition, the subsequent 1632 English edition also including a translation of the First Book of "Vergil's Aeneis."

Sandys lists the "principall Authors" amongst the Greeks, Romans, "antient Fathers," and "moderne writers" whom he has consulted, including Plato, Plutarch, Cicero, Pliny, St. Augustine, etc., and in later times, Geraldus, and Sabinus, naming as the "Crowne of the latter, the Viscount of St. Albons: assisted, though

less constantly, by other authors, almost of all Ages and Arguments." The list appears in an inconspicuous position, but this very fact may, of course, have meaning. Although Sandys refers to nearly two hundred authorities in the main commentaries of his *Metamorphosis*, Beale Davis says that "Sandys' acknowledged debt to Bacon is quite evident." Indeed, in these commentaries Bacon's *De Sapientia Veterum* (1609) is followed fairly closely, seventeen interpretations of classical myths being taken directly from that work.

Edward D. Johnson in an article in *Baconiana* of April, 1957, noted that in *A Relation of a Journey* no author's name was given on the title-page, although the Preface was "addressed to the Prince and signed George Sandys." He added that both Bacon and the author of the Shakespeare Plays would have read Sandys' *Journey* which was published only a few months before Will Shakspeare died in 1616. Beale Davis' comment on the help received by Sandys from Bacon therefore, is powerfully endorsed, and the parallelisms quoted from all three authors by Johnson in his article are entirely vindicated. Furthermore, as Bacon and Sandys referred to each other in their writings, the orthodox must be at a loss to explain why neither of them mentioned Shakespeare in any of their works, which appeared from 1597 onwards.

American academic circles usually adopt a more liberal attitude to the Baconian case than their British counterparts, and Beale Davis mentions in his book the note in *Baconiana* No. 108 of July, 1943, on the allusion in *Othello* to the icy, one-way prevailing current through the Bosphorus from the Black Sea (then termed the Pontus). Now this allusion forms part of 162 new lines which appeared first in the 1623 Folio, but were not in the quarto edition of 1622. In view of the several parallelisms in Shakespeare and Sandys the only reasonable assumption is that the lines in *Othello* were inspired by the *Journey*; Shakspeare, however, had been dead for seven years, and if we can find a similar reference by Bacon then it is surely obtuse to deny that he had a hand at least in the new lines in the 1623 *Othello*. In fact, Bacon did refer to the tide flowing *one way only* through the Bosphorus in his *De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris*, printed in 1616. Moreover Bacon, in the *Sylva Sylvarum*, and Shakespeare in *Antony and Cleopatra*, both record

the influence of the annual flooding on the timing of the crop-sowing in the Nile Valley, and as once again the *Journey* is almost certainly the common source of information, the orthodox position is seen to be virtually untenable.

Both Bacon and Sandys were closely connected with the Virginia Company, and, as already mentioned, there is ample evidence that they worked in collaboration. George Wither in his famous *The Great Assizes Holden in Parnassus by Apollo and His Assessours* (1645), mentions George Sandys at some length. It may be remembered that Drayton, Beaumont, Fletcher, Davenant, Massinger, Heywood, Shakespeare, etc., acted as jurors, and Bacon, Philip Sidney, Erasmus, Grotius, and others as the "Parnassian Court." Apparently Sandys was another "good pen," other works printed under his name being *A Paraphrase upon the Psalmes of David*, 1636, *A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems*, 1638, etc., *Christs Passion* (translated from Grotius) 1640, etc., and *A Paraphrase upon the Story of Solomon*, 1641/2. It is interesting that the psalms of David exercised the same fascination over Sandys as over Bacon and Milton.



(II) THE PLANTATIONS

Over four hundred years have elapsed since the birth of Francis Bacon but comparatively few of his countrymen are aware of his interest in colonisation. Readers of *Baconiana*, however, are well aware that the essay *Of Plantations* is not just a theoretical dissertation, but a storehouse of detailed information on the mechanics of colonisation, and of pragmatic wisdom, distilled from years of planning and organisation.

The results are seen in Newfoundland, the Bermudas, and Virginia, *i.e.* the foundation of the modern North American civilisation. Bacon's connection with the two last-named has been dealt with in recent numbers of *Baconiana*, but it is worth recording that D. W. Prowse in his *History of Newfoundland* (1895) pointed out that "It was entirely due to the great Chancellor's influence the King granted the advances and issued the charter to Bacon and his associates in Guy's Newfoundland Colonisation Company" under the Great Seal in 1610. Indeed, W. G. Gosling in his *Life of Sir Humphrey Gilbert* said that it was "more than probable Francis Bacon drafted the Charter of Guy's Company" granted by James I. Yet it was another Plantation which accorded more closely to Bacon's precept that "I like a *Plantation* in a pure soile; that is, where People are not *Displanted*, to the end, to Plant in Others."

* * *

A visitor to Ireland from overseas can hardly fail to notice the wide differences in culture, religion, ethnology, and material prosperity, between Ulster in the North, and Eire in the South, and the more discerning will realise that the cleavage is too deep-rooted to be haphazard. Ulster was, in fact, the *causa causans* of the Plantations, a major resettlement scheme of 1609, backed financially by the great Companies of the City of London, at the instigation of Francis Bacon, Salisbury, and Members of the Council in London.

Gilbert Camblin, in the *Town in Ulster*, published in 1951, wrote as follows: — "The great scheme for the development of six Ulster counties and the building of twenty-three new towns . . . is one of the earliest examples of regional planning; indeed, despite a considerable amount of research on the subject, I have been unable to find any reference to a scheme of this kind of earlier

date." He added that the plan was the most important for the building of new towns in the British Isles until just before the end of the Second World War.

Each town was carefully planned on instructions from the London Council issued in 1610, and each was vital to the future well-being of the Province, the native Irish being woefully backward, brick or stone houses virtually non-existent, and the only towns of importance, Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Wexford, and Limerick, being outside the Six Counties. The Plantation scheme was essentially one to appeal to Bacon's great heart, and though his participation is historically documented the usual sources give no clue as to the reason why the King was determined to approve such a project.

We know that Bacon favoured "community grouping" for economic and military reasons, with all building to be carried out under the State, and we may conclude that his influence, and that of Salisbury, was powerful, but adaptable to changing circumstances.

The City of London's close association with Northern Ireland is perpetuated in the name of Londonderry, the only city in the British Isles that can boast of walls that stand as they did as long ago as 1620. The Irish Society, founded to develop and manage lands in Ulster by the Common Council of the City of London, still maintains the historic links reviewed by Edmund Spenser in his *A View of the State of Ireland*, written over three hundred years ago.

(III) NO MEAN CITY

*When nations grow old, the Arts grow cold
And Commerce settles on every tree.*

Wm. Blake.

The number of magnificent London libraries, each with its unique treasures, is startling — at least to the unsophisticated in such matters. Doubtless most people are aware of the existence of the Library at the Guildhall, in the City of London, though fewer have had the opportunity to visit this historic building. In any event, the more precious possessions of the library are not usually on view to the public, and we were glad to see a perfect copy of the First Shakespeare Folio there during the celebrations for the Festival of the City of London, in July last. There are only fourteen perfect specimens extant, although some two hundred copies survive. The caption writer shrewdly pointed out that eighteen new plays were first printed in this Folio, but tactfully did not mention that Shaksper had died seven years previously in 1616.

Another treasure on exhibition was the only surviving copy of *Descensus Astraea*, dated 1591. This pamphlet by George Peele, M.A. of Oxford University, dramatist, and son of a citizen salter of London, was written for the inauguration of William Webb, salter by trade, as Lord Mayor, and printed for William Wright. We also noted (though these were not on exhibition) works by Camden, Jonson and Speed (*History of Great Britain*), etc., but the exhibit really to catch the eye was undoubtedly the actual deed of purchase of a Blackfriars house, bought by William Shaksper in conjunction with Trustees for £140. Orthodox scholars claim that there are five other undisputed Shaksper signatures, three on his will, one on a mortgage deed dated 11th March, 1612/13 for £60 relating to the same property, and now in the British Museum, and one as a witness of a deposition dated 11th May, 1612, arising from a domestic quarrel between Christopher Mountjoy and his son-in-law Stephen Bellot, now in the

Public Record Office. A useful introduction to the subject is provided by Sir E. M. Thompson's book, *Shakespeare's Handwriting*, published in 1916, and often quoted by orthodox writers.

Exhibitions such as this, which must have been attended by a large number of visitors, serve a useful educational purpose and must surely stimulate the more diligent to further investigation into Elizabethan and Jacobean literature, if not to all the revelations which await the seeker after truth.

NOTICE

The Goldsmiths' Librarian, University of London Library, Senate House, Malet Street, W.C.1, has asked if any of our Members could supply a portrait of Sir Francis Bacon for the Library. Any books, relating to Bacon or the authorship question, or to Elizabethan and Stuart times generally, would be welcomed as additions to the Society's Library there, which is on permanent loan. Books produced in the XVIth or XVIIth century would be especially acceptable.

N.F.

BOOK REVIEWS

Francis Bacon, by Benjamin Farrington;

(Weidenfeld & Nicolson; price 10/6).

This little book of 103 pages is the latest of the Pathfinder Biographies for young people. I believe it will also find a place on the bookshelf of the dedicated student, replacing perhaps some more ponderous biography. It is charmingly and fluently written; the portrait of Francis Bacon which emerges is refreshingly clear and attractive, and the quotations from his works are unusual and well-chosen — never hackneyed.

To the young person of to-day scientific discovery is a dominant interest. But Professor Farrington, like Francis Bacon himself, is convinced that all scientific progress ought to be inspired and guided by a moral and religious motif. There is a passage in the *Valerius Terminus* which he might almost have taken as his text . . .

. . . seeing that knowledge is of the number of those things which are to be accepted with caution and distinction, and being now to open a fountain such as it is not easy to discern where the issues and streams thereof will fall, I thought it necessary in the first place to make a strong head or bank to rule the course of the waters, by setting down this position . . . *that all knowledge is to be limited by religion, and referred to use and action.*

(Francis Bacon)

This enlightened view of Bacon at once disposes of much ill-informed and even malignant criticism. It shows that Bacon toiled for the spiritual betterment of mankind.

As a young man at Gray's Inn, Bacon wrote theatricals on the theme of science in the service of man, strongly urging "the conquest of the works of Nature". But he did not, on this account, neglect his legal studies, and as early as 1596 he wrote *Maxims of the Law* which even looked at this great subject through the eyes of a statesman. For Bacon was not a politician in the modern degraded sense. Professor Farrington aptly quotes his conception of his House of Commons: —

I wish by all means, that the house may be compounded not of young men, but of the greatest gentlemen of quality of their country, and ancient parliament men, and the principal and greatest lawyers . . . and the chiefest merchants, and likewise travellers and statesmen; and, in a word, that it be a sufficient house, worthy to consult within the great causes of the Commonwealth.

Bacon foresaw the fatal clash between Crown and Commons and there can be little doubt that if his voice had been heard the Civil War would have been averted. Notwithstanding his reverence for the monarchy, he championed the poor against injustice at risk of the disfavour of Queen Elizabeth and King James. S. R. Gardiner, the historian, rightly wrote of him: "To carry out his programme would have been to avert the evils of the next half-century". As Professor Farrington puts it, "His philosophy and his politics were two aspects of the one endeavour — the health, wealth, and well-being of his country". Perhaps modern economists could learn something from Bacon. Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia* had considered the remedy of an equal distribution of wealth; Bacon wanted a transformation of the means of production for "the Glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate on earth".

On the subject of Bacon's religious tolerance, Professor Farrington is equally illuminating. Two neglected early writings, *An Advertisement touching the controversies of the Church and Observations on a Libel* are both well discussed, and, from the latter, a charming pen picture of Elizabethan England is brought to our notice. Justice is also done to Bacon's *Henry VIII*, which has long been recognised as one of the greatest repositories of political wisdom in our language. Bacon's noble words on the poetic Muse (quoted by Professor Farrington on page 121) will bear repeating here. Reading them one can understand how they fired the imagination of Shelley . . .

As the sensible world is inferior in dignity to the rational soul, poetry seems to bestow upon human nature those things which history denies it. A sound argument may be drawn from poetry to show that there is agreeable to the spirit of man a more ample greatness, a more perfect order, and a more beautiful variety than it can anywhere (since the Fall)

find in nature So that this poetry conduces not only to delight but also to magnanimity and morality. Whence it may fairly be thought to partake somewhat of a divine nature; because it raises the mind and carries it aloft, accommodating the shows of things to the desires of the mind, not (like reason and history) buckling and bowing the mind to the nature of things.

(*De Augmentis II (13) Spedding translation*)

it possible to find a truer Shakespearean rule than this?

Unlike so many contemporary historians, Professor Farrington believes whole-heartedly in Bacon. He exonerates him from blame at the Essex Inquiry and Trial, points out that his policy of religious tolerance would have averted the disastrous conflict between the Puritans and the Church of England, and considers the Essays to be the work of a man who "can think more wisely than his fellows on all the various contingencies of life." Yet perhaps the biographer's greatest contribution is his grasp of the development of Bacon's ideals in a sequence of writings culminating in the profound *Instauratio Magna*, pointing the way to man's spiritual destiny — *i.e.* dominion over Nature and the redemption of humanity through Christ's Kingdom to come. Perhaps the *New Atlantis* is the best proof that Bacon's vision did not fall short of the biblical mission.

This short study of Francis Bacon has reminded me of many things and instructed me in others. It is a book to buy and keep.
M.P.

A Chant of Pleasant Exploration, by Ella Horsey;
(Psychic Press; price 18/-).

A search for treasure in unknown lands is a recurrent theme in fiction. Ella Horsey set out on a real journey of mental and spiritual exploration, which she aptly and lucidly describes in her book; and so here there is a difference, for her treasure is somewhat intangible and her book is not fictitious but true. The book is easy reading and the chapter headings, which evoke a voyage of discovery, are enticing. The title *A Chant of Pleasant Exploration* is derived from a poem by Walt Whitman whose beautiful lines give a key to Miss Horsey's story.

In a chapter called "The Admiral Comes Aboard" the author describes how a friendship was formed with Alfred Dodd who is

well known to many Baconians, how she was led away from the orthodox conception of Francis Bacon — the corrupt judge — and learnt the true story of his life, character and work, as well as being introduced to the Bacon/Shakespeare theory; and in a chapter entitled "Portraits" she gives a vivid account of how she came to buy the Van Somer portrait of Francis Bacon, a reproduction of which hangs in the Society's office at Canonbury Tower.

As fellow members of the Francis Bacon Society we wish Ella Horsey's book every success.

E.M.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor,

Dear Sir, — I am writing to let you know I have associated myself with the Shakespearean Action Committee as outlined in a letter, dated 11th February, in *The Daily Telegraph*, in their desire to try and persuade the Vicar of Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon, to investigate the tomb and monument of Shakespeare. However, after much study and reading, I am fully convinced that there might very well be some of the missing manuscripts within the *chair* at St. Michael's Church, St. Albans and I'm writing to you now to know if you can use your influence with the Committee to have the *chair* examined, also. I should think this would be a much easier task than persuading the Vicar of Holy Trinity Church to agree to any request about the tomb of Shakespeare.

It seems, I am not alone in thinking the *chair* at St. Michael's may hold a great secret.

Only yesterday, in reply to my letter of thanks to Mr. Edward D. Johnson, for sending me a copy of his book, *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, he mentioned that 47 years ago he met a descendant of Sir Thomas Meautys, who agreed there is probably something hidden in the St. Michael's Church monument. This was in answer to my own expressed views on the matter.

Yours sincerely,

NELLIE POCOCK (Miss).

The Editor, *Baconiana*,

Sir,

I should like to take respectful issue with Pierre Henrion's article, "Scientific Cryptology Examined", in *Baconiana* No. 160, which has just been brought to my attention. M. Henrion speaks repeatedly of a "skilfully generalized cryptology" and "the subtle cryptology of a secret society of the past" (pages 46 and 47), which he contrasts with the "yes-no, right-wrong systems of modern codified cryptography" and "the inflexibility of the rules of modern encipherment" (pages 61 and 46). He re-emphasizes this dichotomy in his letter in *Baconiana* No. 161.

May I ask M. Henrion where in the history of cryptology he finds any descriptions of a "generalized cryptology"? No writers of the Baconian era mention it, so far as I am aware, nor do they distinguish a "generalized" from a rigid form of the science. Nor

do actual ciphers of the period give evidence of two kinds of cipher-science. Early cryptograms from about the 800s to the 1300s consist largely of substitution of dots or consonants for vowels in a few words or signatures in manuscripts. Later systems enlarge this to substitution of symbols for all letters, as in the ciphers of Mary, Queen of Scots, which are contemporaneous with Bacon, and still later to small codes, in which letters, numbers and symbols stand for individual letters, syllables and words. Jargon codes, in which a code name like THE ROSE stands for the clear text name *The Pope*, abound, but though the intention of such systems is concealment, there is no question of ambiguity in their decipherment: THE ROSE invariably means *The Pope*. None of these systems permit any looseness — the errors of the cipher clerks introduced enough indeterminacy into the decipherments without the deliberate addition of more.

But perhaps M. Henrion has evidence to the contrary, garnered, like my information, from the archives of Venice, Florence, the Papal Curia, and Great Britain, from scholarly works based on direct examination of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts, and from study of the classical authors of the Baconian period, such as Trithemius, Porta, and Vigenère. I challenge him to produce such evidence — and not merely one or two isolated examples, but instances sufficiently distributed in time and space to give a fair sampling of the practice of the age. This would lay the foundation for a useful discussion as to whether he is correct in interpreting these facts to mean a different, subtler, and more flexible kind of cryptology than today's. At present, however, M. Henrion's statement is nothing more than an assertion — and an entirely unsubstantiated one, at that.

Very truly yours,

DAVID KAHN.

Mr. Kahn is President of the New York Cipher Society, and author of a number of articles on cryptology in which subject he is an enthusiastic amateur. He was a favourable reviewer of the Friedman book for the *New York Times Book Review*. He agreed with their view that none of the ciphers thus far adduced in support of Baconian authorship of Shakespearean plays exist. We have therefore invited Professor Henrion to reply to this letter and we have received the following: -

Sir,

Mr. David Kahn thought it worth while to send me a challenge. It is a well devised challenge in itself but, in modern forensic parlance, I must, alas, consider it "irrelevant and immaterial".

Mr. Kahn is a "cryptologist", so let us not play on words. Specialists of cryptoGRAPHY have often monopolized the word cryptoLOGY by giving it an illegitimate — but now current and accepted — sense: but this should not blind people. By derivation, the word cryptoLOGY should mean the art of HIDING anything anyhow. Cryptography is an interesting branch of it, the most interesting for practical purposes, so that the branch now wants to control the whole tree. Cryptography has long been used extensively by diplomats, armies, and official organizations, which were bound more or less to keep records and technical handbooks.

The users of generalized cryptology, on the other hand, carefully and brilliantly *avoided* leaving any records, even in the Papal Curia. For a Brother of the Rosicrosse, for instance, that would have been high treason. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, more cautious than Mr. Kahn, confesses that elements are missing or not yet divulged for an adequate study even of cryptography! Whenever, by accident, a valuable record appears, it is either destroyed or efficiently swept out of the way, in the interests of what is called "Security".

Let me take a recent and concrete example. In 1952 for the first time the brightest trick of cryptoLOGY used to hide Bacon's name in his concealed work, and used later by his disciples as a proof they were in the secret (Mr. Friedman as the author of a certain preface should know!!) was made public and sufficiently proved in a book, *Défense de Will*. Later, in its catalogue of May 5th 1960, (item 996) the Librairie Thiebaud, rue des Ecoles, Paris, advertised a curious copy of Selenus' *Cryptomenytices*, the careful description making it appear (without a shadow of doubt) that the trick mentioned above has been made concretely apparent to the addressee of that particular copy by means of carefully inserted traces of gold leaf. Material proof of that kind was, in fact, no longer necessary. The demonstration given in *Défense de Will* had been quite enough to give away the secret and did not even involve tampering with a rare book; but still I rang up the firm. The book was already sold to a buyer who refused to disclose his name or even to let anyone see it. All the firm would let out, and that most reluctantly, was that the buyer

was a . . . PUBLIC library! A public library that buys a book in order to hide it from scholars! Should not this give Mr. Kahn furiously to think? As an experienced cryptologist he might try to track this precious book, and get something better than a description, *i.e.*, the very *corpus delicti*! He might perhaps enlist the help of the Folger Library!

What proof does Mr. Kahn need in order to be satisfied that any previous "description" will have vanished into thin air? Indeed it would have been useless to whisk away this copy of Selenus if all previous dangerous documents had not been as successfully conjured away! Q.E.D. I check that all my pockets are empty and then (empty triumph!) challenge Mr. Kahn to find anything in them!

Now it seems to me that Mr. Kahn has fallen, or writes as if he had fallen, into the trap into which some *bona fide* cipher specialists fall. He speaks of "actual ciphers" of the period that give no evidence of generalised cryptology. But a modern specialist *cannot* (or will not) recognize an old cryptological trick even when he sees one! The great weapon is dissimulation, easily allowed by generalized cryptology, but not by modern cryptography. Trithemius, Selenus and the rest wrote their books ostensibly to explain cryptography, but actually to dissimulate what we call cryptology. A mechanical cipher looks like one, and therefore invites investigation. A hidden thing must be so well hidden that it does not look so inviting. Maybe some of my disciples are luckier than Mr. Kahn. They have been shown documents that are cryptological tricks so well devised that you might refuse to believe they are tricks even when warned that they are! But when the trick is explained your reaction will always be "How could I be such a fool as not to see it at once?"

Now the fact that there is no available record of certain things does not prove that the things never existed. Besides, why ask for ancient "descriptions" when the things are still under your nose? Let Mr. Kahn carefully study the photographs in *Défense de Will*. There is no whisking them away; the book is in print and, if "specialists" of today do not understand, the coming generations will.

My turn to challenge. Take even the childish semi-acrostic system. In Shakesperean cryptoLOGY it passes practical probability (see *Baconiana*, No. 160), therefore it must be admitted by intelligent people and is worth loads of records or testimonies of "experts". It is amenable to the experimental method. If the

diptych-like semi-acrostic palindrome C/No/A/B/A/Con in Arnold's *Merope* (*Baconiana* 160, p. 58, and 162 p. 60) most imprudently quoted by Mr. Friedman, is due to pure chance and "easily found", then a double HIDIS semi-acrostic palindrome can be just as "easily" found.

HIDIS is chosen for three reasons: firstly the estimated frequency of this combination of letters offers almost the same chances of occurring fortuitously; secondly it is *meaningless*, for you never know what meaningful word may not have been inserted wilfully. Lastly HIDIS is chosen by the challenger and therefore precludes all possibility of a special combination of letters (already found by chance) being used in answer.

The principle cannot be repeated too often: if chance can produce B A C O N in acrostic palindromes, it can also produce other acrostic palindromes of similar estimated frequency, and HIDIS in the number: so it is HIDIS we want.

I challenge Mr. Kahn to find a double HIDIS semi-acrostic palindrome, using the vertical initial letters of any poem in English published before 1950, with H as the common linking letter, and allowing the same anagrammatic displacement in one of its branches as occurs in the example taken from *Merope*, say D/SI/I/H/I/DIS. The combination DIS will be allowed as part of the acrostic, in the same way that Arnold and his predecessors made use of the combination CON. I maintain that Matthew Arnold practised the same time-honoured generalized cryptology as Shake-speare and others.

Yours sincerely,

PIERRE HENRION.

We print below a selection of the letters in *The Times* and *The Sunday Telegraph* referred to in the Editorial, and — for the record — two unpublished letters from our President to *The Times*. *The Sunday Telegraph* correspondence stemmed from an excellent article by Arthur Calder-Marshall.

The Editor, *The Times*,

Sir, — To mark the 400th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth, an appeal for £250,000 has been launched by the Trustees of the reputed "Birthplace" at Stratford-on-Avon.

Would not this be an appropriate occasion to open Shakespeare's tomb in the Parish Church at Stratford and to ascertain

once and for all, for the benefit of scholars all over the world, whether this tomb contains any manuscripts or contemporary historical evidence bearing on the life and times of the Bard?

The inscription on the present gravestone (which is not the same as that recorded by Steevens and Malone) is still old enough to suggest a mystery. It is as follows:—

GOOD FREND FOR IESVS SAKE FORBEARE,
 TO DIGG THE DVST ENCLOSED HEARE:
 BLESE BE YE MAN Y^T SPARES THES STONES,
 AND CVRST BE HE Y^T MOVES MY BONES.

Superstitious people will of course be frightened of the implied curse. But this no longer applies having been originally inscribed to discourage investigation in the period immediately following Shakespeare's death.

It is possible that the tomb may not now contain anything of interest, though it may once have done so. Many of your readers will know that it was customary for written tributes to a deceased poet to be cast into his grave. While it is likely that most of these would be recovered before the sealing of the tomb, some might have been left.

An examination of the tomb would immediately establish whether any tributes were left, and their recovery would add considerably to our knowledge of the man himself, and of contemporary opinion about his work. The fact that not one single Shakespearian manuscript has been preserved has very naturally given rise to speculations, which might then be resolved.

I hope this suggestion will commend itself to men of letters and men of law, whatever their views concerning the authorship. The opening of the tomb could be a simple and inexpensive operation, and could be carried out reverently, and in the true spirit of historical research.

Yours truly,
 CHRISTMAS HUMPHREYS,
 RONALD DUNCAN,
 FRANCIS CARR, Editor of
Past and Future.

34, Hillgate Place, W.8, Aug. 28.

Sir, — Respect for the wishes of the dead may not be the most conspicuous virtue of the age we live in. Yet I think that many besides myself will be shocked by the letter which you print from Mr. Christmas Humphreys and his friends.

It is arguable that England and the world owe more to William Shakespeare than to any other Englishman. Certainly our debt is immense. Shakespeare has asked one thing only of posterity, that his tomb should not be disturbed. How does Mr. Humphreys propose to celebrate Shakespeare's fourth centenary? By opening the tomb to satisfy curiosity.

Let us hope that Shakespeare's curse on those who move his bones is still in good working order.

Yours truly,
ANTHONY R. WAGNER,
Garter King of Arms.

College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.4.

Sir, — There is no question about the validity — and wisdom — in opening the grave of William Shakespeare which Messrs. Humphreys, Duncan and Carr would like to see done. In the holy search for truth (and the ancillary possibility of discovering priceless historical documents) it is almost mandatory for scholarship and the Stratford authorities to accede to their suggestion. There exists a reasonable possibility that something of surpassing literary significance may be found in the grave. Egyptologists are continually opening and uncovering graves without any accusation of "ghouls" hurled at them.

Ironically, the very nature of the prohibition on Shakespeare's burial slab *invites* (rather than *forbids*) its opening.

It is melancholy to predict, however, that opening the tomb of Shakespeare will never occur. Too much is at stake for too many interests.

Yours faithfully,
CALVIN HOFFMAN.

4, Lyall Street, S.W.1, August 30.

Sir, — I cannot forbear writing to express my entire agreement with Professor Dover Wilson's letter objecting to the opening of Shakespeare's grave, which you published in your issue of September 1.

Your obedient servant,
T. S. ELIOT.

24, Russell Square, W.C.1, Sept. 2.

Sir, — Unlike Sir Anthony Wagner (September 3) I cannot feel shocked by Mr. Christmas Humphreys's letter.

At a time when the Trustees of the "Birthplace" at Stratford-on-Avon are launching an appeal for £250,000, they might more speedily achieve this enormous target were they to show themselves interested in furthering the cause of historical research and truth.

Vested interest in Stratford would have nothing to lose were the tomb found to be empty, whereas the discovery of some manuscript or even the smallest tribute would tell us something of Shakespeare about whom practically nothing is known with certainty.

Yours truly,

J. D. MACONCHIE,

14, Fordham Court, De Vere Gardens, W.8, Sept. 4.

Sir, — The juxtaposition in *The Times* today of a letter from one distinguished professor, protesting against the proposed desecration of Shakespeare's grave, and of an article by another, rejoicing in the disinterment of "a superb man" who might "conceivably" have been Leif Eiriksson, invites the cautious inquiry; when does grave-robbing become archaeology? The "transportable remains" of the Norsemen are to be subjected to "prolonged examination", appropriately enough in Denmark. And then? Exhibited (in default of grave-goods)? Given Christian reburial? Disposed of? "Did these bones cost no more the breeding but to play at loggats with 'em? mine ache to think on't".

Yours faithfully,

JOHN BUXTON.

New College, Oxford, Sept. 1.

Sir, — Since recently coming here to England from America to do some research on Shakespeare, I have become most interested in the lively controversy over opening Shakespeare's tomb. Both sides argue earnestly. Those who are for opening the tomb find the scarecrow inscription on the grave no caveat, rather an invitation. Tradition holds no terrors for them; in fact, the dusty past is little more than a Higher Humbuggery. The search for truth, they feel, should not be inhibited by such sacerdotal dupery as a man's last words.

Shocked and outraged, the anti-exhumers react with violent recoil. Disinterment would show disrespect for

the dead, ghoulish grave-robbing, and indecent curiosity. A dead man's wish is sacred, not to be violated by a kind of operation holy habeas corpus. Excavators are mere desecrators.

In spite of the lovers of mould, I favour the side of the excavators: for I feel they make the more accurate distinction between what is living and what is dead. What lives is Shakespeare's plays, his art. All the rest is dead, irretrievably dead, except the present reality of his surviving plays. If there were the slightest chance of finding another play, or even a manuscript fragment, it would be worth opening all the dusty tombs in England. That is how much I revere and respect William Shakespeare.

Sincerely, etc.,

WILLIAM W. MAIN,

Associate Professor, University of
Redlands, California.

32, Coram Street, Russell Square, W.C.1.

Sir, — Objective and accurate reconstruction of past events, using all available data, is the sole purpose of historical research. Will no professional historian defend this fundamental principle of his trade and so answer the Poet and the Herald?

Personal attitudes, strongly and reverently held, have often obscured historical truth. Have we proof that Shakespeare himself approved the inscription on his grave? Should this epitaph be used possibly to distort posterity's image of his life and death?

Yours faithfully,

J. C. C. HOLDER.

3, Ennismore Gardens, S.W.7, Sept. 9.

Sir, — Mr. J. C. C. Holder, whose letter appears in your issue of September 11, is under a misapprehension if he supposes that it is the inscription on Shakespeare's grave that leads me to object to what I consider desecration. He cannot have read the letter from Professor Dover Wilson, with which I expressed *entire* agreement.

My objection would be the same to the opening of the grave, on grounds such as those put forward, of any man or woman who had been given a Christian burial.

I am assuming that I am the correspondent to whom Mr. Holder refers as "the Poet".

24, Russell Square, W.C.1.

Your obedient servant,

T. S. ELIOT.

Sir, — Before you close this correspondence to make room for more serious matters will you allow me to comment briefly upon some of the letters the writers of which seem to live in a different world from my own; or rather in a different century, since early in the XXth discoveries were made about Shakespeare by librarians of the British Museum and Trinity College, Cambridge, which for ever put out of question any doubts about the authorship of the plays.

Since the results were set both in publications of a specialist and technical character they are even yet not fully appreciated by ordinary readers, as your correspondence shows. I may however refer to Sir Edmund Chambers's *William Shakespeare* two vols, 1930, and Sir Walter Greg's *The Shakespeare First Folio*, 1955, in which inquirers should be able to find what they need. I may perhaps add that 40 years ago I found what I needed to begin a new edition of Shakespeare for the Cambridge University Press, an edition in which all the plays of the canon are now published.

Finally, let me note one indubitable and hitherto never questioned fact upon which the would-be doubters preserve a strange silence. In 1593-94 two long poems on classical themes were printed by Richard Field of Stratford on Avon and dedicated to the Earl of Southampton in a couple of letters signed "William Shakespeare", poems so successful and well thought of that the author at once took his place among the leading poets of the time.

But the truth is there are two schools of thought about the origins of Shakespeare's plays, the scholars and the cranks.

Yours truly,
J. DOVER WILSON.

Balerno, Midlothian.

Unpublished Letters

Sir, — There seems to be a distinct cleavage of opinion over this suggestion. On one side is a genuine anxiety about disturbing existing traditions; on the other there is a genuine desire for historical truth. May I emphasise that idle curiosity is not a motive in asking for this search; nor, I trust, are commercial interests a reason for opposing it. But surely it is stretching things too far to say that the doggerel lines on the tombstone represent the

dearest wishes of Shakespeare, or even that they are his own composition!

It is hard to see anything sacrilegious and irreverent in a serious and solemn investigation of a tomb. There are many precedents. Ben Jonson's famous "square foot of earth" in Westminster Abbey was opened and his upright position confirmed; Spenser's tomb has also been partially examined and the Walsingham Tomb at Chislehurst has been searched for evidence of Marlowe. The vault in St. Michael's Church, St. Albans, where Bacon desired to be buried, has been examined without apparently finding his remains. In none of these cases was there anything in the nature of a desecration. If I may reverse John Buxton's most cogent question — when does Archaeology become grave-robbing?

There is a time when traditions should be verified, and in this instance there surely could be no better occasion than the four hundredth anniversary of Shakespeare's birth. Or are we to wait for the four thousandth anniversary? The authorities at Stratford are almost called upon to conduct an investigation on a matter which is of interest to the whole civilised world. The quater-centenary is not an occasion for pulling wool over people's eyes, or for burying the truth for ever.

Yours faithfully,
MARTIN PARES.

Chelsea, S.W.3. Sept. 4.

Sir, — In this controversy, which is psychologically most interesting, the Francis Bacon Society has so far taken no part. Before this correspondence is closed (as Professor Dover Wilson is evidently hoping) may I beg leave to reply on behalf of our members? The Professor does not make it clear in his letter who are the cranks and who are the scholars, but at least we are in good company. Lord Palmerston, Disraeli, Emerson, Mark Twain, Prince Bismarck, A. P. Sinnett, Lord Penzance, and Henry James, are a few among those who have rejected the Stratford legend.

Most of us would favour a solemn and serious examination of this tomb. Our sole object, since our Society was founded in 1885, has been the quest of truth. But, as Francis Bacon has noticed in one of his finest essays, Truth is not always popular, and particularly because "when it is found, it imposeth upon men's thoughts". This is what orthodox scholars fear most: that

the so-called cranks might prove to be scholars too.

The fact that the dedications of the two Shakespearean poems, first printed in 1593 and 1594, are subscribed "William Shakespeare" constitutes no proof that this was the Stratford actor; nor were these poems printed in Stratford-on-Avon. Is it really unheard of for anyone to use a pen-name? Sir Thomas More put out some of his writings under a pseudonym, and it is certain that Bacon did. I would refer Professor Dover Wilson to the words of Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1679 . . .

"Those who have true skill in the Works
of the Lord Verulam . . . can tell by
the Design, the Strength, the way of
Colouring, whether he was the Author
of this or the other Piece, *though his
Name be not to it.*

Sir E. K. Chambers' *William Shakespeare* and Sir Walter Greg's *The Shakespeare First Folio*, excellent as they are on textual matters, fail completely to identify the Stratford man with the authorship of the plays. Indeed there is not a manuscript nor even a letter on any subject in his handwriting to support this claim: a claim incidentally which he himself never made.

The *Shakspere Allusion Book* does not help us to solve this great literary problem. To claim all the eulogies intended for the author of the plays as being intended for Will Shakspeare of Stratford is, clearly, to beg the whole question of the author's identity. If anything authentic were to be found in his tomb, no matter whether it supported our theory or not, we would welcome it. We are not, like our opponents, frightened of the truth.

MARTIN PARES, President,
Francis Bacon Society.

Canonbury Tower, Islington, N.1. Sept. 14.

The Editor, *Sunday Telegraph*,

A QUESTIONABLE BIRTHPLACE?

Sir, — Mr. Levi Fox, Director of the Birthplace Trust, tells me he has no comment to make on my article on Shakespeare's tomb ("Shakespeare for Tourists," September 2).

But the points raised by Sir E. K. Chambers in his masterly "Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems" still require an answer. In Vol. 2 pages 33/34 he wrote: "Where, then, was

Shakespeare born? So far as the records go, it may have been in Greenhill Street and it may have been in Henley Street, and if in Henley Street it may certainly have been in the eastern house, bought in 1556. Could it have been in the western house?

"A plan of 1759 and a view of 1769 couple the two buildings as the house in which the poet was born. And at the Jubilee of 1769 a precise 'birthroom' was indicated. The eastern first-floor room of the western house is now called the 'birthroom.'

"Obviously the influx of visitors in 1769 would require precise specification, rather than historical accuracy from the mouths of local guides. Nor can it be certain that even a birthplace in Henley Street itself, still less the identification of it as the western rather than the eastern tenement, rests on any continuous local tradition."

Can Mr. Fox refute this statement, which excellently establishes that the auction of "The Birthplace" in 1847 was a clever stunt, dreamed up by a London auctioneer, to sell the property at more than 10 times the price it had fetched when it changed hands earlier in the nineteenth century?

ARTHUR CALDER-MARSHALL.

Twickenham, Middlesex.

Sir, — As Mr. Levi Fox is unable to answer the very pertinent questions which he has been asked — both as regards the authenticity of the Shakespeare Birthplace, and the reasons for concealing the real income of the Birthplace Trust — I hope that you will be able to sum up the position in a final article on the subject.

The public relies on the leading national newspapers, surely, to see that, when appeals are made for the public's money, all relevant information is given, and that there has been no concealment of assets.

FRANCIS CARR.

Editor, *Past & Future*,
London, W.8.

Sir, — The refusal by Mr. Levi Fox, Director of the Birthplace Trust at Stratford-on-Avon, to comment on the points raised by Mr. Arthur Calder-Marshall can only be interpreted as an acknowledgment that there is no evidence as to where, in the parish of Stratford, Shakespeare was born.

For just over one hundred years the public have been told by

the trustees and the guide books that the house in Henley Street was "the birthplace of Shakespeare," and a room on the first floor was that in which he was born. The total sum paid by the public on this understanding is fabulous. It is only right and proper that this deception should be abandoned.

No wonder that the conscience-stricken Mr. Joseph Skipsey, who was Custodian of the "Birthplace" from 1889-1891, resigned because he felt he could no longer be a party to the deception.

R. L. EAGLE.

Falmouth.

Sir, — The article "Shakespeare for Tourists" (Sept. 2), and Mr. Calder-Marshall's letter last Sunday show that he intends to get to the bottom of this matter. And why not? Either the birthplace is authentic or it is not; a straight answer to a straight question is all that is required.

Until these doubts are removed many people will share Arthur Calder-Marshall's reserve about the proposed new buildings at Stratford and the Appeal for £250,000. The authorities at Stratford, before appealing for public money, are almost called upon to investigate matters which are of interest to the whole civilised world and, if necessary, to reveal their gross income.

There is a time when traditions should be verified, and what better occasion than the 400th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth? No chance, however remote, of finding a genuine manuscript of Shakespearean play or poem should be neglected.

The proposal to examine Shakespeare's tomb seems to have aroused a note of hysteria in some parts. Mr. Levi Fox has spoken of "resisting these fanatics at all costs." But what a wonderful thing it would be if the original MS of "King Lear" could be handed down to posterity. There may be nothing concealed in this tomb; but it is just within the bounds of possibility that there may be a priceless literary treasure.

Surely the quater-centenary is not an occasion for pulling wool over the people's eyes or burying truth for ever. The Monument, the Tomb and the Birthplace, all require most careful investigation.

MARTIN PARES.

London, S.W.3.

Sir, — As the writer who stimulated the correspondence about the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust with my article "Shakespeare for Tourists" (Sept. 2), may I be allowed to sum up?

There appears to be only one conclusion to be drawn from the refusal of Mr. Levi Fox and the Trustees of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust to answer the questions addressed to them about the authenticity of the Shakespeare "birthplace" in Henley Street.

It is that they agree with Sir E. K. Chambers that there is no conclusive evidence that Shakespeare was born in Henley Street, but that having built up an organisation which (a) is a source of tourist income for Stratford-on-Avon, (b) makes some contribution to Shakespearean study and (c) provides visitors to the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre with something to do between performances, they consider it would be a pity if anything were done which might threaten any or all of these more or less laudable sources of income, scholarship and drama.

The Henley Street Museum is interesting as a museum without the need to dress it up as Shakespeare's birthplace. At the moment the Birthplace Trust is ticking over nicely as a tourist attraction, half fraudulent and half genuine. The measure of this strange double activity is shown by Mr. Levi Fox's statement in the literature published by the Birthplace Trust that the Henley Street Birthplace is genuine, and by his refusal to repeat that statement in the pages of *The Sunday Telegraph*.

There is something to be said for allowing old-established frauds to enjoy the benefits of their establishment, if something genuinely useful is added. But when, on the basis of the acceptance of such a fraud, the public is asked for a further quarter of a million pounds, there is surely a case for demanding a guarantee, before the money is subscribed, that it should be devoted to the discovery of truth, rather than the perpetuation of a tourist attraction the authenticity of which no member of the Birthplace Trust is willing publicly to affirm.

A. CALDER-MARSHALL.

Twickenham, Middlesex.

THE ECONOMIST AND PUNCH REVIEWS

From *The Economist*

OLD BONES

It is extremely unlikely that Mr. Christmas Humphreys, Q.C., and others, will succeed in their campaign to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth by getting somebody to take a peep inside his tomb at what they call the poet's "reputed birthplace" at Stratford-on-Avon. This is not because many people suppose that such "desecration" would really bring down the dire consequences threatened by the famous warning on the gravestone :

"GOOD FRENDE FOR IESVS SAKE FORBEARE,
TO DIGG THE DVST ENCLOSED HEARE:
BLESE BE YE MAN Y^T SPARES THES STONES,
AND CVRST BE HE Y^T MOVES MY BONES."

It is because the ordinary Englishman still blithely assumes, like Shakespeare or whoever wrote his tomb's inscription, that after death his own body will be allowed to lie on undisturbed for aeons to come. With over 30,000 Britons dying in this crowded island each year, this assumption that each can expect to fill 30 or so square feet of urban land in perpetuity is — be it softly whispered — as absurd as dread of the curse.

Most of us who choose to be buried will be turned over in our graves many times before 350 years are up, as indeed has already happened to the majority of Shakespeare's contemporaries. And among the tombs which have remained intact, virtually all — including Shakespeare's — will certainly have been peeped into at some time or other when adjoining vaults were dug. On religious grounds it has always seemed curious that Christian men have taken over from pagans a tradition of awesome respect for the so-called "resting place" of a dead, entirely spiritless body; one cannot really see why one's crumbled remains some years after interment should be regarded as "oneself" any more than are individual components of one's living body — say an extracted appendix — which most of us are only too glad to know has been deposited in a hospital dustbin.

Nevertheless, the traditional respect for dead bodies goes deep. Most people who might otherwise support Mr. Humphreys in braving it will be deterred by the strong probability that, even if any written tributes or other historical evidence were left

interred with Shakespeare, they will long since have melted into dust together with his remains. And while they will be afraid of looking foolish if, after all the fuss attendant upon opening it, the cupboard proved bare, there will be an even stronger alliance of scholars who must be secretly afraid of looking even more foolish if, unexpectedly, something rather startling about Shakespeare (or, heavens forbid, Bacon) were to be found.

September 8th, 1962.

From *Punch*

CHARIVARIA

If the current argument fails to get Shakespeare's tomb opened I shall suspect that one factor is the Bard's doggerel warning and that we are more superstitious than we think. But, if local legends are to be believed, it has more than done its work — which was to keep his bones from the charnel house (a place he seems to have feared as Juliet did). The threat of being curst also stopped the church officials from burying his wife and daughters with him, and in the nineteenth century, when the stone subsided, no workman would go near it. Well, the charnel house has gone, there are no descendants to be offended; I am all in favour of the opening, not in the hope of finding anything (according to Washington Irving and the sexton who had a guilty look in 1796, there's nothing there) but to stop a perennial and irritating controversy.

September 12.



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