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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 words of the Elizabethan period.

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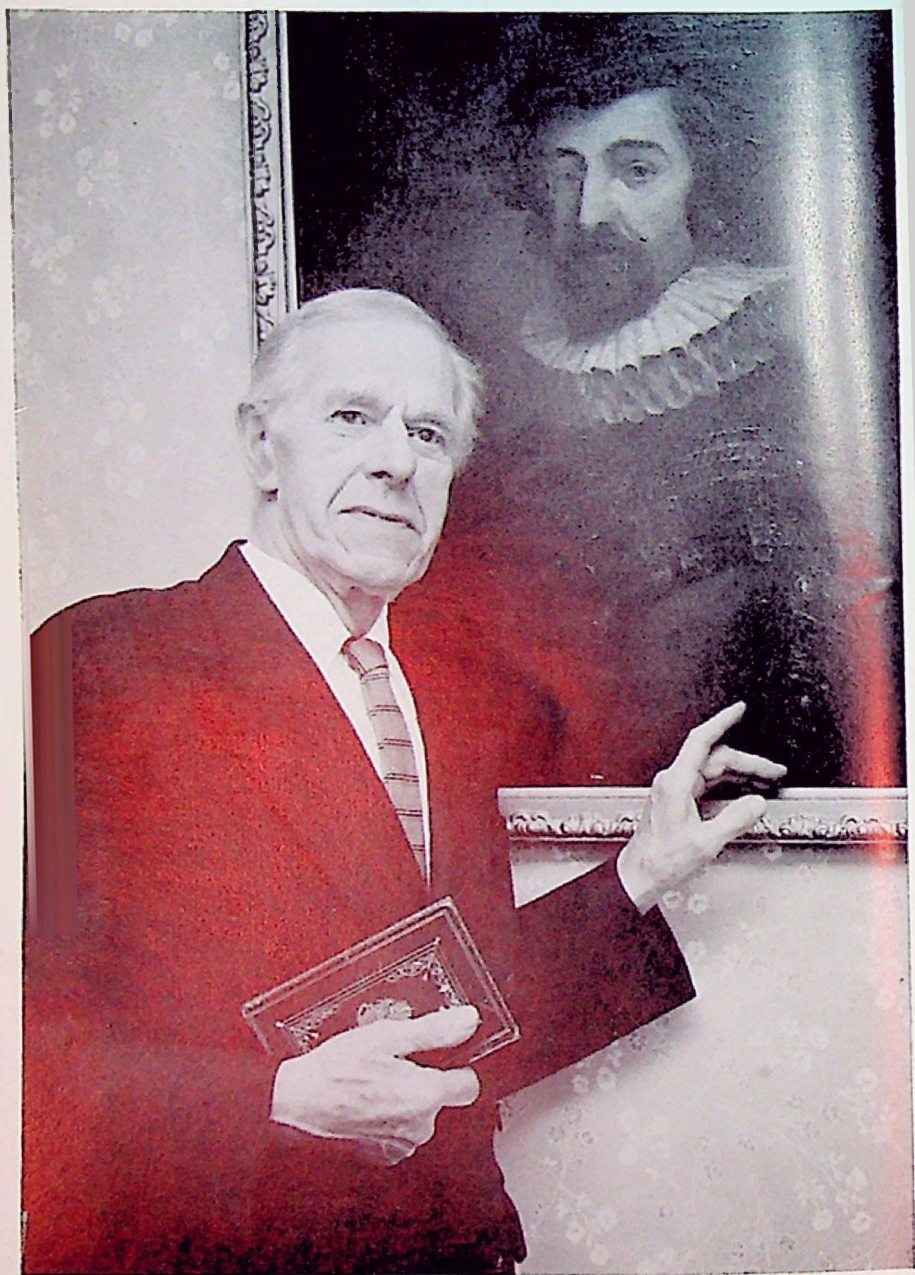
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The subscription for membership is two guineas payable on election and on the first day of each succeeding January. Members receive a copy of each issue of BACONIANA, without further payment, and are entitled to vote at the Annual General Meetings.

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 \$5.



Roderick L. Eagle with his portrait of Francis Bacon

BACONIANA

VOL. LI (82nd Year)

No. 168

AUGUST, 1968

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

Our frontispiece is of one of our most capable writers, Mr. R. L. Eagle. Though he retired from business to live in Cornwall some years ago, his activities in the cause of Francis Bacon continued undiminished. We are very pleased that he has consented at last to become a Vice-President of our Society, and to furnish us with a photograph which, as he says, shows him "beated and chopp'd with tanned antiquity"!

Late last year Mr. Eagle celebrated his 80th birthday. This may come as a surprise to many of our readers as there has been no slackening in the stream of lively and interesting contributions to *Baconiana* and the Press from his pen. We hope that our members will be encouraged to follow suit.

Mr. Eagle has maintained correspondence with our President and Chairman—and their predecessors—for many years past, submitting numerous ideas and suggestions in support of the Society's activities. His accomplishments and attainments are now widely acknowledged. Yet although any expression of doubt on the Shakespeare authorship is still taboo, as far as television and radio are concerned, it is all too often cast on Holy Writ. Exponents of religious heterodoxy can expect a much more sympathetic hearing than our distinguished contributor. Nevertheless, Stratfordian inexactitudes will not deceive the public indefinitely. In Chaucer's words:—

My will is this, for plain conclusion.

Withouten any replication . . . *

* The Knight's Tale.

but we fear that *Credo quia impossibile* is fast becoming an orthodox maxim!

* * * *

As we write these words, we hear that visitors to Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon, are now to be charged 2/- for the privilege of viewing Shakespeare's grave in the chancel. This money will help to raise the £100,000 needed for repairs to the Church fabric. While this is certainly a more acceptable object of appeal than the upkeep of a spurious birthplace, it seems a pity that the Church of England principle of voluntary contributions is being abandoned in this instance. True, some years ago, visitors to the Church were required to pay 6d. each, but it appears unfortunate that overseas tourists are now to be charged, *volens volens*, for the privilege of seeing a famous grave. In this context we print a well-documented article by T. D. Bokenham, endorsing our Chairman's request to investigate the graves and monument.

The exchange of letters between our Chairman and The Rev. T. Bland, Vicar of Holy Trinity Church at Stratford-On-Avon, appears in our correspondence column. Our Chairman's courteous approach in his first letter (which was ignored) is in marked contrast to the good Canon's reply. After all, archaeological research is not necessarily sacrilegious. Graves and monuments have been dismantled, examined and reverently replaced, by leave of the Church, for countless years. Whether or not this obstructionist attitude to our approach comes from the Vicar himself, or from influential members of his Church Council, there does seem to be a note of hysteria in the reactions of Stratfordians, when the truth about Shaksper is sought. The news that Americans are to be offered plots of land one foot square in Stratford-on-Avon is disturbing. Five dollars for each plot in a total area of six acres "in an exclusive residential area of the town" is the cost. So we must go whimpering round, hat in hand, to sell:—

This blessed plot, this earth, this realm this England . . .
Is now leas'd out—I die pronouncing it . . .
Like to a tenement or pelting farm

—Richard II, 2/1/40

* * * *

On a recent visit to Warwickshire we took the opportunity of visiting the parish church of Barton-on-the-Heath. This name is well known to Baconians, thanks to the subversive activities of an eighteenth-century Rector, Rev. J. Wilmot, D.D., who was born in 1726, exactly one hundred years after Bacon's death, and lived till 1807. Our Chairman contributes a short article about this.

* * * *

A full understanding of the philosophy and work of the great Lord Verulam may not be achieved without recognition of his vision for Mankind, set in the universal framework of the Divine Scheme.

All planes of creation are tapped by the greatest men so that by self-effacement and denial of ambition, they become fellow-workers with the Deity in the fulfilment of His plans. Solomon's injunction, quoted by Bacon, that "It is the glory of God to conceal a thing and the glory of the King to find it out", comes to mind.

These thoughts are essentially Baconian, and we have often wondered whether it were possible to introduce the general reader, as opposed to the specialist, to the great sweep of Bacon's concepts in terms intelligible to the outside world. Perhaps this has been accomplished by Miss Margery Purver in her recently published book; *The Royal Society: Concept and Creation*, a review of which appears on page 93.

* * * *

The name of Francis Carr, as Editor of *Past and Future*, was well known to our readers, not only for his journalistic skill and activity, but also for his unflagging championship of our cause. His enthusiasm in 1964, the Shakespeare Quatercentenary year, was particularly valuable; it has also been valuable in the more limited opportunities which have occurred since then, and which still serve to sharpen the spear of this modern Knight of the Helmet. Francis Carr is now engaged in organising "Residence Recitals", and on Sunday evening, December 17th last, a recital from Bacon's works was given at Canonbury Tower, his former residence. Only a handful of our members was able to attend, but the auditorium was full,

and nearly every seat was taken. Richard Leech (who played Henry VIII in that superb play, *A Man for All Seasons*), soon made us forget the winter weather as he assumed the rôle of Francis Bacon in reading extracts from his works. The interpolations between the readings, made in the relaxed and gently persuasive voice of our President, formed a perfect foil to the resonant and thrilling tones of the professional actor.

Some of us who were fairly well acquainted with Bacon's literary genius were not a little surprised at the revelation of new meaning afforded by these inspired readings of familiar texts; as in the essay *Of Death*. In the essay *Of Gardens*, Richard Leech's voice seemed to waft us away from December to Spring and Summer, the hushed attention of the audience serving to strengthen the illusion. This was followed by the essay *Of Truth*, probably the only thing in the world (as our President remarked) closer to Bacon's heart than a garden.

This was a grand experience, and we are grateful to the speakers and the organiser, Francis Carr. Other recitals of famous men of letters or music in their former residences, are taking place at monthly intervals. Particulars are available from:—Residence Recitals, 35 Hillgate Place, London, W.8.

* * * *

We acknowledge, with thanks, the courtesy of the writer of *Bacon, Rudolf Steiner and Modern Science* and the Editors of *The Golden Blade*, in allowing us to re-print a thoughtful contribution to the quatercentenary of the birth of Francis Bacon which appeared in 1961. Despite the lapse of time, we believe that John Waterman's reappraisal of Steiner's assessment of Bacon as "the inaugurator of the modern age" is worth putting on record for the benefit of our readers.

* * * *

We had heard so much of Paolo Rossi's great work on Bacon, *Francesco Bacone: Dalla magia alla scienza*, now translated into English, that we asked Professor Benjamin Farrington if he would

be kind enough to review the translation. Professor Farrington, as author of several authoritative books on Bacon, and an admirer of Rossi, found the translation to be inaccurate and inadequate. We hope that, after reading this careful and well-composed review, our readers will realise that reference should be made, if possible, to the original Italian.

With typical modesty, our reviewer does not mention Rossi's tribute in the Introduction to his "advice and encouragement", or the twelve references to his work in the index to the book.

* * * *

Our Treasurer, T. D. Bokenham, contributes an article giving a much clearer picture of the history of the Stratford Monument, and the discrepancies between various accounts. This is based on a recent book, *The Correspondence of The Rev. Joseph Greene of Stratford-Upon-Avon 1712 - 90*, edited by Levi Fox, and published by H.M. Stationery Office. Copies will be available in pamphlet form from the Secretary of the Society at 2/- each, and we trust that Members will buy as many as they can afford for distribution to friends, and those interested in the authorship controversy.

* * * *

It was a privilege for the Society to receive a visit from Professor M. V. Ambros of Czechoslovakia last Autumn, and for some of us to meet a distinguished Member from the Eastern Bloc. We are happy to print a short article on Bohemia from his pen, and this affords a link with his excellent composition, *Ivory Miniatures of Queen Elizabeth and Francis Bacon*, which appeared in *Baconiana* No. 158, June, 1958.

* * * *

Bryan Bevan has written another book, *King James The Third of England*, published by Robert Hale at 30/-. Mr. Bevan has been a member of our Society for some years and wields a ready pen in free-lance journalism and historical writings. In *Baconiana* No. 159, we were pleased to re-print his contribution to *Country Life*:—*An Elizabethan Statesman's Home*. This described the ruins of Gorhambury House, near St. Albans, and its associations with Sir Nicholas Bacon and later with Francis Bacon. As recently as 1961, we were

able to commend to our readers Mr. Bevan's biography, *The Real Francis Bacon*, which had already been reviewed in the Press. It is outside our province to comment on *King James IV of England*, but perhaps we may quote Mr. Patrick Morrah's tribute: "Bryan Bevan justly portrays a man of sterling qualities, as tolerant as he was devout, of good judgment, kind of heart and a faithful friend, and as a young man by no means lacking in vigour".

* * * *

We regret that Sir Geoffrey Keynes was inadvertently credited with biographies of Donne, William Blake and Hooke in our last number. These are in fact *bibliographies* unlike *The Life of William Harvey* which is a biography fully meriting the lengthy review which appeared on pages 69 to 71.

* * * *

Strictly speaking the title Professor, in this country, means a person holding a Chair at a University. We are glad to make this point, in fairness to Mr. D. W. T. C. Vessey, B.A., who is a graduate of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, not a Fellow as stated in the letter from Questor, which appeared on page 81 of our last issue. In defence of our correspondent, however, we would mention that Mr. Vessey graduated with double first-class honours in classics, and is Assistant Lecturer in the Department of Latin and Greek, Queen Mary College, University of London. Questor's letter was not of course a full summary of the address given to the Shakespearean Authorship Society, but was composed from notes taken at the time.

* * * *

Youth Dynamics, Ltd., of 27 East 22nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10010, are publishing a 14 Volume set *The Complete Works and Writings of Sir Francis Bacon*, by Spedding, Ellis and Heath. The *National Review* said that Spedding "knew Bacon more thoroughly than Boswell knew Jonson, or than Lockhart knew Scott". Society Members are offered a 45% discount on prices, and shipping charges will be paid if cash is sent with orders. There are over 8,500 pages, and the cost of a set is \$305 (about £128). Individual volumes cost \$25 (about 10 guineas). Brochures are available for consultation.

OBITUARY

With the passing of Mrs. Arnold J. C. Stuart in March, 1968, the Francis Bacon Society has lost one of its greatest champions. Mrs. Stuart, whose portrait appeared as the frontispiece to *Baconiana* 164, is surely still with us in spirit, if not in person.

She was born in 1873 and for the greater part of her very long life was an enthusiastic member of our Society, becoming our President from 1960 - 62. She was therefore a link with those of our founder-members who survived the turn of the century. She was indeed a close friend of Miss Alicia Leith, whose travels on the Continent, in the cause of Francis Bacon, she occasionally shared.

Her most distinctive characteristics (to the present writer at least) were her personal charm and her quiet but inflexible persistence in the search for truth. For instance, she was one of those who not only predicted the second world war, but took active steps to prepare for it. She made a temporary home in America, and later Bermuda, where she could offer hospitality and sanctuary to those of her family and friends who were either too old or too young to be actively engaged in the war. While in Bermuda she entered into correspondence with the late Alfred Dodd and gave him generous help and encouragement in the publications of his books.

It was in 1963 that she wrote to the present writer expressing her wish to found a special Fund, now called "The Stuart-Francis Bacon Endowment Fund". This Fund was intended to pursue the same principal objects as our own Society, while being less restricted in its rules. It was also intended (at the discretion of the Trustees) to supplement our activities, when surplus income made this possible. The support which our Society has received from this source has already been considerable.

During the post-war years, Mrs. Stuart lived at Hilversum in Holland, making periodical visits to London where she was always pleased to see fellow Baconians. Indeed one of her first concerns, on arrival in London, was to telephone the present writer for the latest news of our Society.

In closing this brief memoir the writer would like to put on record his own appreciation of a very gracious friend. Once, at her invitation, he accompanied her on her return to Holland by air, where he made the acquaintance of some of the Dutch members of our Society. It was on this visit that a framed testimonial in her study made him aware of the very wide range of her benefactions. In commemoration of her son, the late Arnold James Stuart—killed in air combat in 1940—she had personally endowed the Nation with the entire cost of nine Spitfires, all of which bore the initials "A.J.S."

This brief memoir will serve to place on record some of the many generous acts of this gifted and far-sighted lady. In Mrs. Stuart—to use Baconian parlance—the "private and particular good" was often sacrificed to the "common good". This, in her case, was progressively the good of her family and friends, the good of the Francis Bacon Society, and the good of the nation.

M.P.

THE TEMPEST

By M.P.

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.

The Tempest, if not the last play to be written, may well have been the last to be perfected, for it seems to be intended, in part at least, as the author's valediction. If the decision to place it first in the Folio rested with Heminge and Condell—the two men-players who are supposed to have been its editors—we congratulate them, for the Play clearly demands interpretation. It draws together a host of threads, including perhaps the *filum labyrinthi* itself. Its wit and its solemnity—the twin semitones of its chant, as Bridges might have called them—are exquisitely balanced; and although it is classed as a comedy it is not of this world.

“There is no excellent Beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion” wrote Bacon in a moment of insight. *The Tempest* is in truth a work of strange and shimmering beauty; but it is also a curious mixture of the mysterious and the circumstantial. Is it so strange, therefore, that it should be found to contain a more subtle expression of the allegory which Dante had enfolded in the *Divina Comedia*?

Allegories or parables, as distinct from ciphers, must in some degree reveal their own key, or their purpose would be lost. Those in which the characters are openly branded with the names of their qualities—such as Prudence, Chastity, Justice, Exercise, Sobriety, etc.—are chiefly addressed to the multitude; and the key, so to speak, is hung up on the door. But Shake-speare, while entertaining the multitude is addressing the wise, and the names of his characters are barely suggestive. If he allegorises, it is with a far lighter touch, and a key or a hint when one is required, would be much less conspicuous.

So it comes about that Shake-speare avails himself of an aspect of Comedy which can raise that “Cinderella of the Muses”† to

† The phrase is George Gordon's.

a more exalted use, namely to conceal and reveal a mystery. For the text of a Shakespearean Comedy could be so arranged as to "key" an allegory, without much risk to its entertainment value or to its dramatic intensity. Under its molley coat, almost any extravagance or irrelevance would pass muster.

According to Dante his great poem could be interpreted on four different levels—the literal, the allegorical, the moral and the anagogical; and he also makes a distinction between poetical and scriptural allegory. It would be hard to find a truer Shakespearean rule than this, and *The Tempest*, especially, seems to evoke a response on all these different levels. To surrender oneself blindly to its magical invocation is to become airborne. To enter its illusion with open eyes, noticing and questioning its many peculiarities, is to credit the Bard with a deeper purpose than entertainment, deeper perhaps than enchantment. For the riddle remains when the enchantment has faded.

My object is not to put forward a new interpretation of the Play, but to draw attention to one which, so far as I know, was first put forward by Colin Still, and which Shakespeare himself seems to have flag-posted. There are certain passages in *The Tempest* which, if not intended to indicate an allegory, are completely irrelevant and bizarre; and they are forced into the text with much repetition. If looked at more closely they point to the Ancient Mysteries and to the pagan rites and ceremonies of initiation.

The storm, the ship-wreck, the unblemished clothes (several times commented upon), the enchanted island, and the long series of ordeals, tests and ceremonies conducted by Prospero, can all be regarded symbolically as steps on the Path of Advancement. And this Path, as of old, leads to enlightenment for the chosen, to penitence and a "clear life ensuing" for others, and to rejection and a "fall" for the profane. Or, to adopt the sequence in the Play, the drunkards find themselves back to earth in the mire of "the filthy mantled pool"*; the members of the Court Party (including "three men of sin") are bound over to penitence; while Ferdinand alone attains.

* The image of degradation is complete. "I do smell all horse-pisse" cries Trinculo.

Here we have repeated references to "Dido" and "Aeneas" and "Tunis" and (as Colin Still points out) the very manner of forcing them into the dialogue is commented upon in the dialogue. "How came that widow in?". And again "What if he had said widower Aeneas, too?" These, he maintains, are leading questions put to us by the Poet himself. The lead is obviously to *Aeneid VI*, and the journey of Aeneas from Carthage to Cumae in flight from the amorous Dido. Cumae was only a few miles from Naples, and it was there that Aeneas made his "Descent into Hell". His initiation, therefore, was a feature in his journey from Carthage to Cumae—practically, says Colin Still, from Tunis to Naples. This is his answer to the Poet's leading question—"How came that widow in?".

It is also significant that, in the passage just quoted, Gonzalo had to explain twice that: "Tunis was Carthage". This was a fact of which the Italian characters in the Play could scarcely have been ignorant, and these gratuitous remarks were probably inserted and twice reiterated as a "key", for the benefit of an English audience.

* * * *

A more recent study of *The Tempest* is in *Two Concepts of Allegory* by A. D. Nuttal. This is a complicated and most scholarly treatise. Its title and also its sub-title—"A Study of *The Tempest* and the Logic of Allegorical Expression"—should give us fair warning that five chapters out of six will be concerned with conceptual analysis. There is a fine chapter on *The Tempest*, but unfortunately it contains nothing about Colin Still's work, apart from a footnote on page 154 which simply reads—"the most elaborate of all *Tempest* allegorisings was published in 1921—Colin Still's *Shakespeare's Mystery Play*"—not a word more.

For a critic who is dealing expressly with *The Tempest* and the Logic of Allegorical Expression to withhold all comment, favourable or otherwise, on a book which puts forward a well sustained allegorical interpretation of *The Tempest*, is surprising. In fact to dismiss this book without considering either its theme or its documentation, is to leave a large gap in his thesis. Fifteen

years later Colin Still published a greatly extended statement of his theory in *The Timeless Theme* (1936). This, I believe, should be the true companion of *Two Concepts of Allegory*. In both books *The Tempest*, while subordinate to the main proposition, is used as the main demonstration.

Two Concepts of Allegory—a book of immense erudition—contains an interesting criticism of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*. Their changing mood is diagnosed as being mainly due to the ruin and decay which the Poet constantly sees about him; and for which his remedies are—"Procreation", "the Immortality of Poetry," and "Love". In regard to *The Tempest*, however, Nuttall is apparently less concerned with its real meaning and purpose than with its aesthetic beauties and its sources, which are attributed to fairy-tale literature and travellers' tales. Attention is given to characterization, and to the interesting possibility that Ariel and Caliban may represent the psychic processes. But no sustained meaning is given to the Play as a whole, apart from the enjoyment which it undoubtedly affords. And, to be fair, this enjoyment can be enhanced by reading Nuttall's chapter on the Play. But the notion that *The Tempest* was written without intending a planned and sustained allegory is difficult to accept.

To regard the Play only as a cryptogram or puzzle, or just as an allegory and nothing more, would be quite impossible; for it is far more than all these things. But there is a sense in which all poetry is cryptic—a way of communicating something implicitly, of conveying a hidden meaning between the lines. It is to reach those who can receive her message without an interpreter, that Poetry patiently awaits her hour. For the function of the Muse, in the words of Sir Philip Sydney, is "to delight and to teach"; and delight must come first or nothing is taught. But after that comes an appeal to the mind: and it is then that imaginative criticism can be discerning and creative. An allegory is a challenge, and the critic as interpreter needs no apology.

* * * *

In *Two Concepts of Allegory* Nuttall takes C. S. Lewis to task for making a too rigid distinction between allegory and

"sacramentalism". He quotes a passage from *The Allegory of Love*, part of which is relevant here . . .

On the one hand you can start with an immaterial fact, such as the passions which you actually experience, and can then invent *visibilia* to express them . . . This is allegory, and it is with this alone that we have to deal. But there is another way of expressing the equivalence, which is almost the opposite of allegory, and which I would call sacramentalism or symbolism

If our passions, being immaterial, can be copied by material inventions, then it is possible that our material world in its turn is the copy of an invisible world . . . to see the archetype in the copy, is what I mean by symbolism or sacramentalism . . . The difference between the two can hardly be exaggerated. The allegorist leaves the given—his own passions—to talk of that which is confessedly less real, which is a fiction. The symbolist leaves the given to find that which is more real. To put the difference in another way, for the symbolist it is we who are the allegory

We saw that allegory was in no sense a mere device, or figure of rhetoric, or fashion. It was not simply a better or worse way of telling a story. On the contrary, it was originally forced into existence by a profound moral revolution occurring in the latter days of paganism. For reasons of which we know nothing at all . . . men's gaze was turned inward. But a gaze so turned sees, not the compact 'character' of modern fiction, but the contending forces which cannot be described at all except by allegory

There is much truth in these passages, and the conceptual objections to them seem rather academic. In Nuttall's view Lewis's rigid distinctions between allegory and sacramentalism could lead to some of the world's greatest allegorical poems being re-classified as sacramentalism rather than as poetical allegory. But would that really matter? Miracles and Moralities were essentially allegorical and also essentially sacrosanct.

Another distinction mentioned by Nuttall is that between the two mediaeval concepts of *allegoria* and *figura*. This is a classification which, however accurate from the conceptual point of view, brings us no closer to solving the mystery of *The Tempest*. For if an interpretation is satisfying, it is of little importance to us whether it is called allegorical, sacramental, metaphysical, or figurative. Like Saint Augustin we can say "the more interpretations the better".

We have said that the lightness of touch with which Shakespeare allegorises, distinguishes him from earlier allegorists, like Prudentius and Bunyan. Nuttall, in noticing this, makes a penetrating observation . . .

Shakespeare has, in a perfectly legitimate manner contrived to have his cake and eat it . . . He seems to say, "I have seen this, and this. You receive it as I found it. The interpretation I leave to you." Certainly the challenge has been accepted!

This is an excellent criticism, but apparently Nuttall finds the answer to this challenge, when couched in the form of a well-sustained allegorical interpretation, unacceptable and distasteful, and possibly inimical to the poetic muse. But since parables and allegories have been used by the poets for countless ages, to shut one's eyes to their implications, purely on aesthetic grounds, is to remain in blissful ignorance of the author's intention.

* * * *

Colin Still, who was very much a Baconian in the real sense, was not a Baconian in the controversial sense. He vigorously disavows any intention to assist, openly or otherwise, the Baconian theory of authorship. But his interpretation of *The Tempest* is well suited to our theory, in view of Bacon's well known predilection for the ancient mythology. The cap fits, and since candour compels Colin Still to record faithfully those identities of thought between Bacon and Shakespeare which he has noticed he simply ascribes them to chance and brushes them aside, as the following extracts show:—

R. M. Theobald argues that there is identity between the views of Shakespeare and Bacon on the subject of Wonder; but, whilst admitting that he proves his point I am especially anxious to dissociate this present study from the controversy as to the authorship of Shakespeare's works . . .

Let me call attention to a passage in one of the *Essays* of Francis Bacon. Again disclaiming any desire to suggest that *The Tempest* is the work of Bacon's pen, I quote the passage because it serves as a curious link between the Play and the traditional allegory I have been treating. Citing Lucretius and interpolating a noteworthy phrase of his own, Bacon writes:

No pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of Truth (a Hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene) and to see the errors and wanderings, and mists and Tempests in the vale below; so always that the prospect be with Pity, and not with swelling or pride.

(*Essay Of Truth*)

A state of consciousness is manifestly alluded to, and Bacon goes on to describe it as "heaven on earth". Can anyone fail to perceive that this Hill of Truth corresponds to the Mount of Purgatory which Dante describes?

Those who argue that Bacon wrote the works of Shakespeare may make what use they care to of the fact; but there is not a shadow of doubt that the meaning of these passages is exactly what I have imputed to the Gospel Myth and to the pagan rites, and to what I suggest is to be found in the story of the Court Party in the Play . . .

Judged by the standards of Shakespeare's day, the play is a theological heresy . . . It tells the story of man's upward struggle partly in biblical terms and partly in terms of pagan myth and ritual . . . Whether or not Shakespeare was conscious of all its implications I do not pretend to say. But if he were, he must have known that it was inexpedient in his own age to proclaim explicitly what the Play proclaims implicitly: namely that there is a close affinity between the pagan myths and ritual on the one hand, and the mysteries of the Christian

Religion on the other. We have good grounds for believing that Francis Bacon perceived this affinity; and what is more, he admits that he deliberately refrained from dealing freely with the subject . . .

And thus I have delivered that which I thought good to observe out of this so well known fable; and yet I will not deny but that there may be some things in it which have an admirable consent with the Mysteries of the Christian Religion . . . But I have interdicted my pen all liberty in this kind, lest I should use strange fire at the altar of the Lord.

From this it is clear that Bacon, while recognising the strong vein of paganism in the Christian Religion, was unwilling to pursue this point further. It is equally clear that Shake-speare could and did suggest, under the veil of allegory, what Bacon would not proclaim in open argument. Both, in a sense, were dissembling, and Bacon's views on this are relevant here.

"There be three degrees of this hiding or veiling of a man's self" he tells us.† The first is "Secrecy", the second "Dissimulation in the Negative" and the third "Simulation in the affirmative". Secrecy—"the virtue of a Confessor"—is not always practicable. Simulation or "false profession" is more culpable. But Dissimulation, although it is only "the weaker sort of politics", has to be accepted sometimes as a necessity. Bacon then lays it down, firstly "that an habit of secrecy is both politic and moral"; secondly that "He that would be secret must be a dissembler in some degree". Clearly the obligation to be candid and to look facts in the face has placed him a little on the defensive! But from this important essay—the complement of his essay *Of Truth*—we gain an understanding of Bacon's dilemma in dealing truthfully with the Ancient Mysteries in a age of great religious intolerance, and with his own devout reverence for the Christ. He would not "use strange fire at the altar of the Lord", but he may well have taken comfort from those words in the New Testament "And without a parable spake He not unto them".

† *Essay Of Simulation and Dissimulation.*

There were in fact two opposing but complementary mental processes at work during the English Renaissance—revealing and concealing. In *The Wisdom of the Ancients* Bacon was expounding and interpreting the pagan mythology. In *The Tempest* (and other Plays) Shake-speare was re-embodiment and veiling those myths in what was then a new and popular form. It seems almost as if the Spirit of the English Renaissance was speaking with two voices. Is it too much to suppose that each knew what the other was saying? I think not.

Secrecy was enjoined in the mediaeval Fraternities, and secrecy usually involves anonymity. It is well known that Sir Thomas More wrote anonymously, and that Francis Bacon did so too. We have the evidence of Archbishop Tenison—"those who have true skill in the Works of the Lord Verulam, . . . can tell . . . whether he was the Author of this or the other Piece, though his name be not to it."* It is also worthy of note that Edward Fitzgerald (whose lines head this article) never allowed his name to appear while he lived, as the author or translator of his *Omar Khayyam*. If, in such cases, full secrecy was not achieved, the writer was at least "a dissembler in some degree".

A noticeable feature of *The Tempest* is its rapid alternations between solemnity and flippancy. In a Play which, by hypothesis, represents an initiation drama, one would not expect to find the cruder elements and artifices of stage production insisted upon so often and so obviously. Why should Shake-speare have to remind us that the whole contrivance of *The Tempest* is in the nature of an illusion? Why should Prospero have to refer disparagingly to his Art as "this rough magic" and to the solemnization of nuptials (through the medium of a Masque) as "some vanity of mine art" or as "such another trick"? Why were the young lovers led to "expect" this? One can only suppose that, Ritual and Ceremonial being man-made instruments—and to that extent artificial—it was part of the author's plan to deprecate and belittle the purely phenomenal aspect of Prospero's Art. So he calls to Ariel . . .

* *Baconiana* 1679.

Thou and thy meaner fellows, your last service
 Did worthily perform: and I must use you
 In such another *trick*: go bring the *rabble*
 (O'er whom I give thee power) here to this place:
 Incite them to quick motion, for I must
 Bestow upon the eyes of this young couple
Some vanity of mine Art: it is my promise
 And they expect it from me.

No sooner is this command given than Ariel responds merrily,
 almost singing . . .

Before you can say come and go
 and breathe twice; and cry, so, so:
 Each one tripping on his toe,
 Will be here with mop and mow
 Do you love me Master? no?

The "meaner" spirits whom Prospero summons from their "confines" to represent the presiding deities of the Masque (Iris, Juno and Ceres) are spoken of with marked disrespect. They are definitely "the rabble", and they are expected to execute a grotesque little dance and to appear "with mop and mow" (*i.e.* grimace). Then according to the stage direction, after a more graceful dance they are to "heavily" vanish! These inconsistencies, as Colin Still observes, may be intended to reflect a view of the pagan rites in which a deception was usually practised on the candidate.

But now behold, within the space of a few lines—"within a twink" as Ariel would say—the bantering mood changes. Ariel is bidden to withdraw and Ferdinand is given a solemn and serious admonition. It would be hard to press more practical wisdom into these four lines . . .

Look thou be true: do not give dalliance
 Too much the rein: the strongest oaths are straw
 To th' fire ith' blood: be more abstemious
 Or else good night your vow.

This is not a homily from a heavy father-in-law, enjoining some kind of asceticism. It can be seen, in its liberality and its sanity, as the most perfect utterance of the Hierophant conducting the Greater Initiation.

* * * *

These notes on *The Tempest* are merely suggestive and in no sense exhaustive. The myriad implications of this Play would require volumes to expound, including perchance those very Volumes that Prospero prized above his Dukedom! *The Tempest* has had many commentators and will have many more. "Music floats in everywhere" wrote George Gordon, "Ariel can do nothing but to music: he sings while acting as valet to Prospero in the last scene . . . magic and music go hand-in-hand . . ."

A more modern criticism, and one that appeals to me most strongly, comes from Mark Van Doren. While he deliberately avoids interpretation in the allegorical sense, his criticism is imaginative and creative, and I would like, before concluding this article, to quote two brief extracts . . .

The Tempest is whatever we would take it to be. Any set of symbols, moved close to this play, lights up as in an electric field. Its meaning, in other words, is precisely as rich as the human mind, and it says that the world is what it is. But what the world is cannot be said in a sentence. Or even in a poem as complete and beautiful as *The Tempest*.

Ariel is more than an angelic musician; he is a mischief-maker, another Puck, unwilling at his work and restless under the burden of magic he bears. It can be doubted, in other words, that Shakespeare sat down solemnly to decorate his life's work with a secret signature. *The Tempest*, pressed a little, yields this meaning as it yields most of the meanings ingenuity can insist upon, and yields it with grace. But a better signature was the play itself, which, if its author had been given to such exercises, he might have recognised as one of the most beautiful literary

objects ever made. He would scarcely, however, have been so conscious of what he had done. He is more likely to have let the moment go with four simple words: Now I will rest.

* * * *

I believe that the mystery of *The Tempest*, and the need to understand its allegorical significance, will grow in importance in years to come. Science may well be the governing power of our civilization; but Science need not always be so intensely materialistic; one day perhaps there will be a Science of the Soul.

If the Mysteries no longer rule the world of thought and beauty, their symbolism still needs to be held. It is perhaps for this reason that those ancient initiation ceremonies have to be re-enacted symbolically from time to time, even if only in a comedy. For it is in the greatest works of art, Pagan and Christian alike—in the *Aeneid* of Virgil and *The Divine Comedy* of Dante, and especially in *The Tempest*—that the meaning and the symbolism of the Mysteries lie embalmed.

Prospero, Ariel and Caliban play their parts eternally in enacting the mystery of Initiation. In this respect they are distinct from the candidates. Caliban is a feature of the Lesser Mystery only, and is not encountered by Ferdinand or the Court Party until the Ordeal is over. But to Stephano and Trinculo he represents Desire in its lowest and most brutish aspect; to them he is the Tempter in a more subtle form than the Serpent of Genesis or the mythical monsters of Cadmus, Perseus and St. George. The malignant nature of Caliban is made clear by Prospero . . .

Thou most lying slave,
Whom stripes may move, not kindness . . .

Abhorrent slave,
Which any print of goodness wilt not take
Being capable of all ill: I pitied thee,
Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour . . .

But mental stimulation only serves to immerse Caliban more deeply in sensuality so that, in a way, he symbolises "the fall". His undoubted eloquence on the natural beauties of the isle is chiefly in respect of the good hunting it provides. He hears the celestial music, but he interprets it sensuously in terms of material riches dropping down to him through the clouds. The passage is remarkable and will bear repeating here . . .

Be not affeard, the isle is full of noises,
 Sounds, and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not:
 Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
 Will hum about mine ears; and sometime voices,
 That if I then had wak'd after long sleep,
 Will make me sleep again, and then in dreaming,
 The clouds methought would open, and show riches
 Ready to drop upon me, that when I wak'd
 I cried to dream again.

Caliban's soul is still asleep in the underworld. He has no ennobling or redeeming features. To play him on the stage as a noble animal, or as a kind of pet—the sort of amicable monster that children love to play with—is to mistake the author's meaning. One can only pity him (like Prospero), and one can also feel the pathos of his servitude, but that is all. He is incapable of any generous thought or kindly action. On being taught to speak and "to know his own meaning" his reaction is to hiss . . .

You taught me language and my profit on't
 Is, I know how to curse . . .

Caliban harbours a vein of cruelty ("Beat him enough. After a little time I'll beat him too") and a vein of subtlety ("Wilt thou be pleased to hearken once again to the suit I made to thee?"). The cramps and pinches with which he is scourged are represented as being the only way to control the vicious evil in his nature. This may sound harsh and un-Christian to those who disbelieve in corporal punishment as a deterrent for violence and cruelty. Yet the lesson is basically true. Indulgence can never master Desire. Prospero makes the allegory even plainer . . .

A Devil, a born-Devil on whose nature
Nurture can never stick: on whom my pains
Humanely taken, all, all lost, quite lost . . .

But Stephano and Trinculo are far from suspecting the evil that is in Caliban. To them he reveals himself first by "a very ancient and fish-like smell"; then as a amphibious monster with legs like a man and fins for arms. They begin to call him "Moon-calf"—an epithet which is repeated five times. There is also in the text a stray suggestion that he might have a tail!

The temptations into which Caliban leads the candidates are the age-old ones—Woman and Worldly Ambition. He offers them the Lordship of the island and the rape of Miranda. The notion of having his master killed during his afternoon sleep, by battering in his skull with a log, suggests that the author was familiar with the Craft. It is noteworthy that Caliban (unlike his dupes) is not deceived by the gorgeous and "glistening apparel" which Prospero causes to be displayed outside his cell, as a bait to side-track his would-be murderers. A vicious but one-pointed malignancy seems to preserve him from the influence of glamour. His sole desire is for the murder of his teacher, and possession of the magical volumes. He is unregenerate and unteachable. Yet those rather unexpected words of Prospero—"this Thing of darkness I acknowledge mine"—seem to contain a gleam of hope that, in some far-off day, the powers of redemption may even reach towards a *Devil* . . . even to a *born-Devil*.

Prospero is playing a triple role. Sometimes he is the exiled Duke of Milan, sometimes the Hierophant of the Mystery, and sometimes he seems to personify the author, as for example in the Epilogue. Twice during the Play he removes his magic robe, first to speak as a father, and finally to speak as the rightful ruler of Milan. Otherwise, within the setting of this Play, Prospero seems to represent the Supreme Being who controls the action and destiny of all. When at the beginning he speaks to Miranda of her true antecedents, he doffs his magic robe saying "Lie there my Art".*

* It is interesting that Bacon recalls a gesture of his uncle, Lord Burleigh, who would sometimes remove his robe of office saying, "Lie there, Lord Treasurer".

When at the end he has passed judgment on all, and the company has departed from the stage, the audience is at last bidden to draw near. It is then that the great magician becomes, in all humility, the author in person, seeking and supplicating our understanding. For in the Epilogue Prospero almost proclaims an allegory . . .

Now my charms are all o'erthrown,
And what strength I have's mine own;
Which is most faint; now, 'tis true,
I must be here confined by you . . .

But release me from my bands,
With the help of your good hands,
Gentle breath of yours my sails
Must fill, or else my project fails,
Which was to please. Now I want
Spirits to enforce, art to enchant;
And my ending is despair,

Unless I be relieved by prayer . . .
As you from crimes would pardon'd be,
Let your indulgence set me free.

Prospero is still "confined" by *us*. Surely we should agree with Colin Still that the release for which he is praying must be in the form of imaginative interpretation. Or is it just that his last signature is in the word "free"?

BACON, RUDOLF STEINER AND MODERN SCIENCE

By John Waterman (John Davy)

The centenary of Rudolf Steiner's birth has helped to make his name and work better known. Nevertheless, the body of teachings that he called Spiritual Science is still very far from being widely accepted or understood.

This makes a curious contrast to another 1961 occasion—the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Francis Bacon. Although Bacon lived three centuries before Steiner, his work makes a direct appeal to the present age. Centenary articles and lectures about Bacon have all emphasised his astonishing *modernity*.

How is it that Bacon can speak across four centuries in a way which meets with instant comprehension in the 1960's, while many people find Steiner, who died as recently as in 1925, strange and difficult?

The answer is connected with the evolution of human consciousness, about which Steiner spoke so often and with such emphasis. In a lecture given in 1920 (Dornach, 1 Feb. 1920), Steiner described Bacon as the "inaugurator" of the modern age. There is an obvious sense in which this is true, since Bacon was one of the earliest advocates of science, and it is the ever-spreading power and influence of science, above all, that distinguishes our age from earlier ones.

It is almost uncanny to find in Bacon passages which sound almost like leading articles in to-day's technical and scientific journals. We find him urging that there should be more scientifically qualified people in Government, expressing anxieties about the shortage of scientific manpower, and emphasising that applied science is the key to prosperity.

Bacon's central achievement, though, was to define and describe the modern scientific method—and, above all, to emphasise the importance of impartial observation and experiment. Much of what he says seems commonplace now, but in his day it struck an entirely new note—so much so, that only a few of Bacon's contemporaries were really stirred by his idea. Nevertheless, thirty-six years after his death, his *Novum Organum* inspired the founders

of the Royal Society, and to-day the seed that Bacon planted has sprouted into luxuriant growth.

But when Steiner called Bacon the inaugurator of the modern age, he was referring not only to the age of science, but to the age of Consciousness Soul. Modern science has arisen because of a change in human consciousness. During Greek and Roman times the form of consciousness which Steiner called the Intellectual Soul was developed. Greek science remained essentially an intellectual activity, in which physical experiment never played an important part.

A new stage in the evolution of consciousness began in the fifteenth century, the beginning of the age of the Consciousness Soul. Bacon was one of the first individuals in whom the new outlook began to express itself strongly.

A characteristic feature of the Consciousness Soul (or Spiritual Soul, as Steiner also called it) is that each individual feels himself to be an island. All traces of the instinctive clairvoyance of earlier times, with its experience of participation in a world of spiritual beings, has gone. Awareness has withdrawn into the fortress of the skull, where the ghosts of the older perceptions flit through the consciousness in the form of thoughts. At the same time, awareness of the world revealed by the senses has increased enormously in importance. Eyes and ears have become windows communicating between 'inner' and 'outer' worlds which in earlier times were not sharply distinguished from each other.

In this way, man's original unitary experience has fallen apart into two halves. Modern man no longer feels himself to be a participant in nature or in a spiritual world; he has become an onlooker.

How is this change reflected in modern science? The early development of science was still much influenced by an outlook characteristic of an earlier age; still imbued with many attitudes and habits which really belong to Greek and Roman times, to the Intellectual Soul. Even to-day, this is still true to some extent. One example of this is the dichotomy between "pure" and "applied" science.

The ideal of "pure" science is knowledge for its own sake. The purpose of experiment is to aid the understanding, to throw

light on a puzzle presented by nature. It is designed to enrich man's inner life. Applied science, on the other hand, is concerned with the external world, with doing rather than thinking, with increasing material rather than spiritual wealth. The emphasis is on controlling rather than understanding nature, on power rather than knowledge.

The pure scientist, though he may be a creative thinker, is in one sense a consumer, while the applied scientist is a producer. The pure scientist consumes sense impressions and digests them in his mind. The applied scientist uses the concepts that result to produce effects in the world of nature. Pure science is specially connected with the senses and the head, while applied science is an activity which finds expression through the will.

Obviously, there is no such thing as a purely pure scientist, any more than there could be a wholly applied one. Any form of scientific observation involves some activity of the will—particularly when an experiment is set up—while no applied scientist could start work unless he were first able to form concepts about what he proposed to do.

Nevertheless, a dichotomy exists, and is reflected, for instance, in the universities, where there was—and still is to some extent—a strong prejudice against admitting applied sciences such as electrical or chemical engineering into the syllabus. The 'redbrick' universities, which have grown up near industrial centres, have less of this prejudice, but the attitude persists at Oxford and Cambridge, with their powerful classical traditions.

This indicates, I think, how "pure" science is still coloured by the outlook of the Intellectual Soul. It is expressed, too, in the use of Latin and Greek for scientific terminology and even, until comparatively recently, for scientific theses.

This was just what Bacon wished to overcome. He lamented the overpowering authority of Aristotle, the constant looking back to the past, that characterised the learning of his day. He wanted the slate to be scrubbed clean of tradition, and scientists to start to fill it in anew, basing everything on careful observation and experiment. But the most characteristic thing about him is that he was not really interested in knowledge "for its own sake", but only in

what could be done with it. "The real and legitimate goal of the sciences," he wrote, "is the endowment of human life with new inventions and riches" (*Novum Organum*, Bk. 1). Thus Bacon was not only the first scientist, but the first *applied* scientist, in a quite modern sense.

It is really only in this century that a deliberate effort has begun to apply science to industry and agriculture. The "industrial revolution" made very little use of science in the strict sense. Most of the new machines were designed and built empirically, by inventors rather than by scientists. Little or no theory was used.

With the discovery of electricity, the situation changed rapidly. It is possible to handle steam power, and put it to work, with the help of a few rules of thumb derived from experience. But the use of electricity calls upon scientific theory at every step.

Since then, scientific theories have been put to work on a steadily expanding scale. Chemicals, plastics, electronics and radio, atomic energy and aeronautics are now completely dependent on highly evolved concepts.

There is a sense, then, in which science has only just become truly Baconian. From Bacon's time right up to the end of the nineteenth century, the Consciousness Soul was still not fully developed. A powerful legacy from the Intellectual Soul age tended to keep science in the universities, making it a contemplative, almost monastic activity. Applied science had far less status. Of course, many scientists realised the potential power of science. But the traditions of learning for its own sake were still very strong, and it is only in the last few decades that the "scientific revolution" has really got going.

But Bacon's outlook is maturing to-day in a deeper sense than is often realised. For the basic attitudes which inspire applied science are gradually colouring pure science as well. The concept of knowledge for its own sake is gradually losing its meaning, since it is becoming increasingly difficult to define the word "knowledge".

Bacon's conception of knowledge is characteristic: "We . . . rear a holy temple in (man's) mind, on the model of the universe, which model therefore we imitate" (*Novum Organum*, Bk. 1). The human mind is for Bacon a kind of building site on which "models"

of the outside world are erected through the activity of the individual. The word "model" is significant, because it is in constant use by physicists to-day.

For a nineteenth-century scientist, a theory was rather more than a model. It was a picture of the real world existing outside the observer. Thus atomic theory pictured minute billiards balls as the ultimate constituents of matter, and it was taken for granted that if the theory were correct, such balls actually existed.

Since then, the situation has become far more complicated. A whole series of "models" is now used by science to deal with matter. Thus an atomic "particle" may be treated as a kind of billiards ball, but also as a kind of wave, and as a kind of electrical cloud. One "model" for the nucleus of the atom is a series of concentric shells; another is a kind of "liquid drop".

Some of the "models" being used, especially in physics, cannot be "visualised" in any direct way at all, but only defined mathematically. They no longer have any content which can be related to sense experience. They may still be "models"—but they are no longer "pictures".

It is clear, therefore, that atomic billiards balls cannot "really exist" in the simple sense. You cannot dissect matter down to tiny indivisible material objects. In fact, when you get into these realms of the very small, the whole concept of "matter" becomes difficult to define. The atomic physicist no longer deals with "things", but with "forces" and "events".

All this has compelled philosophers of science to take a closer look at what is meant by words such as "theory" and "model". But I do not want to go into the philosophy of science in detail—partly because the majority of modern scientists are not philosophically inclined. I am more concerned to describe what scientists to-day actually do—even if they make philosophical mistakes.

The most characteristic feature of the outlook of modern scientists is its pragmatism. A theory is not used because it is "true", but because it is "useful". The main test of the truth of a theory is whether it *works*. As experiment has come to dominate science, theories are coming to be treated more and more as mere

tools, as provisional working models. They are no longer revelations of what "nature" is "really like", but implements for conducting experiments and uncovering further effects.

In this way, "pure science" is gradually becoming, in effect, a kind of applied science. "Knowledge" is less a matter of understanding the world of nature than of learning how to produce various effects. The actual phenomena in which science deals are now largely man-made. New theories are built up on the basis of phenomena which reveal themselves only under the most elaborate experimental conditions — which themselves embody elaborate theories. Numerically, far more scientists are now involved in experimental work than in theorising. An establishment such as the European Centre for Nuclear Research at Geneva, with its giant "atom smasher", exists to advance "pure" science. In practice, the majority of the staff are involved in keeping the great machines working, building up elaborate measuring instruments, and negotiating with contractors for new equipment.

If one now stands back and looks at this progress from Greek times to the present day, the transformation from the Intellectual to the Consciousness Soul age emerges clearly. Particularly striking is the gradual withdrawal of human consciousness from its dependence, first on revelations from the spiritual world, then from the authority of the past, and finally from the authority of "nature" as perceived by the senses. The scientist is no longer a "knower" — he has become almost entirely a "doer".

The world we live in to-day we have shaped for ourselves. Not only the things but many of the ideas we use are the outcome of our own activity, and owe little to tradition. We feel free to think what we like, to experiment almost without limit, and science is being used to transform the world. The ideals of Francis Bacon seem to be coming to realisation in the most thorough way.

It is also clear, though, that this process of withdrawal is in danger of going too far. In everyday life, people still contrive to keep their feet on the ground, so to speak, and to relate their thoughts to the world revealed by their senses. But science is becoming increasingly esoteric, dealing in forces and entities which are not accessible to the senses, and in concepts which are in-

accessible to all but a few who have gone through the necessary mathematical discipline.

At the same time, this very esoteric activity is having the most drastic exoteric effects. New inventions and discoveries pour in upon the world, and society can barely digest the effects of one scientific discovery before it is faced with another. Why is this?

It should be clear by now that the power of science derives from its "models"—from the concepts which are then embodied in material form, as electronic computers, atomic reactors or supersonic aircraft. The question is: where do these models come from? They cannot be derived entirely from the sense world, since they are often, so to speak, non-sensical: they contradict normal sense experience in all kinds of ways.

There are several cases on record where new "models" have flashed into a scientist's mind as a kind of inspiration. One of the best known is the experience of Kekulé, who was riding on a London bus when he suddenly saw, dancing before his mind's eye, the now familiar benzene ring, six carbon atoms holding hands in a circle, with hydrogen atoms attached. This model proved to be the key to a vast section of organic chemistry and showed the way to making all kinds of new synthetic substances.

Not all scientific inspirations are as dramatic or well-defined as Kekulé's. Yet I believe that a very large proportion of scientific advances, if traced back carefully to their origins, would be seen to derive from similar moments of sudden insight.

According to Steiner, such inspirations often come from, or are strongly influenced by, Luciferic and Ahrimanic beings. In this connection, it is interesting to read how he describes some of the characteristics of Ahriman, for example in *Die Geistige Hintergründe der Menschlichen Geschichte** (Dornach, August and September, 1916), Lecture V:

One of the main characteristics of Ahriman is that he is quite unaware of the direct relationship to truth that man has when he lives on earth. Ahriman does not know this direct relationship to truth in which one endeavours to establish truth

* Translations of all these seven lectures, partly in typescript, are in the Library at Rudolf Steiner House.

simply as the agreement of a concept with something objective. Ahriman does not know this. He is not concerned with this at all. Through the whole position which Ahriman has in the world, which I have often described, it is entirely a matter of indifference to him whether, when a concept is formed, it corresponds to reality. The kind of truth which he is concerned to build up—we would not call it truth in the human sphere—is entirely concerned with effects (*Wirkungen*). Something is said, not in order that it shall correspond with something else, but in order to produce effects. This or that is said, in order to achieve this or that result.

This corresponds exactly to the situation with many scientific concepts. It matters not in the least whether they correspond to sense experience, or even whether they correspond to “common-sense”. The most important thing is that they *work*.

We can see here, too, how this kind of thinking has crept into social and political life—since Ahriman’s conception of truth, as described by Steiner, amounts to “the end justifies the means”. The whole world of power-politics, salesmanship and persuasion, is imbued with this element of untruths and half-truths used for a purpose.

One can detect here an element of tragedy in modern science, and in its inaugurator, Bacon. It was essential for humanity to rid itself of dependence on the past, on the authority of Aristotelian concepts which no longer had any living content and had become mere ‘idols’. The last lecture in the series quoted above ends with a discussion of Bacon. His task, Steiner said, was to enable men to see through the old ‘idols’ handed down from the past, and turn their attention to the world revealed by the senses.

Both these aims have been achieved—but something else has happened as well. Through the growth of experiment, and the invasion of pure science by the techniques of applied science, the sense world has become obscured by a new set of idols, the remote concepts of contemporary science.

The experimental method, as soon as it ceases to be related to the world perceived by the senses, opens the way to concepts which

have no roots in nature, but are infiltrated into men's minds from a kind of sub-nature by the Ahrimanic beings.

From other lectures of Steiner's, it is clear that these beings have long been seeking an opportunity of this kind. Historians of science have often commented on the peculiar part played by Arab culture in carrying over Aristotle's scientific teachings to the West. In the sixth century, when the Greek philosophers were exiled by Justinian, they founded the Academy of Gondi-Shapur in Persia. It was from this Academy that learned men were later invited to the court of the great Arab ruler, Haroun al-Raschid, to impart Greek science and medicine to the Arabs.

When the revival of learning began in the West, the scientific writings of Aristotle and Ptolemy first became known in translations from the Arabic. They had made their way through Egypt to Spain, and were taken over during the Christian invasions in the eleventh century.

In his lectures on reincarnation and karma, Rudolf Steiner describes how this impulse was then taken up in the West, and transformed by certain individuals who in previous lives had been intimately associated with the Arab culture.

One such individual was Bacon, and another was Darwin. Many other individuals who have profoundly influenced the development of science are no doubt closely connected in a similar way with what Steiner calls the "Arabian stream" in history.

In another course of lectures, *Der Entwicklungsgang der Menschheit in seinen drei Kräfteströmungen** (Dornach, 4 - 13 Oct., 1918), Steiner has more to say about the Academy of Gondi-Shapur.

There were at work there, Steiner said, strong spiritual influences which wished to interfere with human evolution by bringing a new and potent knowledge into the world. From this centre were to have come certain brilliantly inspired individuals who during the seventh century would have given a highly advanced medicine and science to mankind, and also certain knowledge concerning the nature of birth and death.

* A typescript translation of these six lectures (R LXVII) is in the Library at Rudolf Steiner House.

This knowledge, according to Steiner, is intended to grow only slowly in mankind, and will not be fully developed until the mid-point of the Consciousness Soul age, 2493 A.D. If the intentions of the spiritual influences which worked at Gondi-Shapur had been realised, knowledge appropriate to the matured Consciousness Soul would have poured over men still living entirely in the Intellectual Soul.

This impulse was, in fact, blunted. How this happened is described by Steiner in the same course of lectures, and it would lead too far to enter into this here. But Steiner describes how the same impulse which worked at Gondi-Shapur echoes on in Bacon, and into the twentieth-century science.

Many people today feel that science is going too fast for man, that we are being presented with forces and problems which we are not yet mature enough to control. But imagine how far more helpless men would have been if equally potent knowledge had fallen into their hands more than a thousand years ago. Science today has a tremendous momentum, a kind of haste, a rushing forward into the future, which echoes the impulse that lived in Gondi-Shapur, and is characteristic of the Ahrimanic impulses behind it.

Steiner was born just as Baconianism was beginning to mature. He lived to see many of the early fruits of the scientific revolution—electricity, wireless, aircraft. And his life's work is related to Bacon's in a twofold way. He was concerned to turn men's attention once again to the world of spirit, but without losing the consciousness of self which would not have developed without Bacon's impulse.

In the realm of science—which is what this article is mainly about—Steiner pointed repeatedly to Goethe as the inaugurator of a new impulse, and he saw his own work as continuing Goethe's and taking it further.

In Goethe's approach to nature, there is the same interest in the world revealed by the senses as we find in Bacon, and the same emphasis on the importance of avoiding prejudice and preconceived ideas. But there is something more—Goethe emphasised that the scientist must never lose sight of the *phenomena that nature reveals to him*. He must not build mere *imitations* of nature in his mind,

models which at best embody only part of the truth. Instead, he must form his thoughts in such a way that the spiritual realities which are behind the impressions of the senses can flow also into his mind. The outer expression of a plant, encountered through the senses, and the inner expression admitted through thinking, then meet in the soul and reveal the true being—the primary Phenomenon (or Ur-phenomenon) behind the plant.

The “models” of modern science are a kind of caricature of the primary Phenomena with which the natural science of the future must be concerned. And as long as science is preoccupied almost entirely with producing effects and performing experiments, it will give men more power, but not the wisdom to use it properly.

What is needed is a reawakening of “pure” science in a new sense, making full use of the powers of consciousness won since Greek times. In such a science, progress would depend more on acquiring new faculties than on performing new experiments. This does not mean that there should be no experiments. But the starting-point would need to be a clear apprehension of the real Ur-phenomenon with which the experiment was concerned. This cannot happen as long as concepts are treated merely as serviceable tools, constructed in the human mind for a strictly practical purpose.

Modern science has brought us to the point where the sheer power of human thinking has been amply demonstrated. But because there is still no awareness that thinking has any connection with spiritual worlds of spiritual beings—either benign or malign—there is no feeling of *responsibility* towards thoughts; only towards deeds.

In *Die Geistige Hintergründe der menschlichen Geschichte*, quoted above, Steiner says: “In the years to come, for many millenia, it will be essential that we acquire a sense of responsibility for a thought we take hold of”. He goes on to say that critical point comes when the thought is imparted to others, written down or spoken out. Then it has been let loose in the world, so to speak—and it is at this point that Ahriman can go to work, if the thought suits him.

Today, there is a tremendous pressure in science to rush hastily into print in order to forestall rivals in the same field. New ideas, and

new experiments, are not allowed to mature in the mind, but are thrust out immediately into the world. It may seem an offensive analogy, but it is really as though science were afflicted with a kind of spiritual diarrhœa.

The question of responsibility was raised in an acute form by one of the most extraordinary achievements of science—the atomic bomb—which turned an abstruse conception into a fearful weapon after a few years of hectic work. This gave many scientists a considerable shock. The apparently disinterested activities of the laboratory could suddenly uncover a tremendous new force—and once uncovered, there was a kind of helpless feeling among scientists that nothing could prevent it from being put into practice (although some attempts were made). For a time, there was much discussion about the responsibilities of science towards the world, and whether scientists should try to keep potentially dangerous discoveries secret.

It was concluded, quite rightly, that this couldn't and shouldn't be done. But scientists are continually aware that some apparently academic paper in *Nature* may have revolutionary implications for the whole world.

It was never suggested, however, that scientists should feel responsible for what they *think*. But once scientific thinking can come alive, can begin to reach to the spiritual realities behind the world of nature, the need for responsibility will become more apparent. And it is Steiner who pointed the way to such a new kind of thinking, dealing in living thoughts instead of ghost-like models.

When Bacon published the *Novum Organum*, he inaugurated a kind of thinking that has gradually and effectively eliminated the remnants of the past that clung to human consciousness. This method has reached maturity today, and threatens to fall gradually into decay unless it is given new life.

The Consciousness Soul must now take the next step: to re-establish a connection with the spiritual realities of the world. The "Novum Organum" for this step was brought into the world by Rudolf Steiner, in works such as *Knowledge of Higher Worlds* and *The Philosophy of Spiritual Activity*.

It is thus highly appropriate that Steiner and Bacon should be remembered in the same year — and not surprising that Bacon should be easily comprehended while Steiner is still difficult. Since Bacon's day, his new way of thinking has become a common possession of a large part of mankind. Steiner's way has still to be acquired—and it will be a strenuous, arduous task.

Reprint

THE "ORIGINAL" SHAKESPEARE MONUMENT AT STRATFORD-UPON-AVON

A Plea for a Further Investigation

By T. D. Bokenham

The publication in one volume of this collection of letters and memoranda is an important contribution to the evidence concerning the repairs (or alterations) to the Shakespeare monument in Stratford Church which took place early in 1749. Joseph Greene, the Master of Stratford's little Grammar School (there was only "a mere handful of scholars" there at the time of his appointment in 1735) was something of a scholar and antiquarian and was involved with the Vicar, Rev. Mr. Kenrick, and members of the Parish Council in deliberations and disputes which for over two years preceded the actual repairs. The nature and extent of these repairs was never officially noted in the Parish records and in recent years "deliberations and disputes" far in excess of those of 1746-48 have arisen as to what took place at the time. The correspondence now published has been obtained from three main sources:

(i) Greene's letters to his brother Richard (many presented to the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust in 1955, some from the Halliwell-Phillips collection, Folger Library, Washington).

(ii) His letters to his friend and patron Hon. James West of Alscott near Preston in Warwickshire (Greene was Curate at Preston for some years) and

(iii) A miscellany of other writings of Greene including drafts, memoranda, etc., in the Wheeler manuscript collection.

The proposal for the repairs to this somewhat delapidated monument originated from John Ward, grandfather of Mrs. Siddons, who offered to act a Shakespeare play with his Company and to give the profits to this use. The play, *Othello*, was duly performed in Stratford Town Hall in September 1746 and about £16 was collected. Rev. Joseph Greene contributed a presentable epilogue in verse which was spoken by Ward and which is printed in this book.

In a letter dated October 1773, to his brother Richard, an apothecary and collector of antiques, Greene states that in 1748, *one month before the intended repairs took place*, he and a confederate took a good "mould" in "plaister of Paris" from the carving, which he now offers to Richard Greene with certain provisos. It may be of interest that Richard Greene was responsible for the drawing of the "traditional" Shakespeare Birthplace which was presented to The Gentleman's Magazine on the occasion of the famous Garrick Jubilee of 1769. The present reconstructed building in Henley Street was obviously modelled on this 18th century print.

In January 1758, Joseph Greene wrote to his patron, Hon. James West (a collector of MSS and pictures and a Fellow, later President, of the Royal Society) who was then in London, that West's copy of Shakespeare's bust, then being executed by the sculptor Rysbrack, was proceeding and that the face was being fashioned from "the mask you had of me" which he was sure was like the original. He and Heath "the carver" took it down from the chancel wall, etc., etc. He goes on to say that this bust is "a considerable likeness to the Droeshout portrait in the 1632 Folio which Ben Jonson declared a thorough likeness to Shakespeare." This bust by Rysbrack is still to be seen at Alscott.

In a letter, dated 27th September 1749, to his former Oxford "Fellow Collegian and table mate" Rev. John Sympton, Greene refers to the materials of "Ye original monument of Shakespeare." He speaks of the bust and the cushion before it (on which as on a desk this our Poet seems preparing to write). He refers to the two columns and the two painted boys "which" he says "represent Comedy and Tragedy" and states that apart from the changes to the architraves "nothing has been chang'd, nothing alter'd except ye supplying with ye original materials (sav'd for that purpose) whatsoever was by accident broken off reviving the old colouring and renewing the gilding that was lost."

These statements that no structural alterations took place at this time would seem to be corroborated in part by George Vertue's sketch of the monument of 1737, which is now at Welbeck, and they form the basis of the general opinion that the present bust at

Stratford is the original one, and apart from its various repaints, remains much as it was when first erected. The inference, of course, is that the earlier illustrations, which show a very different monument, were engraved from crudely inaccurate drawings which the engravers failed to question.

Before accepting the evidence of these two important witnesses it will be necessary to examine them a little more closely and to review the evidence of those who have been unable to believe that Sir William Dugdale in 1656 would have permitted a gross misrepresentation of this monument to appear in his *History of the Antiquities of Warwickshire*, his own County.

In 1904 Mrs. Charlotte C. Stopes published in *The Monthly Review* "The Story of the Stratford Bust". Following her disappointment over this unedifying representation of the Bard "with its entire lack of poetic or spiritual inspiration in its plump earthiness", Mrs. Stopes made a study of the known portraits and engravings in order to find out, if possible, Shakespeare's actual appearance. She found that the earliest engravings of the Bust, and in particular that shown in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, "differed in all important details from the Bust as it appears now".

Mrs. Stopes' comments on Dugdale's engraving are worthy of notice. "It has never been calendared, compared or criticised . . . Far from resembling the self-contented fleshy man of today, the large and full dark eyes look out of cheeks hollow to emaciation. The moustache drops down softly and naturally instead of perking upwards, there is no mantle on the shoulders, no pen in the hand, no cushioned desk. The arms are bent awkwardly, the hands are laid stiffly, palms downward, on a large cushion, suspiciously resembling a Woolsack. (It should here be stated that Mrs. Stopes was no Baconian!). It is not unlike an older Droeshout and the Death Mask might be considered anew beside it".

Mrs. Stopes found in the Print Room at the British Museum the other 18th century engravings of the monument with which modern Shakespeare scholars are familiar. Some of these, including Van der Gucht's engraving for Nicholas Rowe (1709), confirm the details of the Dugdale engraving, though the faces, Mrs. Stopes suggested, were copied from more recently discovered portraits, the

genuineness of which she herself was in some doubt. With regard to Vertue's engraving for Alexander Pope, Mrs. Stopes has this to say: "In Pope's edition of 1725 we find a remarkable variation. Vertue did not go to Stratford but to Rowe for his copy. Finding it so very inartistic, he *improved* the monument, making the little angels light bearers rather than bearers of spade and hourglass, and instead of the bust he gives a composition from the Chandos portrait, altering the arms and hands and adding a cloak, pen, paper and desk. In Sir Thomas Hamner's edition, 1744, Gravelot copies from Vertue the monument and figure while he alters the face into what seems to be the original of the Birthplace portrait (presumably the "Flower" portrait) . . . By 1748 the repairs were completed and the colours repainted by Mr. John Hall. Probably they worked with the new edition of Shakespeare before them as a guide, depending on Gravelot and Hamner of 1744—Alas for the result!"

In 1910 M. H. Spielmann attacked Mrs. Stopes in his *A Comparative Study of the Droeshout Portrait and the Stratford Monument* which was duly answered in 1925 by Sir George Greenwood in his *The Stratford Bust and the Droeshout Engraving*. By this time Dugdale's original drawing from which the engraving was executed had come to light at Merevale Hall, the Warwickshire home of the Dugdale family. Greenwood pointed out that, whereas several of the engravings in this book were executed from drawings supplied by the families concerned, in this case he drew the original himself. In this respect, it must be said that though, in general, the drawing bears all the characteristics of the more polished engraving, it is a poor sort of sketch and not one of which a "practised draughtsman" should feel inordinately proud. It should be pointed out, however, that the sorry-looking figure is even less like that of the present monument than the finished engraving.

Sir George Greenwood referred to the findings of W. O. Halliwell-Phillips, the well known Shakespeare scholar, who in his edition of Shakespeare's works (Vol. I) states that the Dugdale engraving is by Hollar. Modern scholars do not support this view, but suggest that it was more probably the work of one of his assistants, possibly Gaywood. Halliwell-Phillips is also quoted as stating that a person who visited Stratford soon after the repairs of 1749

was told by the sexton's wife that the monument had been very much neglected and had a lamentable appearance before it was repaired and beautified. He then gave details of its former construction which he seems to have gleaned from the draft of Joseph Greene's letter to his friend Sympson, now published. Greenwood was not slow to notice that the work done was by no means restricted to a re-paint and superficial repair. Obviously for this work a stonemason and a sculptor as well as the limmer John Hall, would have been required.

Several further points supporting Mrs. Stopes have subsequently been made by non-Stratfordian scholars. These include comments on the present moustache, the style of which, it is held, was not in vogue in this country until well after middle of the seventeenth century.

We must now examine our two witnesses, George Vertue and Rev. Joseph Greene. It will be remembered that in about 1720 Vertue engraved for Pope the first near resemblance to the present monument. In 1737 preparations were being made by the Earl of Burlington, Dr. Mead and Pope for the construction of the Shakespeare Monument in Westminster Abbey. The sculptor Scheemakers is said to have consulted Vertue over details of Shakespeare's appearance, and Vertue, in that year, drew the charming sketch of the Stratford monument, which is now in the Duke of Portland's collection at Welbeck. Around the drawing Vertue has written "Went to the Church at Stratford . . . Mr. Harbord the statuary lives there . . . I commissioned him to make a cast from the bust of Shakespeare's head on his mont". If this cast was ever used by Scheemakers it was certainly not one of the present Stratford head! In fact, the two monuments have little in common. Vertue does state, however, that he visited the church on this occasion and one must presume that this sketch was made on the spot. Once again, Vertue represents the monument much as it is today, but with certain differences. The posture of the figure and the general structure of the monument do not support the Dugdale or Rowe illustrations. On the other hand, the small boys above do not in any way represent the present ones. They appear to overlap the edge of the entablature as depicted by Dugdale and one of them

seems to be holding up Dugdale's hourglass and not the present reversed torch. Joseph Greene refers to the architraves as being shattered and decayed—they seem in reasonable condition in this sketch. Vertue's figure does not appear to be wearing his present-day mantle though it is possible that he is holding a pen in his right hand. The details of the cushion are by no means clear. In 1825 the stone altar rails, shown by Vertue, were replaced by a brass rail which now encloses both the monument and the Shakespeare gravestones on which the gentleman stands. The position of the monument in relation to these stones and to the door of the former Charnel House (demolished in 1799) is reasonably correct. Supporters of Mrs. Stopes could ask however, with some reason, why Vertue chose to alter Shakespeare's face in his earlier engraving for Pope if that on the monument was in sufficiently good repair to be cast in 1737, and why it was necessary for Vertue to revisit Stratford if his former engraving was made *in situ* and was reasonably accurate. It also might be asked whether it is certain that Vertue actually completed this sketch on the spot or whether he adapted his final drawing from his earlier work.

The Rev. Joseph Greene's letter (September 1749) to Rev. John Sympson is our next exhibit and it is of vital interest. It is a curious letter in some ways and Greene seems to be at great pains to emphasise that no radical alterations to the monument took place earlier in that year. One wonders why. Throughout this correspondence Greene invariably speaks of "the *original* monument". Again one wonders why. We are told in this letter that in addition to the re-paint and superficial repairs the two original architraves were replaced. Now this is quite a major operation involving the removal of the entire top of the monument and its ornaments. It seems obvious that Dugdale's two little boys were replaced at this time, though Greene does not say so. The present figures, which are entirely different, are in fact, moveable, and completely detached from the main structure. Greene refers to the cushion-like desk which one must assume was flat as at present. This cushion has always puzzled the present writer because a cushion is not an ideal support for writing purposes. Surely the original intention would

have been to show it as a ceremonial book rest, though Dugdale scarcely shows it as such!

Joseph Greene's other vital piece of evidence concerns the cast which he and Heath "the carver" made of the bust before its repair and which was used by J. M. Rysbrack for the statue still in possession of the Alston-Roberts-West family. Now Greene assured his patron that it was very like the original bust of the poet. Let us now look at this bust. Here surely is the answer to our problem, for Rysbrack has given Shakespeare a face which is almost an exact replica of Scheemakers' in Westminster Abbey, *both, apparently, made from casts from the original Stratford monument*, and utterly unlike the present one "in its plump earthiness". We are aware that both sculptors were to some extent influenced by the Chandos portrait, then much in vogue, but can we any longer believe that the Rev. Joseph Greene was telling the whole truth and nothing but the truth? It would seem that both he and Vertue were deliberately playing a game of hide and seek.

There is one further point which must be mentioned, and this concerns Dugdale's monstrous sack which was so carefully copied by Hollar, or his assistant, in 1656 and, it seems, by Michael van der Gucht in 1709, and by Grignion in 1786 for Bell's "Shakespeare". Were these expert craftsmen so ignorant of sepulchral ornamentation that they were unable to recognise a writing (or reading) desk when they saw one? Or were their employers (or patrons) also playing a game of hide and seek? In other words, was Dugdale's unpoetic man, with his earthy-looking sack, intended as a deliberate and striking contrast to the glowing praise of the poet in the Latin lines below?

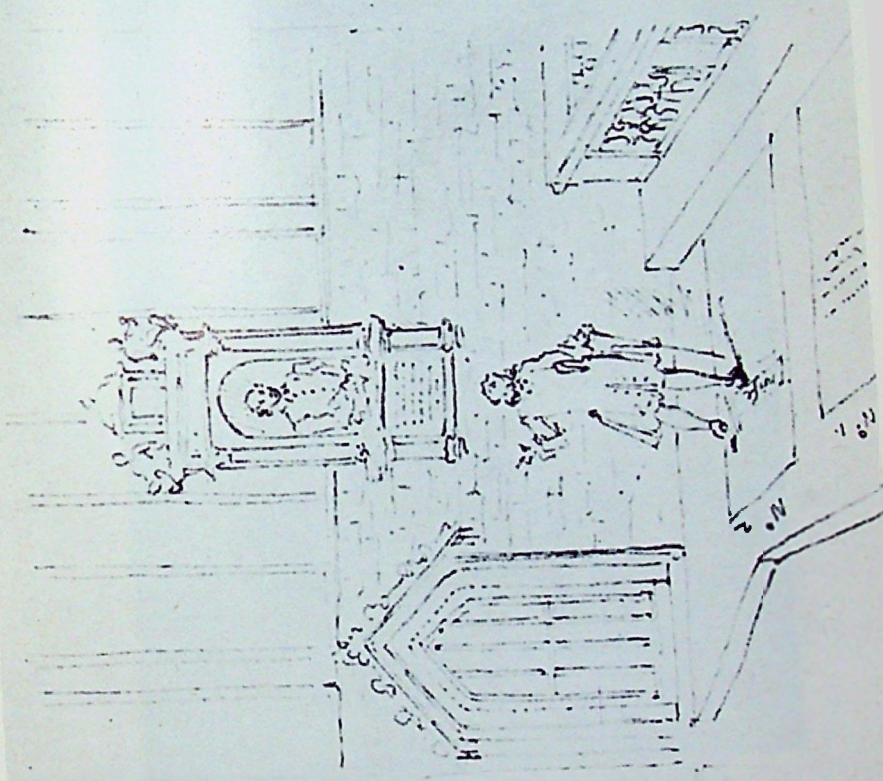
Judicio Pylum, genio Socratem, arte Maronem
Terra tegit, populus maeret, Olympus habet.

Is not the more careful reader being asked to take special note?
Stay Passenger why goest thou by soe fast
Read if thou cans't whom envious death hath plac't
W'in this monument . . .

good friend
to digg the den
lest be the Mos
and Gurot Siche

to left 2 da
Susan
Hakeepen

another side





5. The Westminster Abbey Monument 1740 - 1

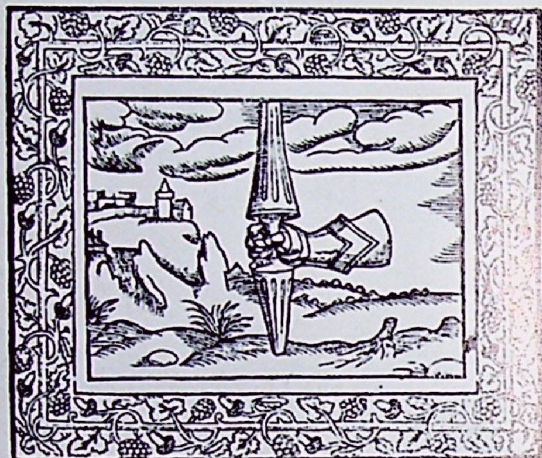


6. The Dugdale Engraving (detail)



7. Marble by J. M. Rysbrack, C.1760

TO the most Honourable Lord, the L: Dingwell.



Hagerus Capri
S, moloano.

WHO thirsteth after Honor, and renowne,
By valiant act, or lasting worke of wit:
In vaine he doth expect, her glorious crowne,
Except by labor, he archeiveth it;
And sit eatie brow, for never inerit may,
To drouse sloath, impart her living bay.

• primus semp-
er labore.
• nonis nec semp-
sate pedes. Sili. 1.

• Ipse manu sua
pula pectus prece-
dit antea militis
ocrepedit non tra-
solerare labo-
rem, non siber.
Locan de Cato-
ne.

Mundus mulie-
ribus laborem vi-
rii convenire.
Machas apud Sa-
lomon.

Virgil AEnid: 2

• **HAMILCARS** sonne, hence shall thy glory live,
Who or'e the Alpes, didst foremost lead the way,
With Cæsars eeke, that would the onser giue,
And first on fonte, the deepest soords assay:
Let Carpet Knightes, of Ladies favours boalt,
The manly hart, brave Action loveth most.

*Disce puer virtutem ex me verumq; laborem
Fortunam ex aliis: nunc te mea dextera bello
Defensum dabit, et magna inter premia ducet.*

E. x

To the most iudicious, and learned, Sir FRANCIS BACON, Knight.



THE Viper here, that stung the sheeheard swaine,
 (While careles of himselfe asleepe he lay,)
 With Hysope caught, is cut by him in twaine,
 Her fat might take, the poison quite away,
 And heale his wound, that wonder tis to see,
 Such soveraigne helpe, should in a Serpent be.

By this same Leach, is meant the virtuous King,
 Who can with cunning, out of manners ill,
 Make wholesome Lawes,* and take away the sting,
 Wherewith foule vice, doth greue the virtuous still:
 Or can prevent, by quicke and wise foresight,
 Infection ere, it gathers further might.

*Afra venerat, popuq; spem viperæ morfu,
 Dux Gregis amissum lætus ab hoste perit:
 Viperæ in dem leges ex moribus apus
 Doctus Apollinea coniecit ante SOLON.*

*virtus que plurima moris
 Fortibus natura docet invidios malis, ut*

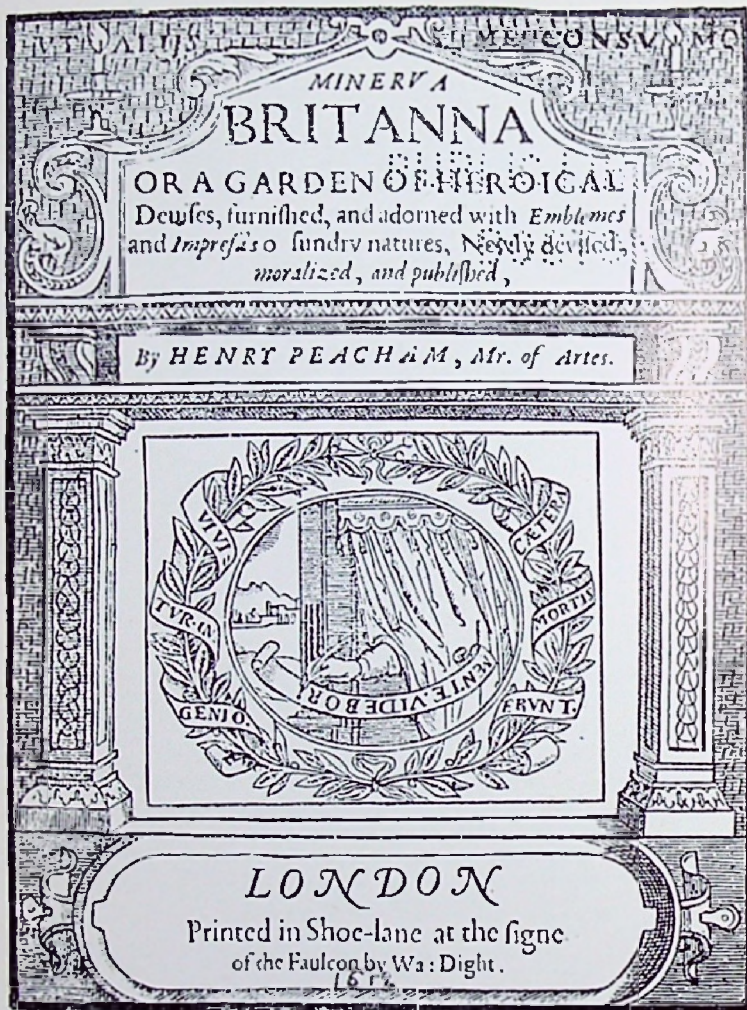
*Cura de his leges, et quod natura remittit
 Intra sua regunt sic.*

Et.

* virtuosam emen-
 datorem leges
 esse oportet: Cic.
 1. de legibus.
 Salus Civitatis in
 legibus. Arist.

Ovid Metamorph.
 lib. 10.

TO



10. Title Page of *Minerva Britannia*

The Stratford Monument and Alexander Pope

The suggestion that the earliest engravings of the Stratford Monument were designed to call attention to a monstrous anomaly is obviously beyond the scope of the present article. Nevertheless, it is of vital interest to those who believe that a mystery still surrounds this curious shrine.

Let us assume that Vertue's sketch of 1737 is the first life-like illustration of the original monument now to be found. It follows that his former "representation" for Pope in 1725 was, as Mrs. Stopes suggested, merely an improvement on the earlier Dugdale and Rowe engravings (or "representations") which were then thought to be unsuitable or "inartistic".

Now, suppose, by chance, that Pope had noted the fairly obvious meaning of Dugdale's strange enigma. Is it possible that he too decided to convey a message for the careful observer to fathom in due course? Pope was acquainted with Dr. Richard Mead, Robert Harley (the then Earl of Oxford) and others who were exceedingly well informed about our English literature of former times. Harley's great collection of manuscripts, now housed in the British Museum, includes Francis Bacon's *Promus* and the volume of Latin poems now known as the *Manes Verulamiani*. Both these manuscripts reveal information about Bacon (and Shakespeare) which is not known generally. In these circumstances, it is suggested that Pope may well have caused Vertue to design his earlier "representation" with considerable care and attention.

We must now refer to an extremely valuable series of articles by James Arther, the author of *A Royal Romance*, written under the heading "In Baconian Light". Article IV, entitled "Lucrece and Minerva Britanna" should be read and digested. In it Mr. Arther has shown that certain stanzas from Shakespeare's *Lucrece* which describe a painting "made for Priam's Troy" are illustrated in the significant emblem picture on page 33 of Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britanna* (1612). The following stanza was shown to be of particular interest.

For much imaginary work was there
 Conceit deceitful, so compact, so kind
 That for Achilles image stood his spear
 Grip'd in an armed hand; himself behind
 Was left unseen, save to the eye of mind.
 A hand, a foot, a face, a leg, a head
 Stood for the whole to be imagined.

The words "himself behind" suggested to Mr. Arther that he should look at the following page 34. Here he found an emblem dedicated "to the most judicious and learned Francis Bacon, Knight", who is shown as a country shepherd wearing a very Baconian hat and a hogshead attached to his belt. ("Hang hog is latten for Bacon I warrant you"—*Merry Wives*). The shepherd is killing the viper "Vice". Baconians should note that whereas the page number 33 stands for Bacon, the page numbers $33 + 34 = 67$ which stands for Francis.

James Arther then turned to Peacham's title page which again shows "an armed hand" (armed this time with a pen). Here the owner of the arm is left unseen behind a stage curtain, beyond which is Parnassus and its famous stream. The hand is writing the words "mente videbor" which relate dramatically to Shakespeare's "left unseen *save to the eye of mind*". On the following page, and this page really is behind, is an emblem showing the three feathers of the hereditary Prince of Wales surrounded by the entwined emblems of England and Scotland, the rose and the thistle. This page is opposite the first page of Peacham's Dedication to Henry, Prince of Wales, to whom ostensibly the emblem relates. Mr. Arther, however, puts forward a strong case that this Royal emblem page is of deeper significance. The Dedication, which is signed in almost affectionate terms, refers to this Emblem literature as the rarest and most ingenious form of poesie. Little is known of the author, Henry Peacham, but the name, in simple cipher, adds to 111, which is one of the important SEAL NUMBERS of Bacon's literary Fraternity.

We must, however, return to Peacham's title page. The device here, apart from its oval inset, is not unlike a sepulchral monument, and in many respects has a remarkable affinity to the Stratford

Monument as depicted in Pope's edition of "Shakespeare". In that engraving we have: the writing hand, the two symbolic candles, the double cornice and the two supporting columns, and there as Shakespeare's crest "displayed" is the "Signe of the Faulcon" which, as Mr. Arther reminds us, appears in words at the foot of Peacham's emblem picture.

James Arther has shown us what to do when we are told that our British Pallas "himself behind is left unseen". Surely we should now "read (or examine more closely) whom envious death hath plac't w'in this monument". Shakespeare's body, we are assured by Dugdale, lies beneath his unnamed stone in front of the High Altar. What if some part of his mind, or one of his original manuscripts, had been placed behind this epitaph within this monument?

Perhaps this is what Pope, or his well-informed patrons were trying to tell those who have found the solution to Peacham's strange device. The year of this edition of Pope's is just a hundred years after Francis Bacon's departure, and to Baconians one hundred is a very significant number.

The important point is, however, that whether England's great literary heritage, the Shakespeare plays and poems, were written by William Shakspere of Stratford, Francis Bacon, De Vere Earl of Oxford, or Queen Elizabeth herself, it is becoming increasingly certain that their production in print, together with the production of a great deal more of our seventeenth century literature, *including Dugdale's "Warwickshire"* was inspired and instigated by a silent literary organisation ("The Grand Possessors") which was evidently patronised by men of means and influence. It was presumably these men who assisted in financing the publication of these expensive volumes whose beautiful and enigmatic illustrations, head and tail pieces, etc., were used extensively by various printers both in this country and abroad over a period of years.

Baconians, of course, believe that Francis Bacon, the Lord Chancellor was, during his lifetime, at the centre of this organisation, which, however, continued to use its influence and powers for some considerable time after that great man's death.

Some of "Shakespeare"'s precious manuscripts (and these include his private correspondence) must be in existence somewhere, unless they were systematically destroyed. It is surely not unreasonable to search diligently wherever a pointing finger towards a possible hiding-place is to be found.

The Francis Bacon Society is grateful to the following for permission to reproduce illustrations: The Duke of Portland (4), J. W. Alston-Roberts-West (7), The National Monument Record (1), The Department of Prints and Drawings British Museum (2 and 3), and to H.M. Stationery Office who have kindly loaned some of the blocks for these illustrations.

THE DAY-STAR OF THE MUSES

By E.M.B.

PART II

We endeavoured, in Part I, to answer the criticism that Francis Bacon was no poet and therefore could not be considered seriously as a claimant for the authorship of the Shakespeare Plays. Having brought to your notice the many allusions to Bacon as a concealed poet, and the fact that, in so many of his prose works he made use of a number of poetic devices (*e.g.* imagery, figures of speech, alliteration, assonance, and internal rhyme) it is our intention now to consider two more criticisms by our Stratfordian opponents. They argue that Shakspeare, as a professional actor, would obviously have a knowledge of stagecraft, and consequently be better equipped for the task of playwriting, than a philosopher, scientist, and statesman such as Francis Bacon. That is what they assume, but those who have studied Bacon's writings have been led to think differently.

The many metaphors and references centred on 'the stage' in Bacon's acknowledged works, confirm his *great* interest in the subject. For instance in his essay *Of Friendship* he says:—

Where a man cannot fitly play his own part, if he have not a friend, he may *quit the stage*.

In a letter to Essex we have this:—

Neither do I judge the play by the first act.

In Bacon's *History Of Henry VII Of England* there are these references:—

He thought good (after the manner of scenes in stage plays and masques) to show it, far off.

None could hold a book so well to prompt and instruct *a stage play* as she could.

Therefore now, like the end of a play, a great number *came upon the stage* at once.

From the *De Augmentis* we have this:—

Stage playing accustoms young men to bear being looked at, and the following comment is certainly very true:—

A looker on often sees more than a player.

In the essay *Of Building* the author does not forget to inform us as to the part of a palace in which plays are to be performed.

I would have only one goodly room above stairs, of 40 ft. at least high; and under it a room of the same length and width for a dressing or preparing place at Feasts, Plays and such Magnificences, and to receive conveniently *the actors* while dressing and preparing.

In the next quotation from the *De Augmentis*, Book II, we get an idea of Bacon's views on the value of dramatic poesy.

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 corruption in this kind we have enough; but the discipline has in our time been plainly neglected. The action of the theatre, though modern states esteem it but ludicrous unless it be satirical and biting, was carefully watched by the Ancients that it might improve mankind in virtue, and indeed many wise men and great philosophers have thought it to the mind as the bow to the fiddle.

Now a further instance, this time from the *Novum Organum*, Book I.

Lastly there are Idols which have immigrated into men's minds from the various dogmas of Philosophies, and also from wrong laws of demonstration. These I call Idols of the Theatre; because in my judgement all the received systems are but *so many stage plays*, representing worlds of their own creation after an unreal and scenic fashion.

In the *Advancement of Learning*, Book VI, Francis Bacon has this to say about the help that can be derived from acting upon a stage:—

Acting upon the stage strengthens memory, moderates the tone and emphasis of voice and pronunciation, composes the countenance and gesture to a decorum, procures a good assurance and likewise inureth youth to the faces of men.

One would hardly expect to find in any essay on Truth an allusion to Masques but with Bacon such is the case.

This same truth is a naked and open daylight, that doth not show the *Masques, and Mummeries, and Triumphs* of the world, half so stately and daintily as candle lights.

Court Masques, by the way, were performed indoors, where artificial lighting such as torch-light or candle-light was used, not day-light. For a professional actor of the 16th century to have included Masques or Dumbshows in seven of the Shakespeare Plays, very often without any kind of dramatic necessity, is rather surprising. But for an aristocrat who mingled with courtiers and noblemen, it is not. Their inclusion does, however, suggest that the writer of the Plays had had first hand experience of them and held them in high regard and affection.

The fact that Lord Burleigh, in a letter to Francis, deprecates "a waste of time over sonnets, plays, and such frivolities . . ." indicates that Bacon not only loved these things but was frequently involved in such activities.

When one reads Bacon's fascinating narrative *The New Atlantis*, it becomes obvious that he was not only a pioneer of scientific thought, a philanthropist, and a Freemason, but also that he took note of such details as the style and colour of the costumes worn by the inhabitants of this secret island, their gestures, and salutations. If he had never taken interest in, nor given thought, to these small matters, presumably such descriptions would have been excluded. I will cite some examples . . .

About three hours after we had dispatched our answer, there came towards us a person (as it seemed) of place. He had on him a gown with wide sleeves, of a kind of water chamolett of an excellent azure colour, far more glossy than ours. His

under apparell was green; so was his hat, being in the form of a Turban daintily made, and not so huge as the Turkish turbans; and the locks of his hair came down below the brims of it . . . The said person lifted up his right hand towards Heaven and drew it softly to his mouth (which is the gesture they use when they thank God) . . . The morrow after our three days were passed, there came to us a new man, that we had not seen before, clothed in blue as the former was, save that his Turban was white, with a small red cross on the top. He had also a tippet of fine linen. At his coming in he did bend to us a little, and put his arms abroad.

Further on the narrator gives a colourful description of the State arrival of one of the Fathers of Soloman's House.

He was a man of middle stature, and age, comely of person and had an aspect as if he had pitied men. He was clothed in a robe of fine black cloth, with wide sleeve and a cape. His undergarments was of excellent white linen, down to the foot, girt with a girdle of the same. And a sindon or tippet of the same about his neck. He had gloves, that were curious, and set with stones, and shoes of peach coloured velvet. His neck was bare to the shoulders. His hat was like a helmet, and his locks curled below it decently. They were of colour brown. His beard was cut round, of the same colour with his hair, somewhat lighter.

He was carried in a chariot without wheels, litter-wise; with two horses at either end, richly trapped in blue velvet, embroidered, and two footmen on each side, in the like attire. The chariot was all of cedar, gilt, and adorned with crystal, save that the fore-end had panels of sapphires set in borders of gold; and the inger-end the like of emeralds of the Peru colour. There was also a sun of gold, radiant, upon the top, in the midst; and on the top before, a small cherub of gold, with wings displayed. The chariot was covered with cloth of gold tissue upon blue.

He had before him fifty attendants, young men all, in white satin loose coats to the mid-leg; and hats of blue velvet, with fine plumes of divers colours, set round like hat bands.

Next before the chariot went two men, bare headed, in

linen garments down to the foot, girt, and shoes of blue velvet; who carried the one a crosier, the other a pastoral staff, like a sheep-hook, of balm-wood, and of cedar. Horsemen had he none, as it seemeth to avoid all tumult and trouble. Behind his chariot went all the officers and principals of the companies of the city. He sat alone, upon cushions, of a kind of excellent plush, blue; and under his foot curious carpets of silk, of divers colours, like the Persian, but far finer. He held up his bare hand as he went, as blessing the people, but in silence.

Observations such as these on costume and property design, blending of colours, grouping of people, ceremony and spectacle, exits and entrances, gestures and facial expressions, are the concern of a producer and contriver of Masques and Triumphs. Dialogue and the devising of logical exits and entrances, together with the working out of the plot, are the main concern of a dramatist. In this work alone, there are obvious indications that Francis Bacon possessed both an interest in and a knowledge of dramatic presentation.

Let us not forget that as a member of Gray's Inn Bacon would have become involved inevitably in the production of Masques, these being a favourite pastime at all the Inns of Court. He must have enjoyed doing dramatic work for it is said that he took an active part in quite a number of Masques, on the production side and in the writing of them. For instance in 1588 or 1589 he is believed to have collaborated with Sir Christopher Yelverton in producing *The Misfortunes Of Arthur* and in 1592 he composed *The Conference Of Pleasure*, a device written for Essex to present before Elizabeth on "The Queen's Day". Spedding found this amongst the Northumberland MSS, which belonged originally to Bacon, and bear his name.

At the conclusion of 1594 and the beginning of 1595 Bacon contributed the speeches of the six counsellors for an interlude played by members of Gray's Inn which lasted for twelve days. There are conflicting ideas as to its title—some say that it was called *The Masque of the Order of the Helmet*, while others assign to it the title of *Gesta* or *Acta Grayorum*.

Presently we will quote a short passage from the speech of the sixth counsellor. The first has advised the exercise of war to the Prince of Purpoole; the second, the study of Philosophy; the third, Fame by Buildings and Foundations and the new institution of Orders and Societies; the fourth, Absoluteness of State and Treasure (resembling the Essays: *Of Empire*, and *Of True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates*); the fifth, Virtue and a Gracious Government (demonstrating, even at this early stage, Bacon's leanings towards philosophy and moral teaching). George Hookham suggests that the sixth counsellor is saying in effect "All these estimable people have been advising you to do in your own person what any prince can get done for him. My advice is, study to enjoy yourself, that is the one thing a prince cannot do *per alium*".

Therefore leave your wars to your lieutenants, and your works and buildings to your purveyors, and your books to your universities, and your state matters to your counsellors, and attend you that in person that you cannot execute by deputy; use the advantage of your youth; be not sullen to your fortune; make your pleasure the distinction of your honours, the study of your favourites, the talk of your people, and the allurements of all foreign gallants to your Court. And in a word, sweet sovereign, dismiss your five counsellors and only take counsel of your 5 senses.

According to Bertram Theobald in his interesting book *Enter Francis Bacon*, Anthony Bacon, during the same year 1594, left Francis' lodgings in Gray's Inn and went to live in Bishopsgate Street, near the Bull Inn, much to the consternation of Lady Anne Bacon. We learn from Lady Anne's letters that Anthony and Francis were having plays performed at Anthony's house; and the Bull Inn itself was frequently used for this purpose. In a letter written to the queen Essex refers to the activities of Anthony and Francis as follows:—

Already they print me and make me speak to the world, and shortly they will play me in what form they list upon the stage.

According to Theobald, Francis was accustomed to producing plays, with his brother, and one or other (or both) of them was presumably the author of such plays.

In the following year, 1595, Bacon was again engaged in writing in dramatic form, for the benefit of Essex. *The Masque of the Indian Prince* was presented on November 17th, again in celebration of the "Queen's Day". Apparently speeches for another Device were written by Bacon for Essex in this same year. They were for a soldier and secretary, a hermit and squire, and the Device is said to have been called the *Philautia Device*.

In a fascinating but non-Baconian book entitled *Early English Stages*, its author, Glynne-Wickham, who has obviously made very extensive researches into his subject, states: "In 1595 Francis Bacon wrote the speeches for an Accession Tilt organised on this occasion by the Earl of Essex. The device consisted of a dialogue between a soldier, a secretary, a hermit, and a squire".

Because all these writers refer to the Hermit's speech, and the fact that Essex was the organiser, we conclude that the *Philautia Device* and the *Accession Tilt* were really one and the same entertainment. References in the Index of the Northumberland manuscripts also indicate that Bacon wrote speeches for Devices and Tilts.

Jousting and tilting were favourite pastimes with the nobility, and at the accession of Queen Elizabeth pageantry was introduced. They were often dramatized within an allegorical frame and became known as Accession Tilts. Like Masques these were often spectacles on a lavish scale and in both dramatic speeches were required. The main differences between the two genres, so it would seem, were that a Masque was performed indoors with music and dancing as an essential part of it, whereas the main feature of a Tilt, apart from dramatic speeches spoken by allegorical characters in the device, was a combat by two armed men on horseback which took place out of doors in the tiltyard. Sir Philip Sydney and Sir Fulke Greville are known to have been Champions of the Tiltyard and together with the Earl of Arundel—all friends of Francis—took part in Tournaments and Triumphs. The passage from the Hermit's

Speech in the *Philautia Device* which we will now quote, is essentially poetical, and the hill of the Muses resembles very closely the hill of Truth in the *Essay Of Truth*.

Let him offer his service to the Muses. They give alms continually at their gate that many come to live upon; but few have they ever admitted to their Palace. There shall he find secrets not dangerous to know, sides and parties not factious to hold, precepts and commandments not penal to disobey. The gardens of love, where in he now playeth himself, are fresh today and fading tomorrow, as the sun comforts or is turned from them. But the gardens of the Muses keep the privilege of the golden age; they ever flourish and are in league with time . . . the hill of the Muses is above tempests, always clear and calm, a hill of the godliest discovery that man can have, being a prospect upon all the errors and wanderings of present and former times.

How close this last sentence is to the line in the essay *Of Truth* "a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene, and to see the errors and wanderings, and mists and tempests in the vale below"!

In connection with the assistance rendered by Bacon to Essex, Bertram Theobald makes further significant comments:—

In order to win back the Queen's favour for Essex, Bacon wrote what purported to be a letter from Essex to Anthony Bacon, and another to be Anthony's reply.

As to this Dr. Abbot remarks "The wonderful exactness with which he caught the somewhat quaint, humorous, cumbersome style of Anthony, and the abrupt, incisive, antithetical and passionately rhetorical style of Essex, makes the perusal of these letters a literary treat, independent of their merits."

The truth is, says Theobald, that versatility was one of the distinguishing traits of Bacon's character. His agility of mind was prodigious, and he seems to have enjoyed putting himself in the place of other men, and actually writing speeches for them, in which he cleverly imitated their several styles. He continues: "It

is difficult to ascertain what is Bacon's own style. Is it that of the *Essays* or the *New Atlantis*? Of the *Novum Organum* or of the *Masque of the Indian Prince*? Of the *Wisdom of The Ancients* or of *Letter of Advice to the Queen*? His style varies almost as much as his handwriting."

Here, then, we have a man who was pre-eminently fitted to play a part and, if need be, to play hide and seek with the public. But in addition, Bacon was known to be addicted to secrecy in his habits. Although the later years of his life were spent in State work where his actions would be exposed to view, the whole of his early manhood from 18-45, was passed in comparative privacy. This habit of seclusion was criticised, sometimes unfavourably, and among some of the friends with whom Anthony corresponded, Francis was known as "The Hermit".

Having digressed a little, we will now return to the subject of Masques. To celebrate the marriage of James I's daughter Elizabeth, to Frederick V, the Count Palatine, members of Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple jointly presented a masque called *The Marriage of the Rhine and Thames*. The chief contriver was Francis Bacon. The Lord Chamberlain gives us a vivid account:—

On Tuesday it came to Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple's turn to come with their Masque whereof Sir Francis Bacon was the chief contriver, and because the former came on horseback and in open chariots, they made choice to come by water from Winchester Place, in Southwark; which suited well with their device, which was the Marriage of the River Thames to the Rhine; and their show by water was very gallant, by reason of infinite store of lights, very curiously set and placed, and many boats and barges with devices of lights and lamps, with three peals of ordnance, one at their taking water, another in the Temple Garden, and the last at their landing; which passage by water cost them £300. They were received at the privy stairs and great expectation there was that they should in every way excel their competitors that went before them, both in device, daintiness of apparel, and above all in dancing, wherein they are held excellent, and esteemed for the properer men.

But the king was so wearied and sleepy with sitting almost two whole nights before, that he had no edge to it, whereupon Sir Francis Bacon adventured to entreat of His Majesty that by this difference he would not, as it were, bury them quick; and I hear the King should answer that then they must bury him quick, for he could last no longer; but withal gave them very good words and appointed them to come again on Saturday.

But the grace of their Masque is quite gone, when their apparel hath been already showed, and their devices vented, so that how it will fall out, God knows, for they are much discouraged and out of countenance. Their devices, however, went much beyond the mere exhibition of themselves and their apparel, and there was novelty enough behind the curtain to make a sufficient entertainment by itself, without the water business for overture.

Beaumont is said to have written this Masque, but since the Lord Chamberlain refers to Francis Bacon as being the chief contriver, and when the Masque was printed the dedication began with an acknowledgement that Bacon, with the gentleman of Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple had "spared no pain nor travail in the setting forth, ordering, and furnishing of this Masque," it becomes fairly obvious that he must have produced and managed the entertainment. The following reference in the dedication—"And you, Sir Francis Bacon, especially, did by your countenance and loving affections advance it"—points also to the extent that he was loved and honoured.

The next year, 1613, when Bacon was created Attorney-General, we hear of Francis once again preparing a Masque to honour another marriage—this time the betrothed couple were the Earl of Somerset and Lady Essex. The bride's father was the Earl of Suffolk, then the Lord Chamberlain. Mrs. Pott in her book *Francis Bacon and His Secret Society* explains this masque as follows:—

It was proposed that during the week of festivities which celebrated this marriage the four Inns of Court (the Middle and Inner Temple, Gray's Inn and Lincoln's Inn) should join

in getting up a masque, but they could not manage it. Although Ben Jonson and Shakespeare were at the height of their fame we find it was Francis Bacon, the Attorney-General, who, once more was called upon to supply their dramatic deficiencies. Surely this is another indication of his knowledge and aptitude, his versatility, practicality and artistry? It appears that Bacon considered that he owed Somerset some complimentary offering, because Somerset claimed (though Bacon doubted it) to have used his influence with the King to secure Bacon's promotion. While all the world were making presents—one of plate, another of furniture, a third of horses, a fourth of gold—he chose a Masque for which an accident supplied him with an excellent opportunity. When the united efforts of the four inns of court failed to produce the required entertainment Bacon offered, on the part of Gray's Inn, to supply the place of it by a masque of their own. We learn from a letter of the Lord Chamberlain that Sir Francis Bacon prepared a masque to honour this marriage, which will stand him in above £2,000.

The nature of the obligation considered, as Mrs. Pott explains "there was judgement as well as magnificence in the choice of the retribution. The obligation being for assistance in obtaining an office, to repay it by any present which could be turned into money would have been objectionable, as tending to countenance the great abuse of the times (from which Bacon stands clear)—the sale of offices for money. There was no such objection to a masque. As a compliment it was splendid, according to the taste and magnificence of the times; costly to the giver, not negotiable to the receiver; valuable as a compliment but as nothing else. Also it conferred great distinction upon Gray's Inn."

The masque in question was called *The Masque of Flowers*. It was published shortly after its performance with a dedication to Bacon as "the principal and in effect the only person that doth encourage and warrant the gentlemen to show their good affection in a time of such magnificence; . . . wherein you have made a notable demonstration thereof in the lighter and less serious kind, by this, that one Inn of Court by itself, in time of a vacation,

and in the space of three weeks, could perform that which hath been performed; which could not have been done but that every man's exceeding love and respect to you gave him wings to overtake time, which is the swiftest of things."

Usually a group of people were engaged in the presentation of Masques, and honours were not normally given to one person because teamwork was essential. It is evident from this dedication that Bacon's personality was such that he engendered love and respect among his colleagues, and galvanised them into continued action. When we remember that a masque consisted of a fusion of many of the arts with Dancing, Singing, Ceremony, and Spectacle, Disguising and the Spoken Word, the fact that this masque was created in the space of three weeks, is a clear indication that Bacon knew exactly what he was about, and that he achieved team work.

Indeed we have only to read Bacon's *Essay Of Masques and Triumphs* (especially after a study of the history of Masques) to realise that he must have had much personal experience in their preparation and production. He discusses with great accuracy therein technical details such as gestures, costume design, apparatus for scenery, colours that show best by candlelights, the placing of the singers, and the fitness of the music. Different ways of introducing variety concerned him. That he was very practical as well as imaginative is therefore evident.

People will argue that even if Bacon was closely connected with the preparation of Masques, this particular *genre* was so different from that of a play that it does not prove anything. We agree that a Masque was different. For one thing the characters were usually allegorical and many of the devices or subjects were symbolic; also the dialogue was interspersed with a fair amount of music and dancing, whereas in a play there is usually dialogue throughout, probably with only one song, and no dancing. But we still maintain that contriving Masques would have given Bacon that practical experience in stagecraft which would place any playwright on a firm footing, and give him valuable experience. There are, of course, certain features which are similar—both have speeches, a central theme or plot, scenes of action, entrances and exits, salutations and farewells. Character study and the conflict of

emotion, producing moments of tension and climax, are the only elements missing in a Masque and present in a play.

We know that Shakespeare was immensely interested in the vices and virtues of men, and women, and with the working of human nature. So, too, was Francis Bacon. Many of his essays deal with exactly these subjects, and it is obvious from these, as in many of his other works, that he was a constant observer of people—their habits and characteristics—and that he was always analysing the motive for their actions, showing how this could be either a help or a hindrance to the development of human relationships. These are things that a dramatist considers in the unfoldment of a play. They also concern those who are associated with the subtle art of diplomacy, such as Bacon the statesman. As a philosopher he was constantly analysing the nature of things—not least the nature of the mind and the types of personality. J. G. Crowther makes an interesting point in his book *The First Statesman of Science*, when he writes:

Bacon himself says in his *Advancement of Learning* that the assessment of character is one of the few things in which the common discourse of men is wiser than books. But many useful examples could be found in the poets and historians . . . Portraits of individuals are not, however, enough. Characters should be analysed into their separate traits so that all the traits which can exist in the human mind should be identified and recorded. Any particular character would then be a combination of a certain number of these basic traits . . . The diseases of the mind are most adequately portrayed by the poets and historians, who are the best doctors, of this knowledge. They show how the affections are excited, pacified, and controlled, how they disclose themselves, though repressed and concealed, how they interact, and fight and encounter one with another.

Bacon also informs us that knowledge of men can be gained in six ways; from their expressions, words, actions, dispositions, ends, and by the reports of others. "Men's weaknesses and faults are best known from their enemies, their virtues and abilities from their friends their customs and times from their servants, their

opinions and thoughts from their familiar friends with whom they discourse most." This is the kind of remark you might expect a dramatist to make, and it seems that when Bacon wrote these words he must have had in mind the Shakespeare Plays, for they do, in very truth, portray the processes of the mind and the interaction of emotions, with great subtlety and accuracy. Each main character is seen to possess a variety of qualities and characteristics which are pointed out, not only by their actions, but also spoken of by their friends, servants, or enemies, varying according to the relationship of each.

Before leaving this subject we should like to mention some of the essays which are, we think, an important aspect of the subject. Many of their titles—*Of Suspicion, Of Envy, Of Cunning, Of Love, Of Revenge, Of Ambition, Of Nobility*—correspond to the vices and virtues which are brought out in the Plays. Similarly many of the qualities which deal with character delineation in the Plays are virtually identical with those described in the essays. For example we cannot do better than quote Edwin Bormann:

Boldness is brought out in the character of Falstaff, the sensual love of Anthony and Cleopatra is described in the essay *Of Love*. There are parallels between the essay *Of Anger* and *Coriolanus*. The essay *Of Seditions and Troubles* characterises the corresponding proceedings in the Histories, and the essay *Of Empire* is also closely related to the Histories. There is a certain relationship of thought between the essay *Of Expense* and the first acts of *Timon of Athens* which deal with sumptuousness, *i.e.*, mad expense, and the essay *Of Cunning*, to the intrigues and strategies which find their parallels in many of the plays. The very first instance of cunning resembles the stratagem employed by Hamlet and Horatio when they set themselves to watch the effect of the Dumbshow in the features of the king. In the essay Bacon uses the words "to wait upon him, with whom you may speak, with your eye, for there be many wise men that have secret hearts, and transparent countenances".

King Claudius was such a man. This subtly conceived essay contains a long series of instances affording parallel

passages to scenes in the Shakespeare Plays. The essay *Of Usurie* serves as a commentary on certain incidents in the *Merchant of Venice*, and how in every way the Jew, the merchant, money-lending, accepting interest, afford parallels to passages in the comedy. The error of suspicion and its consequences are most clearly shown in three plays: *The Winter's Tale* (through the thoughts and actions of the jealous king Leontes), *Hamlet* and *Othello*. In the cases of Leontes and Othello, their suspicion is groundless, their action rash, the result of a superficial observation of facts. Hamlet's suspicions are corroborated. The sentence in the essay concerning all three points of view runs thus:—

Certainly suspicions are to be repressed, or at the least, well guarded; for they cloud the mind, they lose friends; and they check with business whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly. They dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy.

Leontes, the king in *The Winter's Tale*, became a tyrant, Leontes and Othello became jealous husbands; the chief characteristics of suspecting Prince Hamlet are irresolution and melancholy.

Bormann maintains that the "one object that Bacon pursued in writing his Essays, especially in those contained in the last edition (1605) was to reveal his authorship as a poet. But that was not his only object. Those Essays served Bacon also in elucidating in simpler form the moral and civil views of the Shakespeare Plays".

In his rôle of concealed author Francis Bacon was a dissimulator, he preserved his incognito, he pretended not to be that which in reality he was. William Shaxpur the man whose office it was to disguise the doings of the Lord Chancellor as a poet, was a simulator, *i.e.*, he pretended to be something which in reality he was not. So that the part affected by Bacon himself, the author of the Essays, was that of dissimulation.

There are three grades of hiding, and their extreme opposites, in *Hamlet* and in the *Essay Of Simulation and Dissimulation*. With

the exception of Laertes and Ophelia, each character has some secret to keep, *i.e.* they have to dissemble. One of the principal figures, King Claudius (the reserved one) is a dissimulator; he dissembles in a negative sense; he has committed fratricide, a crime he conceals by his words and whole demeanour. Prince Hamlet himself is the greatest simulator the stage has ever witnessed. He pretends to be what he is not, mad, and he practises the art of dissembling in a positive sense. The family of the Royal Counsellor, Polonius, is in this respect, the very opposite to the Royal Family. The old man himself personifies loquacity, a quality which Bacon reprehends; Laertes is the spirit of impetuous frankness; Ophelia is chaste, reserved in all she says and does. Thus we see the three grades of hiding defined in this Essay, demonstrated with their opposites in *Hamlet*. Bacon goes on to discuss three advantages afforded by simulation and dissimulation, and three disadvantages. All these are represented in *Hamlet*, and in the same order of succession as in the Essay.

At the beginning of the essay Bacon quotes an instance from Roman history, which in all three respects bears resemblance to *Hamlet*. The essay names the Roman Emperor Augustus and his step-son Tiberius, both masters of simulation and dissimulation, and goes on to say that Livia, wife of Augustus, the mother of Tiberius, in no way objected to the cunning arts practised both by her husband and by her son. The same occurs in *Hamlet* only the scene of the play having been shifted; from Rome to Denmark. Tiberius's full name was Tiberius Claudius, the same as his father's was. Thus we find a Claudius family both in the essay and in the tragedy, each consisting of three persons related in exactly the same manner to each other, in each case the father of the Prince having been murdered.

The essay *Of Love* is no song of praise to love which regales the heart of man, but is a characteristic account of sensual passion, a commentary on the doting love of the Great Roman General Antony who, as Bacon tells us, was foolish enough to permit of his amorousness interfering with State affairs. Few great and worthy persons were ever seized with

such a passion as to be driven to the "mad degree of love" but Marcus Antonius was among the few, The Love, says the essay, which such people foster speaks ever in hyperboles. Whenever he speaks to Cleopatra, Antony's lips overflow with extravagant speeches. After his death Cleopatra does the same. Both the nature of the siren and that of the fury, referred to in the essay, are clearly defined and blended in the character of the Egyptian Queen. Then again we hear her described as a voluptuous gipsy, while Antony's love is referred to by his own generals as that of a madman, fool and dotard. The essay follows the tragedy step by step explaining that which we see enacted upon the stage. The statement that love ever speaks in hyperboles, is, moreover, the very keynote to the love scenes between Romeo and Juliet.

The next, and last example, shows the similarity of thought expressed in the essay *Of Studies* and the first act of the comedy *Love's Labour's Lost*, for the essay speaks of studies in exactly the same sense in which they are dealt with, and as they appear on the stage, in *Love's Labour's Lost*. Studies are of three kinds, such as serve for pleasure, such as we carry on for the sake of affectation, and such as render a man clever. At the same time we are told the effect of these studies if carried to excess. That is exactly what we see enacted in the comedy; studies carried to excess for pastime and pleasure (King and courtiers), studies carried to excess for affectation (Armado and his page), and the study of words, as impersonated by the schoolmaster and the curate.

Thus we have seen how closely some essays are related to certain dramas in the thoughts and ideas they express, whilst other essays speak of some specific qualities of character which are at once to be observed in several of the plays. Two things were strenuously avoided by Bacon; the direct mention of the name of Shakespeare, and the literal quotation of any passages from the Plays. This man of genius, coming forward in the essays as commentator on his own works, always clothed his elucidations in words other than those he chose as the poet—as Shakespeare. The poet clothes the thoughts of the philo-

sopher in gorgeous robes: the language of the scholar must be plainer in style, the pictures he draws must be simpler and yet in spite of all, not only in the thoughts, but in the wording and manner of expressing himself, Bacon could not avoid telling us a great deal that carries the mind back to the Plays.

Mrs. Pott makes some further comments on the relationship between Bacon and the Plays which are both relevant and significant: "the subjects which most engrossed the mind of Bacon, the opinions which he most strongly expressed, the ideas which he desired especially to inculcate, are those which are found chiefly pervading the plays. Those things which are explained in the prose works of Bacon are to be found repeated, or alluded to, or forming the basis of beautiful metaphors and similes, in the Plays. And the vocabulary of Bacon and Shakespeare is to a surprising degree the same".

Since there is proof that Francis Bacon showed great aptitude in stagecraft character delineation, writing in a number of widely differing styles, the argument that he was not sufficiently equipped for the task of writing the Shakespeare Plays is, to our mind, unreasonable. For as Mallet, the 18th century historian wrote: "His was a versatility of genius, which all men wish to arrive at, and one or two, once in an age, are seen to possess."

If anyone knows what all this means, the present writer has not had the great pleasure that it would give him. To whom this is addressed is not clear; it speaks of a Dialogue and yet is a soliloquy. What is a dialogue of Complement? "I shall beseech you" is *not* a question!

Absey, meaning Alphabet, is spelled thus only once in the whole book. The name of a well-known cypher alphabet is contained therein and the couplet "Exterior forme" to "from the inward motion to deliver" is very suggestive of a cypher device. In fact the whole passage is designed to arrest the attention.

Mrs. Gallup on page 166 of the second part (in both the American and English editions) provides the following on the subject:—

Reade easy lessons first, and forsooth the Absey in the Life and Death of King John, act one is a good one; it shewes the entrance to a labyrinth. Court Time, a sure leader, and proceed to his Alphabet of Nature. Learne well two portions, Masses, and the Rule. Search this out.

F.B.

A lot of money has been spent in recent years in asserting that there are no ciphers in the Folio. But the writer (observing the mathematical precision of the Biliteral Alphabet†, and then Sonnet 136 and wondering why Bacon in that Alphabet numbered the first letter as Zero) remains unconverted, and sees a relationship between the two.

The writer has found that orthodox text books on cryptography are of no great assistance in this quest. Furthermore, since the ciphers have eluded us for three hundred years, they would not be of any great value for military, diplomatic, or commercial purposes, which all require a decipherment at speed without several years of study. It is obvious, from their very limited application, that no great financial rewards are likely, and that the professionals as a body are not really very interested. The field therefore is open to, and hopes of success are vested in, the dedicated and persevering non-professional.

† See *Francis Bacon and the Electronic Computer: Baconiana*, 160.

A parallel case is provided by the Minoan 'B' Script, the decipherment of which was accomplished by the late Michael Ventris, an amateur, to the satisfaction of most of the world's *savants* and cryptologists, when they themselves had failed. The reader may pursue this subject in the paperback *The Decipherment of Linear B*—John Chadwick (Pelican). Yet, cipherists please observe, that in a large measure Ventris obtained the agreement of the world's philologists by demonstrating his reasoning step by step: and that page 43 is of particular importance to us as it deals with the practical bounds of any cipher, and shows why some failed.

The present writer has received more assistance from Mrs. Gallup's book than from any other, although it is somewhat controversial on historical matters. In cipher matters, however, she is more helpful than other authors, as will be demonstrated below.

Specific direction to a particular passage in the Folio is rare, and the passage quoted has been adjudged by the present writer as the most important, since it talks of "easy lessons". The easiest lesson is usually the first, so here the ciphers must start.

The present writer has been working on this passage for some years, and long ago formed the opinion that the geographical features are the *raison d'être* of the passage, and the nonsense a preamble only. He was working on the problem at the time of the publication of the article on the Binary Scale and its relation to the Biliteral Cipher, in *Baconiana* Nos. 157 and 160, where it was mentioned that a surprising result had been encountered, and that the lesson would be published. On further reflection, however, it was considered that cipher work without an end product, however interesting, serves only to bring the pursuit into disrepute, and the matter was not proceeded with, but filed. Nevertheless it is a step in the reasoning to the present development, so the reader's attention will not be wasted if it is presented again before proceeding further.

The Biliteral Cipher Alphabet is here presented in its Binary Digit form for the reader's convenience:—

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
00000	00001	00010	00011	00100	00101	00110	00111
I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
01000	01001	01010	01011	01100	01101	01110	01111
R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z
10000	10001	10010	10011	10100	10101	10110	10111

Consider now the geographical features in the passage quoted from *King John*. These are extracted from the passage because they bear no relation to its context.

ALPES, APPENINES, PERENNEAN, POE

The Biliteral Alphabet contains six palindromes, viz.

A	E	L	P	S	X
00000	00100	01010	01110	10001	10101

five of which occur in the geographical features mentioned.

Binary figures (or BITS as they are called in Computer and Information Theory work) are used instead of Bacon's a & b forms, because they are so much quicker to write, and because they are in accord with modern logical practice, where 1 means TRUE and 0 means FALSE. A number of related BITS is called a word.

Of the six palindromes the encipherer of this passage has gone to the trouble of using five, omitting only X (which has a very low frequency of occurrence in our language in any case) and including 18 of them in a passage of 26 letters. Since these are peculiarities of the Biliteral Cipher, it was thought a fair inference that this cipher was involved, although no difference of type founts is apparent, and that "ALPES" is a key word, being wholly palindromic. The absence of different type founts is seen as no impediment because in *The Advancement Of Learning*, 1640, Gilbert Wat's edition, page 265, bottom, the instruction reads:—

"First let all the letters of the Alphabet by transposition be resolved into two letters only". Thus

B	D	F	H	K	M	O	Q	S	V	Z	X	b	l
<hr/>													
A	C	E	G	I	L	N	P	R	T	W	Y	a	O

The point was taken by Mr. Henry Seymour in *Baconiana* No. 65, and extended to a valid Odd/Even concept, his examples being:

A CIPHER IN A CIPHER FOLDED KEY

=	00001	00000	00010	01101	01100
or	57934	37557	95343	74436	38675

Please work them out.

The Spedding translation however is different, and does not admit of this interpretation. The point was taken in *The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined*‡ for it is difficult to see any other reason for the authors' artifice in reproducing (on pages 30 and 31) Gilbert Wat's translation of *The Advancement of Learning* (1640) pages 266, 267, 268, 269, and their quoting (page 29) the Spedding translation of page 265 in this 1640 edition as follows:—

"First let all the letters of the alphabet be resolved into transpositions of two letters only". This was not the same as the 1640 edition and the present writer commented upon this discreetly (*vide Baconiana* No. 160, page 9). The subterfuge is regrettable because it detracts from the integrity of an otherwise valuable and scholarly book. It is also dangerous since it draws the attention of cryptographers in other countries to the matter it is trying to conceal.

In 1959 Mr. Krushchev whilst on a tour of the United States made some contemptuous remarks about Intelligence Reports and *ipso facto* modern cryptography to Mr. Allen Dulles, then Director of the C.I.A., and impishly suggested that since they both read the same reports they should pool their Secret Services and thus halve the cost: to the U.S. £178,570,000 p.a.! This was reported in the *London Evening News*, September 6th, 1960, and also that, during the war, an R.A.F. Squadron-Leader, a prisoner in Japanese hands, sent a postcard to his sister. It was addressed to Mrs. Adastral Gange and read: "Just a postcard. Have a very easy time which is never exactly noble. Generally feeling in good trim. Maurice always looks at your letters". But his sister's name was not Adastral and, using her quick feminine wit, she took the card to R.A.F. Headquarters at Adastral House. They, taking the first letter of each word read: JAP HAVE TWIN ENG FIGHT MALAY, which they read as "Japs have a twin engine fighter in Malaya". So there

‡ By W. F. and E. S. Friedman, Cambridge University Press, 1957.

would appear to be a large discrepancy between the cryptography of *The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined* and the facts of life!

To revert to the odd-even concept and applying this to the mountains:—

ALPES	APPEN	INESP	ERENN	EANPO	E
= 00001	00000	00010	00000	00001	
B	A	C	A	B	

Here we get another palindrome: but what does it mean? It is not an English word and the writer's English-Latin Dictionary does not contain it. The possibility of cyclic cipher turning the last two letters from A B into O N was investigated, with no acceptable result, so it was decided that the word was in the nature of a signpost indicating "Palindromes are the correct direction". But the writer had to admit that he hadn't a clue as to the next step.

It should perhaps be pointed out that the word POE is in a different type in the Folio and this is taken to mean that it has a special function: indeed, the writer will show that it is used in a cipher other than that about to be expounded *i.e.* that it serves a dual function. Such was the state of progress in 1957 when the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" intervened to make the quest too difficult.

Two years have now passed since returning to the quest and the "Alpes" have been regarded from all known Biliteral angles. All sorts of mathematical tricks were tried, but to no avail. So the approaches to the problem were critically re-examined in the hope that the verbiage would provide some clue. Alas, there is so much of it and the undergrowth is so thick that this again seemed a hopeless quest.

One sentence, however, continually obtruded itself into one's thoughts as being unusual:

"My picked man of countries".

"Picked" seemed to be such an inelegant word for a master of euphony to use. Why not "chosen" or "selected" or some more euphonious word that would scan correctly? Surely such a master could do better than that? And who in the world is he talking about? So often did this train of thought recur that the

writer began to wonder whether there could be another meaning to the word. If so, it would need an Elizabethan dictionary to show it, and so libraries around were haunted; but to no avail. Such dictionaries, if extant at all, are very rare birds, it would seem.

Then, as a last straw, the writer turned to his own antique English-Latin Dictionary and to his amazement found the following entry:

A Pick (Card) Quadratum.

So he was a "squared" man of countries, which could mean a number of things. But the entry is not over explicit and the exact meaning of the word CARD is not clear. Is it a square card? If so, why square? The search for further information was continued and finally in the Large Oxford Dictionary, Vol. VII, Part II, page 818, the following entries were found.

[Of course the writer will in future consult these excellent tomes first!] . . .

PICK

1598 Florio. Quadri, squares. Those that we call diamonds or picts upon playing cards.

1611. Cotgr. Quarreau, a diamond or pict at cards.

Which suitably complements the previous entry.

To the writer, however, "Quadratum" immediately suggested a LATIN SQUARE, this simply by mental association. There was nothing in the text to justify such a step, it being pure chance that he found it in a Latin dictionary first.

A Latin Square is a mathematical problem known long before Shakespeare's time and consists of arranging n 'a' 's and n 'b' 's into a square of " n by n " cells so that no column, row or diagonal is the same; and there are many, many possible permutations. One might be pardoned for thinking it is the father of the Biliteral cypher, as it really does suggest an approach to our immediate problem.

For the key word of our passage, ALPES, has five letters, each of which can be replaced by a binary word of five bits, forming a Latin Square of twenty-five bits. Thus, putting the Binary word in

the vertical plane and translating horizontally (This is recognised cryptographic procedure) from left to right we have as under.

A	L	P	E	S	.	.	.	.	.	.	B
0	0	0	0	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	B
0	1	1	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	N
0	0	1	1	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	G
0	1	1	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	N
0	0	0	0	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	B

It is obvious that translations can be from right to left which would read R G N G R, which can be considered as a complement. This two way reading is possibly what is referred to as a Dialogue of Complement. Any binary word ending in 1 1 is unidirectional, since no letter in the Biliteral Alphabet begins thus: therefore it is necessary to translate in both directions which may be implied by the line "And so ere Answer knows what Question would". In the example dealt with so far, neither left nor right translation provides any information. In a later article it will be shown that B N G N B is the entry into another cipher, and yet into another, before plain English is encountered, so deeply is the inside matter concealed.

The obvious next step is to treat the whole passage in the same manner, but here a difficulty arises: which way up to write the binary words? Palindromes being symmetrical are independent of direction, but asymmetrical letters change their sense with direction in either plane. In the event, inverting an asymmetrical letter simply inverts the translation; thus in the next block the letter 'N' is asymmetrical.

A	P	P	E	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	A	A	P	P	E	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	A
0	0	0	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	A	0	0	0	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	A
0	1	1	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	0	1	1	0	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	O
0	1	1	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	Q	0	1	1	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	Q
0	1	1	0	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	O	0	1	1	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	N
0	0	0	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	A	0	0	0	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	A

Of course, all such letters must be written in the same direction.

Having made the reader aware of these pitfalls (as he or she will no doubt want to experiment) the full passage can now be expanded, thus

ALPES APPEN INESP ERENN EANPO E

00001	00000	00010	00000	00001	... B A C A B ...	C
01100	01100	00001	00000	00010	... N N B A C ...	N B A
00110	01111	01101	10111	10111	... G Q O Z Z ...	O
01100	01101	11001	00011	00111	... N O D H ...	N O
00001	00000	00010	01000	00000	... B A C I A ...	B A C

showing among other things two BACON signatures. One might expect to have found the initial of the Christian name, but as has already been stated, the first column of the translation is a direction to another cipher; the encipherer was therefore restricted in that column which is where such an indication would have to appear. Observe that if the translation is made from right to left, thus using complements, the signatures become

I
GRA
Y
GY
RAI

which could be read I-GRAY. Fortunately, there is no contender of that name. The "Gray" of "Elegy" fame was Thomas Gray 1716-1771. Furthermore, the left-right translation is keyed by a code word therein. But it is indeed a strange coincidence that couples two names so famous in the literary field †.

The first row of the translation produces the same result as was obtained previously, although two different methods have been used. This at first sight appears perplexing, but it should be realised that the previous classification simply divided the alphabet into even-odd categories which have not been disturbed, but it demonstrates the importance of the even/odd concept which is so cryptically cited in *Romeo and Juliet* on Lammas Eve.

† This remark underlines the honesty of Jacobite. For he has forgotten Gray's Inn, of which Bacon was a famous protégé: cf. also the later remarks on Natalie Clark—Editor.

The bottom row is of even greater interest because antique Latin Dictionaries give for BACIA . . . An iron coloured marble, and Mrs. Gallup, Part II, page 144 at the bottom, reads:—

“ Yet if you shall, as I direct, patientlie collect the blocks of marble, which are already polished and prepared . . . ”

“ BACIA ” therefore provides one cross reference and vindication of that book. Others will be shown as we proceed.

The actual extent of the usage of this cypher is a matter for further investigation. It may be that it is an isolated instance. It is certainly more laborious than the bilateral, which is itself difficult. The reader will no doubt wish to explore the Folio. The following provide interesting results which the reader should investigate.

DON ADRIANO ARMADO
HOLOFERNES
JAQUENETTA
LOVE'S LABOUR LOST
KIBES

We have at last a sight of the encipherer's mind, his geometry, and an appreciation of the mathematical informalities of his time, for although our “Alpine” example is not actually a solved Latin Square, we expect his thoughts to be running along similar lines; its influence therefore is suggested. Let us test this inference.

Possibly of even greater antiquity than the Latin Square is the Magic Square. This, as the reader is no doubt aware, is a figure square in which all rows, columns and diagonals add up to the same sum. It is very easy to construct them with three, four or five figures per side, and the number of possible compositions is limited. It is possible to transpose the classical solutions, particularly in the four or five sided squares, and Albrecht Durer in 1514 painted a picture which he called “Melencolia”, a female figure holding a four-element Magic Square with the columns containing 14 and 15 transposed, to indicate the year of painting, but still retaining its “magical” properties. Transforms of the three-element square are less common; the writer has not seen one, but no doubt they exist. In any case, even with transforms, the number of possible solutions is limited, and squares can be developed in multiples of five.

It has often occurred to the writer that such a mathematical sequence makes an admirable cipher. In fact an anagrammatical cipher, for if letters are selected from a word (strictly by a formula), the very valid criticisms which have been levelled at some of our past efforts would fall down. But the difficulty has always been where it starts. So, seeing that here the encipherer was interested in squares, the writer was tempted to try the method out on the matter in hand.

As stated above, the three element square is the least variable and it is as follows:

8 1 6
3 5 7
4 9 2

where all rows, columns and diagonals add up to fifteen.

In the passage under consideration, we have seen that the encipherer has gone to some pains to pick his words carefully, and in the sentence "My picked man of countries" the word "Picked" has already been accounted for. But why "Countries"? Certainly the Alps, Appenines, etc. are in different countries, but that is common knowledge, so there may also be another reason for using this word; and it contains nine letters. "Picked man" also has nine letters. Then let us apply them to our square, in order of occurrence of the words, thus:

MY PICKED MAN	of	COUNTRIES
A P D		E C R
C E M		U T I
K N I		N S O
MINE PACK		CET UN SOIR

Here "Pack" is keyed to "Pick" and, if it is queried whether playing cards were classified as packs in Elizabethan times, it should be stated that the writer's dictionary of 1700 defines them as such.

"Cet un soir" is also keyed, but to the code word in the BACAB square which will be recognised by some people,† who will also understand the allusion together with the further example.

† We suggest BOAZ—twin to JACHIN—Editor.

It should be stated here that there are some activities at some "Inns" which always occur in the evening.

APPENINES

E A I

P N N

E S P

This may be read as "An Inn in a square", or "An Inn on the square", *i.e.*, the try square used by carpenters, masons, etc. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Friedman book *The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined*, on page 79, quotes Mrs. Clark as follows:—

"Here in *King John* is Bacon tallying his own Absey questions with the dial itself. He does this in the scene at the Inn".

The present writer is not aware of any open text reference to an Inn in *King John*, so unless one can be turned up, we must assume that it comes from a cipher, and that Mrs. Clark is not so dumb as she is made out to be. The writer will show in a later article that the same direction can be got from another cipher.

Returning to our own case, we find this is much more promising as a continuous cipher, but the transcribing route must not vary, or we are back where we started; certainly not in any one passage. The variations in the examples shown, it is thought, are permissible because each is keyed to established texts, and furthermore because each transcription is self-contained. There is a large field to draw from for further exploration. Words of nine, sixteen or twenty-five letters, misspelling or misquotations, etc. are the flags to look for.

The encipherer also kept his humour near the surface, for in *Romeo and Juliet*, page 68 in the Folio, we read:—

"Nightly she sings on yon pomgranet tree",

misspelling "Pomegranate" which is spelled as we do in *Sylva Sylvarum*, page 129, Expt. 624.

POMGRANET

E P A

M R N

G T O

NOT GRAPE

Showing, if nothing else, how ready he was to use the Magic Square.

The reader is warned against a too hasty judgment (if he should find further examples to decipher) of his results, as it took the writer several days before he got the message in the examples presented.

Mrs. Gallup, Part II, page 191, presents the following decipherment:—

I have placed in many of my latest works the cypher that is to intimate and point out some others, while it hath so small use in works of length, that I speak of it rarely. You find it oft in prose works; it is Symbols and, as hath already been said, hath little use if your letter be th' length ev'n that billet doux are oft made.

It thus provides a further example of the veracity of Mrs. Gallup, and the writer could submit many more. In a subsequent article he will show that the Folio passage is a masterpiece of cryptography, and "leaning on his elbow" will conduct you into the Labyrinth (trusting that we shall encounter no further bull, and, if Ariadne be with me, venture later into a forest . . .).

Tommy says the teacher is a fool.

Tommy, says the teacher is a fool.

FRANCIS BACON AND BOHEMIA

By Professor M. V. Ambros

Since the XIVth Century it had always been the practice and desire of many Czech noblemen and sons of rich townsmen to study at foreign universities, mainly in France. Visiting countries of similar faith led Bohemian Protestants and Roman Catholics to Italy, Holland, Spain, not to mention more closely related countries, such as Germany and Poland. Travel was considered a part of education and those who could afford it, did so.

The visit to England in the XVth and in the first half of the XVIth Century was seldom undertaken, mostly owing to the fearful crossing of the Channel. The Universities at Oxford and Cambridge were, however, becoming famous at that time, and even more attractive was the opportunity to spend some time at the English Court, whose splendour and rising power was spreading its influence all over Europe.

Towards the end of the XVth Century, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, England was rapidly winning a powerful place among the European nations. The conflict with Spain was especially appealing to those who, in the Continent, felt the world dominating desires of the House of Habsburg, and saw the only guarantee of success in the close unity of Protestant forces.

Many Czechs—mostly distinguished and leading Protestants—were visiting England in those days to establish personal contacts, and to gain English sympathies for their land and religion. Most of these were moving in circles so close to Francis Bacon, that there is no doubt that he must have met some of them personally, or heard second-hand accounts of political affairs and contemporary religious development in the Czech lands. Bacon's later stand in favour of the Czech Rising supports this opinion.

Among many others who visited England at that time was Zdeněk Brtnický of Valštejn, a young Czech nobleman, the Heir of Sadek, Brtnice and Moravské Budějovice. He was a distant relative of the later more famous Albert of Wallenstein and of the Count of Žerotín, who went to London a few decades earlier, and

till the end of his long and troubled life never forgot his splendid reception by the Queen. On his arrival in 1599, Brtnický gained immediately the favour of Lord Cecil and the Queen herself. He was able to kiss her hand and address the Queen at Greenwich in a Latin speech, which was graciously received. The Queen replied to him—also in Latin—in a most friendly way. She granted to him letters of safe conduct, recommendations to the Vice-Chancellor Robert Soames of Cambridge, and to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, and left the way open for his extensive travels all over England and Scotland.

One detail of his visit is of special interest. On the 3rd of July, and later on the 2nd of August, Brtnický visited The Globe, without mentioning the plays performed. It might be interesting to check in Henslow's *Diary* whether by any chance he saw any of Shakespeare's plays.

A few years before him Jan Diviš visited London. He was also of the family of Count Žerotín, who became closely related to Anthony Bacon. On his recommendation he was introduced to the Earl of Essex and other prominent members of the Queen's entourage. A certain Jacob Lesieur, a Frenchman by birth, was selected as personal guide to both these visitors.

Lesieur was both protégé and political agent to Essex and undertook several trips to the Bohemian lands between 1590 and 1614, and carried many letters of importance backwards and forwards. He was very intimate with the later prominent leaders of the Czech Rising, and with many German Lutherans residing at Prague, as well. In 1613 Lesieur correctly informed James I that he expected a new wave of oppression of Protestants in Bohemia and Moravia.

In the same year we meet Bacon's name on the occasion of the marriage of Princess Elizabeth Stuart, later well known as the White Queen of Bohemia, to the Prince Frederick of Palatine. From unlimited historical documents we can form a picture of contemporary England, rejoicing and merry-making after those long 70 years since London had witnessed the wedding of an English Princess.

The celebrations began early in the Autumn, 1612, with a series of 14 plays at Whitehall, out of which six were penned by William Shake-spere.

Two days after the wedding ceremony, on Tuesday, 16th of February 1613, "it came to Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple's turn to come with their masque, whereof Sir Francis Bacon was the chief contriver", the description of which is contained in full in Nichol's *Progress*, Vol. II, and *Mercure Français*, 1613, p.73. The story of the circumstances touching the performance of this masque presenting "The marriage of the River Thames to the Rhine" is well known. Its performance was threatened by the overcrowded Hall and by the fact that "the king was so wearied and sleepy with sitting up almost two whole nights before, that he had no edge to it. Whereupon, Sir Francis Bacon adventured to entreat of his majesty that by this disgrace he would not, as it were, bury them quick; and I hear, relates Nichol, the King should answer, that then they must bury him quick, for he could last no longer, but withal gave them very good words, and appointed them to come again on Saturday". On that occasion all went "exceeding well and the men performed with great applause and approbation . . . The next night, the king invited the masquers to a solemn supper in the new marriage-room, where they were well treated and much graced with kissing his majesty's hand. The king husbanded the matter so well that this feast was not at his own cost, but he and his company won it upon a wager of running at the ring, of the prince and his nine followers, who paid 30l. a man . . ."

It is not necessary to remind the reader that the production of this masque was paid by Francis Bacon alone, with a sum of £2,000, which he raised with great difficulty.

Even honouring the expense of the marriage by the king was not easy. In fact the marriage, and the magnificence of the preparations, completely bankrupted the royal exchequer. The bills, amounting to £53,000, were covered by the usual writs issued, by only £20,500, leaving the king with a large sum unpaid. To save appearances he left town for Newcastle. It was left to Francis

Bacon to submit a proposal for a new commission and to draft the instructions to meet the loss. Soon after Bacon submitted to the king his proposals with the well-known letter, in which he (with some irony) stated, that it was nothing new to be in debt even for the greatest of kings.

When a few years later—in 1619—the Czech Crown was offered to the Elector of Palatine, one of the Shakespeare's plays, *The Winter's Tale*, was performed again in London. The spectators were reminded of the same performance, presented at the wedding of the Princess—and were comparing Perdita, the most beautiful shepherdess in all Bohemia to the Czech Queen, and Prince Florizel to Frederick of Palatine. They could not admire enough Shakespeare's foresight in placing this graceful idyll in Bohemia.

But in Bohemia itself this idyll was gradually changing into the hard reality of the budding political and religious conflict between the Roman Catholic Ruler and the dissatisfied Czech Protestants, in which the Bohemian Estates were eyeing with apprehension Protestant Holland, France and England and hoping for their help. The hesitating and groping king of England, wavering between Spain and Palatinate, turned for advice to Bacon, who was at his side as Lord Chancellor. Bacon, leaning on his earlier knowledge of Czech conditions was well aware of the justice and importance of this nation's cause. He sensed that Bohemia had much wider sympathies among the English people than the king himself, who had wedded his daughter to the Pretender of the Bohemian throne. Bacon was also fully aware that any help to Bohemia might mean conflict—and possibly war—with Spain. In a shrewd evaluation of Anglo-Spanish relationship he estimated the forces of both parties and advised the king to allow affairs to boil up into a well-prepared conflict to help the expansion of the Protestant Faith on the Continent. The King, however, was no man of action. He was terrified by the Czech Rising against their Emperor Ferdinand and disregarded the motives and underlying forces leading to it.

True to his character, uncertain as usual, and prepared to listen to Spanish whisperings, he asked whether it was at all possible to depose a king and whether the election of Frederick

to the throne by the Czechs was not in reality just a plain usurpation of the crown and sceptre. He made no decision in the matter—and in the end advised his son-in-law — in short — that he “will deliberate . . .”

“For him” — wrote Harwood to Carleton on 14th of September 1619, S.P.Dom. — “he was an old king, it were not fit for him to enter rashly into so great business, etc.”

In his perplexity James approached Francis Bacon again, who for the second time came forward with his advice touching Bohemia. It is quite clear that Bacon was in favour of the support of the Czech Estates in the conflict with their Emperor and from the letter of the Marquis of Buckingham we know that James was in agreement with Bacon's advice and appreciated his interest in king's business, but could not find enough energy for the necessary action.

In Bohemia there was no time for hesitation. The development of events was a speedy one. No help was forthcoming either to the Estates or to Frederick himself. His apparent lack of energy, his dogmatic Calvinism, dissuaded even the Lutheran noblemen of Germany from supporting him. Emperor Ferdinand began in the meanwhile to adapt himself to these new circumstances, and found Spain and Bavaria at his side. The resulting Battle at White Mountain, 1620, this horrible “*Desastre en Bohême*” as contemporaries called it, left Frederick fleeing from Bohemia and his land under the heel of revenging united Catholic Europe. Now it was not a question of Bohemia itself. For Frederick it was the safety of the Palatinate and for all Europe freedom for Protestantism.

At last James called a sitting of Parliament. He finally resolved to regain at least the Palatinate — Frederick's heritage — by war. Bacon drafted a proclamation for Parliament, which won the sympathy of the people for the throne, and to the Czech Queen, to their “*Pearl of Britain*”, whose fate was so close to their hearts; but for effective military aid about a million pounds was needed, towards which Parliament was able to offer only a meagre one hundred and sixty thousand.

The chapter of the Czech Rising and the short reign of the Bohemian Queen from England, of whom so much was expected by her adopted country, ended. Parliament dissolved and the English aid gradually petered out.

It is not necessary to enlarge on the consequences of the ensuing Wars, which lasted for thirty years. To those, who, like Bacon, saw the problem of the Czech independence in its proper perspective, the further development gave full vindication to their sagacity, but in vain: the vision of a great, united and free Protestant Europe was dispelled for a long time by the black Habsburg eagle and the Spanish sword of blood. The prosperous country of Bohemia was turned for several decades into a battlefield, reducing its villages and towns to ashes, its population to a meagre handful of suffering peasants, its richness plundered and confiscated, and its devout Protestants scattered all over Europe.

One more contact between Francis Bacon and the Czech nation should be mentioned. That is the admiration retained for him by those, who after the tragic end of Bohemia's freedom went searching for help and a place of refuge abroad. Among them Jan Amos Comenius, Czech philosopher and educator, a shepherd of scattered sheep, was dreaming far away from his homeland, of the creation of a philanthropic — scientific and encyclopaedic — society of international character, which Bacon before him outlined in his *New Atlantis*.

Comenius valued Bacon so much, that he regarded his own most important work *Great Didactic* only as an echo of Bacon's *Great Instauration* and *Advancement of Learning*. In his *Via Lucis*, written during his stay in London in 1641, Comenius stated that one of the reasons for establishing his proposed Universal College in London was in memory of Bacon, "from whom he had derived his first conception of an idea of the restauration of all sciences".

The mutual dreams of Bacon and Comenius laid the foundations of the Royal Society.

NOTES ON BARTON-ON-THE-HEATH

By Noel Fermor

In 1769 a book called *The Life and Adventures of Common Sense* appeared anonymously. A physician, Herbert Lawrence, is the putative author, and in *New Views for Old*, R. L. Eagle suggests that he wrote *The Learned Pig*, which is also anonymous. A photocopy of the last named is owned by the Society, and we understand another copy may be in the British Museum. A curious publication of the same period was the first of the *Letters of Junius*, printed in the *Public Advertiser* in 1768. Once again the real author is unknown although Sir Philip Francis is favoured, amongst thirty-odd possibilities.

* * * *

In a pamphlet, *The First Baconian*, the late Lord Sydenham of Combe pointed out that the Rev. James Wilmot's niece, Mrs. Olivia Serres, had attributed to her uncle the authorship of *The Letters of Junius*, in the only memoir on his life.* A bachelor and Rector of Barton-on-the-Heath, this rural clergyman was a considerable scholar, and devoted much time to the works of Francis Bacon and Shakespeare. He was born at Warwick, took his M.A. at Trinity College, Oxford (which still holds the patronage of Barton-on-the-Heath) in 1748, and became Curate of Kenilworth before receiving his Rectorship in 1782.

According to Lord Sydenham, the writer of *The Life and Adventures of Common Sense* went so far as to aver that Will Shaksper had plagiarised the plays, but Wilmot was the first to name Francis Bacon as their probable author. Photographs of a woodcut inscribed "JUNIUS—James Wilmot, D.D.", and of the old Rectory, appeared as a frontispiece to *The First Baconian*. In an address to the Ipswich Philosophical Society on Shakespeare, in 1805, James Corton Cowell told his audience that Dr. Wilmot,

* Mrs. Serres' claim to be Princess Olive, daughter of the Duke Cumberland, was perhaps as slight as that of Christopher Sly as "Old Sly's son of Burton Heath" in the *Taming of the Shrew*, Prologue. The name Barton is connected with the de Berton family.

through his great knowledge of the Plays, was "able to prepare a cap" which fitted Bacon admirably. He noted that Shakespeare possessed no library, and that there was no allusion in the Plays to local colour, or to Stratford-on-Avon, although there were 23 references to St. Albans. Dr. Wilmot burned all his Shakespeare papers near the end of the eighteenth century. Did he perchance know that the Stratford Bust had ben reconstructed and altered in the 1740s ?

* * * *

An article on Dr. Wilmot appeared in the *Redditch Indicator/Alcester Chronicle* in October, 1965, written by E. Woodward Jephcott, according to a parishioner of the present Rector, the Rev. Alan Fermor. This discussed the *Letters to Junius* which appeared in the *Public Advertiser* from January 1769 to January 1772, and were reproduced in book form later. All were very outspoken and critical of the politics and leading personalities of the time, and showed a remarkable knowledge of the contemporary scene.

Woodward Jephcott was intrigued by Mrs. Serres' claim that her father wrote the *Letters*, though the evidence was largely of a circumstantial nature. She referred to an old manuscript book containing apparent references by Dr. Wilmot to his authorship of the *Letters*, and asserted that Wilmot had possessed a seal that had been used on communications sent to his publishers by him which he called "Junius". It was stated that this seal was lost in a robbery at the rectory !

Mrs. Serres also claimed that approximately two years before his death, Wilmot ordered the burning of "all bags and boxes of writing you can discover in the cabinets in my bedroom". He had then been blind for some years and the burning was carried out for him by his housekeeper, and the schoolmaster from neighbouring Long Compton. Wilmot's reason for this destruction was that "the mind's resolve should e'er unshaken be". In his *Letters*, Junius had written "I am the sole depository of my own secret and it will perish with me".

Woodward Jephcott suggested that the Rector could hardly have failed to notice that Barton-On-The-Heath is almost certainly mentioned in *The Taming Of The Shrew*, as quoted in our footnote. Since the village is only about 15 miles from Stratford-On-Avon he concluded, in the dogmatic orthodox tradition, that the reference, allied to the fact that William Shakespeare had relatives living there, was almost sufficient alone to counter the Baconian authorship theory! Apparently, Dr. Wilmot was not convinced on this point, and we venture to think that our readers will not be either.

We are told that Wilmot had been introduced into royal circles by his kinsman, Sir Edward Wilmot, physician to George II, so that he was a man of some note. Olive Serres' biography of him is now exceedingly scarce, but further information may be obtainable from a book *Princess or Pretender* by Pendered and Mallett, published by Hurst and Blackett, should this come to hand.

* * * *

There is a curious appendage to this story. A list of rectors of Barton-on-the-Heath dating from 1295 to the present day, including Dr. Wilmot, hangs on a wall in the nave of the Church. The list ends in 1683 with one Thomas Haywood, and begins again in 1782 with J. Rodd. It is culled from the Church Roll. Other records may exist, but we understand have not been traced. The gap of exactly one hundred years, therefore, is unexplained.

In the left-hand corner of the Norman chancel arch, facing west, is a carving of a pig running towards the centre. The late Arthur Mee in his *The King's England: Warwickshire* (first published in 1936, reprinted and revised by E. T. Long, 1966, Hodder & Stoughton) thinks that this may have come from a demolished doorway, but adds that nobody knows why! Surely this invites further enquiry, since, as R. L. Eagle has pointed out, the Elizabethans, for political and other reasons, habitually used numbers for names, and the rebus and the cipher were favourite devices.

* * * *

Alan Burgess, in *Warwickshire* (County Book Series), does not mention the Norman arch, with its running pig, in his comments on

Barton-on-the-Heath and its Church, but expresses strong doubts as to the authenticity of the Stratford "Birthplace". Unfortunately, though accepting *Baconiana* as a literary production, he is sceptical of Baconian theories; and disagrees with Joseph C. Hart, U.S. Consul at Santa Cruz, California, a pioneer in the authorship controversy, who championed Bacon in the *Romance of Yachting*.

Perhaps cipherists will find a clue in the following inscription engraved on the chancel wall immediately to the left of the Norman arch, facing south:—

The Reverend James Wilmot

D:D:

Rector of this Parish,

Died the 15th of Jan^r

1807

Aged 83 Years

SARAH WILMOT

Mother of the said JAMES

And Widow of

Thomas WILMOT

Late of Warwick

Died the 7th of Sep..br

1785

Aged 85 Years.

It is worth noting that Sir Thomas Overbury "victim of one of the most infamous murders in history" was born at Barton-on-the-Heath in 1581. Sir Thomas was a friend of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, first favourite of James I. Lady Essex wishing to marry Carr, and believing Overbury to dislike the idea, plotted to have him imprisoned in the Tower, where he was poisoned slowly over a period of three-and-a-half months, dying in 1611.

The resultant scandal forced the King's hand, and Carr was prosecuted by the Attorney-General, Francis Bacon, found guilty, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Lady Essex, who confessed her guilt, was pardoned.

BOOK REVIEWS

Francis Bacon: From Magic to Science, by Paolo Rossi.

Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1968. Two Guineas nett.

The publishers of this book have thrown away a golden opportunity. The original Italian, published in 1957, was a splendid example of the new competence in handling the history of ideas which has been achieved in our century. Its author, Paolo Rossi, who at present holds the Chair of the History of Modern and Contemporary Philosophy at Florence, had already proved his capacity as a writer by studies in the history of Logic, Technology, and Science. His *Francesco Bacone: Dalla magia alla scienza*, was the first comprehensive and reliable account of the origins, significance, and influence of the Baconian philosophy. An adequate translation would have been an acquisition to students throughout the English-speaking world, for the English language possesses to date no equivalent for this book. Unhappily the opportunity has been missed.

A successful translator of this book requires much more than a working knowledge of Italian and English. He must have considerable knowledge of the subject and a patient concern to understand what is being said. These qualities the present translator lacks. By his mistakes in important details, by his infelicities, and his misinterpretations, he has brought a fog down over a sunny landscape. The reader will lose his way and break his knees. To begin with mistakes in details: the pseudo-Aristotelian *De mirabilibus auscultationibus* is not a book *On the wonders of acoustics*. Bacon's *Cogitata et Visa* is not a treatise *On thought and vision*. His *De augmentis* is not a work *On Growth*. Euripides, who is included by the translator among the Presocratic philosophers, has got in by mistake for Empedocles. The terms *Power* and *Action* do not correctly represent the Aristotelian categories of *Potence* and *Act*. *Gesta Grayorum* is a record of the learned diversions of the members of Gray's Inn, not an oration on *The Deeds of Gray*. If the translator slipped up on these points should a responsible publisher not have discovered it? Should the exercise of a scholarly super-

vision not be taken for granted in the preparation of such a text?

Certainly when we come to consider the misinterpretations the absence of such supervision will be more painfully apparent. I shall discuss three passages. In his discussion of Bacon's philosophy of works Rossi tells us that for Bacon the proper use of *human power* (my italics) is to generate or superinduce new natures on a given substance. This just remark is rendered by the translator as follows: "Indeed for Bacon *mankind* (my italics) appears to have no other *purpose* (my italics) than to generate . . . etc." This is a complete betrayal of the sense. If Bacon defines the purpose of mankind he does so, as Rossi everywhere makes clear, in moral and religious terms. The purpose of mankind, for Bacon, is to learn the will of God and do it. Technology is, for him, only one means to this end.

Let us now turn to a new topic. In his account of the revolt against scholasticism Rossi tells us that men like Tyndale, Colet, and More complained that the schoolmen with their theological subtleties had turned their backs on the plainness and profundity of the Gospel message. But it would be going much too far to say, as our translator does, that "Scholastic philosophy had repudiated, with theological ingenuity, the veracity . . . of the Gospels' message." The translator is just not 'with it'. He presents us with the absurd picture of the medieval schoolmen deliberately exerting themselves to discredit the proofs of Christianity. His picture of the reformers is equally out of focus. They demanded, says Rossi, 'a return to the purity of the texts and the simplicity of the faith', which is as clear as could be. But the translator represents them as 'yearning for integral texts and simple faith', with which the usual fog settles down on the landscape. 'To yearn for simple faith' is not the same thing as 'to demand a return to the simplicity of *the* faith.'

The conclusion of Rossi's study is devoted to the complicated but all-important subject of the validity of Bacon's logic. Its weaknesses and its strengths are fully explored, but on the whole the balance inclines in Bacon's favour. The historical reasons for the oft-repeated assertion of its bankruptcy are examined. The final verdict is that in spite of its defects, of which the most notable is

an insufficient acquaintance with mathematical theory, Bacon's logic yet had in it insights which made it a better guide for the future than the worship of mathematics as 'the queen of the sciences' by Galileo and Descartes. Here, too, our translator manages to lose his way. Rashly venturing to re-shape a carefully written paragraph of the Italian, he talks of Bacon's *philosophy* where he should be discussing his *logic* and ends up by crediting Rossi with "an analysis of the historical and cultural environment in which Bacon's philosophy developed and eventually failed." The 'eventual failure' of Bacon's philosophy forms no part either of this one paragraph nor of Rossi's book.

Traduttore traditoré says the Italian proverb, but the betrayal in this case goes beyond all excusable limits. After all we are dealing with the best modern book on one of the very greatest of Englishmen, a book which clears up for us a number of misunderstandings which have obscured the reputation of Bacon for many generations, and it is entrusted to a translator who does not know the meaning even of the titles of Bacon's most famous books and whose ignorance of the contents is displayed on every page. At the risk of being tedious I offer one further justification of this charge.

In his fifth chapter, *Language and Communication*, Rossi begins with Bacon's distinction between a logic fitted only for the invention of arguments, such as the schoolmen had inherited from Aristotle, and the new logic adapted to the invention of arts by which nature can be controlled. Bacon's charge against the schoolmen, Rossi reminds us, was that they were overhasty in theorising and negligent in the observation of facts (*le cose particolari*). This charge against the schoolmen, that they did not study nature, disappears in the English translation, where it is said that they were 'lax in matters of detail'. Bacon (and Rossi) go on to explain that 'the syllogism may procure assent to an argument but is incapable of guiding men to the accomplishment of works because the subtlety of nature escapes it.' The translator, who does not seem to have a clue to the fact that what is being discussed is the philosophy of works, now simply omits the reference to it as so much padding. His translation is: 'The syllogism may serve to convince but the subtleties of nature elude it'. By such excisions he has

shortened his version but eliminated the subject-matter of the book. Being now wholly in the dark he can only grope after the sense of the remaining sentences. These concern the rôle of the senses in the acquisition of knowledge. The champions of the syllogism defend their neglect of observation by impugning the reliability of the senses. Bacon accuses these philosophers of quibbling. The senses, within their limits, give a true report, and they can be helped by instruments which increase their power and by experiments devised to make visible the effects of objects too minute to be directly observed. The topic is all important: what does the translator make of it? By a gross absurdity, involving two mis-translations, he accuses the senses themselves of quibbling, and muddles the reference to experiment.

Altogether this production is not exactly a triumph for British scholarship. We did not manage to provide the needed book ourselves, and now that it has been written for us we have failed even to translate it. It may be well to add that the passages criticised are to be found on pp. 15, 64, 219 ff., 154.

B. FARRINGTON

* * * *

The Royal Society: Concept and Creation

by Miss Margery Purver: Routledge & Kegan Paul. Price 35/-.

We submit that this book gives the best exposition of Francis Bacon's scientific and philosophical concept for mankind, and its adoption by the Royal Society, that we have yet seen. Those who feel this to be hyperbole, are invited to read this carefully argued account of Bacon's plan for themselves . . .

Most Baconians would agree with Professor Trevor-Roper's introduction, that when any historical interpretation has become an orthodoxy, it is useful to dismantle the structure and look again at its constituent parts, lest immobility lead to petrification, orthodoxy to dogma.

Both he and Miss Purver, argue that Thomas Sprat of Wadham College, Oxford, later Bishop of Rochester, and author of *History*

of the *Royal Society*, was right in ascribing its origin to the Oxford Meetings in the 1650's. Any other version, such as that by Thomas Birch in his official history first published in 1756, is demonstrably wrong. Since Sprat was writing under the *aegis* of the Council of the Society, the point needs stressing. As Trevor-Roper observes, the teachings of Verulam were correctly interpreted by the Oxford group, but not by the puritan vulgarisation of Macaulay.

Since the author correctly evaluates the emptiness of Macaulay's criticisms of Bacon, it is rather surprising that she couples Spedding and Ellis with him. This seems unfair, because Spedding had a quite different and far shrewder appreciation of Bacon's philosophy and aims than Macaulay, as is made amply clear in his *Evenings With A Reviewer*.

Another criticism which might be allowed is that Miss Purver hardly touches the paranormal, and thus misses the widest implications of Bacon's concept for mankind, as outlined in the *New Atlantis*—although this may have been deemed outside the scope of her book. After all there existed numerous societies interested in natural phenomena, but influenced by the occult, during the sixteenth century. The author herself instances the *Academia Secretorum Naturae*, whose members were known as *Otiosi*, and of which the mystic, Giovanni Baptista della Porta was the central figure. By confining her work strictly to documentary evidence, Miss Purver commands our respect. Yet Sprat's comment that Bacon was the "one great man, who had the true imagination of the whole extent of this enterprise, as it is now set on foot", is open to a wider interpretation . . .

Macaulay's statement¹ that Bacon "went so far as to say that, if his method of making discoveries were adopted, little would depend on the degree of force or acuteness of any intellect, that all minds would be reduced to one level . . ." is shattered by the retort that Bacon was not referring to the relative abilities of researchers, but to the Idols of the Theatre or of Systems, *i.e.* philosophical dogma, especially the Aristotelian.² Because Bacon refused

¹ *Essays*, Volume I, page 406.

² Page 24.

to accept unprovable theses he resisted the Copernican hypothesis, saying that those of Ptolemy and Tycho Brahe also fitted the appearances and others might do so. In fact the Copernican hypothesis was not entirely accurate, since the sun is not immovable, although so appearing *vis-a-vis* the solar system.

The Catalogue of Particular Histories (1620) indicated major fields of study of which 150 concerned natural phenomena covering the present natural sciences, and 30 arts, crafts and technical skills, all to be considered in their relations to each other. Although the *Sylva Sylvarum*, published posthumously, was merely a miscellaneous collection of experiments and queries, it may be claimed that Bacon supplied the guide lines for the development of the multifarious scientific subjects known to our day. Meteorology and gerontology are widely considered to be contemporary discoveries, for example, but *Historia Ventorum* and *Historia Vitae et Mortis*, both parts of a larger work, disprove this belief. Even atomic sciences came within his purview, as in the *Novum Organum* where he writes:—

Speculation commonly ceases where sight ceases; in so much that of things invisible there is little or no observation . . . so also the more subtle changes of form in the parts of coarser substances (which they commonly call alteration, though it is in truth local motion through exceedingly small spaces) . . .

From the internal evidence in his works, therefore, Bacon emerges as the Father of Science. He it was who rang the bell to call the wits together, so that a successful struggle could be waged against “the academic body as a whole”.

Miss Purver has a later chapter on the Invisible College, considering the name to be a “private coinage of Robert Boyle, who wrote that school philosophy is but the lowest region of their knowledge” . . . The persons involved practised “so extensive a charity that it reaches into everything called man, and nothing less than an universal goodness can content it”. Taking the word charitable in the Pauline sense, it appears that the College may have had deeper roots than this book allows, though we do not minimize the importance of the objective discussion of scientific inventions.

We learn that Christopher Wren was a pioneer in transfusion of the blood experiments, and the improvement of telescopes and microscopes, that William Petty, confidant of the mighty Earl of Arundel, and art connoisseur, was the pioneer of political economy, and that both were associated with Boyle, discoverer of Boyle's Law. All became Fellows of the Royal Society, which, when formally inaugurated in 1660, followed Bacon's idea of a King's Charter (*New Atlantis*) containing gift of revenue, and many privileges, exemptions and points of honour. William Croune, or Crowne as given in Dr. Springett's excellent book on Arundel's famous embassy, was also a Fellow at this time, and the decision of the Council in 1667 to accept the offer of Henry Howard (later Duke of Norfolk) to hold meetings in Arundel House in the Strand, occasions no surprise. Miss Purver is nevertheless well aware that, while the facts of nature were the subject of Bacon's study "the impulse behind it was essentially a religious one", and quotes a typical passage from the *Instauratio Magna* that Man's intellect was the crown and consummation of the physical universe, and his extending knowledge of nature should be to "the glory of God, not to the inflation of his own ego" . . . "This temptation should be kept in mind, that we do not so place our felicity in knowledge, as we forget our mortality".*

In the *Praefatio* to *Instauratio Magna*, in a beautiful homiletic passage, Bacon urges us to perfect and govern the true ends of knowledge in charity, of which there can be no excess, thus amply confirming his deep appreciation of the thirteenth chapter of the First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. If "charity" is accepted by mankind, but only if it is accepted, Bacon's message comes down clearly across the years:—

For whatever deserves to exist deserves also to be known,
for knowledge is the image of existence.

* * * *

On page 145, Miss Purver reveals her grasp of Bacon's mentality in the following striking sentence: "Francis Bacon has not perhaps been regarded as a mystic, yet a mystical recognition of the Creation

* *De Augmentis*.

as a manifestation of the Divine Intelligence, and a concomitant belief that its physical laws were to be made intelligible to man, is at the heart of his philosophy of science". The subsequent explanation of the *New Atlantis* as a mystical work, with symbolic imagery based on the Apocalypse, deserves the most serious study, with Martin Pares' article on the Utopias* as a useful background . . .

After 1626 Bacon's works attracted well-meaning and pious admirers, such as Comenius, a Czech, and Hartlib, but for them, unfortunately, formalised religion displaced the cosmic Christian teachings. Comenius was influenced by Johann Valentin Andrae, a Protestant, and author of *Reipublicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio* setting out his conception of an ideal commonwealth, the City of Christianopolis. The book was itself influenced by Bacon, whose tolerant opinions were, however, reflected in his statement: "The Jesuits are so good that I wish they were on our side".

Andrae himself, a significant figure as a reputed founder-member of the Rosicrucian Society, and author of *Fama Fraternitas*, inspired a new society in 1618, which he called Christian Union, and about which he wrote to Prince August, Duke of Brunswick; under whose patronage, *Cryptomenytices*, well known to Baconian cipherists, was published. This Society was later called Antilia by its members, and a copy of the original scheme was sent to John Evelyn, the famous diarist, by Hartlib, in 1660. The extraordinary activity in Germany at about this time also led to the publication of Campanella's *Civitas Solis* at Frankfurt in 1623. By coincidence, but perhaps not in the present debased sense of this word, the First Folio also appeared in this year.

And so this fascinating book tells the long story of the motivators of the Royal Society within Oxford University, led by John Wilkins, brother-in-law of Oliver Cromwell, Warden of Wadham College, and afterwards Bishop of Chester, to the formation of the Society, when "Scientific investigation had been thrust forward into a new era of coherence and growth, where no philosophic stops in the mind qualified in advance its limitless potential; and the

* *Baconiana*, 167.

following three centuries have borne witness to the unprecedented rate of its expansion ”.

As a final note perhaps we may refer to an anonymous pamphlet printed in 1654 and signed N.S., and H.D., mentioned by Miss Purver. These were the final letters of the names of John Wilkins and his friend Seth Ward, and were so identified by Anthony Wood. In the same way, the letters, M.N., were subscribed to the dedicatory epistle in William Camden's *Remaines*, 1614. No name appeared on the title-page, although in the text two complete anagrams of William Camden: “ Dum illa evincam ” and “ Nil Malum cui *Dea* ” appeared.

N.F.

MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE
AND PRESS ARTICLES

The Editor,
Baconiana

Dear Sir,

“BORACHIO”

A correspondent in *The Times Literary Supplement* of 24th August, 1967, points out that the name of this follower of Don John (the bastard brother of Don Pedro of Aragon in *Much Ado About Nothing*) is derived from the Spanish word “borracho” which means “drunkard”. He describes himself as “a true drunkard”. It is customary to act the part in Act III, Scene 3 as being slightly tipsy. One would like to hear some attempted explanation from one of the learned commentators on such a very remarkable familiarity with the Spanish language on the part of the player, on whom they blindly place faith as the writer of the plays and poems.

“Don John”, being a Spaniard, would naturally have followers of the same nationality, and the author, in inventing a name appropriate to the character of the chief one, turned to his knowledge of Spanish for inspiration.

Yours truly,

R. L. EAGLE

* * * *

To The Editor,
Baconiana.

A BACONIAN “SIGNATURE”?

In 1593 appeared the first printed work bearing the name “William Shakespeare”; not on the title-page, but as the signature to the dedication addressed to the Earl of Southampton. This was *Venus and Adonis*, which was followed by another and more serious poem, *The Rape of Lucrece*, in 1599. Again no author's name appeared on the title-page, and again “William Shakespeare” was the signature to the dedication, addressed to the same peer.

It was written in affectionate terms, showing a familiarity then inconceivable between a peer of the realm and a commoner, following the despised calling of a player. The actor, Shakspere, Shaxpere, or Shagspere, had not used the surname "Shakespeare", neither was he or his family known by it.

If Bacon, driven "underground" by the dangers which beset authors under the ruthless Tudor despotism, decided to use the name "William Shakespeare", or "Shake-speare", for his poetic and dramatic writings, it is likely that he would ingeniously use an occasional indication of his authorship in the printed text. A notable example occurs in the 15th verse of *The Rape of Lucrece* which heads a page in the first edition (see illustrations).

Here the author compares the wanton look in Tarquin's eyes with "the subtle shining secrecies" written in the margins of books. This is such a forced "analogy" that it seems to have been invented for a special purpose. If so, what could have prompted it?

It will be observed that the marginal letters of this verse read:

B C N W Sh N M

and, by supplying the vowels, we have

BaCon W Sh NaMe

"Sh" occurs on line 103 of the poem and 103 is the numerical equivalent of "Shakespeare" by the 24 letter alphabet of Tudor times, when I and J and U and V were interchangeable.

Yours faithfully,

RODERICK L. EAGLE

* * * *

LETTERS ON THE SHAKESPEARE TOMB

The Vicar,
Holy Trinity Church,
Stratford-upon-Avon.
Warwickshire.

Dear Mr. Bland,

As you may know our Society is charged under a Trust bequest to look for the Bacon-Shakespeare Manuscripts, and I am writing



THE RAPE OF LVCRECE.

FROM the besieged Ardea all in post,
 Borne by the trustlesse wings of false desire,
 Lust-breathed TARQUIN, leaues the Roman host,
 And to Colatium beares the lightlesse fire,
 VVhich in pale embers hid, lurkes to aspire,
 And girdle with embracing flames, the wast .
 Of COLATINES fair loue, LVCRECE the chaste.

THE RAPE OF LVCRECE.

But she that neuer cop't with straunger eies,
 Could picke no meaning from their parling lookes,
 Nor read the subtle shining secrecies,
 VVrit in the glasse margents of such bookes,
 Shee toucht no vnknown baits, nor feard no hooks,
 Nor could shee moralize his wanton sight,
 More then his eies were opened to the light.

to request you to be good enough to allow this Society to open William and Anne Shakespeare's graves for this purpose. If the curse on the former grave disturbs your parishioners perhaps this could be left. In this case we should be gratified if the Monument itself could be investigated in view of the inscription thereon.

The Council have asked me to stress that any search would be taken with due reverence for the remains and that every possible care would be taken to see that other people's susceptibilities are respected as far as is humanly possible.

My President, Commander Martin Pares, R.N., or I, would be pleased to arrange a meeting for further discussions on the matter.

Yours truly,

NOEL FERMOR
Chairman

The Vicar,
Holy Trinity Church,
Stratford-upon-Avon,
Warwickshire.

Dear Mr. Bland,

I am enclosing a photostat copy of a letter which I wrote to you some weeks before Christmas.

Bearing in mind the fact that you will shortly be charging the public fees for viewing the Shakespeare Grave we should much appreciate a reply in the reasonably near future.

I would again stress that any search for the remains under your authority would be undertaken with every possible reverence for other people's feelings. On a more mundane note, perhaps I might comment that publicity for the search would help to maintain an interest in your very historic Church.

I am enclosing a stamped and addressed envelope for your use.

With many thanks.

Yours truly,

NOEL FERMOR
Chairman

9th January, 1968.

N. Fermor, Esq.,
 The Francis Bacon Society,
 Canonbury Tower,
 Canonbury Place,
 Islington,
 London, N.1.

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of January 9th and, in reply, have to say that I have no intention of agreeing to any proposal to disturb graves or memorials in our Parish Church. Please accept this as my final decision and I cannot enter into any further correspondence with you on this matter.

Yours truly,

T. BLAND

Vicar and Surrogate

11th January, 1968.

* * * *

The following article appeared in the *Birmingham Post*, dated 31st January, 1968.

ROW FLARES AGAIN OVER WHO WROTE THE PLAYS
Birmingham Post, Stratford-upon-Avon Staff.

The 500-strong Francis Bacon Society is making a new attempt to open Shakespeare's tomb in Stratford-upon-Avon.

Their request has been turned down by the Vicar of Stratford, Canon Thomas Bland, but they are now considering taking the case to a consistory court.

The move will reopen the controversy about whether Shakespeare or Francis Bacon wrote the plays.

The society was left £6,000 by Mrs. Evelyn Hopkins, a former member, to investigate the highly emotive subject.

It was donated only on the condition that it was used to try to trace the Shakespeare and Bacon manuscripts.

Last night the president of the society, Commander Martin Pares, said: "The money cannot be spent on anything else. It is because of this trust that we are able to keep trying."

Supported

The society is being supported by the Shakespeare Action Committee, whose chairman, Mr. Francis Carr, started the controversy in 1962.

Commander Pares said: "I think the eventual outcome will be that the matter will go to a consistory court.

"If the population of Stratford and the Birthplace Trust have so much influence that nothing will be looked at under any circumstances, the consistory court would be the answer."

He added: "We have brought the matter up because the Vicar has now instituted a 2s. 6d. charge for people to look at the monument.

"We thought it was reasonable to have the whole thing investigated so people would know what they were looking at."

Obvious

Mr. Noel Fermor, the chairman of the society, said that the tomb was one of the most obvious places to look for the manuscripts.

Mr. Carr disputed whether there was in fact a body in Shakespeare's tomb. He said: "It must be the only tomb in the country for anyone of note with no name on it."

He has just published a 16-page booklet entitled *The Shakespeare Controversy* and claims that there are increasing doubts about the authorship of the plays.

The booklet contains statements and comments by leading literary figures both for and against Mr. Carr's theories.

Last night Canon Bland said: "I have no reason to alter my opinion from what it was six or seven years ago. They will certainly not have my permission to open the tomb."

But he said that the society was free to take the matter to a consistory court.

Shortly afterwards a correspondent expressed the customary doubts as to the merits of the Baconian case, and drew a reply from our Chairman.

The Editor,
Birmingham Post,
Colmore Circus,
Birmingham 4.

Dear Sir,

Perhaps I may be allowed to reply to Mr. H. R. Ashford's letter.

The Trust with which the Francis Bacon Society is concerned arises from the Court Action in the High Court of Justice before Judge (now Lord) Wilberforce in 1964. Under the terms our Society is bound to look for the Bacon-Shakespeare Manuscripts.

Your correspondent's comment that Baconian theories are "wild" was not shared by eminent men in the past such as Gladstone and Palmerston, or by contemporaries such as Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper who, in an affidavit, wrote that heretics were not necessarily wrong, and that a settled scholarly opinion might well inhibit research.

As far as the contemporary references to "Shakespeare" are concerned, I would remind Mr. Ashford that it is necessary to distinguish between the actor and the playwright. We believe that this is just what Ben Jonson did, in that some earlier references are very derogatory, whilst later ones are exceedingly complimentary. This change of tone would have arisen naturally should Jonson have learned of the real authorship position.

Lastly I would comment that attempts have been made to find evidence concerning the burial of Francis Lord St. Alban (not Verulam) particularly in St. Michael's Church, Gorhambury, but no success has been achieved to date.

Yours faithfully,

NOEL FERMOR

Chairman

12th February, 1968.

The Editor,
Daily Telegraph and Morning Post
Sir,

“ W.S. SLEPT HERE ”

Under this heading, “ Peterborough ” (Feb. 9th), quotes the tradition that William Shakespeare on his journeys between London and Stratford slept at the Golden Cross Inn at Oxford and committed adultery with the wife of the innkeeper, John D’Avenant.

Anne Hathaway was three months pregnant when he was compelled by the action of her friends to marry her.

In 1601, John Manningham of the Middle Temple, entered in his diary an anecdote (the only one recorded in Shakspeare’s lifetime) about William Shakespeare and Burbage visiting a brothel, and how the player claimed priority because “ William the Conqueror was before Richard the Third ” !

By tradition he was a poacher and died in 1616 as the result of a drinking bout.

As to recorded facts these are concerned with such mundane and sordid events as money-lending and the ruthless pursuit of his petty debtors; the enclosure of common lands, and the hoarding of large quantities of corn and malt in time of local famine.

Are the good Shakespeareans really satisfied with what is called “ The Life of Shakespeare ” and consider it consistent with the authorship of *Hamlet* and the rest ? If not, why do they scorn those who reject the possibility of that man having been the creator of the world’s greatest literature ?

Yours truly,

9th February, 1968

R. L. EAGLE

Mr. Noel Fermor,
Chairman, Francis Bacon Society,
Canonbury Tower,
London, N.1, England.

Dear Mr. Fermor,

I am very glad to read of the Francis Bacon Society "forcing the citadels of orthodoxy" according to an Associated Press report which appeared in the local press. I need not translate the report which I cut from today's paper.

With very good wishes for your success.

Yours sincerely,

SACIT POLATER

Ankara

February 3rd, 1968.

The following is the translation of the report in a Turkish newspaper:

REQUEST TO LOOK FOR BACON IN SHAKESPEARE'S TOMB REFUSED

The deputy of the Bishop of Stratford (*sic*) has refused for the second time a request made by the Francis Bacon Society to open William Shakespeare's tomb in the parish church here.

The supporters of Bacon are hoping that they will find pieces of evidence to vindicate their theory that it was Francis Bacon who really wrote the works of Shakespeare.

Following on the refusal, the Society are now considering an application to a higher church authority.

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The Secrets of Shakespeare's Sonnets (with facsimile)* -	26/-
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Canonbury Tower, Islington, London, N.1.*

* New Publications

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