

BACONIANA

Founded 1886

December, 1971

CONTENTS

Editorial	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Obituaries	....	....	....	....	....	....	17
Elizabethan Fun and Games	....	....	....	....	....	....	22
The Mirror of the Mind in Shakespeare and Bacon	....	....	....	....	....	....	32
The Learning of Shakespeare	....	....	....	....	....	....	39
A Famous Dutch Baconian	....	....	....	....	....	....	59
The Curtis Bacon—Shakespeare Collection	....	....	....	....	....	....	63
The Unspeakable Word	....	....	....	....	....	....	68
The Touchstone	....	....	....	....	....	....	86
Did Shake-speare write Bacon's Henry VII?	....	....	....	....	....	....	103
Actor—Manager?	....	....	....	....	....	....	112
Book Review	....	....	....	....	....	....	114
Correspondence	....	....	....	....	....	....	116
Gorhambury	....	....	....	....	....	....	143

© Published Periodically

LONDON:

Published by THE FRANCIS BACON SOCIETY INCORPORATED at
 Canonbury Tower, Islington, London, N.1, and printed by
 Lightbowns Ltd., 72 Union Street, Ryde, Isle of Wight.

THE FRANCIS BACON SOCIETY

(INCORPORATED)

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

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

Officers and Council:

Hon. President:

COMDR. MARTIN PARES, R.N.

Past Hon. President:

CAPT. B. ALEXANDER, M.R.I.

Hon. Vice-Presidents:

WILFRED WOODWARD, ESQ.

RODERICK L. EAGLE, ESQ.

Council:

NOEL FERMOR, ESQ., *Chairman*

T. D. BOKENHAM, ESQ., *Vice-Chairman*

COMDR. MARTIN PARES, R.N.

NIGEL HARDY, ESQ.

J. D. MACONACHIE, ESQ.

A. D. SEARL, ESQ.

C. J. HEMINGWAY, ESQ.

AUSTIN HATT-ARNOLD, ESQ.

MRS. D. BRAMELD, Secretary:

Canonbury Tower, Islington, London, N.1

Hon. Treasurer:

T. D. BOKENHAM, ESQ.

The subscription for membership is £2.10 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.



Advancement of Learning (1640) frontispiece
 (Jacobite throws a new light on this well-known engraving by Marshall).

BACONIANA

VOL. LIV (85th Year)

No. 171

DECEMBER, 1971

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

In this issue we continue our practice of placing historical and literary articles at the beginning and cipher articles at the end. "Jacobite" and "The Outsider" enter the arena with notable cipher contributions. The former in his present article, *The Touchstone*, gives us an optical interpretation of the symbolism in the finely engraved frontispiece to the 1640 edition of *The Advancement of Learning*. He also links this with a passage in Tenison's *Baconiana* (1679) quoting Thomas Bushell, who was originally a member of Bacon's household staff. The 1640 edition of the *Advancement of Learning* is commonly regarded as the first English translation of the Latin *De Augmentis Scientiarum* of 1623, a world classic. But on the title-page of the former it does not say "translated" but "interpreted by Gilbert Wats". This, plus the fact that it contains many features which are not in the Latin version, some noticeably Baconian in style (as for instance "the Viscount St. Alban his Preface" written in the first person singular and carrying the authentic voice of Francis Bacon) leads us to suppose that this beautiful volume contains a great deal of Bacon's original draft in English.

It seems probable that Gilbert Wats, in his interpretation, not only used the English of the original *Two Books of the Advancement of Learning* of 1605, but may also have had access to Bacon's later drafts (in English) from which the nine books of the *De Augmentis* were prepared. Although not now as rare as the Latin version of 1623, the English version of 1640 may one day prove as valuable. Who else but Bacon would have left

such intricate instructions for the enigmatical Portrait and Frontispiece by Marshall, which adorn this volume and formed the inspiration of this article by Jacobite ?

And here a word to our readers. "Jacobite" delights in riddles, even when solving them. After reading his MS on this occasion, we asked him to be a little more explicit with his clues, especially with those which lead from article to article. The result was an important addition—the Prologue to the present article, *The Touchstone*. If our readers would make sure first that they have understood "Jacobite's" previous articles step-by-step, in *Francis Bacon and the Electronic Computer* (*Baconiana* 157 and 160), and in *Theseus in a Magic Square* (*Baconiana* 168), they would find that they are gradually being led to an end-product. It would be a joke much appreciated by the encipherer himself, if the mystery of the Shake-speare Plays were to be solved by men of science, rather than by men of letters !

But, as the wheel of Fortune turns, it is usually the men of business who come out on top. We would therefore advise any member who happens to possess a copy of either of the two rare books mentioned in this article—*The Advancement of Learning* (1640) or Tenison's *Baconiana* (1679)—to hold on to them for the present.

These two books are interlinked since they contain Bacon's first and last words about his ciphers. Tenison's *Baconiana* also contains the keys of the anagrammatic cipher, on which two members of our Society are shortly to print a book. It will take the form of a limited edition of numbered copies, privately printed. This book will show the latest developments arising from the articles *The City and the Temple* (*Baconiana* 160), *The Exploitation of Coincidences* (*Baconiana* 162), and *By Line and Levell* (*Baconiana* 164)*. The number of copies available for distribution will necessarily be limited and early orders would be appreciated. Owing to the cost of the diagrams and illustrations, the cost of the book is estimated at £2·75 per copy. If members who are interested will help our cause by supporting this venture,

* Readers will recognise the hand of "The Outsider" in all three articles.

we shall be most grateful. Please send no money until informed that a numbered copy is available.

"Jacobite" asks us to inform our readers that the connecting links in Dr. Owen's *Word Cipher* are confirmed by Mrs. Gallup in the *Biliteral Cipher*. The remarks of the Friedmans about these two pioneers, in the *Shakespeare Ciphers Examined*, p.186, are therefore to some extent invalidated. He also asks us to say that his comments on the credibility of the Friedmans as expressed in *Baconiana* 160, page 9, and *Baconiana* 168, page 71, were communicated to them in a challenge which was unanswered, in spite of their promise. In this connection it is worth recalling that the challenges to their book made in *Baconiana* 161, pp. 11, 12, were not answered either, notwithstanding protracted correspondence inviting a reply, and two attempts by our President, Commander Pares, to see them when in New York. The letter from our Chairman, Noel Fermor, to the Mistress of Girton College, printed on pages 119/21 is relevant to this point, and Dr. Bradbrook has not been able to account for the Friedmans' silence.

* * * *

Contributions from sympathisers in the academic world are welcome for the fresh light which trained minds can bring to bear on our subject. Our readers are already familiar with Professor Farrington's writings, and his latest article, *The Mirror of the Mind in Shakespeare and Bacon*, is particularly important with its key sentence, "I am concerned only to show, what impresses me more and more, the presence of a Baconian element in Shakespeare". This verdict of an author widely acknowledged as an authority on Francis Bacon, deserves a wider audience than *Baconiana* commands, and the close attention of the numerous libraries who subscribe to our magazine.

Professor A. A. Prins is not so well known to the outside world or to our readers; but as a linguist specialising in Old and Middle English and the history of the language, with a Chair at Leyden University for many years, his views must be respected. Professor Prins has experienced in Holland the same refusal (in academic circles) to accept unorthodox writings on the authorship issue

as we have in the United Kingdom. The article, unusually candid, which we now print in *Baconiana*, was refused by the Editors of *English Studies*—a Groningen periodical widely read overseas amongst English scholars—because of its “unorthodoxy”. The numerous footnotes are the work of a serious scholar, and the interesting point is that this authoritative contribution, *The Learning of Shakespeare*, demonstrates beyond doubt the playwright’s knowledge of an abstruse chapter in Greek philosophy, and traces the source of Hamlet’s famous soliloquy “To be or not to be” to pre-Socratic sources.

We also print a short but timely article by Dr. Prins, *A Famous Dutch Baconian: Professor G. J. P. J. Bolland*, the fiftieth anniversary of whose death falls in February, 1972. Holland has produced her fair share of prominent Baconians, and the time has come to add Professor Bolland’s name to the list. The Editors hold in safe keeping a photo-facsimile of the text of Bolland’s biographical sketch of William Shakspeare to which Professor Prins refers. This is available for inspection on request.

* * * *

Mr. Enoch Powell, besides being a well-known politician, is a classical scholar of no mean repute. Speaking to the Shakespeare Club at Stratford-on-Avon on April 13th, 1971, he maintained that William Shakespeare had shown fantastic precocity in his insight into the structure of power and government in mediaeval England. How a man of the speaker’s intellect imagined that the Stratford man could have attained this *insight*—a provocative word in this context—was obviously not mentioned, but *The Times* reported in full the following verbatim extracts from his address:

Talking to the Shakespeare Club at Stratford-on-Avon, he said: “Reading the historical plays again as an ex-Cabinet minister, I was struck by the early date of the plays which showed the keenest insight. In four plays, from *Richard II* in 1397 to *Henry V* in 1421, Shakespeare had written a serial history of England by, at the latest, 1594.”

The nine historical plays composed within about four years contained a penetrating and sustained representation of statecraft and political ambition.

They span the entire diapason of political emotions and exhibit the human personality in the coveting, the enjoyment and the loss of supreme power. The appetites, the hatreds and the exhilarations of the most absorbing of human pursuits are depicted with the immediacy of a participant.

Mr. Powell's comments in the last paragraph are particularly significant, since as a participant himself in the "immediacy" of statecraft and political ambition, he must know that the author of the Plays was similarly placed; *ergo* William Shakspeare could not have written them.

Mr. Powell went on to remark that in the council scene in *Richard III* and in the deposition of Richard II in Westminster Hall, the writer revealed the authentic knowledge of how men behaved and felt at and around the political summit. It was precisely this knowledge and experience of great affairs, seen from the top, that inclined another great statesman, Bismarck, to favour the Baconian view of the authorship. Shakspeare could not have had personal experiences of this nature, and it is certain that Francis Bacon had had them *in extenso* as the wisest statesman and politician of his era. Athwart this mainstream of pride and power there ran the cross-current of English patriotism, Mr. Powell added, and by this pin-pointed at once a trait so marked in Bacon's character that only his religious beliefs were more dominant.

Mr. Powell then used some curious phrasing in attempting apparently to credit the Stratford man with the authorship of the plays—almost clothing his ideas in the verbal ambiguity with which all Elizabethan literary students (and certainly Baconian scholars) are familiar . . .

This William Shakespeare, if he is, as no doubt he is, the same who was baptized at Stratford on April 26, 1564, was aged 28 at the time of the death of the playwright Robert Green in September 1592.

The composition of all, or all but one, of the nine plays of English history already lay behind him if he was their author.

There are two points to note here relating to the two enigmatic "ifs". The first is that the speaker did not, as one would expect, give the date of Shakespeare's birth, but of his baptism. Evidently in renewing his acquaintance with the subject, he realised that there is—strangely—no birth entry in the Stratford Church Register, despite the baptismal record. This observation is followed by the reference to the death of Robert Green and, in the next sentence, comes the second "if" in allusion to the doubts held by many as to the authorship of "the nine plays of English history".

It is still "a tremendous literary and dramatic achievement to have composed . . . that great pageant of English history, with *The Merry Wives of Windsor* thrown in and other plays", even on the assumption that Bacon, at 31 years of age, was the author, and not the younger and far less experienced Stratford man. Let us then help Mr. Powell to resolve the problem, at least on a tentative basis, by quoting his concluding passage on this theme, as printed in *The Times*, but mentally regarding the name Shakespeare as a pen-name chosen by Bacon.

It was an achievement of fantastic precocity to have penetrated the inner workings of power and government and distilled all that observation in poetry and drama. The result was that in the years 1590 to 1594, between the ages of 25 and 30, Shakespeare wrote not only the nine plays of English history but seven other plays of comedy and tragedy, as well as two long poems, *Venus and Adonis*, and *The Rape of Lucrece* . . . We are thus confronted with a double phenomenon, the combination of fantastic precocity and of insight with a fantastic rate of volume of output.

Following his term as a Cabinet Minister, Mr. Powell has written copiously and delivered numerous carefully prepared speeches—all bearing the mark of an extremely able man frustrated by lack of opportunities to put his ideas into action. The similarity

with Bacon himself will not be lost on our readers: perhaps it has not been lost on Enoch Powell.

* * * *

We were sorry to note in the daily Press that James Spedding's old home, Mirehouse, near Skiddaw in the Lake District, is in danger from road and reservoir projects. Tennyson, Edward Fitz-Gerald, and other literary figures, all guests of James Spedding, would have been horrified at this sad news. Indeed, it is said Tennyson conceived the idea of *La Morte D'Arthur* at Mirehouse. Our sympathies go out inevitably to John Spedding and the Bassetlaw Society in their fight, as we remember the unique accomplishment of James Spedding in compiling his two monumental editions of Bacon's *Works* and *Life and Letters* (seven volumes each) which still form the standard works on the subject, and which have been reprinted recently. In his own special field, Spedding can bear comparison with such eminent contemporaries of his at Trinity College, Cambridge, as Tennyson, Arthur Hallam, Edward Fitz-Gerald and Thackeray.

* * * *

On 23rd November, 1970, *The Times* made a frank admission that all portraits and busts "that have so far come to light are accepted by Shakespeare scholars as being posthumous works". The context was the discovery that the so-called Venice portrait is a seventeenth-century fake. The picture, now at the Royal Shakespeare Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon, has been revealed as a study of an unknown sitter altered to make it look like Shakespeare.

The newspaper's comment that the Venice portrait may nonetheless be the only contemporary likeness of him represents wishful thinking. The situation is still the same and will doubtless remain so, namely that no likeness of Will Shaksper of Stratford exists, despite periodic "discoveries" emanating from *soi-disant* authorities.

* * * *

A new book by a Baconian is always an event. Bryan Bevan has recently published *The Great Seamen of Elizabeth*. This

represents a departure from previous works, such as biographies of Nell Gwynn, The Old Pretender, and Francis Bacon. In a Press review Professor A. L. Rowse referred to Bryan Bevan as a "lover of history", and on these grounds alone his latest work deserves success. A review appears on pages 114/5.

* * * *

Our readers will not be surprised to hear that, as with Will Shaksper, little is known about John Bodenham *in propria persona*. The following works, however, are ascribed to him:

Wits Commonwealth, 1597;

Wits Theatre, 1598;

Belvedere, or the Garden of the Muses, 1600, second edition 1614;

England's Helicon, 1600, of which the second edition, dated 1614, included nine new poems.

The author's identity (like that of the author of *The Arte of English Poesie*) is very much an open question. The dates of John Bodenham's birth and death are not given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and although several Bodenhams were admitted to Gray's Inn in the early seventeenth century, there is no "John" of that name who can be regarded as the author. The heraldic coat-of-arms illustrated in the first edition of *Belvedere* is correct for the Bodenhams, but the motto is wrong, and in the second edition both are omitted. This is curious, considering the knowledge of heraldry displayed by the author.

The mystery of Meres, Puttenham, and Bodenham, is mentioned in a footnote in Sir George Greenwood's *Is there a Shakespeare Problem?* on page 221. It is discussed at length in the Revd. Walter Begley's *Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio*, volume one.

Bryan Bevan in *The Great Seamen* on page 234 mentions a Captain Jones Bodenham who, with Thomas Drake, was appointed an executor of Sir Francis Drake's will, but gives no additional details.

* * * *

The tercentenary of the death of Johann Amos Comenius, Czech scholar and a lifelong admirer of Francis Bacon's phil-

osophy, was remembered by the Speaker at a dinner in the House of Commons late last year.

In 1641 Comenius was invited by our Parliament to London to initiate proposals for the foundation of an international college for scientific research. The college proceedings would have been conducted on Baconian principles, but the imminence of the Civil War inhibited the project. Nevertheless the foundation of the Royal Society in 1660 was directly due to the influence of Bacon's ideas. Our readers will doubtless be reminded of the lengthy review of *The Royal Society: Concept and Creation*, by Margery Purver in *Baconiana* No. 168 (pp. 93 - 8); and remember that in our last issue we printed an obituary notice by J.D.M. of a valued member of our Society, the late Professor Milos Ambros of Prague, a Czech scholar who, like Comenius three centuries before him, was a lifelong admirer of Francis Bacon.

* * * *

Many of our members will have seen the play *Brief Lives* which was first performed at the Hampstead Theatre Club, then transferred to the West End, and later shown on BBC2. Some members may possess the recording issued by Major Minor Records starring Roy Dotrice. The gramophone performance was adapted and directed by Patrick Garland.

Whatever view is taken of this presentation, it is necessary to remember that John Aubrey (1625 - 1697) was an antiquary as well as a biographer, and an original member of the Royal Society.

* * * *

The view that Bacon used pen-names — including “William Shakspere” or “Shake-speare” — is generally accepted by students of the authorship controversy. It is not so well known that the beautiful seventeenth century poem *The World* appeared not only under Bacon's name, but under other names or pseudonyms as well. It was quoted in full in *Baconiana*, Volume X, New Series, p.151, as long ago as July 1902. In six editions the poem was originally or subsequently ascribed to Francis Bacon, its true author, yet various names appear in other instances. For example,

in the *first* edition the signature is Ignoto, though in Farnaby's *Florilegium*, 1629, page 10, it is ascribed to Bacon. In MS. Rawl. the poem is ascribed to R.W., and in the Ashmolean MS. 38, the first ascription "by Dr. Donn", has been altered to Sir Francis Bacon. In the Pickering MS., the ascription to "Henry Harrington" has been altered to "Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Albans". In the *Reliquae Wottonae* the poem is ascribed to "Lord Bacon" as reprinted in James Spedding's *Works*, Volume 7, page 269. The well-known opening lines

The world's a bubble; and the life of man
Less than a span . . .

are strongly reminiscent of Jaques' Seven Ages of Man speech in *As You Like it*, 2.VII, 139 beginning

All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players; . . .

and *The World* poem is firmly attributed to Bacon in *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* (second edition).

E. G. Harman in his *Edmund Spenser and the Impersonations of Francis Bacon*, 1914 (pp. 367 - 369) discusses the Ignoto pseudonym briefly. He remarks that in the second edition of *The World*, the poem carried the Ignoto ascription, and refers us to *England's Helicon*, the collection of poems edited by John Bodenham and dated 1600. This volume contains a collection of 150 pieces of poetry by a number of authors, including William Shakespeare, Marlowe, Spenser, Drayton and others, and Ignoto. Several of the poems, amongst the finest in this book, appear under the last pseudonym, and all have been re-published in the twentieth century.

Our readers may remember that Helicon was a Boeotian mountain sacred to the Muses, and therefore a source of inspiration. We are reminded, here, of some of Bacon's most poetic prose, inspired from this source, in the *Philautia Device*, quoted elsewhere.

* * * *

Robert Graves in *The White Goddess* (Faber and Faber; amended and enlarged edition, 1962; p.383) mentions that Mount Helicon

was a few miles to the east of Parnassus, and known also as The Aeonian Mount. Milton in the opening lines of *Paradise Lost* refers to it as a source of inspiration for "prose or rhyme", and Virgil in the *Georgics* makes Apollo, the God of poetry say:

Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas,

i.e., on my return I shall lead the Muses down from the top of Mount Helicon.

Edmund Spenser, too, addressed the Muses as the Virgins of Helicon, and in the light of the identification of Ignoto as Francis Bacon we are reminded also . . . of Lord Chief Justice Hewart's remarks uttered in a different context with typical forensic logic:

Circumstantial evidence consists of this, that when you look at all surrounding circumstances you find such a series of undesigned, unexpected coincidences that as a reasonable person you find your judgement is compelled to one conclusion.

In the light of this evidence, orthodox scholars are hardly justified in asserting dogmatically that the name William Shakespeare or "Shake-speare" could not have been used as a mask.

To return to "Ignoto", we would remind our readers of the Robert Burton Tomb, of which an illustration appeared opposite page 6 in *Baconiana* 170. The first line in this curious inscription reads as follows:

PAVCIS, NOTVS, PAVCIORIBVS, IGNOTVS.

It was suggested that the English translation of this line might be rendered "Here lies Democritus Junior, known to few, unknown to fewer".* Perhaps the meaning of the last three words might become less obscure if *ignotus* is read as another *alias* for Bacon, exactly as *ignoto* is used in the case of the poem *The World*. We might then translate the passage: "Here lies Democritus Junior, known to few, and as Ignotus (*i.e.* as a mask) to fewer."

* Unusual inscriptions are sometimes used to conceal ciphers, and perhaps this is a case in point. Cipherists will note that the Simple Cipher count for "Ignotus" is 100, the same as that for Francis Bacon.

An apt inscription appearing by coincidence at the top of the plaque to Dr. George Croyden, on the same pillar but of a later date, reads *Sapientia Datum Dei* (Wisdom is God given).

* * * *

We are continuing our policy of printing a selection of letters which we have written to the Press. Although these invariably contain corrections of mis-statements made by commentators they are often not accepted even when we are replying to an attack. Indeed editors, generally speaking, are reluctant to print correspondence on the authorship problem for the simple reason that newspapers are sold on the circulation value rather than the intrinsic value of their contents. While we recognise these difficulties, we know from recent experience that despite such pressures, editors, and individual journalists, are becoming more and more convinced of the potency of our arguments.

Francis Carr, of the Shakespeare Action Committee, has been unflagging in his attempts to expose the less creditable activities of orthodox vested interests, and the untenable claims being made on behalf of the Stratford man, Will Shakspere—claims not made by the player himself either during his life or in his will.

The correspondence in *The Spectator* was particularly revealing in that the limited number of letters printed were (so we were politely assured) a very small portion of those received by the Editorial staff. However, as always, the guillotine descended on us eventually! An additional letter from our Chairman which did not appear is therefore included in this issue. Nevertheless the impression remains that public scepticism concerning the orthodox position is gaining ground. It is also clear that more care is being taken by book publishers and newspaper editors to avoid publishing unwarranted assertions, including the Birthplace fantasy. Professor A. L. Rowse's arrogant remarks are always "news" and his retreat from *The Spectator* correspondence—under cover of the words "There is nothing to reply to"—is significant. Under the ingenious title, *Stratford Tragi-Comedy*, Francis Carr circulates a periodical summary of all newspaper

and other extracts illustrating the development of critical comment, and it is gradually taking effect. Even such a diehard as Professor Rowse was moved to write in *The Spectator* of 26th September, 1970, as follows:

Would you believe, what I know from lecturing to hundreds of audiences in America and Britain, that the great heart of the English-speaking public isn't sure whether Shakespeare wrote his own works, and a good many of them whether he ever existed? . . .

This surprising admission, viewed in the context of the flood of letters received subsequently from readers of *The Spectator*, has considerable significance. It is sad, however, to see the time-honoured but meaningless cliché "Shakespeare wrote his own works", thus ignoring the possibility that the name could have been a pseudonym and the man a willing or well-paid mask!

It would be impolitic to ignore *The Times* correspondence which appeared earlier this year, following an article by Professor Rowse on Shakespeare, in the course of which he launched an unfair attack on Francis Bacon's character. Accordingly we follow this Editorial with an important contribution from our President dealing with this accusation.

* * * *

Professor B. Farrington—besides contributing a fine article as well as a brief but interesting letter in our correspondence section—has sent us additional information on Bacon's connection with Ireland. Readers may remember a short article, *The Plantations*, in *Baconiana*, 163, pp. 74 - 5, pointing out that Bacon played a leading role in the concept and establishment of Ulster, as the name of Londonderry bears witness to this day.

In the Diocesan Library, Cashel, Tipperary, there is a large collection of books still partly uncatalogued. Included amongst some rarities Professor Farrington noticed, was a copy of a little Latin work by Theodore Beya entitled *Job*, and published by George Bishop in London in 1589. On the title page the ascription, francis Bacon, appears.

Sir John Davies (1560 - 1626) author of *Orchestra* and numerous other works, played a prominent role in Ireland, acting as Bacon's informant, but it would be intriguing to know how this old book found its way to its present home. Intriguingly, the influence of Bacon on Davies' *Orchestra, or a Poeme of Dancing* (1st Edition 1596) is demonstrable. Davies wrote:

For what are breath, speech, Ecchos, musick, winds,
But Dauncings of the Ayre in sundry kinds ?

and,

Lastly, where keep the winds their revelry,
Their violent turnings and wild whirling hayes ?

The comparable passage from Bacon is:

cum enim choreas ducant (venti) ordinem saltationis nosse iucundum fuerit.

(*Historia Ventorum*, Section I, paragraph 18.)

Davies was appointed Attorney-General of Ireland in the first year of James I's reign, and Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in 1613. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, his "influence was solicited by Francis Bacon who occasionally corresponded with him in later years". Edmund Spenser in his well-known *View of the State of Ireland*, and Davies in three papers on Ireland, cover the period of the Plantations in Munster (in Elizabeth's reign) and Ulster (in James' reign) and these were much bigger ventures at the time than those in America.

Professor David B. Quinn in his *The Munster Plantation: Problems and Opportunities*, printed in the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, Volume LXXI, 1966, pointed out that "it took from 1607 to 1622 to raise the population of the Virginia Colony to 1240 persons". Professor Farrington thinks that a modest estimate of the number of the British planters settled in the six counties of Ulster alone would be 25,000 to 35,000.

We know that Raleigh and Spenser were concerned to prevent the Spaniards from establishing a foothold in the Munster Plantation, and the evidence for Bacon's involvement in Ulster was

commented on by Gilbert Camblin in his *Town in Ulster* (cf. *Baconiana*, 163).

* * * *

Our readers will notice that two contributors to this issue (Professor Farrington and Commander Pares) have used the same quotations from the *De Augmentis* and from *Hamlet* to illustrate their points. This is quite fortuitous. Professor Farrington shows us that this conception of "the Mirror of the Mind", and of its use in disclosing one's "self" was common to Bacon and Shakespeare. Commander Pares is concerned to show that in both cases, the mirror of the mind and the use of the imagination "in lively representation" * were not only true, but free to reflect all Nature, all sound conditions and all particulars, however indelicate, from the "palace to the privy". In neither article could these quotations be dispensed with.

* * * *

Members who are interested in the bibliography of our subject and of Bacon's original editions, will be glad to see the article headed *The Curtis Bacon-Shakespeare Collection*, by Elizabeth A. Swain. This valuable collection of Bacon's own works, and books on the Bacon-Shakespeare question, has become the property of Wesleyan University, by whose kind permission we print this article from *Wesleyan Library Notes*.

* * * *

In mid-March we observed the first advertisement headlines: "The Royal Shakespeare Theatre presents THE SHAKESPEARE MEDALS. The first comprehensive medallic tribute to the world's greatest playwright".

This was a preliminary announcement to celebrate the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the publication of the First Folio in 1623! A series of 38 fine art medals has been commissioned, and the First Edition proof sets—strictly limited and

* The phrase is Bacon's.

available by advance subscription only—had to be subscribed by April 10th, 1971. The sculptor, Philip R. Nathan, worked “on location” in Stratford-Upon-Avon, to “absorb some of the flavours of life as it was in the dramatist’s own day”. One medal will be produced each month for 38 months from April, and a “unique treasury” of fine art medals in 24 carat gold on sterling and solid sterling silver will thus be formed. We have not seen the “special authoritative reference material prepared by the Royal Shakespeare Theatre, and accompanying each medal portraying a different play scene”, but there can be no doubting the mercenary intentions of the Stratford authorities. It will be interesting to see how gullible the public will prove to be in this country, and presumably the U.S.A., and whether succeeding coin sets, which are in prospect, will help to swell the coffers.

OBITUARIES

The Council has to announce with great regret the death on 31st January, 1971, of Theodora Agnes Clarke Durning-Lawrence, at Kensington, London.

Miss Durning-Lawrence, who was a past President of our Society, had been a member for over half a century, and had also served as Chairman of the Council. While she had been unable to attend meetings and lectures in recent years, she remained a Vice-President until the end of her life. Her father, the late Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, will be remembered as one of the most distinguished and forthright of Baconians at the turn of the century, when a number of eminent lawyers and professional men had been attracted to our cause.

Latterly Miss Durning-Lawrence had also become a well-known figure in Unitarian Church circles. We shall miss her tall, commanding presence, on the all too rare occasions when she visited Canonbury Tower, and are grateful for her generous benefactions to our Society.

N.F.

We announce with deep regret the passing of Dr. Joachim Gerstenberg in Germany during the Summer. Few could match Dr. Gerstenberg's enthusiasm for our cause over a period of many years, and his example and memory will help to sustain our efforts in the future. Although our opportunities for meeting him were few, a lively correspondence and the frequent publication of an astonishing number of expensively produced books, constantly claimed our attention and revived memories of a Council gathering held at Canonbury Tower some years ago, which he was invited to attend. We like to think that this occasion was a happy one for this scholar with a burning faith in Francis Bacon, and a delighted interest in visiting an historic building in which the master had lived.

It is a constant source of wonder to the writer that men and women of widely differing characteristics and in sharply contrasting walks of life unite as one in serving this Englishman of

giant intellect and mighty accomplishments, and we are heartened to think that Dr. Gerstenberg's nephew, Peter Doehmer, is following in his uncle's footsteps.

We extend to Peter and his family our sympathy in their bereavement.

N.F.

A tribute:

I am hardly qualified to write an obituary of Dr. Gerstenberg, but I should like to pay a tribute to him. I only got to know him towards the end of his life and in fact only met him once, when he came to stay at our home for a few days. For the rest we corresponded while he was Director of the Goethe Institute in Chania, Crete.

I remember him always as a man, apparently lonely, always fighting against odds, tired and towards the end very ill, yet dogged and persevering and never giving up his main goal in life: to show that Bacon was behind the Shakespeare Plays and many other works of the Elizabethan and post-Elizabethan eras.

I am impressed by the painstaking care he always took to get at the facts and indicate their strangeness. I am also impressed by his photographic work. He never claimed proof of his theses; he did not overstate his case; but he relentlessly produced evidence that pointed only in one direction. I do not know for certain but I believe he became a "Baconian" about 40 years ago, and that a period in Ireland gave him an opportunity to pick up many books relating to problems of Baconian authorship. I always had the impression that he had amassed a considerable library, and that this enabled him to adduce many interesting details in his various writings.

I am acquainted with five of his works: *Mr. William Shakespeare, Strange Signatures, Bacon, Shakspere and the Great Unknown. Bacon-Shakespeare for Beginners, and Coincidences*. Two others, apparently published, I do not possess: *Strange Concord: Shakespeare and King Henry VII—An Enquiry*, and *Revealing Day: Bacon's Promus and "The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedie of Romeo and Juliet"*. At the time of his

death he was working on two further books: *Strange Parallels* and *The Great Concord*:* *A Bacon-Shakespeare Harmony*. Because of the difficulty of finding a publisher Dr. Gerstenberg had his works printed privately in Crete. He wrote in English in order to ensure a wider audience. This compounded his difficulties and he had to pay considerable sums to have his English corrected. All in all he must have sunk a considerable personal fortune into his work, and yet I am certain he did not regard this as a sacrifice. He was dedicated to realising his ideal and this made life worth living.

Dr. Gerstenberg is typical of so many Baconians. They seem to stumble on the Baconian "case" almost by chance: they seem to "know" its truth instinctively or intuitionally; then as they study the problem and the evidence piles up, their belief in it grows till it becomes a "consuming fire". I find myself asking why and should like to record my own explanation, even though it will differ from that of other members of our Society. I am a believer in the Hindu concepts of reincarnation and the law of cause and effect of "Karma". In addition I believe that we in the Christian world are equally linked with the more evolved sons of men in a system of groups, or "ashrams" as the Hindus term them. These groups subsist on both sides of the grave and from life to life. The members of our Society have, I believe, been linked with Bacon in previous existences: we have Karmic and ashramic links with him and with each other. We may have forged ties of friendship and loyalty, we may have debts to pay, or we may be owed debts for services rendered. We form a subjectively linked group and like seeds that bear within themselves all the characteristics that must later blossom, we are born with hidden knowledge and with defined tasks and goals. So, with Dr. Gerstenberg and many others, we are a band of brothers. We knew each other of yore and we have common ideas and tasks that are the fruit of past struggles. Today we must recognise and help each other because we already belong to each other.

* edited, but not published in England.

The Baconian literature is already very vast and I am not qualified to state what original contribution Dr. Gerstenberg made to our cause. The question of originality apart, much of what has been produced is difficult to obtain, so that anybody who absorbs our past heritage, digests and reproduces it, with his own additions, colouration and interpretation, is rendering a service to us all.

Personally I owe Dr. Gerstenberg a great deal. Many of my present insights into and perceptions of the Baconian problem I owe to him, and this as I say, is quite apart from whether anybody had ever said it before. The important thing is that he made the impact because he rendered accessible what had hitherto remained inaccessible. As examples of truths he brought home to me I can cite the wretched paucity of our knowledge of the actor Shakspeare, and this knowledge pointing towards a person of relatively low calibre and material interests; the fact that the English historical plays produced at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries form an unbroken sequence, albeit produced anonymously or by various authors, with the one gap filled by Bacon's prose *Henry VII*; the chronological juxtaposition of the lives and works of Bacon, Shakspeare and "Shakespeare", which tells an entire tale, including the fact that in his early life Bacon had time and to spare in which to write the Plays which in later life he found time to polish and give to the world in their final form in that pearl of great price—The First Folio. The progressive use of the name Shakespeare after the initial anonymity and such forms as "Shake-speare"—which are senseless for a young actor trying to get rich and draw attention to himself—are sensible for somebody wishing to cover his tracks. Quite the biggest impact on me was made by *Strange Signatures*, probably Dr. Gerstenberg's most original work. While his interpretation of the Broken Arches or "Bay-Cony" headpiece is open to controversy, I am personally inclined to follow him. That this headpiece was used in so many of the most famous works of the Elizabethan and post-Elizabethan period has never, so far as I know, been satisfactorily explained. Still more mysterious is the absence of mention of this design or ornament in

McKerrow and Ferguson's *Title Borders used in England-Scotland 1485 - 1640*. I would entirely agree with Dr. Gerstenberg that this device was the outward mark of a hidden fraternity dedicated to widespread reform through political, literary and scientific means.

This brings me to a final idea which was a strongly held conviction of Dr. Gerstenberg, and which I think is worth bringing out, because a certain historical phase may even now be drawing to its close. Dr. Gerstenberg believed that a certain group of Freemasons of high degree were entrusted with the truth about Bacon, but were not permitted to reveal it. Indeed, they seemed to be under bond to cover it up. This is the only logical explanation for the lapse in scholarship of Messrs. McKerrow and Ferguson—a lapse so blatant that it seems to be shrieking an ulterior motive to the rooftops. Is the time approaching when these orders will be reversed?

At a time when new Baconian literature has not been appearing very frequently—its great creative period seems to have been 1890 - 1940—Dr. Gerstenberg has kept the torch of our beliefs burning brightly. We owe him a debt. We should try to emulate him and bring to a successful conclusion the researches and efforts of our Society over the past 80 years.

A. M. HATT-ARNOLD

Geneva.

ELIZABETHAN FUN AND GAMES

By M.P.

There is nothing makes a man suspect much more than to know little; and therefore men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more . . .

Francis Bacon

In a recent article in *The Times*, entitled *Shakespeare the Sexiest Writer in the Language*, Dr. A. L. Rowse blamed himself for not emphasising this particular aspect of the Plays when writing his biography of Shakespeare. Not having read Eric Partridge's *Shakespeare's Bawdy*, he had overlooked what he rightly calls "this very characteristic and constant side to him". The truth of this comment can hardly be denied, least of all by anyone who has consulted the manual in question.

For the benefit of those, however, who did not read Dr. Rowse's article, let me first say that, to us, it is a gross and quite unnecessary libel on the character of Francis Bacon, based entirely on gossip. Also, in its suggestion of an entirely sensual motivation in the Plays and Sonnets, it not only misrepresents the Bard, but it fails to recognise any real purpose or plan in our national drama, apart from entertainment. It is hard to regard this particular article as worthy of its writer, whose reputation as a historian and whose candour as an opponent in the Shakespeare controversy, we respect. Yet Dr. Rowse does raise a question which it is well to consider carefully.

Shakespeare's Bawdy is certainly an eye-opener. When it is first consulted it seems incredible that the Bard should have devoted so much ingenuity and time to the bawdy innuendo and erotic *double-entendre* in the Plays. But so it is. Dr. Rowse explains this in two ways. First he assumes it to be the outcome of a particular interest in sex—"its mysteries, its mechanism, its exercise and expertise, and its influence on life and character". With all this, and especially with the last sentiment, we entirely agree. But when Dr. Rowse goes on to ascribe Shakespeare's motivation to a compulsive "fixation" on sex which he could not help, and which found its outlet, willy-nilly, into his verse, we object. The Bard is not carried away by his *libido*, he is master of it; although sometimes his sense of humour is irrepressible.

One is reminded somehow of the story of Socrates and the great phrenologist of Athens. Feeling the bumps on Socrates' head, he found evidence of many improper thoughts and desires; and Socrates said, "You know me Sir." Persisting with his craft, he exclaimed that the Sage was in truth a monster of all the evil passions and desires. And Socrates said "Yes, but I became master of them all." So it is with Shakespeare. These things exist in embryo in all of us, for they are part of human nature. But, that Shakespeare had achieved mastery over them, his verse is the best testimony.

Dr. Rowse, however, has a special reason for insisting upon a compulsive sex-fixation in the character of the Bard. He regards it as a confirmation of the Stratford theory of authorship, in as much as it represents "complete consistency" between the Plays and Shakespeare's life "as we know it". To us, on the other hand, it simply confirms the "obscure and profane life" which Emerson* and others could not "marry to his verse".

There are in fact two Shakespeares in the minds of most orthodox scholars. One is the Bard as revealed through his verse. The other is a man who made a corner in malt at a time of famine, who sued for as little as two shillings, and who did not even educate his children. To fit the head of gold to the feet of clay is the concern of the orthodox, and Dr. Rowse's method of doing this is simply to debase the gold.

Nevertheless the bawdy in Shakespeare is a feature which, for any real understanding of the purpose of the Plays must be taken into account. So far from being an obsession, it was by far the best way to get through to the minds of a pleasure-loving audience, of courtiers and groundlings alike. By holding up the mirror to human nature in the raw, the Bard could reach people whose minds could be reached in no other way. In Hamlet's words to the shrinking Queen:

You go not till I set you up a glass

Where you may see the inmost part of you.†

* *Representative Men*: Ralph Waldo Emerson.

† *Hamlet*: 3/4/19.

This was the message of Socrates. It was also the method of the Mysteries.*

It is true that *Shakespeare's Bawdy* provides Dr. Rowse with ample authority for the title of his article. But the conclusions and inferences which he draws from this scholarly disquisition are very wide of the mark. His motive is quite transparent; he is anxious to attack the rival candidates for the Shakespearean authorship, on the supposition that Bacon, Marlowe, and Oxford, betray homo-sexual tendencies in their lives and in their writings, and that these are in direct contrast to the immense (but quite natural!) sexual prowess of the Bard, whose mind, so he tells us, "quite naturally and effortlessly dripped sex at every pore".

Good gracious! Has it not occurred to Dr. Rowse that a great creative artist can simulate all these passions without necessarily indulging them to excess? Does Macbeth prove the Bard was a murderer? Does Pericles convict him of incest?

* * * *

Bawdy is not a feature of the Sonnets. These, however, are pervaded with an erotic symbolism not unusual for those times. If the platonic interpretation of some of them (favoured by Dr. Rowse and by most Baconians) is rejected in favour of a homosexual interpretation, then some might be claimed by Oxfordians as evidence of authorship. But in Bacon's case the allegations are based entirely on gossip, and have been discounted by almost all Bacon's biographers. The late J. G. Crowther recently put this matter in its true perspective . . .

Simonds D'Ewes and John Aubrey state that Bacon was addicted to homosexual practices. In all Bacon's extensive writings, including his intimate note-books, there is no evidence for this, though in his psychology he showed homosexual tendencies. D'Ewes and Aubrey mixed up fact and gossip which make their books more valuable as records of what people were saying and thinking, than of historical facts.†

* As expounded by Francis Bacon in his *Wisdom of the Ancients*.

† *Francis Bacon*, by J. G. Crowther 1960 (p. 328).

Sir Simonds D'Ewes was a narrow-minded Puritan who inveighed in Parliament against the vices of the times, and suspected almost anyone of indulging them.

Aubrey was born in 1625, one year before Bacon's recorded death. His gossip, which is so delightful to read, is founded entirely on hearsay. His most telling remark about Bacon (not mentioned by Dr. Rowse) is in this brief summary—"In short, all that were great and good loved and honoured him."*

Among the witnesses of secret vice, called by Dr. Rowse, perhaps the saddest case is that of the distracted Lady Anne Bacon, whose Puritan convictions and maternal care led her to upbraid her two young sons, Francis and Anthony, for "mumming and masking and sinfully revelling". This, of course, is nothing more than evidence of their interest in theatricals. But her unfortunate ravings about their "strange bed-fellows" and "coach companions" might be taken as suggesting a scandal. Personally, bearing in mind that Lady Anne's distraction became complete in the end, I prefer the view taken by Catherine Drinker Bowen† which I will take the liberty of quoting here:

The stories are slight, but they bring the brothers before us. Lady Bacon, however, was unhappy. In their friendships, in their choice of gentlemen servants and secretaries, her sons did not make the proper distinction between piety and suspected papacy. At these chambers was too much merriment and too little prayer . . . Lady Bacon laid this to their friends and followers. "Filthy wasteful knaves," she stormed. ". . . sinful proud villains, cormorant seducers and instruments of Satan . . . That bloody Percy whom . . . keepeth, yea as a coach-companion and bed-companion, a proud profane fellow whose being about him I verily fear the Lord doth much mislike".

As for beds, they were luxuries scarcely anyone had to himself. The sixteenth century took its family, its servants, friends or even strangers to bed for warmth. What upset that staunch Puritan, Lady Bacon, I think, was not so much her

* *Brief Lives*, by John Aubrey. Reprinted from MSS. in 1949.

† *Francis Bacon. The Temper of a Man*: 1963 (p. 60).

son taking somebody to bed with him, as the fact that his bed-fellow was a Papist.

This seems to be a much more sympathetic and light-hearted account of the goings-on at Grays Inn, and the so-called scandals in Bacon's life, than that in Dr. Rowse's article; and I believe it is the truer. The confusion between the "bloody Perez" in Dr. Rowse's article and the "bloody Percy" in Mrs. Bowen's biography arises from two different readings of the name as it was written in MS. by Lady Anne. § These were two entirely different persons, although both were known to Bacon, and both, (one supposes) were Papists. The word "bloody" in those days was an epithet used by the Puritans for Papists, which may account for Lady Anne's use of the word*. Bacon in his Will, bequeathed £100 to a "Mr. Henry Percy".

* * * *

When a great creative genius attracts to his side a circle of brilliant young men, allegations of secret vice are almost bound to be made, and these should always be treated with great reserve. We know no more about Bacon's intimate life than we know about that of Plato or St. John the Divine.

The evidence of Bacon's acknowledged writings shows clearly that he was a man of high principle, whose lifelong devotion was towards the betterment of mankind. The last of his works to be published, the posthumous *New Atlantis*, shows that he held this vision to the end. He was "a man unalterable to his friends", to Protestant and Papist alike. Perhaps the finest tribute to his memory was by Ben Jonson:

I have and do reverence him for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever, by his works, one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration that had been in many Ages.

Of the personal life led by the young Francis Bacon when he was in France in the train of our Ambassador, Sir Amyas Paulet, we know nothing at all. There was opportunity enough for love

* Originally a profane contraction of "By our Lady".

§ Lambeth MSS.

during those years. We know little enough about his life as a student at Grays Inn, apart from his unbounded enthusiasm for Devices, Masques, and Theatricals. My own impression, for what it is worth, is that on leaving Cambridge, dissatisfied with its pedantic worship of Aristotle, he found life and love and gaiety in France.* We know that at an early age his love of poetry became supplemented by an ever-growing love of philosophy; romantic love may soon have become for him a memory. I find support for this view in his *Philautia Device*, a dramatic piece spoken in character:

The gardens of love wherein he now playeth himself, are fresh today and fading tomorrow, as the sun comforts and 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 . . .

* * * *

It was noticeable that, following Dr. Rowse's article in *The Times*, the refutation of it in the correspondence columns came from orthodox Shakespeare lovers. Baconians, for the most part, seemed to have refrained from comment, or their remarks may have been considered unsuitable. Let us now, in our capacity as fellow students of Shakespeare, consider the bawdy in the Plays, and the symbolism in the Sonnets, without prejudice.

The Plays and the Sonnets were addressed to two different audiences. In their totality the Sonnets are indeed a mystery. Three experts, Dr. Rowse, Dr. Leslie Hotson, and the late Professor Dover Wilson, have each advanced a completely different theory; and when three experts disagree, at least two of them must be wrong, and possibly all three. So, without getting myself sunk in the "Sonnets-bog" as better men have done, I will confine myself to recommending the excellent study of R. L. Eagle† This raises the interpretation of some of the Sonnets to a mystical level instead of abasing them to the strictly personal.

It is not impossible that the eighty odd Sonnets addressed to the "friend", "dear friend", and "beauteous and lovely youth",

* Of which *Love's Labour's Lost* may well be the legacy.

† *The Secrets of Shakespeare's Sonnets*. The Mitre Press, 1965.

contain thoughts of an intimate and private nature, which at the time of writing were in the imagination of the Bard; and that these, if taken literally, can be construed as indications of a bisexual rather than a homosexual psychology. I believe, however, that their interpretation as evidence of purely platonic friendship, is nearer the mark. But what appeals to me even more strongly is R. L. Eagle's interpretation of these Sonnets as allegory. For, if Ovid can call his Genius or Muse "the better part of me" (*parte tamen meliore mei*), surely Shakespeare can be allowed to apostrophise his Genius—his "better part"—in the same way . . .

O how thy worth with manners may I sing
When thou art all the *better part* of me ?

Sonnet 39.

or even more explicitly:

The earth can have but earth, which is his due
My spirit is thine, *the better part* of me.

Sonnet 74.

This may be the language of allegory rather than that of a platonic friendship. It is certainly not the language of perversion, nor can we suppose the sort of jovial relationship that existed between Tam O'Shanter and Soutar Johnny . . .

Tam loved him like a vera brither
They had been fou for weeks thegither

There is nothing of the drinking song, nothing remotely Bacchanalian in the genesis of the *Sonnets*. But, perhaps the shades of Ovid and Horace would glow with delight at being recognised as the real inspirers of some of the most beautiful and mystical poems in our language.

* * * *

The Plays are for the study as well as the theatre. But it is their entertainment value that preserves, guarantees and, as it were, "underwrites" this great reservoir of enlightenment. Those who wish to entertain must condescend to please. And a good way of pleasing, then as now, is to get on the sex band-waggon

and stay on it. Ancient mythology confirms this, so does Dr. Rowse, and so in a more obvious way does the music-hall! It is also an excellent cover for selling a philosophy of life. The dramatist must avoid giving the impression that he is trying "to do somebody good" or that his play is really for the initiated. Uncomfortable feelings like these can be inhibited by a really rude joke! Ribaldry and comic relief play an important part in the author's purpose. Like the motley of Jacques it is a most useful cloak in which to enter the consciousness of the audience.

There is a rising current in the Shakespeare Plays which brings hidden thoughts and emotions to the surface. Villains and rascals teach us more about our hidden selves than we ever learn from the pulpit. Sometimes the Bard makes himself the exemplar, accusing in order to excuse. There is a peculiar passage in *Hamlet*, which I take to be a backward glance at the circumstances of the author's birth. It appeared in the Quarto edition of 1604, but for some reason or other it was removed in the First Folio of 1623, apparently by Ben Jonson as editor . . .

So oft it chanceth in particular men
That for some vicious mole of nature in them,
As in their birth—wherein they are not guilty—
Since nature cannot choose his origin . . .
Carrying, I say, the stamp of one defect . . .
Shall in the general censure take corruption
From that particular fault . . .

(*Hamlet* 1/4/30).

There is another remarkable passage, even more liable to be misunderstood, in *Sonnet* 109. Here the author's apparent confession of human frailty is really written in a vein of Socratic self-analysis. Again he accuses only to excuse . . .

Never believe though in my nature reign'd
All frailties that besiege all kinds of blood
That it could so preposterously be stain'd
To leave for nothing all thy sum of good.

For nothing this wide universe I call,
Save thou, my rose, in it thou art my all.

Some people suppose this to be addressed to a play-boy. For me it is impossible to interpret the word "rose" in any but a mystical sense.

As Baconians we believe that the author of our National Drama—a drama more learned and more subtle than the Greek—delighted in mixing the language of the people with the language of Olympus. We believe that he actually enjoyed using buffoonery and ribaldry as a means of reaching an audience to whom his more serious works were not available.

The native English Drama had had its origin in the religious sanctuaries. It had grown up in the Miracles and Moralities which had flourished for so long under the protection of the Church, to be finally interdicted at the Reformation. The Church itself had gradually become enamoured of Logic and phenomenon of the mediaeval disputation. The old appeal of Beauty "in the long-drawn aisle and fretted vault"* had become supplanted by the rationâle of the rack, the manacles, the torture-chamber and the stake. New Light was supposed to come from the pulpit; but the pulpit did not satisfy the need. As Bacon had observed, the emotions had to be stirred as well as the mind. Henceforward enlightenment was to come through the medium of entertainment, even bawdy entertainment.

It may seem a hackneyed phrase "to the pure all things are pure" but it is nonetheless true. St. Paul himself puts it differently: "there is nothing unclean of itself, but to him that esteemeth anything to be unclean, to him it is unclean". But the most explicit of all is Bacon.

. . . the Sun enters the palace and the privy alike and is not polluted thereby. We raise not a Capitol or Pyramid to the pride of man, but a Holy Temple in his *mind* on the model of the Universe, *which model we imitate*. For whatsoever deserves to exist deserves to be known, and knowledge is the image of Existence. Now the mean and the splendid alike exist . . . †

* Delia Bacon. *Putnams Monthly*, January 1856.

† *Novum Organum*; 1/120.

To bring all hidden thoughts and desires to the mirror of the mind in "lively representation" and thence to the seat of judgement, was the declared aim of Francis Bacon. And he especially commends the poets for their work in this field:

. . . the poets and writers of history are the best doctors of this kind of knowledge, where we may see painted forth with great life and *dissected*, how the emotions are kindled and excited, how pacified and restrained . . . how, I say, to set emotion against emotion and to use the aid of one to master another; like hunters and fowlers who hunt beast with beast and bird with bird . . . *

Used in this way the world of imagination, in poetry, drama and history, can become a field of extended experience, far greater than that of an ordinary lifetime. Within this subjective and imaginary field a man may learn mastery of the conflicting passions and desires that beset the human race. Emotions may be kindled and restrained without harm to anyone, by an exercise of the mind; and the experience of several lives may be gained in one.

So thought Francis Bacon. And is it not exactly what occurs within the bounds of the Shakespearean Universe, where the Sun also enters the palace and the privy and is never polluted? And most certainly the creation of such a universe of the mind required the unfettered use of all knowledge—the magnificent and the humble, the Court and the Market, the bawdy and the fun and games—to be expressed in the language of the people, intermingled with the language of the gods.

* *De Augmentis*: vii (30); Francis Bacon.

THE MIRROR OF THE MIND IN SHAKESPEARE AND BACON

by Professor B. Farrington

. . . the purpose of playing, whose end both at the first and now, was and is, to hold as 'twere the mirror up to nature, to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure.

Hamlet; 3.2.20

You go not till I set you up a glass
Where you may see the inmost part of you.

Hamlet; 3.4.20

But man, proud man,
Dressed in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assured—
His glassy essence—like an angry ape,
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
As make the angels weep.

Measure for Measure; 2.2.98

For Bacon, as a natural philosopher, the mind is a mirror in which nature is reflected, and his concern is to make it fitter to perform this function. "Generally speaking," he says in *Thoughts and Conclusions*, "the human mind is a mirror so uneven as to distort the rays which fall upon it by its angularities. It is not a smooth, flat surface". And again in the *Masculine Birth of Time* he asks, "Do you suppose, when all the approaches and entrances to men's minds are beset and blocked by the most obscure Idols . . . that any clean and polished surface remains in the mirror of the mind on which the genuine light of things can fall?" So, in the phrase of George Herbert, Francis Bacon is *fugator Idolum, repumicator mentis*—a banisher of Idols, a polisher of the mind.

But Bacon is not only, or even primarily, a natural philosopher. His chief concern is with the world of men. Here the business of the mind is not only to receive images but to judge them. The mind must pronounce on what it sees, not merely register it. The metaphor of the mirror of the mind becomes inadequate, inappropriate. Knowledge of society is self-knowledge; and to see oneself one needs to *look in* a mirror, not to *be* one. The metaphor of the book as a mirror replaces the metaphor of the mind as a mirror; and this is as true for Bacon as for anyone

else. Self-knowledge was the preoccupation of the Elizabethan as of every great creative age. John Davies's *Nosce Teisum* was typical of the time. The Bible, with its newly-won place in the religious life of the people, and epic and dramatic poetry, the most original creations of the time, became the popular mirrors with those avid for self-knowledge.

In his discussion of self-knowledge, to which we now turn, we shall find Bacon using both metaphors. He may still speak of the mind as a mirror, but he will be more concerned with the mirrors into which the mind must look—with the Bible, which he calls "the divine mirror", and literature, especially history and drama, which he calls "the political mirror". Out of these materials he constructs a personal and very characteristic theory of self-knowledge and of the best way to acquire it.

As a starting-point for his observations Bacon has recourse to Biblical texts. Most relevant to our purpose is his discussion (*De Augmentis* VIII, 34) of a proverb of Solomon (*Proverbs*, 27, 19):

Proverb: As the face is reflected in the water, so is the heart of man manifest to the wise.

Explanation: Here is distinguished between the mind of a wise man and that of others. The former is compared to water, or a glass, which represents the forms and images of things, as distinct from the mind of others, which, like earth or an unpolished stone, gives no reflection. And this comparison of the mind of a man to a glass is the more proper; because in a glass he can see his own image together with the images of others, which the eye itself without a glass cannot do. But if the mind of a wise man is sufficiently large to observe and distinguish an infinite variety of dispositions and characters, it only remains to take care that the application be as various as the representation. 'A wise man will know how to adapt himself to all sorts of characters' (*Qui sapit, innumeris moribus aptus erit.* Ovid, *De Arte Amatoria* I, 761).

Here we may note a few points of special importance in Bacon's comprehensive and strongly articulated theory.

- (1) Only an exceptional man, the wise man, will be capable of learning directly from his own experience. Even in the sphere of political life the mind of the wise man may thus still be compared to a mirror.

- (2) The extent of his capacity will be measured by the variety of characters and dispositions he is able to distinguish.
- (3) His knowledge must not rest in itself but pass out into action. He is to see to it that "the application is as various as the representation".
- (4) Finally, and most characteristic of Bacon's thought, the wise man must be able *to see his own image along with the images of others*. Here the metaphor of the mirror of the mind no longer applies. Here a man must cease to think of himself as a mirror, he must be content to look in a mirror, because only in a glass can he see himself along with others, as one of a group.

This knowledge of himself as one of a group, this knowledge by virtue of which a man can really treat his neighbour as himself, is what enables a man to put the *bonum communionis* above the *bonum suitatis*. In his *Advancement*, when treating of the same subject, Bacon calls this kind of self-knowledge "the politic knowledge of ourselves", that is the knowledge of ourselves as members of a community. He says that this knowledge enables men to "take an impartial view of their own abilities and virtues, and again of their wants and impediments", and urges upon men who are to bear any burden of responsibility that they should consider among other things "how the constitution of their nature sorteth with the general state of the times", and also "to consider how their nature sorteth with professions and courses of life, and accordingly to make election".

Here we have, not simply an ethic, but an ethic for a would-be statesman, an ethic which those familiar with Bacon's life, and inner-life, will know to have been the constant companion of his thoughts as he considered his own chances and fitness for the exercise of power, and the chances and fitness of his associates. But before we consider how he sought in practice to implement his ideal, let us examine a little further what it was.

Turning again to *De Augmentis* VIII we find, a few pages after the discussion of the proverb of Solomon, an extension of the argument based on another Biblical text, taken this time from the New Testament:

Next to the knowledge of others comes the knowledge of self. And here we must use even greater care in gaining good and accurate information touching ourselves than touching others, since the oracle "know thyself" is not only a rule of universal wisdom, but has a special place in political life. For St. James says well: *If any be a hearer of the word, and not a doer, he is like unto a man beholding his natural face in a glass. For he beholdeth himself, and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth the manner of man he was.* So that there is need of very frequent inspection. And this holds good in politics as well as in religion, though the glasses are different. For the divine glass in which we ought to behold ourselves is the Word of God, but the political glass is nothing but the state of the world and times wherein we live.

Epistle of St. James I, 23 - 5

There were, then, two books, or mirrors, which a man in quest of self-knowledge must consult. As a citizen of the eternal city, the city of God, he will consult the Bible. But when he seeks to gain what Bacon in the *Advancement* calls "the politic knowledge of himself", he is to consider "the state of the world and times wherein we live". This is the political glass, the nature of which is expounded in *De Augmentis* VII, in the discussion of what he calls the Georgics of the Mind. On this subject of the *cultivation* of the virtues Bacon had original views. In his *Masculine Birth of Time* he had already written: "The ethics of Plato and Aristotle are much admired; but the pages of Tacitus breathe a livelier and truer observation of morals and institutions". Pregnant words. And here again he belittles the moral philosophers, who give a static picture of the virtues, in comparison with the better historians, the epic poets, and the dramatists (or writers of "feigned history"), who show characters in formation and vices and virtues in action:

To speak the real truth, the poets and writers of history are the best doctors of this knowledge, where we may find painted forth with great life and dissected, how affections are kindled and excited, and how pacified and restrained, and how again contained from act and further degree; how they disclose themselves, though repressed and concealed; how they work; how they vary; how they are enwrapped with one another; how they fight and encounter with one another, and many other particularities of this kind.

De Augmentis

Here we are in presence of a subject which fascinated Bacon and absorbed much of his attention. He thought much

about it and stimulates us to further thinking. It might even seem that he drew some distinction between the services rendered by the historian and writers of "feigned history". Historians like Tacitus and Guicciardini supply the material from which lessons may be drawn: the dramatists put it across. They are the popular educators, whose role the statesman must understand, for their influence for good or evil was immense.

Dramatic poetry, which has the theatre for its world (an allusion, surely, to the Globe), would be of excellent use if well directed. For the stage is capable of no small influence both of discipline and of corruption. Now for corruption in this kind we have enough: but the discipline in our time has been plainly neglected . . . Yet among the ancients it was the means of educating men's minds to virtue . . . And certainly it is most true, and one of the great secrets of nature, that the minds of men are more open to impressions and affections when many are gathered together than when they are alone. (*De Augmentis* IV).

Before we proceed to a new topic it may be well to review the main points in Bacon's educational programme, his *Georgics of the Mind*:

- (1) As it is a fact that in the physical world, a man can only see himself together with other men by looking in a glass; and as, in the spiritual world, the basis of all sound morality is to be able to see ourselves as members one of another, we must look for the glass in the metaphorical sense in which this vision can be attained.
- (2) This glass Bacon calls the political glass, the study of the state of the world and times in which we live.
- (3) Our best teachers here are the historians who preserve for us the memory of the past, and the poets, both epic and dramatic (here Bacon is following Aristotle), who present us with the lessons of history in an attractive and assimilable form.
- (4) Of the poets it is the dramatists who are our best educators on account of the observed fact that men are more open to impressions when they are gathered together than when they are alone.

We cannot but note the closeness of this rather elaborate theory to the succinct advice of Hamlet to the players. Hamlet,

like Bacon, makes an historical approach. "Among the ancients . . ." says Bacon: "Both at the first and now", says Hamlet. The drama for Bacon is the political *glass*: Hamlet "holds the *mirror* up to nature". Bacon speaks of "educating men's minds to *virtue*": Hamlet of "showing *virtue* her own feature". Bacon says "the political glass is nothing but the *state of the world and times* wherein we live": Hamlet speaks of "showing *the very age and body of the time* his form and pressure".

There is more here than the mere correspondence. The comparison with Bacon actually helps the interpretation of the Shakespeare passage, which has been endlessly confused. It may be said now that most editors would support Dover Wilson in his interpretation of the words "to hold the mirror up to nature". This, says Dover Wilson, is not "reflect nature" but "show human nature the ideal". He is nearly right. The mirror here is not the mind but the play, and nature here is human nature. But to say that the purpose is to show the audience "the ideal" is not right. When Hamlet says to his mother, "I set you up a glass where you may see the inmost part of *you*", he is not showing her the ideal but the terrible truth. So, in the advice to the players, they are *both* to show *virtue* her own feature *and* scorn her own image. But no confusion is left if we realise that the mirror is what Bacon calls "the political glass", in which is to be discerned the "state of the world and times wherein we live", that is, both the evil and the good. To follow Bacon's lead in interpreting this passage is to avoid all the pitfalls.

It is not my purpose to urge from this argument that Bacon wrote *Hamlet* although that may well be true. I am concerned only to show, what impresses me more and more, the presence of a Baconian element in Shakespeare. In *Baconiana* No. 169 I believe myself to have shown that two scenes of *All's Well* are based on Latin writings of Bacon not published till long after he and Shakespeare were both dead. This together with the evidence from *Hamlet* emboldens me to suggest that there is a Baconian element present also in *Measure for Measure*. In the quotation from that play printed at the head of this paper occurs the phrase

“glassy essence”. It is only necessary to read the efforts of the editors to explain this term to realise that they do not understand it. They say it means “reflection in a glass” or “fragile spirit”. Neither interpretation does anything but add verbiage to one of the finest speeches in the whole *corpus* of the plays. It turns what should be a beacon light to illuminate the whole passage into a piece of lumber. But if we remember Bacon’s words, that “in a glass a man can see his own image along with the images of others, which without a glass he cannot do”; the appropriateness of calling the self of which Angelo was ignorant his “glassy essence” is made clear.

THE LEARNING OF SHAKESPEARE

By Dr. A. A. PRINS

Shakespeare's learning—or his lack of it—has always been a subject of fierce controversy, not only on account of its factual side, but even more for its implications. Since Farmer's famous—or shall we say infamous?—attempt⁽¹⁾ to credit Shakespeare with no more classical knowledge than did Ben Jonson in the mysterious introductory matter of the Folio of 1623, the contest has raged between the advocates of the learned and the unlearned schools. In the legal field there was Judge Campbell's well-known but ill-advised holiday pastime, resulting in his *Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements*, and similar attempts by Grant-White, Rushton, Davis and Castle. Some of these arguments were refuted by Robertson in his work *The Baconian Heresy* (1913), but certainly not all of them, while Franklin Fiske Heard's *Shakespeare as a Lawyer* is not even mentioned in Robertson's work⁽²⁾.

In the field of classical lore there are such works as J. Churton Collins' articles in *The Fortnightly Review* of April, May and July 1903, subsequently embodied in his *Studies in Shakespeare* (1904), the well-known work by William Theobald: *The Classical Element in the Shakespeare Plays* (1909), and Dr. R. M. Theobald's works on Shakespeare's vocabulary⁽³⁾ and his contribution to the English Language⁽⁴⁾. The two last-mentioned works show us what may be the implications of such inquiries, though, as may be seen in Professor J. Churton Collins' case, these implications are not always present. For to attribute to Shakespeare great learning and deep classical knowledge, or a profound intimacy with certain legal or state procedures, involves great difficulties for the unwary inquirer, and no doubt makes it difficult for the orthodox Stratfordian position to be maintained with lasting success. This may be seen from a critical perusal of the volumes by Robertson, Greenwood and Beeching, to mention only a few of the protagonists in this field⁽⁵⁾.

Now I do not here propose to raise the ghost of this old controversy or to start it into life again, because it is hedged

about with so many difficulties that an article can hardly do justice to it.

On the other hand I do most emphatically disagree with those who hold that the authorship of the Shakespeare plays is not a question of literary importance and who maintain that, so long as we have the works, it is of minor importance who wrote them. This counsel of despair is in the main due, I am afraid, to such upholders of the orthodox school as feel the extremely and uncannily slippery basis on which they stand, and who want to back out of the argument before conclusions are reached which to them are most unsavoury. Well, to this hedging I would make two important objections. First, if this attitude were to be upheld throughout the whole field of literature, we might as well go blindfold and reduce most of our literary histories and textbooks by considerable proportions. Secondly it is a wholly fallacious attitude to take up, as may be seen from a very simple example, which might easily be multiplied. The Dutch scholar Dr. H. de Groot in his doctoral thesis: *Hamlet, its Textual History* (Amsterdam, 1923) refers to the fact that Professor Stoll in his *Hamlet* "observes numerous parallels between *Hamlet* and the works of Euripides, some verbal, some of sentiment only". He continues "These parallels with the *Oresteia* must have been in Kyd's play: Shakespeare had not Greek enough, but Kyd probably had, having been a Merchant Taylors' boy." (p.15)⁽¹⁾. It is obvious that this is really staking the whole question on the very dubious testimony that Shakespeare "had small Latin, and less Greek", and from the orthodox point of view such knowledge is indeed difficult to explain. But in reality it is begging the whole question, for the very existence of the play by Kyd is merely based on the same argument.

If, however, the authorship of the Shakespeare works becomes the subject of cool, unbiased inquiry, as it ought to become in due time, it will be seen that the bottom falls out of this sort of argument. Once Shakespeare—and by Shakespeare I mean the real author, whoever he may have been—is admitted to have known Greek well enough and Latin even better, our whole view of a play like *Hamlet* comes to rest on

a different and rational footing. The argument adduced above from de Groot's thesis has another drawback, which will be increasingly illustrated in the course of this article: in reality it is derogatory to the whole position of Shakespeare which it pretends to maintain. In J. M. Robertson we have one of those consistent Stratfordians who, realising the implications of the Stratfordian position, are prepared to follow up its premises to the very end and to deny Shakespeare any special knowledge, not only of law and the classics, but in any other field, such as heraldry or medicine. His *Baconian Heresy* (1913) was partly called forth to confute G. G. Greenwood's *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* (1908), but it is much more than a refutation of the Baconian view, aiming as it does at refuting not only the Baconian but the whole anti-Stratfordian position. And it advocates that most curious of all solutions, Robertson's disintegration theory, which will in all likelihood satisfy nobody.

Mr. Greenwood's reply came in due time (*Is there a Shakespeare Problem?* (1916)) and some good fun may be had from its perusal. It is cleverly written and successfully refutes many of Mr. Robertson's claims, especially in the legal field, not without poking a sly hit at Robertson's own legal and classical lore, but in the latter province, apart from stating that familiarity with the classics cannot be proved by a number of quotations from classical sources, but should be inferred from the whole nature of the author's works,—in the second half of which statement there is of course a great deal of truth though it is difficult to handle as evidence—it leaves the ground covered by Robertson almost untouched.

Yet there is some fruitful work to be done in this field, and once one begins carefully and critically to investigate Robertson's criticism of the work of the Theobalds, admitting his criticism to be sound on many points, one still gets the impression that his actual position is much weaker than would be guessed from a mere perusal of his work. He invariably attacks his opponent in the weakest spot, which may be an excellent procedure in military tactics, but the results will not bear inspection

as long as the real strongholds are carefully left alone or dismissed in an off-hand manner. And this is what Robertson repeatedly does, as I hope to show. Indeed his minor successes seem intended to give the impression that he has triumphed all along the line, which is by no means the case.

It is not my intention here to discuss the legal question, but it should be mentioned that whereas a great deal of attention is given by Robertson to Campbell's unlucky attempt, a work like Franklin Fiske Heard's *Shakespeare as a Lawyer* is not referred to. So also, in the field of the Bacon-Shakespeare parallels, Robertson bases himself on Donnelly's work of 1888, while Reed's standard work *Bacon and Shake-speare Parallelisms*, which had appeared in 1902, is not even mentioned. One wonders why. Similarly the claims put forward by Theobald as regards Shakespeare's contributions to the English vocabulary are refuted by Robertson on the ground that many of such words can be proved to have been used by authors either a long or a short time before Shakespeare. But all such authors were steeped in the classics, or were divines and good classical scholars, which gets Mr. Robertson into a very tight corner! His surprising conclusion that "the playwright was really not a man of supremely large vocabulary for his time", is so staggering that one wonders what Professor Gordon would say to it. The latter's very different conclusion is well worth quoting in this connection:

The language of Shakespeare has been more thoroughly registered and more curiously scrutinized than that of any other English writer, and his less considerable predecessors are still imperfectly known. There must be many words and idioms first recorded from his writings which he was not in fact the first to use, however his sanction may have recommended them. Yet when all admissions are made the record for one man is still enormous. (p.265).

After noting a few of these words and expressions, Professor Gordon continues:

Much more has been written about the verbal audacity and word-creativity of Shakespeare than about another power of his, more remarkable even than his gift of formal invention—I mean his genius in the manipulation and development of meaning. It is exercised with habitual felicity on the commonest expressions in the language, and is an abstract of that shaping power exerted

daily and almost unconsciously by every nation of speakers. The miracle is to see so communal an engine in private hands. Shakespeare possessed this power in a degree never approached before or since by any Englishman, or perhaps by any individual mind; he seems, as he employs it, to be doing the work of a whole people. (pp. 266 - 7)⁷.

This is a voice at which the school of Robertson would do well to pause, and think twice before running down their hero's knowledge to save his much less precious personality⁽⁸⁾.

My intention here is to examine one of those cases in which Theobald claims classical allusion, and to see in how far it is safe material to go upon first of all. This being established, we may see what degrees of culture this presupposes in the author who makes use of them and so form a tentative approach to the general culture which "Shakespeare" must have possessed, the lines along which his mind worked, the fields of human thought he was interested in, the problems that engrossed him and the literature he read. Whether the results reached by me tally with what little we know of the Stratford Shakspeare, whether in fact the two halves fit, whether as Emerson put it, we can marry the man to his work, is a question I hope to touch upon in a general conclusion which I would lay before my readers at the end. But before coming to details it seems best shortly to enumerate once more the foreign sources that "Shakespeare" is generally admitted to have consulted for his works.

Venus and Adonis. Dr. Sidney Lee attempted "to show that Shakespeare in certain passages is 'levying loans' on his Italian predecessors", but the editor of the Oxford Edition 1915 adds: "but it cannot be said that the learned critic has proved his case". He admits however that "There can be no question that Shakespeare's chief debt was to the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid (Book X), known to him certainly in Arthur Golding's translation, and probably known also at first hand in the Latin (p. 946).

The Rape of Lucrece.

Here we note: "It may be said with assurance that his chief sources were the *Fasti* of Ovid, and the history of Livy, known probably at first hand and also through Paynter's version. The *Fasti* was not translated into English, as far as we know, until 1640. There can be no doubt that Shakespeare's knowledge of Latin was sufficient to enable him to construe the original. In the digression which describes the 'painting made for Priam's Troy' a debt to Virgil

can be discovered" (p. 989). Professor Lathrop in his *Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman 1477-1620* (1933) does not mention any translation of the *Fasti* during that period. Whether the *Fasti* can be read by one who has little Latin, I leave to my readers to consider, but there is more, of course.

The Sonnets. In an interesting article in the Dutch periodical *Hermeneus* (16,5) entitled *Platonisme in Shakespeare's Sonnetten*, J. C. Bruyn has shown that the sonnets are deeply imbued with the spirit of Platonism. It may be objected that the spirit of Plato may be gathered from other sources and we would therefore not stress the point at this stage of the discussion, but it should be noted that there was no English translation of Plato at the time: "It is small wonder that Plato and Aristotle were not made known to the Elizabethans!" (H. B. Lathrop, *o.c.* p. 308).

Coming now to the Plays we note the following:

With regard to *The Tempest*, the editor of the Oxford Shakespeare remarks: "Probably some lost romance inspired Shakespeare; and perhaps we have traces of such a romance in a Spanish tale by Antonio de Esclava, which forms part of a collection entitled *Las noches de invierno* ('Winter Nights') published at Madrid in 1609", adding, however, "We have no assurance that the Spanish tale has led us on the track to Shakespeare's source." (*The Comedies, etc.*, pp. 2, 3).

The Two Gentlemen of Verona. "A source for the Proteus and Julia story has been pointed out—and there can be little question as to the correctness of this—in a Spanish romance by a Portuguese writer, Jorge de Montemayo, the *Diana Enamorada*, a work which was not without an influence on Sidney when he wrote the *Arcadia*. A translation of the *Diana* by Bartholomew Yonge was published in 1598, but it had been executed as early as 1582, and, like the *Arcadia* itself, had a circulation in manuscript before it was published. Shakespeare may have seen one of the manuscript copies, or as Mr. R. Warwick Bond observes, he may have read a French version of the Spanish romance by N. Collin, which appeared in 1578" (pp. 70-1). We would here draw attention to the numerous cases when Shakespeare is supposed to have had access to manuscripts of translations. "Shakespeare may, etc." Indeed, he may or he may not. And as to a knowledge of French, this is even more surprising than that of the little Latin he is supposed to have picked up at the Stratford Grammar School, if he ever visited it. The source of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is also Italian, but here there is an earlier English translation at hand.

"The original source of the plot of *Measure for Measure* is Italian. In his tragedy *Epitia*, and again in his collection of prose tales, the *Hecatommithi*, Giraldi Cinthio tells the story, and it is possible that Shakespeare consulted the Italian, for his name 'Angelo' may have

been a variation on the name 'Angela', which is found in Cinthio's play. But it is certain that his immediate sources were Whetstone's English dramatic treatment of Cinthio's tale, *The Right Excellent and Famous Historie of Promos and Cassandra*, 1578, and the prose version of the tale in the same author's *Heptameron of Civil Discourses*, 1582".

The Comedy of Errors. "The source is undoubtedly the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, with possibly some advantage gained from the lost *Historic of Error*. But how Shakespeare became acquainted with the play of Plautus we cannot say. The earliest translation of the *Menaechmi* of which we know is that by W.W. (William Warner), published in 1595. Shakespeare's 'small Latin' may have been enough to enable him to enjoy Plautus in the original. Or he may have seen the translation by Warner in manuscript. The first scene of Act III certainly owes something to another play of Plautus—the *Amphitruo*—in which the house of Alcmena is taken possession of by Jupiter in the disguise of her husband". (pp. 300 - 301).

Much Ado About Nothing. "a novel by Bandello . . . must certainly be reckoned among Shakespeare's sources immediate or remote" (359). There was a French translation in the third volume of Belleforest. Cf. Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Library*, 1875.

Love's Labour's Lost. "Don Adriano and Holofernes have much more in common with the generalized types of the braggart and the pedant in Italian comedy than with any individuals who trod the soil of England." (440).

A Midsummer-Night's Dream. "It is a possibility that the idea of the magic flower-juice squeezed on lovers' eyes came from the *Diana* of Montemayor, but there is no need to go so far afield for what was not remote (But we know he used the work for *The Two Gentlemen of Verona!* A.A.P.) and the English *Diana*, a translation by Bartholomew (Yong) lay in manuscript when in all probability *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was written" (522).

The Merchant of Venice. "It is evident that directly or indirectly *The Merchant of Venice* is largely indebted to the tale of *Il Pecorone*" (588). This work was by Ser Giovanni Fiorentino and published at Milan in 1558; cf. Hazlitt.

Twelfth-Night, or What You Will. After rejecting two other Italian plays as possible sources, the editor of the Oxford edition continues: "A better claim may be made on behalf of *Gl'Ingannati*, a play acted in Siena by the Academy of the 'Intronati' in 1531" (913). The question, however, is fairly complicated and the editor supposes that "much, if not the main body, of Shakespeare's plot may have been derived" from an English source: the tale of 'Apolonius and Silla' (913).

One of the sources of *Timon of Athens* must have been "Lucian's dialogue concerning Timon the man-hater. It is said, indeed, that Lucian's *Dialogues* were not to be read in English in Shakespeare's day, but we cannot tell at what date the version by Francis Hickes (born 1566) was made. A folio French translation of the works of Lucian, by Philibert Bretin, was published in Paris in 1583; Latin and Italian translations were also extant." (*The Tragedies, etc.*, Oxford edition p. 391).

Othello. "The tale which supplied a basis for Shakespeare's tragedy is found in the *Hecatommithi* of Giraldi Cinthio, published in 1565, and translated into French by Gabriel Chappuys nineteen years later" (842).

Cymbeline. "It is unquestionable that his chief source for the non-historical elements of the play was the ninth novel of the second day of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. There are some reasons for supposing that it had been translated in the sixteenth century into English; but whether this be so or not, he could doubtless have made acquaintance with it in the original or in the French version by A. le Maçon (1055).

This much is generally conceded: "Shakespeare" must have read Latin, French and Italian, possibly also Spanish and Greek. Now, it will be obvious that 'a little Latin' will not do for this purpose. His reading can hardly have been restricted to just those works he is found to have used for his plays; it must have been more extensive and have included a lot more material which he found unfit for adaptation. Now, even if we admit that he may have had some five years at a grammar school—which by the way has never been proved—it is obvious that between the time he left it, say at the age of thirteen or fifteen at the most and the time he left for London, it must have been difficult not to say impossible to keep up his knowledge of Latin in such cultural surroundings as Stratford had to offer him, let alone to extend his reading to authors⁹ who certainly did not figure in the curriculum. That he could have found the time, let alone the facilities, for studying books and manuscripts in London, is impossible to believe. And in the meantime his knowledge of Latin must have become a little rusty, if his progress in such a place at Stratford could ever have been very great. As to the knowledge of French and Italian, how he obtained that has ever been a mystery. That the second or even the first of these formed part of the teaching in the grammar school at Stratford

is extremely unlikely⁽¹⁰⁾. So he either had some private tutor or taught himself. The first alternative may safely be ruled out, as to the second, we are again met by the same difficulties as before. In Stratford the opportunities and in London the time were lacking. But all this has been said before and we can safely refer the reader to Mr. Greenwood's able works.

Our object in writing this article is not only to show that Shakespeare read Latin, but what kind of Latin he read. We hope that the result will convince our readers that this would hardly be the reading of a busy actor-manager, who wrote "for money not for glory". Rather will it be found to be the reading of one of a philosophical, inquiring mind, who sought for knowledge even in remote, out-of-the-way places, a man for whom the search for knowledge was a reward in itself.

The instance we intend to use for the purpose is not new. In fact, it has been taken from Theobald's *The Classical Element in the Shakespeare Plays*. It might be asked what then is the use of reprinting this again? First of all, Theobald in his work did not set out to prove that Shakespeare could not have read the allusion in some translation: his intention was to show that a man so well versed in the classics must have been able to read the originals. So he never takes into account whether or not English or other translations were extant at the time. Secondly Theobald's quotations are never in the original language and his references often inaccurate or incomplete. Nor is the comparison always fully worked out. Thirdly, there is the criticism by Mr. Robertson to be answered.

In our case we hope to have remedied this. No example will be taken which has been adequately refuted. No texts will be quoted of which there were English translations extant at the time. If there were translations into other languages, we shall state this. For this purpose we have availed ourselves first of all of the above-mentioned work by Professor Lathrop, and secondly of the *Bibliotheca Classica Latina* by Heinsius-Burman (ed. N. E. Lemaire, 1824) in so far as its volumes were accessible to us, and of such other works as will be quoted in due place. Our purpose has been to base our-

selves not on a host of examples, but on one that cuts rather deep; *multum sed non multa*, and to prove that a man who read this, would not have done so unless he had also read more; in other words, he must have been conversant with the classics in general.

The example selected then is the well-known Eleatic Fragment an English translation of which was published by J. A. Symonds in the *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. XVIII N.S., 1875. Since this volume is not always easy of access, we shall here quote part of the article and the entire fragment in so far as it is relevant to the question. The original Greek will be found in Simplicius' commentary on the works of Aristotle, which work had not been translated into English at the time, though there were Latin translations⁽¹¹⁾.

The cardinal parallels will be given in the original Greek as well as in the Latin and French translations, so as to bring out clearly that the similarity is not due to Symonds' choice of words. The Greek text may be consulted in Diels-Kranz: *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*⁽¹²⁾ or in the older edition mentioned in note 11, which also gives the Latin translations. Mr. Robertson's "refutation" begins: "Of course Mr. Theobald . . . following previous speculators, is sure that the 'To be' soliloquy is derived from Plato, Parmenides, and 'the Eleatic fragments'. Now, a critic who speaks of Parmenides, and 'the Eleatic fragments' in this connection only shows that he has not examined the matter, nor seen the fragment himself, and therefore is hardly entitled to pronounce an opinion, but let that pass". It continues: "The items in the soliloquy have been traced to many sources, often unnecessarily enough". But there is no question here of items, but of the soliloquy itself. After referring to 'Montaigne's citation and translation of Augustine's *malam mortem non facit, nisi quod sequitur mortem*: he continues: "The reference to Plato is idle". Florio's translation of Montaigne again is one of the many works "parts of which he may well have seen, as we know others did, before it was printed". The only pity for Mr. Robertson is that Shakespeare is not one of the others of whom we know! However "The *theme* is one that must have been often discussed in Shakespeare's day as in every other; and there is not an idea in the soliloquy that would not

readily arise in such discussion". (Section 61, pp. 247-8 *The Baconian Heresy*).

And this is all. Poor fools that we have been to spend another thought on it or to waste time over this marvellous bit of poetry. Every detail of it would readily arise in any discussion, and we must imagine the actor-manager to have been greatly impressed by "the insolence of office" (!), whereas the "law's delay" no doubt refers to his actions for petty loans not paid back in due time. And Mr. Robertson writes all this in evident ignorance of the entire fragment whose parallelism to the soliloquy he wants to deny; for of a real explanation, let alone refutation, there can be no question. Nor is there.

* * * *

We shall introduce the Fragment with a few quotations from Professor Symonds' introduction, which are pertinent to a proper understanding of the implications. Treating among other things of Parmenides "identification of Being with Thought", Symonds says (p. 235):

"As opposed to this unique ἀρχή, the sole and universal reality, which can only be apprehended by the reason, and which is eternally and continuously One, Parmenides places the totality of phenomena, multiplex, diverse, subject to birth, change, division, dissolution, motion. These, he asserts, are non-existent, the illusions of the senses, mere names, the vague and unreal dream-world of impotent mortals. Yet he cannot deny their phenomenal existence

. . . Parmenides feels bound to offer an explanation of this cosmos of illusion, this many-formed and many-coloured mirage . . . Having demonstrated the sole existence of abstract Being, he turns a page and begins to discourse, like any physicist of his age in Greece, concerning Light and Night, Hot and Cold, Fire and Earth, Active and Passive, Male and Female, Rare and Dense: and by a singular irony of fate it was precisely for this portion of his teaching that he received the praise of Bacon in the *Novum Organum*¹².

. . . From the immense importance attached by Parmenides to the verb εἶναι, and from his assertion that men deal with names and not with realities, it followed that to this metaphysical teaching a logical set of corollaries had to be appended . . .

His poem—for, strange as it must always seem, Parmenides committed the exposition of his austere abstract and argumentative doctrine to hexameters—begins with an epical allegory . . . "

Symonds then gives a long fragment from the poem, saying: "The fragment which immediately follows, if we are right in assuming the continuity and order of its verses, forms the longest portion of the poem extant" (p. 236).

It begins as follows:*

Never do thou learn to fancy that not-being is; but keep thy mind from this path of inquiry; nor let custom force thee to pursue that beaten way, to use blind eyes and sounding ear and tongue, but judge by reason the knotty argument which I declare. One only way of reasoning is left—that being is. Wherein are many signs that it is uncreate and indestructible, whole in itself, unique in kind, immovable and everlasting. It never was, nor will be, since it exists as a simultaneous present, a continuous unity. What origin shall we seek of it? Where and how did it grow? That it arose from not-being I will not suffer thee to say or think, for it cannot be thought or said that being is not. Then, too, what necessity could have forced it to the birth at an earlier or later moment? For neither birth nor beginning belongs to being. *Wherefore either to be or not to be is the unconditioned alternative.*† Nor will the might of proof allow us to believe that anything can spring from being but itself. Therefore the law of truth permits no birth or dissolution in it, no remission of its chains, but holds it firm. *This then is the point for decision: it is, or it is not.*† Now we have settled, as necessity obliged, to leave the one path, inconceivable, unnamed, for it is not the true way; but to affirm, as sure, that being is. How then could being have a future or a past? If it began to be, or if it is going to be, then it is not: wherefore birth and death are alike put aside as inconceivable. Nor is it divisible, since it is all homogeneous in no part more itself than in another, which would prevent its coherence, nor in any part less; but all is full of being. Wherefore it is one continuous whole for being draws to being. Immovable within the bounds of its great chains it is, without beginning, without end, since birth and dissolution have moved far away, whom certainty repelled. Eternally the same, in the same state, for and by itself, it abides; thus fixed and firm it stays, for strong necessity holds it in the chains of limit and clenches it around. Wherefore being cannot be infinite, seeing it lacks nothing; and if it were, it would lack all.

Look now at things which though absent are present to the mind. For never shall being from being be sundered so as to lose its continuity by dispersion or recombination.

Thought and the object of thought are the same, for without being, in which is affirmation, thou wilt not find thought. For nothing is or will be besides being, since fate hath bound it to remain alone and unmoved, which is named the universe—all things that mortal men held fixed, believing in their truth—*birth, and death, to be and not to be,*† change of place, and variety of colour (p. 238).

* The two remaining paragraphs of the fragment are of no importance for our discussion.

† My italics.

Though the whole tenor of the passages should not be lost sight of—about which more later on—it will be as well to quote the pregnant lines from the Greek text as found in Diels-Kranz (5th ed.) (Fragment 28 [18], Parmenides, lines 11; 15-16 and 38-41) or with slight variations in the older edition by Diels together with Philaltheus' Latin (*cf.* note 11) and the French translation by A. Diès given in the introduction to *Platon, Oeuvres Complètes*, Tome VIII, 1re partie pp. 12-14, which seemed to us a very fine one:

line 11:

οὕτως ἢ πάμπαν πελέναι χρεών ἔστιν ἢ οὐχί

Sic vel omnino esse opportunum est vel omnino non esse.

Aussi ne peut-il être qu'absolument ou pas du tout.

11.15-16:

ἡ δὲ κρίσις περὶ τούτων ἐν τῷιδ' ἔστιν, ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν. κέκριται δ' οὖν, ὡσπερ ἀνάγκη.

Judicium de his est in hoc
est vel non est.

La décision, là-dessus, est en ceci:

Il est, ou il n'est pas.

11.38-41:

τῷ πᾶν· ὄνομ(α) ἔσται ὅσα βροτοὶ κτέθεντο πεποιθότες εἰναὶ ἀληθῆ, γίνεσθαι τε καὶ ἄλλυθαι, εἶναι τε καὶ οὐχί, καὶ τόπον ἀλλάσσειν διὰ τε χροῶ φανὸν ἀμείβειν.

Vnde nomen omne habet, quaecumque mortales constituunt vera esse persuasi fieri, perire, esse nō esse, locumque mutare quod mutat clarum colorem.

Aussi n'est-ce que pur nom,

Tout ce que les mortels ont institué, confiants que c'était du vrai:
Naître et périr, être et ne pas être.

Et changer de lieu et varier d'éclat par sa surface.

On comparison it will be apparent that Shakespeare in the soliloquy comes nearer to the Latin than to the Greek text in his use of the infinitive, which we find twice in the Latin but only once in the Greek text. This makes it probable that it was the Latin text which he made use of. But is it likely that Shaksperc should have consulted this heavy tome of purely technical philosophical criticism? It might be argued, as we said before, that he had heard

about it, or had heard it quoted, but the parallelism in connection with death, etc., is too close for this to be the case. The author of *Hamlet* must have seen the text, must have been familiar with the whole tenor of the passage and argument.

There is, moreover, as we shall show further on, another Latin source for parts of this soliloquy, not quite so abstruse perhaps, but still not so popular either as to have been translated into a modern tongue at the time; namely Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, a poem with which indeed the author of the Shakespeare works must have been very familiar, as familiar in fact as with his Horace and his Ovid.

It might be asked in how far the soliloquy might not be due to Plato's *Parmenides* rather than to the Eleatic Fragment quoted by Simplicius. We are inclined to think that the soliloquy comes much nearer to the Fragment than to Plato's text. Plato deals with the question of Being and Non-Being in portions 161c - 162c (pp. 108-9 edition col. Bude*) of the *Parmenides*. The passage is quoted below, but it will be seen that we nowhere find the pregnant alternative as found in the Fragment, nor the connection with death and dissolution.

The translation by Diès reads:

161e. Etre et Non-Etre

Mieux encore: à l'être lui-même il l'Un doit participer par quelque biais.—Par lequel donc?—Il en doit aller de lui comme nous le disons. Qu'il n'en aille point ainsi, nous ne dirons point vrai quand nous disons que l'Un n'est point. Si nous disons vrai, il est clair que nous disons ce qui en est. N'en va-t-il pas ainsi?—Si fait.—Puisque donc nous affirmons dire vrai, force nous est aussi d'affirmer dire ce qui est.—Nécessairement.—*Il est donc, ce semble, l'Un non-étant; car, à ne pas être non-étant, à se libérer quelque peu de l'être vers le ne pas être, tout de suite il sera étant. C'est tout à fait exact.—Il lui faut donc avoir, s'il doit ne pas

* For the remainder of the passage compare also the Greek text below.

Ἔστιν ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ ἐν οὐκ ὄν. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἔσται μὴ ὄν, ἀλλὰ πῃ τοῦ εἶναι ἀνήσει πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι, εὐθὺς ἔσται ὄν. — Παντάπασιν μὲν οὖν. — Δεῖ ἄρα αὐτὸ δερμὸν ἔχειν τοῦ μὴ εἶναι: τὸ εἶναι μὴ ὄν, εἰ μέλλει μὴ εἶναι, ὁμοίως ὥσπερ τὸ ὄν τὸ μὴ ὄν ἔχειν μὴ εἶναι, ἵνα τελέωσιν αὐτὸ εἶναι ἤ. οὕτως γὰρ ἂν τὸ τε ὄν μάλιστα ἂν εἴη καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν οὐκ ἂν εἴη, μετέχοντα τὸ μὲν ὄν οὐσίας τοῦ εἶναι ὄν, μὴ οὐσίας δὲ τοῦ εἶναι μὴ ὄν, εἰ μέλλει τελέωσιν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ μὴ ὄν μὴ οὐσίας μὲν τοῦ μὴ εἶναι μὴ ὄν, οὐσίας δὲ τοῦ εἶναι μὴ ὄν, εἰ καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν αὐτὸ τελέωσιν μὴ ἔσται — Ἀληθέστατα. — Οὐκοῦν ἐπέπερ τῷ τε ὄντι τοῦ μὴ εἶναι καὶ τῷ μὴ ὄντι τοῦ εἶναι μέτεστι, καὶ τῷ ἐνί, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔσται, τοῦ εἶναι ἀνάγκη μετεῖναι εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι.

étant comme à l'être de l'être non-étant, si l'on veut que ce qui n'est tout comme ce qui est aura, de son côté, pour qu'il puisse pleinement être, le "ne pas être non-étant". C'est à cette condition, en effet, que ce qui est pourra le plus éminemment être et ce qui n'est pas, ne pas être. C'est en participant à l'être de l'être étant et au non-être de l'être non-étant que ce qui est pourra pleinement être. Et ce qui n'est pas devra participer au non-être du ne pas être non-étant comme à l'être de l'être non-étant, si l'on veut que ce qui n'est pas réalise, de son côté, la perfection de son ne pas être.—C'est ce qu'il y a de plus vrai.—Ainsi, puisque ce qui est a part au ne pas être, et ce qui n'est pas, à l'être, l'Un, du fait qu'il n'est pas, aura nécessairement part à l'être pour réaliser son ne pas être.—Nécessairement.—En l'UN donc, s'il n'est pas, l'être même apparaît.—Il apparaît.—Mais le non-être aussi, puisqu'il n'est pas.—C'est trop clair.

If anyone will now compare the fragment from Parmenides with the famous soliloquy (*Hamlet* iii, 1, 56 ff.), it will be seen that the very first words of the soliloquy, which set the key of the whole passage, are difficult to understand without the fragment. Indeed, so difficult is it to see the connection that some commentators make the words refer to some previous train of thought, disconnecting it entirely from what follows.* That the words should merely have been introduced as a fitting opening for a disquisition upon life and death, seems to us most unlikely. In that case they might either be taken as meaning: shall I live on or commit suicide—a meaning which they obviously have not—or as an expression of wonder whether there is any life after death or not. But even this second, more plausible explanation can hardly be the correct one, since the words evidently pose a problem; whereas the rest of the soliloquy seems to take it for granted that there is some sort of life after death: it is a kind of sleep, dreamless or not. The fragment from Parmenides seems to make it all clear, it helps us to follow out the argument, from which it is obvious some links were omitted by the author, since after all poetry is not logic, and abrupt transitions are in its nature.

The question then is whether man is or is not. That is the unconditioned alternative. If man only forms part of the world of not-being, the vague and unreal dream-world of impotent mortals, the world of illusion, in which he is subject to birth and death, to dissolution—a world whose phenomenal existence it would be

*cf. the note to this passage in the Arden Shakespeare.

vain to deny—in that case man in leaving life, faces utter destruction. That evidently is the implication of “not to be”. If, however, man *is*, partakes of the nature of *being*, forms part of that reality which is being, he need fear no destruction, since then he is from his very nature “without beginning, without end, since birth and dissolution have moved far away”.

To such a man the phenomena of life and death in themselves hold no special importance. Whatever his phenomenal state may be, he is, “for neither birth nor beginning belongs to being”. Now, Parmenides identifies *being* with *thought*, an idea of which it would be difficult to find a more fitting exponent than Hamlet. Hence the soliloquy continues by taking up this thought. Having evidently concluded that the question should be answered in the affirmative—the rest of the speech implies as much—it immediately proceeds to ask if in that case it might not be nobler to suffer the evils of life “in the mind”, philosophically, that is, without taking an active part in this world of shadows. But to all intents and purposes this would ultimately lead to his leaving this puppet-show altogether, and because man’s real nature would not be affected, since “he is” in any case, the most desirable solution would be that this life “in the mind” should be some kind of oblivion of earthly and practical issues. The identification of death with sleep is found in another passage in Shakespeare, in which also the phenomenal character of our earthly life is touched upon:

We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.

The Tempest, iv, 1 156

To a nature like Hamlet’s, who also identifies *thinking* with *being*, this conception must have been immensely attractive and, since death does not affect our essential being, Hamlet continues to speculate on the solace it might afford. The rest of the monologue quite naturally follows up this train of thought by reflecting upon the dreams that might form part of that phenomenal state as well: it offers no solution since we do not know the conditions prevailing in it, and no escape from phenomenal existence. Then,

equally naturally, follow the considerations which deter men from committing suicide even under very trying circumstances.

Now, it will be seen that the fragment from Parmenides does indeed form the key to the whole soliloquy, even though the reasoning in the second half can be followed without it. The opening words in their connection with the rest form an insuperable difficulty unless we assume that the author followed some such train of thought as suggested by the fragment. Without it, they are a loose end, difficult to account for. In the light of the fragment they become clear and full of meaning. The man who wrote the soliloquy did not just pick up this phrase in reading or in conversation (shall we say at the Mermaid ?), nor did he just pick up odds and ends to furbish up his dramas. No, whoever wrote this, had read the fragment with a mind capable of understanding the full implications of the philosophical aspect of the problem of life and death, and by his transcendent gifts he could turn it into some of the greatest poetry we have.

And is he not likely to have been the man who in a discussion of related metaphysical problems cites Parmenides and Plato with approval? One who apparently was familiar with Plato's abstruse dialogue *Parmenides* and Aristotle's graded series of realities⁽¹⁴⁾ and of whom Shelley wrote:

Lord Bacon was a poet. His language has a sweet and majestic rhythm, which satisfies the sense, no less than the almost super-human wisdom of his philosophy satisfies the intellect. It is a strain which distends and then bursts the circumference of the reader's mind, and pours itself forth together with it into the universal element with which it is in perpetual sympathy. *Defence of Poetry*.

Is it not more likely that this was the author of the soliloquy, rather than the successful actor-manager whose "showmanship" is supposed to have made a commercial success of his career?

NOTES

1. Dr. R. Farmer, *An Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare*, 1767, 2nd ed. 1767, reprinted 1789, 1821 etc.
2. John Lord Campbell, *Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements*, London 1859.
Richard Grant White, *Memoirs of William Shakespeare* in 1866 edition of Shakespeare's Works, I. Repr. later.
W. L. Rushton, *Shakespeare a Lawyer*, 1858.
—, *Shakespeare's Legal Maxims*, 1907.
C. Davis, *The Law in Shakespeare*, St. Paul, U.S.A., 1884.
E. J. Castle, *Shakespeare, Jonson, Bacon, and Greene*, London, 1897.
Franklin Fiske Heard, *Shakespeare as a Lawyer*.
3. *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light*, edition 1904.
4. A few more works are mentioned in the essay on Scholarship by Sir John Edwin Sandys in *Shakespeare's England* (Oxford, 1916). We quote from the bibliography on pp. 282-3: "Paul Stapfer's *Shakespeare et l'Antiquité*, two parts 1880; the first part re-published in two vols.—*Drames et Poèmes antiques* (ed. 1884), and *Les Tragédies Romaines* (ed. 1883), and translated by E. J. Carey, *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity* (1880); the second part, on 'Shakespeare and the Greek Tragedians', not yet translated; Thomas Spencer Baynes's articles in *Frazer's Magazine*, Dec. 1879, and January - May, 1880, reprinted in *Shakespeare Studies*, 1894; William Maginn's *Miscellanies* (1885), vol. II, reprinted from *Frazer's Magazine*, Sept., Oct., Dec., 1839; D. Nichol Smith's *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare*, 1903 . . . R. K. Root's *Classical Mythology in Shakespeare*, New York, 1903."

The question of Shakespeare's learning and the various opinions held by several authorities on the subject are summarized in this essay on pp. 274-9. Upton, (*Critical Observations*, 1746), Colman Gervinus (1848-9) and John Fiske (*Atlantic Monthly*, Nov. 1897), are among the adherents of the "learned" school.

Cf. especially S. Guttman, *The Foreign Sources of Shakespeare's Works*. An annotated Bibliography of the Commentary written on this subject between 1904 and 1940 together with Lists of Certain Translations Available to Shakespeare. New York, 1947.

Though not a Baconian, Miss Guttman is gracious enough to point out "that some critics tend to forget the valuable contribution which this group (*i.e.* the Baconians A.A.P.) has made to Shakespearean study. It cannot be denied that the Baconians were among the first to awaken modern critics to the significance of the classical influence upon Shakespeare." p. ix.

Such generous courtesy is most unusual on the part of the Stratfordian school!

5. George Greenwood, *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, London 1908.
J. M. Robertson, *The Baconian Heresy*, London 1913.
George Greenwood, *Is There a Shakespeare Problem?*, London 1916.
6. E. E. Stoll, *Hamlet: An Historical and Comparative Study* (Research Publ. of the University of Minnesota, Vol. VIII No. 5) Minnesota, 1919, Appendix.
Moreover, Professor Stoll forgets that there were Latin translations of the Greek dramatists. Cf. Sandys in his above-mentioned essay (our note 3a): "The Greek dramatists were translated into Latin abroad, before any English rendering had been published in this country. It was suggested by Lowell that Shakespeare may have laid hold of an edition of the Greek tragedians, *Graece et Latine* (*Among my Books* (1870), reprinted in *The English Poets* (Camelot Series), 1888, p.115 ff.); and it was independently suggested by the late Mr. Churton Collins in 1904 that 'through the medium of the Latin language', he was 'more or less familiar' with the Greek dramatists. Parallels from Shakespeare had previously been quoted by Boyes in the course of his *Illustrations of the Tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles* (1841-4)." (*Shakespeare's England*, p.265).
7. George Gordon, *Shakespeare's English*, S.P.E. Tract No. XXIX, 1928.
8. The following statement made in *Shakespeare's English* by Henry Bradley in *Shakespeare's England*, Vol. II, p.564, should also receive due consideration: "If our space permitted us to examine in this manner every word of Latin derivation occurring in the writings of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, we should hardly find one that was not sometimes used with shades of meaning which are unknown in more recent literary English. The readers and hearers were expected to understand words of this kind mainly by the help of their knowledge of Latin. Although Shakespeare was no pedant, the modern reader who is not familiar with Latin is at a considerable disadvantage in the minute interpretation of his text."
The references are to the Oxford Edition: *The Histories and Poems of Shakespeare*, 1915; *The Comedies*, etc. 1922; *The Tragedies*, 1925.
9. Cf. also H. R. D. Anders, *Shakespeare's Books* (Berlin, 1904). Synopsis (pp. 1, 2) or Sandys in *Shakespeare's England*, I (pp. 280 - 1).
10. Cf. the essay on *Education* by Sir John Edwin Sandys in *Shakespeare's England*, Vol. I: "The English grammar school of the Elizabethan age was primarily a school for learning Latin", (p.230), and the curriculum at Ipswich which "may be accepted as approximately representing the curriculum at Stratford" does not mention French at all. "The authors prescribed are to be read in the following order, the Latin Aesop and Terence, Virgil 'the prince of all poets', Cicero

(*Select Letters*), Sallust or Caesar, Horace (*Epistles*), and Ovid (*Metamorphoses* or *Fasti*). The highest form studied the Grammar of Donatus and the *Elegantiae* of Valla." (p.235).

11. H. Diels. *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graece*. Berlin 1882. Simplicii in Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Quattuor Priores Commentaria. Vol. IX, pp. 145 - 6.
Diels mentions three Latin translations (Versiones Latinas vidi tres): Lucillo Philaltheo interprete. Parisiis 1544.
Gentiano Herveto Aurelio, etc. Venetiis 1551.
An edition of 1558, Venetiis.
Our quotations are from the first of these translations, by Philaltheus the only one we could consult.
The full title runs:
Simplicii Peripatetici acutissimi Commentaria in octo libros Aristotelis de Physico auditu. Lucillo Philaltheo Interprete. It is a heavy volume of some 350 pages.
12. Diels-Kranz, *Die Fragmente der vorsokratiker, Griechisch und Deutsch*. 5th ed., Weidmann, Berlin, 1934.
13. The exact reference is to *De Augustis*, III, Spedding's edition of the *Works*, I, pp. 566 - 567 (*Translations*, I, 361 - 2, *Works*, IV).
14. *Platon, Oeuvres Complètes*, Tome VIII, 1re partie, Parmenide, Texte établi et traduit par Auguste Diès, Coll. Budé, Paris 1923. Notice pp. 12 - 14.

A FAMOUS DUTCH BACONIAN:
PROFESSOR G. J. P. J. BOLLAND
June 9, 1854 - February 11, 1922

By Professor A. A. Prins

Whereas the Dutch Baconians Dr. Taco H. de Beer, Dr. H. A. W. Speckman, and James Arther (the pseudonym of A. J. Hamerster) are fairly well-known, the fact that the famous Dutch philosopher Bolland was a convinced Baconian is only known to a few *intimi*, and to some of those who attended his lectures. In the year in which we commemorate his death in 1922, it seems called for to draw attention to this interesting point.

Bolland took a brilliant external degree in English in Holland and was English master in Batavia (Java) from 1882 - 96. He took up there the study of philosophy, being first influenced by the German philosopher Ed. von Hartmann. In 1896 he was appointed to the Chair of Philosophy in the University of Leiden, which he occupied till his death in 1922. By 1898 he had become more profoundly interested in the philosophy of Hegel, of whom he became an outstanding follower and exponent. In fact, the Scottish philosopher and Hegel authority J. Hutchinson Sterling called him "the best-informed Hegelian I have ever met". He was known throughout the world, though his works were for the greater part written in Dutch, for which language he created a specific idiom to express Hegel's and his own philosophy. A number of his works he wrote in Germany.

Though Bolland never expressed his Baconian views in his printed works, since these mostly dealt with philosophical and theological questions, he was quite positive in his lectures and private conversations about the Baconian authorship of the Shakespeare works, for he maintained that "the Stratford rustic" could not possibly have written the plays and that he could find the whole of Bacon's philosophy as expressed in the *Essays* in the dramatic works of Shakespeare. Moreover he carefully studied all the philosophical and legal works of Bacon in the edition by Spedding, underlining all such passages as had parallels

in the Shakespeare works, and making marginal notes in his own handwriting. That the underlinings are indeed his cannot be doubted because they were made in aniline pencil, such as he always used for this purpose in all his books. He also studied practically all the works dealing with the authorship question, both for and against Baconian authorship, and in many places provided them with his pithy marginal notes and underlinings.⁽¹⁾

There is one book in which Bolland's notes make his position particularly clear, namely his copy of the anti-Baconian work by J. M. Robertson, *The Baconian Heresy. A Confutation*, London, 1913.⁽²⁾ The title-page bears Bolland's name and under the title he wrote: "A heretic, says Bossuet, is a man that has an opinion."—Voltaire. On the two following pages he wrote a life of the Stratford actor, contrasting it with the Shakespeare works, and some facts relating to the publication of the Folio edition of 1623. Subjoined is a facsimile of Bolland's text, but I would draw the reader's attention to the opening and closing passages: "William Shaksper of Stratford upon Avon (1564-1616) was born of rustic and illiterate parents . . . The first folio of the Shakespeare plays . . . appeared in 1623; it contains a multitude of alterations made by the real author of the plays after the actor's death . . . Jonson . . . has left us in the folio a eulogy upon Shakespeare in which he praises the Stratford man whilst looking askance at Bacon . . . He (Jonson) helped to mystify the public in the folio edition of 1623; and has left us a catalogue of writers he had known in which, Shaksper and Bacon being both dead, the former is not mentioned, while Bacon is put in the first place."

⁽¹⁾ Bolland's library is now in the University library in Leiden, the general Press Mark is generally 770D, followed by the specific number of each item, e.g. 770D 38, etc. Numerous works dealing with the authorship problem are to be found among them. Some works have been given a new Press Mark; e.g. Spedding's edition of Bacon's *Works*: old Press Mark 770D 1 - 14, New: 3126D 1 - 14.

⁽²⁾ Press Mark 772C 75. Another copy of the same work, Press Mark 770D 53, does not contain the statement by Bolland.

TRANSCRIPT

William Shaksper of Stratford upon Avon (1564 - 1616) was born of rustic and illiterate parents. While still very young he was compelled to marry a wife considerably older than himself, by whom he became the father of children, who, in their turn, were reared in the deepest ignorance; at the age of twenty-three or thereabouts he left his wife and children to themselves and ran away to London, where he became a stage-player and the reputed author of the scholarly poems and the miraculous plays of Shakespeare, though his name is neither found in the stationers' register of the time, nor in the diary of the theatrical manager that brought out the plays. No more is he known to have claimed the poems and plays as his own, or indeed to have taken the slightest interest in their fate, and he never seems to have written even a single letter, being presumably hardly able to scrawl his own name; he would seem to have been a shrewd fellow, full of coarse wit and boisterous good humour among born-companions, but rude and unlettered, selfish, grasping, and close-fisted, immoral, dissolute and unscrupulous in his actions. He acquired some wealth, and eventually obtained the status of a gentleman on fraudulent grounds; at one time he played a dirty trick on a brother player in a licentious play; at another he acted as a match-maker between a hair-dresser's daughter and her father's assistant. He evaded taxes he had to pay in London, but invested money in real estate and in the tithes of his native town; became a money-lender, and as such instituted many lawsuits, though refusing to pay back some money his own wife had been constrained to borrow from her father's former shepherd. He had gone back to Stratford to pass the remainder of his life among his rustic neighbours in easy circumstances, but even then was not above earning some little money on one occasion by helping to adorn a nobleman's country-seat on accession day; he brewed beer for sale, or sold malt; had an insurer for his friend; entertained a preacher at his house to draw on the town for a quart of claret wine and a quart of sack by way of indemnification; and suffered himself to be bribed into favouring a conspiracy to rob the common people by enclosing the commons of

the place. He made a plebian and business-like will to the detriment of his wife, not mentioning either books or manuscripts; died of a drunken frolic; and was buried beneath a stone for which he had invented a coarse epitaph, without a voice being raised in his honour for some years after his death.

The first folio of the Shakespeare plays, the only evidence connecting the same with the Stratford actor as their author, but as such a manifest hoax, appeared in 1623; it contains a multitude of alterations made by the real author of the plays after the actor's death. The number of contemporaries who directly vouch for the identity of the actor with the playwright is not greater than four, *viz*, Hemings, Condell, Digges and Jonson. All of them are connected with the first folio. The first two were men of straw, ignorant actors, who lent their names to vouch for a thing they could scarcely themselves have had a hand in; Digges, a 'wit of the town', wrote for the folio a eulogy too rankly false to be accepted; and Jonson, the great witness, has left us in the folio a eulogy upon Shakespeare in which he praises the Stratford man whilst looking askance at Bacon. Up to 1620 he had been hostile to both; but having contracted an intimacy with the latter about that time, he betrayed his consciousness of a mystery on Bacon's birthday in 1621; helped to mystify the public in the folio edition of 1623; and has left us a catalogue of writers he had known in which, Shaksper and Bacon being both dead, the former is not mentioned, while Bacon is put in the first place.

Editor's note: Readers are reminded that the above is a reprint of the comments made by Professor Bolland 50 or more years ago, and contains some minor inaccuracies and exaggerations for which Professor Prins cannot be held to account. It is nevertheless interesting as the reaction of a Dutch professor some 30 years ago, who stoutly supported our theory.

THE CURTIS BACON-SHAKESPEARE COLLECTION

By Elizabeth A. Swaim

Although it is always difficult to evaluate the significance of any library's collection on a single subject in relation to the collections of other libraries (unless one is a peripatetic scholar in that particular field), it seems safe to say that Wesleyan's acquisition of the Curtis collection on the question of whether Bacon wrote Shakespeare puts it in the upper echelons of libraries professing such collections. (The Francis Bacon Library in Claremont, California, founded by cryptologist and art collector Walter Arensberg, calls its twenty-five hundred volumes "one of the widest collections of Bacon materials extant.") George Bartlett Curtis, a Phi Beta Kappa graduate in Wesleyan's class of 1916 and for many years an administrative officer at Lehigh University, was by avocation "a fervent Baconian, but by no means an uncritical one" (Friedman, *infra*, p. 232), who wrote articles about, gave occasional lectures on, and amassed a book collection about the authorship controversy. His fifteen hundred books, published from the late sixteenth century up to 1950, were presented by his widow and his son to Wesleyan in 1960, ten years after his death.

As early as 1884 a Bacon-Shakespeare bibliography by W. H. Wyman included 255 entries (newspaper and periodical articles as well as books), and such publications have shown no decrease since that time. Gordon Ross Smith in his *Classified Shakespeare Bibliography 1936-1958* (University Park, Pa., 1963) divides works on the subject into "items of some consequence" and "remainder"—Wesleyan now has excellent representations of both categories. Curtis bought such books for three decades, trying to make his collection on the controversy as complete as possible. Many of the Curtis books were privately printed or issued by such pro-Baconian publishers as Cecil Palmer and Denis Archer of London, or the Cornish Brothers of Birmingham. A number are presentation copies, either to Curtis or to other Baconians. Important items are the complete runs of periodicals issued by the Bacon Society of London since

its founding in 1885, the original short-lived *Journal* and its successor, *Baconiana*—both full of articles, book reviews, and chit-chat about the versatile Lord Chancellor.

Logan Clendening, another Bacon-Shakespeare collector, wrote a brief "Bibliographic Account of the Bacon-Shakespeare Controversy" for the September 1939 *Colophon*, in which he suggested that the first published appearance of the idea that Francis Bacon wrote the works usually attributed to William Shakespeare was in the anonymous *Life and Adventures of Common Sense* (London, 1769). It was mentioned again in H. C. Hart's *Romance of Yachting* (New York, 1848) and was given great impetus by the publication of Delia Bacon's *Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded* (London, 1857, with a preface by Nathaniel Hawthorne). First editions of each of these are part of the Curtis gift.

The theory, with almost as many variations as there are Baconians, is based upon Bacon's obvious literary ability as contrasted with the apparent biographical puzzles concerning the supposedly near-illiterate actor from Stratford (e.g. his surviving signatures, the sonnets, the First Folio with its Droeshout engraving, Bacon's Northumberland manuscript, the dramatist's knowledge of the law). These subjects are fully treated in the Curtis collection. New editions of "Shakespearean" works were often published to support the theory: Edwin Bormann edited *Bacon-Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis* in 1899; Alfred Dodd prepared an edition of the Sonnets; the prolific Edwin Reed issued at least two "Verulam editions" of the plays "corrected and annotated from the viewpoint of Francis Bacon as . . . author" (the title-page of his *Julius Caesar* calls the play "an essay on envy").

One of the most astonishing aspects of the Baconian theory of authorship is the indefatigable work of the cryptologists. Bacon, supposed by some of these enthusiasts to be the son of Elizabeth and Leicester, was forced for various elaborately-argued reasons to keep his most important literary work secret, but he left clues for posterity to unravel. The exact nature of these clues varies with each detective, but ciphers and anagrams are found in most of the corpus of Elizabethan literature by Baconian

cryptologists—e.g., Ignatius Donnelly (*The Great Cryptogram*, 1888), Elizabeth Wells Gallup (*The Bi-Literal Cypher of Sir Francis Bacon Discovered in His Works*, 1899), and William Stone Booth (*Some Acrostic Signatures of Sir Francis Bacon*, 1909). The Riverbank Laboratories of Geneva, Illinois (directed by Colonel George Fabyan, whose collection is now at the Library of Congress), issued in 1916 *The Keys for Deciphering the Greatest Work of Sir Francis Bacon*; the same year they published a book by Dorothy Crain called *Ciphers for the Little Folks; a Method of Teaching the Greatest Work of Sir Francis Bacon . . .* (this was considered so valuable that two years later it was translated into French). Some of the cryptologists found extensive new literary works hidden in other literature of the Elizabethan period—e.g., Mrs. Gallup's *Tragedy of Anne Boleyn*, "a drama in cipher found in the works of Sir Francis Bacon", or Orville Ward Owen's deciphering of *The Tragical Historie of Our Late Brother Robert, Earl of Essex*, "by the author of Hamlet, Richard III, Othello, As you like it, etc." All of these titles are now available at Wesleyan and carry the special Curtis bookplate designed for the library and incorporating a cipher spelling out "Bacon".

As background for his collection Curtis acquired every possible early edition of Bacon's works, books about Bacon, books about Shakespeare and the Elizabethan period, early editions of other contemporary works which some admirers suppose Bacon to have written (*Arcadia*, *The Faerie Queene*, *Don Quixote*, and *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, to name a few of his best non-dramatic efforts), early editions of works which supply evidence for Bacon's authorship and secret life (e.g., William Camden's works, with keys to the cipher; Barclay's *Argenis*, with an allegory of Bacon's royal parentage; Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, with its description of the Shakespeare monument), contemporary works illustrating forms of secret writing (eight sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works on cryptography and as many seventeenth century books), and works on freemasonry and Rosicrucianism, both of which movements are said to owe much to Bacon. Wesleyan's

acquisition of these works will be of value for the study of Elizabethan and seventeenth-century literature and civilization, as well as for the narrower original purpose of supporting Curtis's collection.

In addition to his extensive collection of works issued by Bacon adherents, Curtis acquired works about some (but by no means all) of the other principal contenders for Shakespeare's literary honours—such as William Stanley, Earl of Derby (whose work "sous le masque de 'William Shakespeare'" was revealed just after the first World War by Abel Lefranc) or the Earl of Oxford, identified in 1920 by J. Thomas Looney. Curtis did not live to consider Calvin Hoffman's ingenious presentation in 1955 of Marlowe as the true Shakespeare. Curious readers may find a list of 54 different "claimants" in Oscar James Campbell's *Reader's Encyclopedia of Shakespeare* (New York, 1966).

In the years since Curtis's death the world of scholarship has at last given some attention to the subject. William and Elizabeth Friedman in *Shakespearean Ciphers Examined* (Cambridge, 1957) turned their expert cryptological eyes on the various ciphers and found them wanting. In 1958 both an English literary critic (R. C. Churchill: *Shakespeare and his Betters*) and an American English professor (Frank W. Wadsworth: *The Poacher from Stratford*) produced book-length accounts of the controversy; Wadsworth's brief and immensely readable study is highly recommended to anyone wishing to explore these deep waters. Another productive year was 1962 when H. N. Gibson wrote a handbook of the *Shakespeare Claimants*, the Odyssey Press published a casebook on *Shakespeare and His Rivals* (the title-page of which is headed with a quotation from *Hamlet*, II, ii: "There has been much throwing about of brains"), and James G. McManaway presented a scholar's account of the evidence for *The Authorship of Shakespeare* in one of the Folger Booklets on Tudor and Stuart Civilization (his conclusion: "There is no problem of authorship for those who have read Elizabethan drama in a setting of Elizabethan literature and history"). Doubters of the abilities of the Bard of Avon show no signs of being daunted, however, by

scholarly refutations of claims which have provided intellectual diversion to hundreds of men and women for over a century.

As Frank Wadsworth stated so well, "The real significance of the battle over the authorship goes far beyond Shakespeare and the controversial literature, for it strikes at the heart of man's knowledge of himself. The reasons we have for believing that William Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon wrote the plays and poems are the same as the reasons we have for believing any other historical event" . . . (p.163). Study of a collection such as George Curtis's on a subject so perennially fascinating as Bacon-Shakespeare provides remarkable insight into the workings of the human mind. It also illustrates two important truths about the formation of large scholarly libraries: first, that they have a duty to preserve evidence of a variety of aspects of the history of civilization, not just those which are academically popular; and second, that much of the particular flavour of a library results from collections of such evidence on single subjects with a depth which only years of a single individual's dedicated interest can produce.

“ THE UNSPEAKABLE WORD ”

By The Outsider

The word “ cipher ” conveys the idea of secret writing and it comes from a Hebrew word “ saphar ” meaning “ to number ”. Cipher has had a long and fascinating history which dates back nearly four thousand years. It has changed the course of events on many occasions in the past and has been used by political and spiritual rulers, military generals, foreign diplomats, and by scholars and poets. The decipherment of secret messages has cost kings and queens their heads, and has saved the lives of lesser mortals. Cipher has disguised a writer’s work and has also revealed his authorship. Today, it is employed by every government, and cryptography has become a highly paid science.

It began about 1900 BC in the Egyptian town of Menet Khufu, where a scribe’s hieroglyphic account of his lord’s life constituted the first step in cryptology. The Egyptians gradually acquired a skill in secret writing; but for them, it was little more than a game. Their hieroglyphs only sought to delay understanding for a minimum period of time.

The Indians also regarded cryptography as being an elegant pastime and Vantsyayana’s famous textbook of erotica, the “ Kama-sutra ”, listed secret writing as one of the 64 arts or yogas that women should know and practise. Among the other arts mentioned in the book are prestidigitation and exercise in enigmatic poetry.

But the earliest conscious allusion to secret writing is to be found in Homer’s *Iliad* in the story of Bellerophon’s letter. Bellerophon was a youth whose remarkable beauty caused King Proetus’s wife to fall in love with him. When Bellerophon refused her advances, Queen Anteia displayed the fury of a woman who had been scorned and informed her husband that Bellerophon had attempted to rape her. By way of revenge, Proteus sent Bellerophon to Lycia with a folded tablet on which he had traced a deadly message asking the Lycian king to put the youth to death.

At a more practical level, the Greeks were the first to use cipher as a means of military communication. In Aeneas the

Tactician's book, *On the Defence of Fortified Places*, several systems are outlined including one whereby the message is revealed by the presence of holes pricked in the plain text, above or below certain letters. When these letters were joined together, they formed words and sentences. Modified versions of this method were still being used by German spies in the two World Wars.

Another Greek cipher consisted of the letters of the alphabet arranged in a square numbered in rows and columns. The Polybius square or checkerboard can be illustrated by turning the English alphabet into 25 letters—I and J being merged into a single cell—or a 5 × 5 square:

	1	2	3	4	5
1	A	B	C	D	E
2	F	G	H	I	K
3	L	M	N	O	P
4	Q	R	S	T	U
5	V	W	X	Y	Z

Under this system A equalled 11 and Z equalled 55. Polybius's square was devised as a secret form of signalling, but it is chiefly remembered as the first known instance of the conversion of letters into numbers.

The developing science of warfare also gave rise to the substitution cipher which Julius Caesar described in his *Gallic Wars*. According to Suetonius, Caesar used a substitution cipher in his correspondence with Cicero. Caesar's method involved the substitution of the letter three places further on in the alphabet from the one required—D standing for A and R for O. Later, Roman rulers adapted Caesar's alphabet to their own ends and cipher became a common means of communication.

However, with the fall of the Roman Empire, interest in cryptography declined, and although great kings like Alfred and Charlemagne had their cryptic devices, cipher was virtually forgotten during the Dark Ages.

The next landmark in this history did not occur until the middle of the thirteenth century, when an English monk called Roger Bacon wrote an epistle on the "Secret Works of Art and

the Nullity of Magic". In it he said that "a man is crazy who writes a secret in any other way than one which will conceal it from the vulgar" and suggested several ways in which a secret might be enfolded. These included writing in consonants only, the use of figurative expressions, letters from exotic alphabets, invented characters, shorthand and "magic figures and spells."

A century later in England, and the most famous literary figure of the age practised what Bacon preached. Geoffrey Chaucer's book, *The Equatorie of the Planets*, which described the workings of an astronomical instrument, included six short passages written in cipher.

In the fourteenth century, political and diplomatic ciphers came into fashion and, as in so many other things, it was the Roman Catholic Church which pioneered the way.

From this time onwards, cipher was an integral part of Papal diplomacy. So much so that when the Antipope Clement VII fled to Avignon in 1378 to begin the Great Schism, he issued instructions for the creation of new ciphers for his French establishment. A secretary, Gabrieli di Lavinde, quickly compiled a set of individual keys for twenty-four of Clement's correspondents.

But cryptology really became a force in the fifteenth century, when Leon Battista Alberti produced his cipher wheel which depended on a form of polyalphabetic substitution. Alberti's disk consisted of two circles, the outer one fixed and the inner one moveable. Each circle had the letters of the alphabet inscribed upon it and their relationship was that between the plain text and the cipher text. What made Alberti's system so advanced, was the way that the cipher-text equivalents could be altered at any time by moving the inner circle around.

In 1499, the first great cipher book was published.¹ It was called *Steganographia*—from the Greek word meaning "covered

⁽¹⁾ The British Museum informs us that despite incorrect statements in encyclopaediae and elsewhere, this work was first printed at Frankfurt in 1606, though it circulated in MS. form from the time of its composition in 1499/50.—Editor.

writing"—and its author was Trithemius, a theologian and occult scholar. In it, Trithemius described some elementary reciprocal vowel-consonant substitutions, and outlined a cipher system whereby only certain letters in non-sense words had meaning, the rest being merely nulls.

In one of the variations on this system, the hidden message was deciphered by selecting every other letter in every second word, nulls being omitted. So a passage beginning PARMESIEL OSHURMI DELMUSON THAFLOIN PEANO CHARUS-TREA MELANY LYAMUNTO yielded the message: *Sum tali cautela ut.*

Trithemius's book was believed to have been divinely inspired. It was full of mystic symbols. For instance Trithemius made a Kabbala-like computation of the *numerical values of the Angel's names*. Later, scholars flocked to get it translated and transcribed. This appears to be the earliest known example of "name counts" or "seals".

While on the subject of "name counts" we should mention that many different methods of numbering the alphabet have been attributed to Francis Bacon without concrete evidence. In actual fact *only one* method can be found to be specified by him in *all his works* and that is the one laid down by him in his *Abecedarium Naturae* where he is most definite in his instructions about the:

"Rule or form of the alphabet" and; "After this manner we compose and dispose our alphabet."

In 1508 Trithemius wrote his "Six Books of Polygraphy" which included a square table or tableau which brought a new alphabet into play with each letter of the cipher text. At its simplest, this meant moving the alphabet up one place every time and a plain text beginning "Hunc caveto virum" became HWPF GFBMCZ FUEIB disregarding H and O, as usual.

Such cipher systems were obviously valuable to the Italian diplomat of the sixteenth century. For the first time, states maintained permanent relations with one another, but in their association there was little love or understanding. The resident ambassadors existed in an atmosphere of jealousy and suspicion. They

were expected to act as "honourable spies" and to intrigue against the interests of their host state. They were also called upon to make regular reports and seeing that these reports were often opened and read, it was necessary to write them in cipher. By the end of the century, cryptology had become important enough for most of the city-states to keep full-time cipher secretaries occupied in making up new keys, enciphering and deciphering messages and in breaking intercepted cryptic dispatches.

The most professional cipher organisation was at Venice. Cryptology was regarded as being a powerful weapon in the state's armoury and workers in this field were patronised in much the same way as painters and sculptors. Indeed, contests in encipherment were regularly held by the Venetian Council of Ten as a way of encouraging would-be cryptologists. The greatest expert of the Venetian school was Giovanni Soro, who became cipher secretary in 1506. He wrote a book on the solution of Latin, Italian, Spanish and French ciphers.

Elsewhere in Italy, it was very much the same story. In Florence, the Medicis used the good services of Musefli and Guisti and the notorious Florentine writer Niccolo Machiavelli set great store by cryptology in his book *The Art of War*.

Sixteenth century Italian cryptography reached its climax in the work of Giovanni Battista della Porta whose system, published in Naples in 1565, was efficient on all counts. His table consisted of thirteen key letters, accompanied by an alphabet which changed in its lower line one place to the right for every pair of capitals:

A	B	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m
		n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z
C	D	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m
		z	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y
E	F	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m
		y	z	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	

Della Porta's system was quite simple. Supposing that we wanted to encipher the letter *e* by using the key letter F, we merely have to look along the alphabet which F controls to dis-

cover that the letter p lies directly beneath the e; p then, is the cipher letter.

Take a longer example: the message is "Watch out" and the key word is "Face". The first cipher letter is I, representing w and the complete cipher reads: LNHNS BII.

Of course, the Popes continued to have their cipher experts and in the 1580s, the secretaryship fell into the hands of the Argenti family, who were the first to use a word as a mnemonic key to mix a cipher alphabet and who also used nulles to a far greater extent than most of their predecessors—their cryptograms averaged between three and eight nulles per line.

Meanwhile in Spain, Philip II, with typical thoroughness, had revised the ciphers used during the reign of his father, Charles V. His new general cipher of 1556, set the pattern for Spanish cryptography for almost one hundred years.

French logic was also applied to cipher work. Babon and Viète were two outstanding cryptanalysts in the royal service, but the most brilliant of the French school was a nobleman called Blaise de Vigenère, who produced a cipher for Henri III which was an improvement on Della Porta's system. He also wrote a long and rambling book on cipher, *Traicts des Chiffres*, which included the following statement: "All the things in the world constitute a cipher. All nature is merely a cipher and a secret writing. The great name and essence of God and his wonders, the very deeds, projects, words, actions and demeanour of mankind—what are they for the most part but a cipher?"

Cryptography made its first impact in England during the reign of Henry VIII and became an effective arm of statecraft under Queen Elizabeth. The man chiefly responsible for this was Sir Francis Walsingham, who organised a secret service, which at one time, employed 53 agents on the Continent. One of his most accomplished assistants was Anthony Bacon—the brother of Francis—but the best of his cryptanalysts was Thomas Phelippes, a widely-travelled educated man, who was capable of solving ciphers in five languages.

Walsingham opened a secret cipher school in London and all of his agents had to take a course in cryptography before they

were entrusted with service abroad. Of course, Walsingham's Secret Service was not solely concerned with foreign affairs, but was designed to protect the Queen from treasonable activities on her own doorstep as well. Naturally enough, its devious and subtle machinations aroused deep mistrust among honest Englishmen, who loved freedom of speech and hated "the corridors of darkness". Elizabeth's England was almost a totalitarian state.

In his *Lenten Stufte*, 1599, Thomas Nashe satirised the workings of this political system:—

"O, for a legion of mice-eyed decipherers and calculators upon characters, now to augurate what I mean by this . . . men that have no means to purchase credit with their prince, but by putting him still in fear and beating into his opinion that they are the only preservers of his life, in sitting up night and day in sifting out treasons, when they are the most traitors themselves to his life, health and quiet . . ."

Yet, however much we may sympathise with Nashe's attitude, history shows that cryptography was one of Elizabeth's most valuable political assets. It was the decipherment of a secret message to Anthony Babington, that sent Mary, Queen of Scots, to the block. Having obtained this evidence, Walsingham sent his agent Gifford back to Fotheringay Castle to intercept and copy more of Mary's secret messages, with the result that all of the conspirators to depose Elizabeth, including Mary herself, were finally arrested. Walsingham later claimed that his agents had found the keys to about 50 different ciphers in Mary's apartments.

Another monarch who employed ciphers with fatal effect was Charles I. The charges brought against him in his trial, were based on deciphered correspondence. As Francis Bacon remarked in his chapter on ciphers in *The Advancement of Learning*: Many times the greatest Matters are committed to futile and weak Cyphers.

Secret writing became a preoccupation of the English. A doctor called Timothy Bright wrote the first book on shorthand which was published in 1588 under the title, *The Arte of Shorte, Swifte and Secret Writing*.

In 1641, an English textbook on cryptology was published anonymously. It was called *Mercury, or the Secret and Swift Messenger*, and was the work of John Wilkins, who later became the Bishop of Chester, and a founder and first secretary of the Royal Society. *Mercury* introduced the words "cryptographia" (secrecy in writing) and "cryptologia" (secrecy in speech) into the English language. However, Wilkins reserved the term "cryptomeneses" or "private intimations" for the art of secret communication in general.

No doubt he was influenced in this by Gustavus Selenus's great cipher compendium, *Cryptomenytices et Cryptographiae* which had come out in Germany in 1624. Gustavus Selenus was a pseudonym for Augustus, Duke of Braunschwaig-Luneberg. Gustavus was an anagram of Augustus, and Selene—the Greek goddess of the moon, called "Luna" in Latin—stood for Luneberg. This very large book* was a mixture of cipher and occultism after the fashion of Trithemius. It was also, in parts, a playful work, including a eulogy on Duke Augustus by the unknown Selenus.

But by and large, cipher was a serious business. People no longer wrote in secrecy for fun. The science of cryptography had come a long way from the ancient Egyptians.

The reasons for writing in cipher were many and varied. The Duke of Monmouth used cipher in order to de-throne King James II; Samuel Pepys wrote his *Diary* in cipher for an entirely different motive.

As a general rule, the use of cipher in the arts was related to the author's position in society. Innumerable sixteenth and seventeenth century books were either written anonymously, or signed with initials or a bogus name: some of them were secretly acknowledged. Perhaps the best and most famous example is the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, published without name in 1499 at Venice. By 1512, readers had discovered that the first letters of the 38 chapters spelled out "Polium frater Franciscus Columna peramavit"—"Brother Francesco Columna passionately loves

*A photostat copy, in the original Latin, is in the possession of the Society-Editor.

Polia." As Columna was a Dominican monk, still alive when the book was published, the reason for this authorship steganogram is clear.

Another and earlier instance of an acrostic signature is *The Testament of Love* which, for several hundred years, was thought to be by Geoffrey Chaucer. Finally in 1897, it was noticed that the initial letters of the various chapters spelled out a message attributing the book to Thomas Usk. Once again, the hidden message was associated with the name of a lady, and we are reminded of Francis Bacon's passage in *The Twoo Bookes of the Advancement of Learning* (1605 Edition): "The greatest matters are many times conveyed in the weakest cyphers."

The same technique was also used by one of Elizabeth's Bishops, Francis Godwin, in an anonymous history of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary. No doubt, the worthy Bishop used the ways of secrecy because of his standing in the state.

This then, is the historical background to cipher which we must bear in mind as we approach the First Folio of Shakespeare's plays.

And yet on this subject, Shakespearean commentators and professors seem to have little knowledge, and are strangely reluctant to accept the possibility that there is cipher in the plays of Shakespeare.

Many orthodox scholars and intellectuals have consistently maintained that it is a waste of time to search for ciphers in early 17th century printed books, other than books specifically written *about* ciphers, such as the Gustavus Selenus folio of 1624.

They do, however, grant that William Camden used the last letter of his Christian and surnames to identify himself with his *Remaines* 1605 and that he inserted in one of the chapters two Latin anagrams of his name. But they invariably qualify this admission by contending that these devices were not, in fact, true cipher. In this, it must be conceded they do have a point, but there is another book—a history published anonymously in 1616,

which can be shown to contain a simple, and by definition, a technically perfect and complete cipher.

The book which was referred to earlier in this article is *Rerum Anglicorum Henrico VIII, Eduardo VI et Maria Regnantibus Annales*. Both the first and second editions of this work carry no author's name, a not unusual thing in those days where the writing of histories was concerned. The risk of offending powerful factions with dire consequences to the author, was far too great.

The author of this particular work, however, did decide to risk enciphering his name and identity in the two editions which appeared during his lifetime.

After his death, a relative decided to publish an English translation, naming Bishop Francis Godwin as the original author.

His cipher was the delightfully simple one mentioned earlier and certainly effective enough to escape detection during his lifetime, with as far as is known, just one exception—the original owner of a second edition, 1628. This person detected it and inscribed his decipherment on the fly leaf of the book, along with a description of the exact method used to encipher the message which runs as follows:

*I Franciscus Godwinus Landavensis Episcopus Hos
Conscripsit.*

The letters appear in the above order as the initial capital letters of each chapter. I am lucky enough to possess the First and Second Editions of this book, and my copy of the Second Edition, 1628, is the actual one previously referred to, in which the original owner inserted the deciphered message on the fly leaf. The two plates illustrated here, show the title page and the inscribed fly leaf in the original owner's hand.

In view of this piece of authentic evidence that cipher did in fact exist in these early printed books, no one can say that it is unreasonable to think that if one book printed in 1616 contained cipher, it would be perfectly feasible for another published seven years later, also to contain cipher. This point is made to demonstrate to the sceptics, that cipher in these 17th century

books is a proven fact, and the probability of other contemporary books, particularly where histories are concerned, containing coded messages, is very real, and certainly worthy of serious scientific study.

If only these sceptics would stop to think, they would realise that concealed encipherment in printed books was the only really logical way dangerous information could be recorded, in the hope that at some *future date*, the secret encipherment would be de-coded. Furthermore, in the case of dangerous hidden messages, the form of the ciphers used would of necessity have to be entirely new. It would be extremely foolish, not to say foolhardy, to use any known cipher principles. This is a fact which should be recognised by modern cryptanalists. They should remember that if the cipher had remained undiscovered for 350 years, it would today, in effect, still be an entirely new cipher which would not in any way be likely to react to known methods of de-cipherment.

Another aspect which must be realised is, that normal cipher communication between two persons, each of whom naturally possess the key, has the inherent principle of avoidance of discovery, whereas the individual who finds it necessary to encipher a message in a printed book, has to all intents and purposes, the diametrically opposite intention, because the mere fact that he enciphers a message in a printed book, shows that he hopes that at some future date, someone will discover his intentions. Of course, the fact that he has gone to the trouble of enciphering a message, means that he does not desire the discovery to take place too soon—logically one presumes, not in his lifetime. For that very reason he would naturally not make use of any known cipher principle, hence the almost certain use of a completely new method—in other words, he has to invent one of his own and to attain his object, he has to negotiate three important and very tricky hurdles, apart from the encipherment of his message:

- (a) he must hint somehow at the presence of his cipher—
if possible obscurely, but not *too* obscurely, otherwise
the whole object of the exercise would be in vain,

- (b) he has to show its whereabouts,
- (c) he must indicate as unambiguously as possible, and this is the really difficult part, the correct key to unlock his coded message.

For these reasons, it is obvious that all normal principles of decipherment are turned upside down and are for the most part, entirely useless. So any would-be decipherer has from necessity to start from scratch and make liberal use of trial and error, guesswork and intuition. Once he has discovered the key or rule, he must rigidly, without variation, stick to the rule, because it is a known fact that critics of cipher invariably search for the tiniest flaw, and if they find one, they are nearly always wont to condemn the whole.

It is so important that once the trail is discovered, the decipherer must go over his work again and again, preferably with a long time-gap between each revision. Whatever he does, he must *not* go off "half-cock" and leap into print before his work is entirely watertight, because if he does, he only invites derision, not only on his own head, but on the heads of others who are working in this much maligned field of research.

One book published in the first quarter of the 17th century, qualified in several ways for cryptic investigation—the 1623 Shakespeare Folio. It became suspect, just by reason of the proliferation of inexplicable lines scattered, apparently, in a haphazard fashion throughout certain plays, particularly *Love's Labour's Lost*; and secondly, because of certain irregularities of type which were to be found on only two pages out of the 900 odd pages of the Folio.

Many of these inexplicable lines have never received satisfactory explanation from the pundits, and many others have received strangely varied interpretations, most of them being almost as unintelligible as the original lines.

In the play *Love's Labour's Lost*, one line in particular utterly defied explanation in or out of context, unless viewed in a cryptic light: "And to begin Wench So God helpe me law." This line was queried with five different leading Shakespearean professors and received four entirely different explanations; the

fifth admitted that—to quote his own words—“I haven’t the remotest idea.” But here is the crux of the matter—not one of these universally accepted authorities even suggested that a cryptic meaning might be the answer. Why? Why this apparent fear of cipher? Do they fear what might be revealed, or is the fact that cipher might be found in some way abhorrent to them? Surely, if a line or lines failed to respond to any normal explanation in the light of the open text, it is not unreasonable to test it for a cryptic solution?

I have, for a number of years, been carrying out a detailed examination of several passages in the Folio which appeared to be suspect. Two of these have proved very fruitful fields for investigation, and have re-acted in a startling manner to certain keys found in one of Bacon’s lesser known works written in 1623 and not published until after his death. The result of applying these keys, proved to be entirely conclusive. No rule variations were needed, no ignoring of inconvenient letters, no omitting of italic or Roman type words. *No* letter or word of the text as printed in the Folio was omitted or tampered with.

The keys in Bacon’s work re-acted cleanly and smoothly in their entirety, and the results were so obviously irrefutable, that it was decided to put them to a severe test.

An English professor of a famous school assembled some 30 unbiased experts of his own selection, and I submitted my findings with a detailed explanation of the steps I had taken. These gentlemen agreed that the results were arrived at by sound logical steps and that the method of decipherment was entirely acceptable.

In view of this, I decided, with a certain amount of trepidation, to write to William Friedman and consult him for a ruling on the procedure I had adopted. I gave him a detailed account of the steps I had taken towards a decipherment, taking care not to use either the name Bacon or Shakespeare, merely mentioning that two 17th century books were examined. His reply to my letter was friendly. In it, he specified certain conditions—all of which I had fully adhered to in my decipherment. He also

stated that if the steps, rules, or keys were maintained without variation, then—and I quote from his letter, "Nobody will be in a position to question or challenge the validity of what you have produced.

If these messages come to light as the direct result of the precise instructions as to where to look, and if a key book of some sort is used in connection with another book, then I should say that one would be warranted in calling the system a cipher.

We shall be glad to hear from you when you are ready to send your book to some publisher, it may well contain valuable historical information. Good luck to you."

In the course of my decipherment, I have adhered to all the above conditions. I have found a key-book (Bacon's) and applied it to another book—The Shakespeare Folio—and what has been found certainly confirms what he says about historical information. I must also explain that at the time, I had thought of writing a book about my findings.

Apart from his letter to me, Friedman in his book has this to say on the subject of *probabilities*: "The point must be reached where he begins to feel that the whole thing did not and could not happen by accident. But it is not simply a matter of his feeling this; the assessment can be far more rigorous. The mathematical theory of *probability* can be applied and the chances calculated *exactly*. If the cryptanalyst finds a certain Key and (on the basis of the way it is built up) he calculates that the chances of its appearing by accident are one in one thousand million, his confidence in the solution will be more than justified." (He is writing about the would-be decipherer.)

I got an expert mathematician to apply this theory of probability mentioned by Friedman, to the main decipherment I made in the Dedication to the Folio, where it was cryptically necessary that nine different letters should appear in nine critical positions. Mathematically, the odds against these letters appearing thus by accident would be computed, I was informed, as twenty-four to the power of nine, which is somewhere in the region of twenty-six and a half billion to one (!); the number 24 being the number of letters in the Elizabethan alphabet.

But it must be remembered that letters differ from one another in the frequency of their appearance in our language; for instance, the letter 'e' appears far more frequently than the letter 'x'. In Laffin's book, *Codes and Ciphers*, there is a table laying out the frequencies of the various letters of the alphabet as they occur in every thousand words. The mathematician consulted, computed the odds against the nine letters of my decipherment appearing by accident in nine critical positions, using Laffin's tables. The answer was quite staggering; the mathematical odds came out at 460,963,916,180 to 1! Now the Friedmans claimed that odds of one thousand million to one were sufficient, so the odds computed where my findings were concerned were four hundred and sixty times better than the standard required by the Friedmans.

It might be of interest if I quoted from Laffin's tables and explained the principle on which the mathematical expert worked. As there were not a thousand words in the Dedication, the frequencies of the letters were worked out on a percentage basis. For instance the letter 'C' in the table, has a frequency of one hundred and twenty-four per thousand words, which worked out when applied to the Dedication percentage as odds of four hundred to eleven, which meant to say that, in four hundred different passages of prose, exactly the same length as the Dedication, the letter 'C' would appear for example, as the thirteenth letter of the thirty-eighth line eleven times in these four hundred passages. Laffin's frequency tables are as follows:

A-368	B- 65	C-124	D-171	E-591	F-132	G- 90
H-237	I-286	K- 19	L-153	M-114	N-320	O-360
P- 89	Q- 5	R-308	S-275	T-473	U-111	W- 68
X- 7	Y- 89	Z- 3.	Per 1,000 words.			

All Friedman's cryptic requirements have been rigidly adhered to, and after nearly twelve years of checking and re-checking and ruthlessly discarding anything that could remotely be questioned, at last I feel that I am in a position to state categorically that I have positively found, by use of keys

indicated by Francis Bacon and by no variation in the operation of these keys, that there is cipher in the First Folio of the Shakespeare Plays; and I now feel justified in publishing, because I am absolutely ready and fully able to support my statement with irrefutable evidence and further, to submit my findings to any qualified authority on cipher for critical analysis.

It is utterly impossible for even the most sceptical to deny the existence of what has been found, because *it is there*.

The very fact that there is now cast-iron proof of the existence of cipher in the Folio will destroy once and for all the case of those who cannot, or will not, acknowledge the possibility of its existence.

Many of these sceptics are, however, quite prepared to believe that the Shakespeare manuscripts are buried in some grave or other, without being specific as to which one. And furthermore, they are quite prepared to support (given permission) random exhumation based, as far as one can see, wholly on theory and guesswork.*

If these Shakespeare manuscripts still exist and if they were meant to be found at some later date, then instructions must have been left in some way to guide the future searchers and what better way to reach these unknown searchers than through the medium of a printed book—and what better way than cipher in this printed book? When one comes down to basics, this really is the only logical possibility. I firmly believe that if Bacon meant his manuscripts to be discovered, he certainly must have enciphered information as to their whereabouts; so would-be grave-diggers might do well to study the possibilities of cipher—

* Editor's Note. In fairness it should be pointed out that the Council of the Francis Bacon Society are the Trustees of a Fund which is legally bound to be expended in a search for the "Bacon-Shakespeare MSS." and on that object alone. This Trust was allowed in a High Court action and was accepted, partly in deference to the wishes of the testator, and partly in the hope that something would be found to justify her legacy, even if it was no more than coded instructions. The Council is endeavouring to carry out its obligations, not only in the investigation of monuments and tombs (many of which bear cryptic inscriptions) but in the field of cipher research as well. In this respect *The Unspeakable Word* is a most helpful contribution, and "The Outsider" is to be warmly congratulated.

or at least, to co-operate with those who make a study of this science.

For my part, I cannot honestly believe Bacon had any such intention. Why should he? All he had to do, to identify himself with the Plays, was to encipher his name in a suitable significant place in the Folio, and that is exactly what he did.

It is generally overlooked that in his day, manuscripts as such, unlike today, held no particular value once they had been transferred to print and published. They were only of consequence before their substance was in print; after that, their fate in those days was to be burnt, or more likely pulped and turned into book-covers. There is a record that certain notable manuscripts were used as pull-throughs for cleaning gun barrels and generally for any purpose that could equally well be filled by dirty rags.

Logic surely dictates that anyone who did not wish his name associated with a certain work during his lifetime, would take very good care to destroy any evidence of his handwriting. If, however, he desired his identity to be recognised by future ages, enciphering his name in the book in question would be the only sane way of attaining his object.

The only operational function of a manuscript is to transmit the contents to the readers, and on its own it can only reach a very limited number.

Only when a manuscript becomes a book does the true value reach fruition, and in reaching it, it loses all its value.

A philosopher and logician like Bacon would realise that once a manuscript is published as a book, it has fulfilled its purpose and is no longer of any consequence.

Certainly in those days if the content was in any way controversial, as a history might be, a manuscript became a positive danger, and the slightest risk of its discovery, highly undesirable.

Cipher must now be taken very seriously, and should no longer be looked upon as the province of elderly cranks and the lunatic fringe, and consequently treated with scorn and derision.

Those that do this are in for an awakening, because it can now be definitely shown, without any "ifs or buts" that it exists, both in the Quarto of *Love's Labour's Lost*, and in the 1623 Folio of the Plays of Mr. William Shakespeare, of Gorhambury House, St. Albans.

NOTE

No cipher findings have been included in this article because the Society has most kindly suggested that a booklet be published, showing a few of the results mentioned. This booklet is now in course of preparation. (See Editorial).

THE TOUCHSTONE

by Jacobite 1971

Enter Prologue

O For a Muse of Fire, that would ascend
The brightest Heaven of Invention:
A Kingdome for a Stage, Princes to Act,
And Monarchs to behold the swelling Scene.
Then should the Warlike Harry, like himselfe,
Assume the Port of Mars, and at his heeles
(Leasht in, like Hounds) should Famine, Sword and Fire
Crouch for employment. But pardon, Gentles all:
The flat unraysed Spirits, that hath dar'd,
On this unworthy Scaffold, to bring forth
So great an Object. Can this Cock-Pit hold
The vastie fields of France? Or may we cramme
Within this Woodden O, the very Caskes
That did affright the Ayre at Agincourt?
O pardon: since a crooked Figure may
Attest in little place a Million,
And let us, Cyphers to this great Accompt,
On your imaginarie Forces worke . . . *

Thus RUMOUR, Herald to 'The Life of Henry the Fift'.

The emissaries of that foreign Political Department so well known to us, will say that the passage was written by Mrs. Gallup because it says that there are six cyphers in the play, that each Actor is a cypher, that the Herald Rumour is purposely included among them.

Write his name thus RU-MO-UR. In the days when this was written MO was the standard abbreviation for the Latin MODO (Method) or Modus Operandi; I have a contemporary dictionary beside me. In the name Rumour the third syllable is a straight lateral inversion of the first, and therefore a PALIN-

* In the spelling of the First Folio.

DROME. This is no flash of intuition, but a second step. For the first step turn to *The Tempest*, 2/1.

Seb. Bate (I beseech you) WIDDOW DIDO

Ant. O WIDDOW DIDO ? I, WIDDOW DIDO.

By the dictionary, "bate" means to diminish or reduce. The encipherer shows you how to do it.

BATE, WIDDOW ——— to ——— IDDO

Turn her head ——— to ——— DIDO (Even)

Working through these allegedly non-existent cyphers, the writer was at one point confronted by a meaningless jumble of characters which, from the context, could be a name—but no English name. When he had convinced himself that the fault was his and not the encipherer's, he went to the Senate House Library of London University. There, by their untiring courtesy, he scanned the Elizabethan maps of Wales. In two days he found a collection of characters with a close enough resemblance to those the cypher had produced.

In this place on the Welsh marshes stands an isolated decrepit chapel, pre 1500. When its history was investigated, imagine his surprise to find that the cream of Elizabethan writers was associated with it. Names and works of which he had never heard were there; and many sonnets, with the authors named in the beginning, which were not signed; but one was signed by Christopher Marlowe, amongst others. It must be a shrine of English literature. It stands, unkempt, unhonoured, and unsung, unmoved by the demise and decay of kings, dynasties, nations.

Much of the enciphering must have been done there. A most suitable locale, since the Welsh language mutates the beginnings of words in inflexion, and not, as with most other languages, the endings. Their genius shines again, for in Welsh, no dictionary can help a decipherer. So their cyphers have endured for three hundred years. IDDO — O — I, are Welsh words.

How generations of English teachers have dealt with RUMOUR's opening gambit is difficult to imagine. Mnemosyne*

* The Greek goddess of memory, daughter of Heaven and Earth, and mother by Zeus of the nine Muses.—Editor

had no daughter in any way connected with Fire or the Sun. And, what is the Heaven of Invention ?

The passage, inverted, reads:—

O for an Invention, that would ascend
The brightest Heaven of a Muse of Fire. (The Sun at its
Meridian).

Why the Inversion ?

Musae=Nine, Invention=Nine.

Giving the latter the RUMOUR treatment,
IN VENTI ON, we get

VENTI=The Winds, NONI=Nine, both in Latin.

From winds to ships is no flight of fancy.

I have shown you the steps.

In this odd wooden circle,

I leave you.

VALE.

* * * *

The *Baconiana* of Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury (1679) is stated to be a collection of the "Remaines" of Lord Bacon.

Whether Thomas Tenison had any choice in his selection or whether, in fact, this was all the material available to him is not now likely to be proved one way or the other. Certainly the whole book is thought-provoking; to the present writer it appears to be a carefully planned skeleton of a more complex structure for the reader to complete. Enigmatic passages abound; the diction and orthography of the day tend to establish this, being totally unusual to us today but, making due allowances for this, it is difficult to accept as simple narrative such passages as occur on page four. I quote:

In this last and most comprehensive Account, I have, on purpose, used a loose and Asiatic Style, and wilfully committed that venial fault with which the Laconian (In Boccalini) is merrily taxed, who had said that in three words, which he might possibly have express'd in two.

Cryptographers will see "Baconian" and "Laconian" as hints for cypher wheel manipulation. And since the scale of two was Baconian, surely the scale of three is Laconian? Or possibly only "two" out of "three" are significant. But this is a digression from the present subject. On page twenty, as if to acquit its content from any suspicion of Laconian practices, Tenison quotes directly from Thomas Bushell as follows:

His third invention was a kind of mechanical index of the mind. And of this Mr. Bushell hath given us the following Narrative and description. "His Lordship presented to Prince Henry two triangular stones (as the *first-fruits* of his Philosophy) to imitate the sympathetical motion of the Load-stone and iron, although made up by the compounds of Meteors (as Star-shot Jelly) and other like Magical engredients, with the reflected Beams of the Sun, on purpose that the warmth distill'd into them through the moist heat of the Hand, might discover the affection of the Heart, by a visible sign of their Attraction and Appetite to each other, like the hand of a watch, within ten minutes after they are laid on a Marble Table, or the Theatre of a great Looking-Glass. I write not this as a feigned story, but as a real Truth; for I was never quiet in my mind till I had procured these Jewels of my Lords Philosophy from Mr. Archy Primrose, the Prince's Page

(Thomas Bushell).

Tenison continues:

Of this I find nothing, either in his Lordships Experiments touching Emission, or Immateriate Virtues from the Minds and Spirits of Men . . . wherefore I forbear to speak further in an argument about which I am so much in the dark.

* * * *

Thomas Bushell was a Balliol scholar who specialised in metals, their production, mining, and alloys. After leaving Oxford he joined the entourage of Francis Bacon, became his seal-bearer and proved to be a man of considerable erudition and ability. In 1621, after Bacon's fall, he lay hid in the Isle of Wight for a few years. Then from 1626 to 1629 he retired to the Calf of Man and lived the life of a recluse. Whether he had some study or project in mind, or just retired from the scene because of his patron's indictment is not known. He remained there for three years until he joined the service of Charles I, by whom he was highly regarded.

Whilst on the Calf of Man he constructed a cruxiform earthwork, the remains of which can be seen today, but this would be no day-trip since there is only one point of access and that only in calm weather.

The passages on metals and alloys in the various works of Lord Bacon may be expected to have originated with Bushell. Why they were included is a much deeper question; the writer's guess would be to establish a collection of correspondencies—to use the language of Natural Magic—or of “sympathies” to use his. Further information on the Isle of Man is contained in *Portrait of the Isle of Man* by Canon E. H. Stenning, from which the above information was extracted.

The present writer would be interested to know whether the statements made on page 145 of Canon Stenning's book—that no written matter existed in the Manx language prior to 1700, nor was any dictionary produced till 1835—are true; and he would be grateful for information from any interested person. He has a hunch that they are not true. “Why?” would take another article!

Pages 20 and 21 of Tenison's *Baconiana* are here reproduced, in facsimile (pages 92 & 94) so that the reader who has no copy of the book at hand may study the type-face and punctuation.

After the restrained style of the Archbishop the passage makes strange reading and is difficult to understand fully. As has been noted, the style of the day is not by our standards easy, the introduction of scientific terms merely aggravating the difficulty. From the context of the passage he does not claim to have played any part in the production, although he implies that they were made artificially. His suggested ingredients, “Compounds of Meteors and reflected Sun Beams” do nothing to inspire confidence in his knowledge of their nature, and suggest that someone had been blinding him with science. The reflected rays of the sun are more likely to play a part in the phenomenon displayed in their use than in so-called ingredients as is further suggested by his reference to a large “Looking-Glass” in that connection.

That the reflected ray and not the direct ray of the sun was used gives a clue to the nature of the phenomenon involved, since by Brewster's Law in Optics, "When the reflected ray is normal to the refracted ray, the reflected ray is plane polarized." The production in modern times of semi-precious stones, *e.g.* sapphires, for use as gramophone needles, calls for extremely high pressures and temperatures, and although it is dangerous to be dogmatic, it is extremely improbable that the Elizabethans were capable of producing either, with all their alchemy. It must therefore be assumed that we are dealing with a natural crystal.

Bushell, as a top-flight mining engineer, would have been difficult to deceive with any indigenous mineral, but his knowledge of the minerals of the Americas, for instance, must have been scanty. The probability is, therefore, that the device was constructed from an exotic mineral, an unusual one to boot, which, if my conjecture is correct, was capable of magnetisation, or was naturally magnetic, and would polarise light.

The heat of the hand by itself would be very unlikely to have any effect on the magnetisation (unless it held a blow-lamp!), and similarly the refractive index—being a function of the molecular structure—would not be likely to be influenced by the mere fraction of a degree that the heat of the hand could impart to it.

But, if the reader will take two Polaroid filters, or one filter and a polarised lens, and cross them up to a black-out, he will discover that a very minute angular change is sufficient to re-open the light gate. It is just possible that the heat of the hand could be utilised to change the plane of polarisation of some substance and thus act as a light gate. The hotter the hand, the more light on a cold heart, to quote wise saws and modern instances. Scientific history, so far as the writer is aware, cites no case where the Elizabethans had any knowledge of the polarisation of light. But they might well be aware of the phenomenon without being able to put our name to it. It might well be the Lucifer they write about.

The above is a fair statement of the views the writer has held for some years on Bushell's statement; after all it is unique;

An Account of all

to have given to Mr. *Bushel*, the occasion of his Mistake. “ After the Queen had deny’d to Mr. *Bacon*, the Solicitor’s Place, “ for the which the Earl of *Essex* had been “ a long and earnest suitor on his behalf, it “ pleased that Earl to come to him, from “ *Richmond*, to *Twickenham-Park*; and thus “ to break with him: Mr. *Bacon*, the *Queen*. “ hath deny’d me the *Place* for you.— “ you fare ill, because you have chosen *me* “ for your Mean and Dependance: You “ have spent your thoughts and time in my “ Matters; I die—if I do not do somewhat “ towards your Fortune. You shall not “ deny to accept a piece of Land which I “ will bestow upon you. And it was, it “ seems, so large a piece, that he under-sold it for no less than Eighteen Hundred Pounds.

(o) In
 the Ex-
 traordinary p.
 175, 18.

His *Third Invention* was, a kind of *Mechanical Index of the Mind*. And of this, Mr. *Bushel* (o) hath given us the following Narrative and Description. “ His Lordship presented to Prince *Henry*, *Two Triangular Stones* (as the First-fruits of his “ Philosophy) to imitate the Sympathetical Motion of the *Load-stone* and *Iron*, “ although made up by the Compounds of “ *Meteors* (as *Star-shot Jelly*) and other “ like Magical Ingredients, with the reflect- “ ed

the Lord Bacon's Works.

21

“ed Beams of the Sun, on purpose that:
 “the warmth distill'd into them through the
 “moist heat of the Hand, might discover
 “the affection of the Heart, by a visible
 “sign of their Attraction and Appetite to
 “each other, like the hand of a Watch,
 “within ten Minutes after they are laid on
 “a Marble Table, or the Theatre of a great
 “Looking-Glass. I write not this as a
 “feigned Story, but as a real Truth; for
 “I was never quiet in my Mind, till I had
 “procured these Jewels of my Lord's Phi-
 “losophy from Mr. Archy Primrose, the
 “Prince's Page.

Of this I find nothing, either in his
Lordship's Experiments (p) touching Enziffi- (p) *Nat.*
on, or Immaterial Virtues, from the Minds *Hist. Cent.*
and Spirits of Men; or, in those concern- 10. *Exp.*
ing the secret Virtue of Sympathy and Anti- 939. *&c.*
pathy (q). Wherefore I forbear to speak (q) *ibid.*
 further in an Argument about which I am *Exp. 960.*
 so much in the dark. *&c. p. 211.*

I proceed to subjects upon which I can
 speak with much more assurance, his Inimitable
Writings.

Now, of the Works of the Lord Bacon,
 many are extant, and some are lost, in
 whole, or in part.

His *Abecedarium Naturæ*, is in part lost,
 and there remaineth nothing of it besides

c 3

the

THE NICOL PRISM

Iceland Spar Crystal

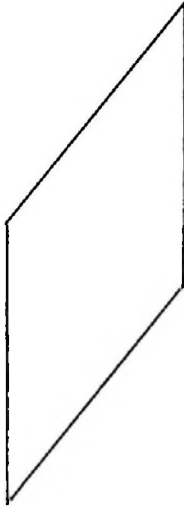


Fig. 1

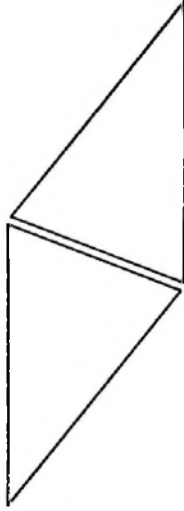


Fig. 2

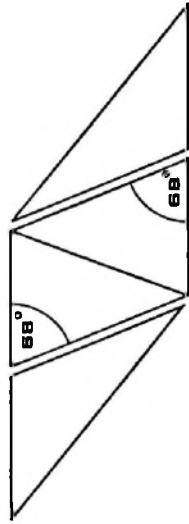


Fig. 3

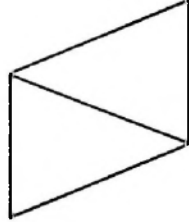


Fig. 4

THE POLARIMETER



Fig. 5

THE A.O.L. PLINTH TRIANGLES



Fig. 6

nowhere else is the subject mentioned, and the writer has argued that eventually, if there is any substance in the report, some other information would come to light. It seems to the writer that this has now happened and is almost as incredible as Bushell's statement. Fortunately the sources are easily checked.

The first discovery appears in *The Advancement of Learning* (1640) in the frontispiece which is here reproduced facing page 1.

Consider the supporters of the veil. Each appears to be a pyramid of square section supported by balls on a cubic plinth. The reason for the balls has never been very obvious to the writer, who supposed them to have some heraldic significance.

The books which form the steps of the plinths are engraved in correct perspective and, by projecting these, the height of eye appears near the fighting top of the ship's foremast. As the eye rises the perspective reverses and with the entablatures badly out, "Cantabrigia" is also awry. The light coloured balls strike the eye, and eventually (after several years in the writer's case) it is realised that something is wrong, there are only three per side, supporting what appear to be square based pyramids. But this cannot be, square pyramids would topple over about an axis formed by the extreme left and right balls; therefore they must be triangular, which is the only shape which puts the centre of gravity within the triangle formed by the three balls. So the pyramids are, in fact, tetrahedrons, each free to move through a limited angle. This must be the original conception of the ball-bearing which modern life relies upon so much. They are also Bushell's triangular stones, free to attract or repel each other on *marble slabs*.

When discussing these stones with a friend, the writer was asked if he had investigated the "Solar-stein" used by the Vikings in their navigation. A sun-stone in navigation interests the writer very much for two reasons. Firstly, before the advent of Polaroid, the main source of polarised light for laboratory and commercial use was the NICOL Prism invented in 1828 and constructed from "Iceland Spar", a mineral of that country which has the property of splitting a light ray into two rays, one of which is polarised. Secondly, between the wars the German scientist Von

Fritsche conducted a very revealing investigation into the navigational methods of the honey bee.

It was known that the honey bee, its pouches full, returns from the nectar source and on its arrival at the hive does a figure-of-eight dance upon the threshold thereof, whereupon flights or squadrons of bees set out for the source of the food supply. It was concluded that the pathfinder's reference vector must be the sun, a perfectly reasonable hypothesis when it is visible, but how does it do it when the sky is overcast and is not visible? The sun still must be the reference datum.

Von Fritsche, through a number of brilliant experiments, established that the sun's position is then indicated by a pattern of polarised light on the cloud base, and that the bees by reason of their complex eye structure, having different sectors with different planes of polarisation, could see the sun's position even when it was invisible to us. Because of the implications contained in the above facts, the writer pursued information on the "Solar-stein" with vigour. The story that unfolds serves to strengthen Lord Bacon's dictum: "There is nothing new under the sun."

In the journal of the American National Geographic Society for April 1970 an article entitled "The Vikings" appeared. As would be expected in this journal, it is an able piece of reporting, its author having gone to considerable lengths and travelled some thousands of miles to marshal and check his story. The photography further adorns a captivating narrative. It shows that the Vikings in their conquests travelled immense distances, reaching Byzantium in the East through the great rivers of Russia to the Americas in the West, culminating in the landing at Belle Isle, Newfoundland, in 1000 A.D.

The long sea route from Denmark via The Faroes, Iceland, Greenland to Belle Isle in wild, desolate and uncharted waters—the graveyard, even in these days, of many a stout ship—being traversed in boats with only a few feet of freeboard and long before the magnetic compass was known to western civilisation. The author was aware that the navigational methods used had long been a matter of interest to archaeologists and that various Norse Sagas spoke of a Solar-stein or sun-stone. He therefore

went to Copenhagen and there consulted Dr. Ramskou of the Danish National Museum, who recounted yet another surprising story.

Dr. Ramskou was indeed convinced from the Sagas and various archaeological remains that the Vikings navigated with a sun-stone. Accordingly, he published a paper, purely conjectural, he says (the present writer only hopes that his conjectures on Bushell's stones are as productive) on what the sun-stone might be or do.

Dr. Ramskou received a letter from the Chief Navigator of Scandinavian Airlines System informing him that such a device was in normal daily use by them in their flights over the Polar regions, where a magnetic compass is of no value. Their instrument, which they called the Sky Compass, had a polarising lens which directed to the mid-heaven formed an image of the sky upon a plane surface, from which the navigator was able to calculate the direction of the sun's rays.

Pursuing this avenue Dr. Ramskou discovered that several crystals found in Iceland and Scandinavia had natural polarising properties; Iceland Spar among them, of course. He eventually produced and presented a crystal of cordierite to the "Viking" author who, panning the skyline and rotating the crystal, came to a point where it became opaque, thus locating the position of the sun. Ramskou was later invited by Scandinavian Airlines System to make a flight over Greenland in one of their aircraft, and found that the cordierite crystal agreed within $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ with their sophisticated Sky Compass.

It seems astounding that such important pieces of scientific knowledge should be tied up in little water-tight compartments with seemingly little communication between them.

The *Encyclopedia Britannica* gives the following information on cordierite:

CORDIERITE:

Silicate of Magnesia, Ferrous Oxide and Alumina. Named in 1813 after P. L. Cordier who discovered its pleochromism (display of different colours from different angles). The natural mineral sometimes called Iolite has no commercial value due to the large amount of Ferrous Oxide present. Large deposits exist in the Laramie Range in Wyoming.

No information is available on its magnetic properties, if any, but there is a group of non-ferrous alloys which are susceptible of magnetisation to a high flux density, and it is known that any alloy near in composition to these has similar qualities. An alloy of Copper, Manganese and Aluminium heads them, and since Cordierite contains both Manganese and Aluminium it may well have some magnetic properties, although of course the metals appear as Silicates and not Oxides. But to have suggested only a few years ago that the magnetic properties of a Ceramic would be invaluable in radio communication would have been deemed fantastic, yet such is the case with the modern Ferrite today.

But to return to the frontispiece in *The Advancement of Learning*. Ignoring the metaphysical implications of the veil and concentrating on the physical phenomena portrayed, we see that the accepted symbols of "Light" and "Reflected Light" head the page, in the form of the Sun (direct rays) and the Moon (reflected rays). They show the visible world associated with the Sun and the mental world with the Moon.

If each symbol has the same force (and there is nothing to indicate the contrary) since it is an undisputable fact that the visible world owes its very existence to the Sun it would appear that the mental world is entirely governed by the Moon. The more one ponders on the veracity of the first, the more shattering the implications of the second, if this book is to be considered as an exposition of the arcane. For we know that polarised light is always implicit in reflected light.

The supporters of the veil have now been considered. What of the ship? On a page of abstract philosophical symbols and references it is surely not just an ornament. Is it then a symbol? Of what? It can be related to only two of Bacon's books, the *New Atlantis* and *The History of the Winds*.

In the latter there is a very detailed account of the configuration and dimensions of a ship's sails of that period. The amount of detail itself is unusual in any of Bacon's works, signifying the importance he placed upon it. Readers can see these in *Baconiana* nos. 157 and 158 in an article entitled "Bacon's

Instruments as aids to the sense of Sight". There, most appositely, the author sees the dimensions as representing the properties of lenses. They would be rather gigantic lenses though, impossible to construct to the accuracy required for optical purposes. The present writer is of the opinion that once again Bacon foresaw modern practice (it might even have been current practice!) and included in the dimensions a large multiplier, in order to obtain the shape with accuracy. The accompanying drawing was, for instance, drawn twice the size, as a convenience for old and failing eyes, and then reduced photographically to the size you see. It is standard commercial practice.

The Elizabethans of course could not photograph the drawing, but they could very well throw an image of it, to the required size, upon a screen, and then trace the image. Bacon's difficulty of course was that the decimal fraction, let alone the decimal point, was then only in the mind of Stevin at Leyden and a few academics, and not generally known. That a high order of accuracy is necessary in optics will be understood when it is realised that the wavelength of light is measured in millimicrons, *i.e.* one millionth of a milli-metre. Fortunately, fine polishing and a phenomenon called Interference come to our aid.

There is a very remarkable resemblance between the triangles on the plinths of the veil supporters in the frontispiece and the Nicol Prism, with its development into the Polarimeter, used in chemical analysis. The stages of the production of the prism are shown in full below to emphasise the function of the reflecting diagonal. And it is assumed that the plinth triangles represent polished triangular prisms, polished on each face.

Figure 1. Shows the rhomboid shape of the natural Iceland Spar Crystal. One is chosen such that the major axis is about three times the minor.

Figure 2. It is cut into two parts across the minor axis and each face polished forming reflecting surfaces.

Figure 3. The reflectors produced by Figure 2 are then stuck together with Canada Balsam. When this has set, further cuts are made on the edges shown, at an angle of 68 degrees. This angle is solely dependent on the refractive index on the mineral. The face on the crystal side of the cut is then polished.

Figure 4. Shows the finished prism. Any light falling on the 68 degree face, appears at the parallel face attenuated and polarised.

Figure 5. The Polarimeter. A smaller crystal is now treated in exactly the same manner as the larger, and the pair assembled as shown, the larger being called the polariser and the smaller the analyser.

Some substances, sugars, for instance, have the property of rotating the plane of polarisation, by a discrete amount. A light source is first observed through the analyser, the latter is then rotated to black out. The sample is then inserted in the light path between the crystals; this opens the light gate. The analyser is then rotated to black out again, and the angle of rotation measured.

Figure 6. The plinth triangles are here assembled arbitrarily. It will be seen that there are a number of ways of doing this, the principle only being shown here. The only apparent difference is that 68 degrees is reduced to 60. This would mean that some other mineral, with a different refractive index and yet with polarising capability, is intended. Cordierite, among other minerals, could well satisfy the requirements.

Using two polaroid filters (those given with polaroid sunglasses will do) a model polarimeter can be constructed in a few minutes, one being mounted on a transparent protractor, to measure the angles.

Alternatively to the Nicol Prism, the plinth triangles might represent each of the jewels named in Example 960 of *Sylva Sylvarum* which the Archbishop says is on p. 211 but which I find on p. 208; a Laconic reference perhaps. They are the Diamond, the Emerald, the Jacinth and the Topaz. Unfortunately the writer knows little about these, except that they are expensive. The matter will be pursued.

If the reader is inclined to dismiss the foregoing as fantastic science fiction, he should think of the Solar-stein, and that quotation, "There are more things in Heaven and Earth, than man in his Philosophy dreams of".

* * * *

This article is simply an attempt to put the parts of the mosaic together, the prime mover being a line from *Pericles* (2/2/37). Oddly enough this play appeared first in the quarto of 1609, was omitted in the first and second Folios and restored in

the third and fourth Folios. The Solar-stein is the catalyst: the line is as follows,—

“Gold, that’s by the Touchstone tried.”

The writer has taken this line to mean that gold is “tried” by the stone in the sense that its presence is indicated thereby. Being more physicist than chemist he approached the subject with some diffidence. But the chemists he consulted also share his ignorance of such a mineral. If any reader could supply him with information on the subject, he would be most grateful.

The analytical chemist’s most powerful tool is the spectroscope. Very briefly, this instrument directs light from an incandescent sample of the material through a single prism which, by the phenomenon of Dispersion, splits the light into its component frequencies or colours, as does the rainbow. Every element has its own particular pattern, which is known and used as a reference. The basic phenomenon of light dispersion was discovered by Newton in 1666. How much, if any, was known to Francis Bacon and his assistant Thomas Bushell is for the reader to judge.

© JACOBITE



TO THE MOST
ILLVSTRIOVS AND
MOST EXCELLENT
PRINCE,
CHARLES,

Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall,
Earle of Chester, &c.

It may Please Your Highnesse,



N part of my ac-
knowledgment to
Your Highnesse,
I haue endeauou-
red to doe Honour
to the *Memorie* of
the last King of
England, that was
Ancestour to the
King your *Father*, and *Your selfe* and was
that King to whom both *Unions* may in a
for

The dedication to Francis Bacon's *Henry VII* including the ornamented I (1622).

DID SHAKE-SPEARE WRITE BACON'S HENRY VII ?

By Joan Ham

The facetiousness of the above title is not mine. It is Bacon himself who is the author of the joke. Bacon, the man of whom Ben Jonson said: His language (where he could spare or passe by a jest) was nobly censorious. Ben Jonson said of *Shake-speare (sic)*, with tongue firmly in cheek: His wit was in his owne power; would the *rule* of it had beene so too. *The History of the Raigne of Henry VII* gave Bacon the chance of a jest which he simply could not "passe by".

Baconians need little reminder that Shake-speare wrote a cycle of chronicle plays. These span the course of history from Richard II to Henry VIII. The pageant unrolls across the stage like a living tapestry: the Wars of the Roses, Agincourt and Crecy, politics, civil strife, deposition of kings, piping times of peace, saints, villains, the common people of England in their happiness and sorrow, in moods of drunkenness, philosophic musing, peace and rebellion. One figure is missing from the painted cloth, and an important one. It is King Henry VII, the unifying factor in the long York-Lancaster wars; the first Tudor. Francis Bacon—no longer much concerned to see his name on the title-page of such a book—wrote his missing history in prose. He began it exactly where he had left off the play of *Richard III*. The book opens on Bosworth field after the defeat of Richard (the last of the house of York) and the informal coronation of Henry VII.

Bacon dedicated his history to Charles, Prince of Wales. Immediately following the portrait of Henry VII and the engraved frontispiece, which carries Bacon's own title in full, the dedication begins. The first dedication page is headed by a wood-cut design of royal emblems, and below that is set out the formal address:

"To the most illustrious and most excellent Prince Charles, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Earl of Chester, etc. It may please your Highnesse."

This ceremoniousness occupies more than half of the space within the borders. The limited text-space left for the opening of the dedicatory letter contains another wood-cut block—a square one surrounding the first letter of text. A remarkable point about this block is that it occupies more than half of the space remaining for text. The capital letter in its centre is I. This letter is small, ridiculously small in relation to the surrounding pictorial block. It stands alone in a space in the design, and is quite plainly dissociated from the decoration. In fact, it is an ordinary letter of the same type-fount and size as that used in the word “Charles” of the address. It draws the eye and invites contemplation.

This wood-block appears to be unique. I have looked through my shelf-full of folio volumes, both Bacon's works and various histories, without finding it used anywhere else. My copy of *The Historie . . . of Henry VII* is the first edition of 1622. (This was the year before the publication of the Shake-speare Folio, it may be noted, when Bacon was occupied with editing and making ready the Plays for publication in their final form). I have seen a posthumous folio edition of *The Historie . . . of Henry VII*, that of 1641. The printers have set up the whole book differently. The title-page has a new block, based on that of the first edition, but not identical. The ornamental capitals in the book are smaller and bear no resemblance to those in the 1622 copy.

One book from my shelf *does* bear comparison with the 1622 *Henry VII*. This is the *Annales of England* containing the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Queen Mary. It was published in Latin, by Francis, Lord Bishop of Hereford, in 1616—but *anonymously*. History was not considered a suitable subject for a reverend bishop's pen, but like other writers of his day, he did not wish to remain anonymous forever. Bishop Godwyn took a familiar course to prevent this happening. He enciphered the following message into his book:

FRANCISCUS GODVVINUS LANDAUENSIS
EPISCOPUS HOS CONSCRIPSIT

The cipher was an extremely simple one. It is only necessary to write down the initial capital letter of every chapter, in consecutive order, from the beginning to the end of the book.

The actual volume which I am comparing with Bacon's *Historie . . . of Henry VII* however, was "Englished", corrected and enlarged, with the author's consent, by Morgan Godwyn, a nephew. It was published in 1630 and printed by A. Islip and W. Stansby.

Bacon's *Historie . . . of Henry VII*, published in 1622, was printed by W. Stansby, for Matthew Lownes and William Barret.

Both these volumes are slim folios. The same large wood-block has been used in the title-page of each volume. This is a highly elaborate riot of cartouche-work, draped with vines and bordered with two pillars. The centre is left clear for text. There is no doubt that the self-same block has been used, because close examination reveals identical flaws, cracks and imperfections which appear to have been in the wood itself. This title-page is used three times in the *Annales*, it precedes each individual reign.

Turning the pages, one notes that ornamental capitals have been used in both volumes. The letter A appears in *identical designs*. In each book, a figure peers through its upper triangle and extends its arms to each side, holding cymbals or dish-cover-like objects. Small animals leap into each upper corner. The letter A itself takes up the full size of the block, and is superimposed on to the background design. There is also, in Godwin's *Annales*, a large ornamental letter T, with a familiar design of flowers, bees and swirling leaves, which end in matching bird heads. The large T stands on a reclining hound. This block was used in another book printed by William Stansby in 1616. The book was Ben Jonson's first folio of collected works. The T woodblock first appears in the dedication to William Camden, prefixed to Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*. It is used again in the book, in fact six more times, and always the same block for the ornamental T.

The dedication prefixed to the second play in the book is addressed to the Innes of Court; its first word is the pronoun I. It is interesting to note that Stansby uses a *different* block to set

this up, from the one used in Bacon's *Henry VII*. The letter "I" used in Jonson's book extends the full length of the block and is part of the whole design, in keeping with other ornamental capitals in his book. This "I" wood-block appears four times in Jonson's book, and shows, I think, that some uniformity was practised in the use of page ornaments. All of these initial letter blocks are 2in. square.

The wood-block surrounding the letter I in Bacon's dedication to Prince Charles is 2½in. square and, as has been observed, unique. It consists of a crown surmounting a Tudor Rose. Below that is the ordinary upper-case I in a clear space. Along the bottom of the "picture"—I cannot resist calling it that, for it is a more apt term than "design", which one might apply to the usual abstract confections of flowers, swirls and patterns—lies a body with a hideous face. There is no doubt of the body's identity. Growing out of its head one can see not hair, but writhing snakes. The body is that of Medusa, one of the Gorgons of Greek legend.

Standing on Medusa's head, and acting as a supporter to the crown, is a tall figure in a long gown and bare feet, carrying an upright naked sword. To the right is another recognisable figure. She stands on Medusa's leg, and supports the Tudor Rose with her right hand. In her left hand, she carries a mirror, and around her left arm are the coils of a serpent. Her long skirt is split to above the knee, and the exposed leg is encased in the toeless boot of a soldier. The figure represents Pallas Athene, goddess of Wisdom, known to the Romans as Minerva. It was she who played a leading part in the Perseus legend involving the slaying of Medusa.

The serpent often appears in pictures and statues of Pallas Athene, and represents Ignorance. (Bacon and his *alter ego* Shake-speare, constantly refer to Ignorance as a Monster, or deformed Monstrosity.)

The Perseus legend is well-known, varying in minor details according to the authority consulted. Perseus was given the task of killing the Gorgon Medusa and bringing her severed head back to King Polydectes. It was known that whoever looked

upon this horrible creature, was turned to stone immediately. Perseus had the gods on his side. Pluto lent him a helmet, which would render him invisible, Mercury fastened wings to his heels, and Pallas Athene lent him a shield and her mirror, so that he need not look directly at Medusa. According to different sources, Hermes added a herpe or harpe—a sword shaped like a reaping hook—and a kibisis or magic wallet; Athene is credited with helping with the actual slaying, but these details need not concern us. There were some interesting results from the killing of Medusa, but two are especially so.

Report had it, that from her blood sprang two children, fathered by Poseidon. One was Pegasus, the flying horse. He flew at once to Mount Helicon, where he became the favourite of the Muses, and as some accounts have it, was later tamed by Pallas Athene. The second child was a King called Chrysaor. I can find almost no information about him, except for one thing. He was known as the hero with the *golden sword*.

It is possible that this character is the left-hand figure in the wood-block, but the identification would rest solely on the sword which it carries. It is not even possible to be certain of the figure's sex. It must also be admitted, that if Chrysaor were the left-hand figure, I cannot see his significance. I cannot recall that Bacon has ever mentioned him.

Thus far the Perseus story. The varying accounts need cause no difficulty, because only one version is relevant to this wood-block. That is the version which Bacon himself accepted or used. We have this in his own words, printed in the *Wisdom of the Ancients*. Parts of it are worth quoting in our context. It begins:—

Perseus is said to have been employed by Pallas, for the destroying of Medusa . . .

Perseus therefore preparing himself for this noble enterprise had Arms and Gifts bestowed on him by three Gods; Mercury gave him Wings annexed to his Heels, Pluto a Helmet, Pallas a Shield and a Looking-glass . . .

. . . hastens towards Medusa; her he found sleeping, and yet durst not present himself with his Face towards her,

lest she should awake; but turning his Head aside, beheld her in Pallas's Glass and (by this Means directing his Blow) cut off her Head; from whose Blood gushing out; instantly came Pegasus, the Flying-Horse; . . .

The furnishing of Perseus with Necessaries was that which only advanced the Attempt, and drew Fortune to be of his side, for he had speed from Mercury, concealing of his Counsels from Orcus, and Providence from Pallas . . .

Now for that Helmet which Pluto gave him, powerful to make Men invisible, the Moral is plain; but that twofold Gift of Providence (to wit, the Shield and Looking-Glass) is full of Morality; for that kind of Providence, which like a Shield avoids the Force of Blows, is not alone needful, but that also by which the Strength and Motions, and Counsels of the Enemy are descry'd, as in the Looking-Glass of Pallas . . .

. . . for a wise Captain will ever assault his Enemy, when he is unprepared and most secure; and then there is good use of Pallas her Glass: For most Men, before it come to the Push, can acutely pry into and discuss their Enemyes Estate; but the best use of this glass is in the very point of Danger, that the manner of it may be considered, as that the Terror may not discourage, which is signified by that looking into this Glass with the Face turned from Medusa.

The Monsters Head being cut off, there follow two Effects: The first was the procreation and raising of Pegasus, by which may be evidently understood Fame, that (flying through the World) proclaims Victory . . . ”

Thus far, Bacon's view of the old story, although the *Wisdom of the Ancients* was not the only book in which he used it.

The first part of Bacon's *Instauratio Magna*, which he called *De Augmentis Scientiarum* or the *Advancement of Learning*, was first published in 1623. In Chapter XIII of the second book, he discusses Poesy in depth, beginning with the statement that Poesy is a kind of Learning, a principal member of Learning,

placed next to History. Later, he says that "Parabolicall or Allusive [Poesy] is History with the Type, which brings downe the Images of the Understanding to the Objects of Sense."

"Poesy Allusive, or Parabolicall, excells the rest," Bacon claims. He continues the discussion with three examples of Philosophy, according to ancient Parables: his chosen examples are, Pan, *Perseus* and Dionysius. The *Perseus* legend is told again, using the greatest part of the *Wisdom of the Ancients* wording, with additions. I have selected the relevant points, all from the *Wisdom of the Ancients* account, including all references to Pallas Athene.

It is notable that Bacon begins his account of the *Perseus* legend by shifting emphasis. The hero of the old story is *Perseus*, but Bacon's opening sentence puts him firmly in his place. "*Perseus* is said to have *been employed by Pallas* for the destroying of *Medusa* . . ." In Bacon's eyes, the hero *Perseus* is merely a tool for a purpose. The important character in the story is Pallas Athene, Goddess of Wisdom. In the wood-block, it is Pallas Athene with her mirror who stands in victorious pose upon the dead *Medusa*. There is nothing in the left-hand figure to suggest that it is *Perseus*. It has not been given any items which would identify him, such as winged heels, harpe or Pallas's shield. It is *Pallas* who is important to Bacon.

Pallas Athene was known to the ancients as the "Spear-shaker". She was usually depicted with an enormous spear, which was used against the monster or serpent of Ignorance. This is the reason why, years earlier, Bacon had chosen his pseudonym. He claimed in his Cambridge days that all knowledge was his province, and in that wide province, the one enemy was ignorance. The plays of Shake-speare were the schools for the unlettered. They were the means whereby he brought light to the masses. The Plays were the honey with which Bacon's pills of philosophy were swallowed down.

Why did he choose to show Pallas Athene in his wood-block with her mirror, rather than her spear? I would like to draw attention once again to the fact that Pallas Athene stands next to the letter I. The wood-block is a rebus. Here, we have the last

chronicle of Shake-speare, with the author's true identity revealed on the title-page.

"The best use of this glass," says Bacon, "is in the very point of Danger, that the manner of it may be considered as that the Terror may not discourage, which is signified by that looking into this Glass, with the Face turned from Medusa."

The "Terror" had been very real for Bacon. Its wings had brushed him during the Essex rebellion, when the play of *Richard II* had been shown to the public on street corners, and they had seen, before their eyes, precedent for deposing an anointed King. By looking into the mirror of Pallas Athene, by fathering the play on "Shake-speare", and not being directly involved, he had survived. He had not allowed the terror to discourage him. Pallas Athene had shielded him as he wrote further chronicles, courting further danger. Now, that danger was past. The last Tudor was buried, and under the reign of the Stuarts he could associate himself in this, his last chronicle, with those which had preceded it.

The "Shake-speare" secret was, by 1622, a very open one amongst Bacon's friends and intimates. This was amply revealed after his death only four years later.

Men of letters, colleagues, fellow scholars, poured out their grief in Latin verse. Dr. William Rawley, Bacon's chaplain and literary executor, published a carefully selected volume of some of these verses—those which he considered (even then!) were not too dangerous. This little volume was *Memoriae Honoratissimi Domini Francisci, Baronis de Verulamio . . .* etc. William Boswell, one of Bacon's literary executors, and responsible with Rawley for some posthumous publications, said: Than whom no inhabitant of Earth was master of greater intellectual gifts; nor does any survivor so skilfully unite Themis and *Pallas*.

Thomas Vincent of Westminster and Trinity, wrote: Your fame . . . nor is read on the tomb with "Stay traveller your steps", if any progeny recalls their sire, not of the body is it, but born, so to speak, of the brain, as *Minerva* from Jove's.

Another contributor, known only by his initials, R.C. of Trinity said:

. . . those glorious memorials of all the ages composed by your genius and by Minerva.

Lastly, Thomas Randolph, poet, dramatist, and "son" of Ben Jonson, wrote:

He taught the Pegasean arts to grow, as grew the spear of Quirinus swiftly into a laurel tree . . . could bear no longer that you, divine *Minerva*, should be despised. His Godlike pen restored your wonted honour . . . *Pallas* too, now arrayed in a new robe, paces forth . . .

* * * *

Towards the end of *Henry VII*, Bacon "drops names" into his text. It occurs when he has been discussing the shift of power in Europe, following the death of Queen Isabella of Spain. Henry VII apparently saw a parallel here with his own case, for the surviving sovereign Ferdinand, held *his* title through his wife. Would he now be king in his own right, or as administrator to his heir? The question was pertinent and interesting. Despite Henry's "steel and parchment" title, many Englishmen held the view that his strongest claim was through his wife, the deceased Elizabeth of York. Henry sent ambassadors to ferret out the answers. They had a cover story for their visit, for Henry was a devious man. Bacon's report of the incident ends with the words:

But in all those things (though wisely layed downe and considered) Ferdinando failed; But that PLUTO was better to him than PALLAS (Bacon's capitals).

Ostensibly, this sounds right, but analytically, one is forced to ask exactly what *is* meant? I think it is a thin excuse to nudge his readers. Pluto . . . Pallas? Now why are those names familiar?

Bacon himself shall have the last word. He, if anyone, can answer our questions.

. . . Parables were more ancient than Arguments; and in those days also, he that would illuminate Mens Minds *anew* in any old Matter . . . must absolutely take the same Course, and use the help of Similes; . . .

Preface to *Wisdom of the Ancients*.

ACTOR - MANAGER ?

By R. L. Eagle

Many of the Shakespearean "biographers" allude to the Stratford player as "actor-manager" of the company at the Globe. The available evidence does not warrant his promotion to such a position in this playhouse. The most important actor and shareholder was Richard Burbadge.

In a petition to the Lord Chamberlain in 1635, by Cuthbert Burbadge and Richard's widow, Winifred, Shakspere was named merely as one of the "men players" and "deserving men", who were partners in the profits of the Globe. He held a one-fourteenth share, which does not make him an actor-manager, and there is no mention of him at all as the dramatist. The Lord Chamberlain at that time was the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, the survivor of "that incomparable paire of brethren", to whom the first Shakespeare Folio had been dedicated. Surely it is highly significant that a petition for the protection of the actors' interests was not supported by a reminder to the Earl that one of them was the author of the Plays, dedicated to the noble lord himself, twelve years before.

There is no record as to what parts Shakspere played in the Shakespeare plays which are known to have been performed. Ben Jonson puts his name among the actors in *Every Man in his Humour* (1596), and *Sejanus* (1603), but no mention is made of the parts he played. In *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599), the whole of the company of the Lord Chamberlain's men performing in it is listed—with the exception of Shakspere. Apparently Jonson had a poor opinion of his acting. In *Timber or Discoveries* he wrote: "Many times hee fell into those things which could not escape laughter: as when hee said in the person of Caesar, one speaking to him (*i.e.* as Caesar) '*Caesar thou dost me wrong*', hee replied *Caesar did never wrong, butt with just cause, and such like which were ridiculous.*"

The words in the play read: "Know Caesar doth not wrong, nor without cause will he be satisfied".

Caesar only appears in three scenes, apart from three lines in Act IV (as his ghost), and it would be inexcusable for the actor to "fluff" his lines so absurdly if he were sober; especially if he was the author of the play! Nicholas Rowe in 1709 wrote that he had heard from the actor Betterton (1635 - 1710) that "the top of his performance was the Ghost in his own Hamlet". That is a very small part, requiring little acting ability. It seems clear that he was of no importance as a player.

Scarcely anything is known as to Shakspeare's life while in London. The most prolific period for the Plays was between 1598 and 1604. During that period William was lodging with a wig-maker named Mountjoy, a Huguenot, in Muggle Street, Cripplegate. Those who accept him as the author may well be surprised that he should dwell with a tradesman and yet pour contempt upon that class:

Let's have no lying, it becomes none but tradesmen.

(*Winter's Tale* IV, 4)

It would be paradoxical if the Stratford man wrote this, as a tradesman in his own town, dealing in corn and malt, with money-lending as a side-line, and as the son of a butcher. Had he been actor-manager and dramatist combined, surely there would have been some contemporary allusions to him personally in these capacities apart from allusions to a poet and dramatist writing under the name or pseudonym of Shakespeare or Shake-Speare. No letter signed by him has ever come to light; one was addressed to him. If a Shakespeare Play were given at Court by the Lord Chamberlain's men, it was to Augustine Phillips that payment was made. The theatrical accounts of Alleyn and Henslowe name most of the dramatists of the period and mention the payments made to them, but the name of Shakespeare is, significantly, absent.

Dr. C. M. Ingleby collected an anthology of allusions to Shakespeare between 1591 and 1693. He had to admit that so far as the *man* who wrote the plays and poems was concerned, the allusions proved to be barren. Indeed he had to admit in the Preface that "it is plain for one thing that the bard of our admiration was unknown to the men of that age".

BOOK REVIEW

THE GREAT SEAMEN OF ELIZABETH I

by Bryan Bevan: Robert Hale £3

The central theme of this book, namely the vision of an empire in the New World, will remind our readers at once of Francis Bacon, as a founder member of the Virginia Council, and the moving spirit behind the establishment of "plantations" in Virginia, Newfoundland, Ulster and elsewhere. This aspect of Bacon's work has been commented upon several times in recent numbers of *Baconiana*, and Mr. Bevan, a former member of our Society, has stressed the influence on "Shakespeare", Sidney, Marlowe, and John Donne, of those overseas ventures in his book. The greatest of the seamen, Drake, Gilbert, Raleigh, Grenville, Frobisher and Lord Howard of Effingham were all inspired by the vision, each in his own way, Sir Francis Walsingham acting as patron under the Queen. Nor should the greatest and most patriotic of the privateers, George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, be overlooked. All is part of a pattern, a mighty fabric, to quote from the blurb on the book jacket.

This author, diplomat, civil servant and free lance journalist has already written four books, *The Real Francis Bacon* (reviewed in *Baconiana* 162), *I was James II's Queen*, *King James The Third of England*, and *Nell Gwyn*. We note with interest the symbolism of the jacket front cover of *The Great Seamen* and its hint of the title-page of Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*. We have written of the "mystical element" inspiring these Elizabethan seamen, and the words of John Davis, author and experienced navigator will bear quoting here:

There is no doubt that we of England are this saved people, by the eternal and infallible presence of the Lord predestinated to be sent into these Gentiles in the sea, to those Isles and famous Kingdoms, there to preach the peace of the Lord: for are not we only set upon Mount Zion, to give light to all the rest of the world? . . .

Surely it is due to men such as these that the missionary zeal and fervent Protestantism so characteristic of the British race in subsequent ages, persisted so long. We wonder if Bryan Bevan had Bacon in mind when he wrote: "Nothing is accidental in the inspiring story of the creation of the British Empire over-

seas" (p. 25), since he reminds us also that Bacon was a shareholder in Guy's Colony at Cupid's Cove, Newfoundland in 1610.

Having established residence in the West Country, Mr. Bevan has been prompt to explore the countryside which was the home of so many famous Elizabethan mariners. He knows Cornwall as well as Devon and mentions a tradition that Sir Walter Raleigh left his MSS. at Menabilly whilst staying there.

It seems fair to say that the four voyages of Henry Hudson designed to discover a short northern route to China, have been unjustly neglected. Samuel Purchas, in *His Pilgrimes*, mentions that Hudson and his men attended Holy Communion at St. Ethelburge in Bishops Gate Street in the City before sailing on his first voyage to Greenland in 1607. It is worth remembering that a fine memorial window to the intrepid explorer has been dedicated in this historic old City church. Sir Dudley Digges was the first conspicuous financial backer of this and the other three voyages. Hudson is of course commemorated by the Bay and River named after him, but from 1607 to 1611 he explored nearly all the northern shores of Europe as well as the East American seaboard. Prince Rupert, his cousin, was one of the eighteen noblemen and gentlemen adventurers granted a Charter by Charles II to trade into Hudson's Bay (page 283).

The spirit of the age is finely exemplified by Sir Walter Raleigh, another Devonian, who, on the occasion of his execution, felt the axe saying: "This is a sharp medicine, but it is a physician for all diseases." After laying his head on the block, and when asked whether he would prefer to lie with his face to the East, he replied: "So the heart be right, it is no matter which way the head lieth".

Bryan Bevan has a final word to say on the matter in his Epilogue:

The illustrious first Elizabethan seamen were for the most part of a sturdy independence of character, and deeply religious. Not only their achievements but their infinite faith in God was to have a profound influence on their age. The lustre and the light are no more, but their glory abides for ever.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor,
Baconiana
Sir,

With reference to T. D. Bokenham's article, *Cryptomenytices and The Shakespeare Folio of 1623*, in *Baconiana* 170, so far as I understand *Cryptomenytices* is a genitive case. If you look on the title-page (opposite page 54), you will see *Cryptomenytices et Cryptographiae Libri IX*, i.e. "the nine books of Cryptomenytice and Cryptographia". The title of the book is *Cryptomenytice* (Κρυπμοϋϋτις ΤΓΚΥ) or Cryptomenytic—like Logic or Arithmetic—to give it the usual English form.

Yours faithfully,

B. FARRINGTON (Professor).

* * * *

The Editor,
Baconiana,

Dear Sir,

WHO WAS SHAKSPERE'S ANNE ?

On 27th November, 1582, an entry in the Bishop of Worcester's register records a licence issued to "Willemum Shaxpere et Annam Whately de Temple Grafton". This village is five miles from Stratford and beyond the bounds of Stratford parish. A marriage at Temple Grafton would, therefore, have been registered at the church there but unfortunately the register for that period has been lost, and no copy survives. On the following day Will Shakespere signed a bond to marry Anna Hathaway of Shottery, described as "maiden". We know that Anne Hathaway or Hathewey, of Shottery, had married a William Wilson three years previously at Stratford on 17th January, 1579. It is inconceivable that there would have been two girls of the same names living in that little hamlet at the same time.

There is the possibility that the clerk entering in the Bishop's register was in error in writing "Whateley". He may even have been muddled since, on the same day, he had entered the record

of a dispute involving William Whateley of Crowle who had appeared before the consistory court. There is some similarity between the names Whateley and Hathewey, as seven of the letters are common to both.

From the evidence it would appear that Shakspeare's Anne did not come from Shottery. The farmer of that surname named his three daughters in his will dated 1st September, 1581. They were Agnes, Catherine and Margaret. The marriage of these girls would have taken place normally at Stratford as Shottery had no church, and was within the parish of Stratford.

The Birthplace Trustees are undoubtedly guilty of "taking money under false pretences" in charging for admission to "Anne Hathaway's Cottage", when there is no proof to support such a claim. It would appear also to be an infringement of the "Trades Description Act". Something in the region of £30,000 yearly is taken from visitors.

Similar misrepresentation with regard to the "Birthplace" yields approximately £40,000, without taking into account the sale of souvenirs, etc. I have, in the past, been able to expose this colossal ramp in the national and provincial Press including *The Daily Telegraph* with its circulation of about one-and-a-half millions. The custodian and trustees of the "Birthplace" have offered no defence. They have none.

Stratford is a "must" for tourists from overseas, who provide a substantial sum of currency, especially dollars. The Birthplace Trust is not registered under the Companies Act, nor as a charity, but operates under a special, unique, Act of Parliament, which enables it to avoid rendering detailed accounts of its income and expenditure to the Board of Trade or the Charity Commission.

Can this be the reason why the Director of Public Prosecutions takes no action, and that not so much as a public inquiry has been ordered?

Yours faithfully,

R. L. EAGLE

PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor, *The Sunday Telegraph*,
135 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4

Dear Sir,

SO MANY SHAKESPEARES

The Mistress of Girton is to be congratulated on her review of Professor S. Schoenbaum's *Shakespeare's Lives*.

"The Shakespeare Game", as Miss Bradbrook so aptly calls it, is a "free for all" and one which has given as much pleasure and exercise of ingenuity to the orthodox as to the heretics, as the confessed forgeries and the gallery of supposed portraits (all quite different) bear witness.

As a Baconian who enjoys the game of pursuing the Truth just as much as his orthodox opponents, may I please have leave to correct one small error in this review, as it affects the reputation of previous writers and scholars? Delia Bacon did not claim or "discover" any personal descent from Francis Bacon. This is made quite clear in the first four lines of her biography, printed in 1888 (G. Houghton Mifflin & Co.) in Boston and New York, and now a rare book.

I trust that Miss Bradbrook will let us know of any reliable evidence to the contrary.

I should add that any trust placed in the cryptographical book by the late Colonel and Mrs. Friedman, mentioned by Professor Bradbrook, should be viewed in the light of the latest research undertaken by our Society in response to this challenge. The entry to more than one cipher in the 1623 Shakespeare Folio is now a matter of demonstrable proof.

Yours faithfully,

12th January, 1971

NOEL FERMOR, Chairman

Editor's Note: Although the letter we print above did not appear in the *Sunday Telegraph*, the Literary Editor forwarded it to Professor Bradbrook who replied repeating the assertions objected to by our Chairman. The following letter was then sent direct to Girton College giving detailed reasons why the charge against Delia Bacon cannot be sustained, and explaining why the Francis Bacon Society rejects the Friedmans' claims. In a brief reply, Dr. Bradbrook did not attempt to answer, except to make the point that Professor Stratton had never been Master of Caius and Gonville.

The Mistress,
Girton College,
Cambridge.

Dear Dr. Bradbrook,

You will be surprised to hear from me after such a lapse of time but Mr. Rivers Scott, the Literary Editor of the *Sunday Telegraph*, passed on to me the letter you wrote to him last January. You will remember that this was in reply to my note to him concerning Delia Bacon and to try to answer in full the point you raised, and which I discuss below, my President, Commander Martin Pares, wrote to Vivian C. Hopkins in America.

In a letter dated April 22, Miss Hopkins mentioned that she obtained information in 1954 from Miss Margaret Harwood, then Director of the Observatory of the Maria Mitchell Association in Nantucket, Massachusetts, whose Secretary wrote that she had looked over the letters of Maria Mitchell and the only mention of Miss Bacon is in the letter dated October 14, 1857. Miss Mitchell was then in Stratford and wrote: Miss Bacon, who claims to be descended from Sir Francis Bacon, who, according to her claims was not only himself but Shakespeare, is in Stratford at a shoemaker's house, very ill, evidently insane and, at times, raving.

Delia's brother, Leonard Bacon, found no claim of kinship to Francis Bacon nor is there any such in the Delia Bacon papers before the last delirium. As Leonard was so opposed to Delia's views, Miss Hopkins thinks he would have said something about such a claim if she had made it earlier.

The point I wish to stress is that Delia Bacon was always well aware that Francis Bacon was childless and Miss Mitchell's diary note "Miss Bacon who claims to be descended" could well represent a paraphrasing of what people were thinking and gossiping, rather than pretending to be a statement of fact.

Since Delia was then in delirium, and as she had not mentioned such a claim before, either to her family, or to anyone else, it would be kinder to her memory to disregard this point altogether. After all, it could lead to a great misrepresentation

of the truth to quote what people say in delirium, or what nurses hear in tending their patients, if this is used as evidence.

I have a note that the diary entry mentioned in Miss Hopkins' book was dated October 14, 1857, and as Delia Bacon's complete breakdown occurred on or before October 13, when she was committed to a private sanatorium, I am sure that you will agree that this point should not have been mentioned by Schoenbaum, and I imagine would not have been, had he realised the full circumstances.

I have also referred to *Delia Bacon a Biographical Sketch* by Theodore Bacon, published by Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1888, and in the very first page he says:

Of what ancestry she may have come, earlier than the six generations through which it is easy to trace her descent from an English colonist, there is no reason to believe that she ever asked, or greatly cared. The whim which some have been pleased to indulge, that her opinions may have had their source in some fancy that she was herself of common blood with the greatest Englishman who had borne her family name, is utterly without substantial foundation

. . .

With reference to your further comments in your letter to Rivers Scott saying that anyone proposing to confute the Friedmans should not assume that the printed text of their work presents the full case, I would like to refer you to No. 161 of our magazine, *Baconiana*, published in 1961, where a full reply to the Friedmans' claims was given.

I cannot help noticing that Schoenbaum and all writers attacking the Bacon authorship claim in recent years have carefully refrained from drawing from any other material than that which became available some years ago. In other words, the research which has been carried out by my Society in the last 20 years has been ignored and, indeed, no approach has ever been made to us on the subject. This is curious as I made a lengthy reply to criticism of the Baconian theory by Dr. Crow in the *Times Literary Supplement* several years ago and at every

available opportunity have replied to inaccurate criticisms in the Press and such periodicals as *The Spectator*.

I feel sure that you are unaware of this situation and I would refer you to the booklet by Commander Pares, entitled *A Pioneer*, a copy of which I shall be delighted to send to you, in which he writes an understanding and delightful little vignette on Delia.

The Friedmans never answered our challenge in 1961, although Commander Pares had several letters from him to say that he would shortly do so. Pares went to New York twice but on the first occasion Colonel Friedman pleaded illness and said he could not see him, and on the second occasion explained that his heart condition was too serious for him to discuss the matter. Naturally, Pares did not press for an interview as he had always been on friendly terms with Friedman, but we have always thought that he must have known that this Society had two professional cryptanalysts ready for him !

As for Colonel Friedman stating to you that he was "black-balled", the truth is this. Commander Pares dissuaded him from applying for membership of the Society, since he had admitted to him privately when in the United Kingdom that he was against our theory and intended to oppose it. This conversation occurred at a luncheon at the Savile Club with Professor Stratton, Master of Caius and Gonville College present. The latter laughingly agreed with Pares and said that under the circumstances the Society would be quite right in opposing Friedman's election. We did, however, send Friedman complimentary copies of several succeeding issues of *Baconiana*, but no comment was made on these.

I thought you would not mind my sending a copy of this letter to Rivers Scott in view of his courtesy and I shall be most interested to hear from you as to your reaction to this letter.

Yours sincerely,

NOEL FERMOR, Chairman

June 16, 1971.

THE TIMES CORRESPONDENCE

on Dr. A. L. Rowse's article

Shakespeare, the sexiest writer in the language.

SHAKESPEARE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

From the Reverend Francis Edwards

Sir,

One cannot read Dr. Rowse's Elizabethan features in your pages without interest and sometimes amusement: which is, doubtless, the reaction intended by the writer. Even at the risk of boring some of the audience, however, could it be suggested that Elizabeth I's Earl of Oxford can hardly be summed up, even for the purposes of entertainment, as a "gifted but deplorable creature"? As for the charges of paederasty, the documents—which now lie before me in xerograph—are quite well-known. Like so much else, they have not yet been published *in extenso* or even adequately. However, Conyers Read used them for his *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1960, chapter IX). The main accusation, quoted by Dr. Rowse, is there reproduced almost in identical words (p. 129). Charles Arundel's charges were in the nature of a counter-attack (S.P. 12, Vol. 151, No. 44: "A brief answer to my Lord of Oxford's accusations"). What was Oxford's reply to all this? We simply do not know. All that has been preserved is one side of this unsavoury quarrel; the side which was almost without doubt the more unscrupulous.

The whole episode reminds us usefully of a basic fact which must be taken increasingly into account by Jacobethan historians of the future: for at least 50 crucial years—until 1612, in fact—England was virtually ruled, and with remarkable consistency and effectiveness, by Sir William Cecil and Sir Robert, his son. As principal secretaries, they had all the power necessary to preserve or destroy for posterity the materials of future history that lay in public hands. As Masters of the Court of Wards, they had similar opportunities to deal, sooner or later, with the private records of a great many leading families.

No one who has attempted to research on important figures who collided or disagreed with the regime at any point can fail to

notice the curious lop-sidedness of the records. It can scarcely be an accident. It is as if, in the year 2300, the only evidence for judging Mr. Heath's government were that preserved by the Labour Party; or for Mr. Wilson's government, that preserved by the Tories. We who try to interpret history must surely learn to use something of the caution and judicial approach of the lawyers. Dr. J. T. Looney must also be heard. Edward de Vere can no longer be heard, but the known truths include not only the fact that Arundel and Howard made accusations, but also that, according to Read, only a few years earlier, "Oxford was in very high favour at Court and with the Queen" (op. cit. p.130). Surely we are justified in concluding with the same authority, regarding the charges of 1581, "Sodomy must be dismissed as unproven" (p. 129).

Yours faithfully,

FRANCIS EDWARDS, S.J.

English Province of the Society of Jesus,

114 Mount Street, W.1.

April 25.

* * * *

From Professor S. Schoenbaum

Sir,

In view of Dr. Rowse's concern with gender in his provocative article on our sexiest writer, it may not be amiss to point out that the biographer of the Earl of Oxford whom he cites as Miss B. M. Ward was in fact Bernard Mordaunt Ward.

The unidentified likeness of Shakespeare included with the article is the Janssen Portrait, which is elegant and apparently painted from the life, but only very doubtfully of the Bard.

Yours faithfully,

S. SCHOENBAUM

9 Olaf Court,

Kensington Church Street, W.8.

From Mrs. M. Lesage

Sir,

"Shakespeare, the sexiest writer in the language"—A. L. Rowse.

"Dear son of memory, great heir of Fame

What need'st thou such weak witness of thy name!"

On Shakespeare by John Milton.

Yours faithfully

MAUD LESAGE

11 Brighton Road, Bristol 6.

From Mrs. J. V. Twigg

* * * *

Sir,

It is interesting, if depressing, that during the current discussion on "moral pollution" *The Times* finds it necessary, presumably for circulation purposes, to headline a middle page article "Shakespeare, the sexiest writer in the language".

Yours faithfully,

BARBARA TWIGG

Belbroughton Rectory,

Near Stourbridge.

* * * *

SHAKESPEARE AND ROWSE

From Mr. Richard Pedley

Sir,

"Others abide our question. Thou art free.

We ask and ask: Thou smilest and art still,

Out-topping knowledge."

Had Matthew Arnold enjoyed (if that is the right word) acquaintanceship with Dr. Rowse's contributions (article, April 24), it is conceivable that he might not have been so confident about Shakespeare's immunity from what he called "the foil'd searching of mortality".

On the other hand, it is—to say the least—equally conceivable that he might have dismissed Dr. Rowse as the enthusiastic but ill-informed amateur he appears to insist on appearing. For what is so distressing about Dr. Rowse on Shakespeare is not so

much his rather endearing egocentricity ("My edition of the Sonnets is the only one, etc.") nor his eagerness to turn the obvious into the sensational nor his somewhat naive fumbling for sexy innuendoes, but his apparent inability to read either the plays or the sonnets. He seems to be so busy muckraking among the trees that he cannot see the wood—the total impact of the plays and the sonnets and their meaning.

For—as many Shakespeare scholars have for long pointed out—one of the most significant features of the plays is the comparative sexlessness of the presentation of relations between lovers—not unnatural when the female parts were played by boys. What we get from, for example, Lorenzo and Jessica, Perdita and Florizel, Rosalind and Orlando, Portia and Bassanio—or even those more famous pairs, Romeo and Juliet and Antony and Cleopatra—is superb rhetoric, exquisite lyric poetry and certainly between the last named pair some pretty straight speaking. But there are no—or hardly any—references to the physical consequences of love. And all is woven into the pattern of the particular play.

As for the innuendoes, Shakespeare, like his contemporaries, was a keen verbalist and it is not surprising that in his many games with words, he used puns with sexual connotations. He was probably more interested in the mechanics of his puns than in their origins.

His most explicit comment on sex—written in his capacity as an individual and not in that of a dramatist—is Sonnet 129—of which Dr. Rowse disingenuously quotes only the last two lines. The sonnet begins:

The expense of spirit in a waste of shame

Is lust in action; and till action, lust

Is perjured, murderous, bloody, full of blame

and continues in the same realistic vein. A product of a sexual hangover, Dr. Rowse might claim, but hardly a justification for presenting Shakespeare as a crusading Casanova.

Yours faithfully,

RICHARD PEDLEY

St. Dunstan's College, S.E.6.

SHAKESPEARE AND ROWSE

From Dr. D. W. Stooke

Sir,

I am sure I speak for many of your readers when I say that I was disappointed you should have chosen to celebrate Shakespeare's birthday by publishing a fallacious and over-simplified article by Dr. A. L. Rowse unfortunately entitled, "Shakespeare, the Sexiest Writer in the Language" April 24).

Can Dr. Rowse expect the practitioners of "Eng. Lit." (as he condescendingly terms us) to take him seriously when he treats us to lucubrations of this kind? Mr. Eric Partridge—justly renowned amongst students of English Letters—is patronisingly commended and paid the dubious compliment of being moderately efficiently paraphrased in the first third of Dr. Rowse's piece.

To suggest, however, that Partridge omits to provide a very thorough investigation of the term "will" is misleading in the extreme. Dr. Rowse's comments on the sexual quibbles (a fairly peripheral aspect of the greatest creative mind of the Renaissance, all said and done!) tend inexorably and—to the student of English Literature—predictably to a fatuous "puff" of his own edition of the Sonnets.

When dealing with Shakespeare's homosexual contemporaries, Dr. Rowse is hardly less irritating. He tells us that their writing is marked by a "certain chasteness of expression" (we are further coyly informed that there was another person who "got the point" first). The fact that Dr. Rowse can seriously conceive of Marlowe as a writer whose work is characterised by such "chasteness" is an index of his general insensibility to the verbal texture of Elizabethan dramatic poetry.

This—and no parochially-minded conspiracy—is the reason for Dr. Rowse's writing on Shakespeare not being generally commended to students of English Literature. Nobody, I need hardly point out, in any English department, would gainsay the corroborative value for students of the period of Dr. Rowse's unrivalled knowledge of Elizabethan social history, but an admirable anti-

dote to his pretensions in the field of literary scholarship is to be found in the late, great Professor J. Dover Wilson's *Caveat for Historians*.

Finally, the little joke about the wily Dr. Looney is put across more blandly and appositely in the late H. N. Gibson's careful and readable study, *The Shakespeare Claimants*.

Yours faithfully,

D. W. STOOKE

5 Hyde Place,
Leamington Spa, Warwickshire.

The Editor,
The Times,
Printing House Square,
Blackfriars,
London, E.C.4.

Sir,

Members of the Francis Bacon Society are well used to vilification from those who would not dream of investigating the Shakespeare authorship controversy for themselves, but do not hesitate to write books such as *Shakespeare's Lives* by S. Schoenbaum reviewed by your controversial columnist, Bernard Levin. This book really only serves to perpetuate a rather dreary and quite unconvincing series of so-called biographies of Shakespeare and perhaps this latest outburst will be sufficient to persuade your more seriously-minded readers to give further consideration to this important literary problem.

The *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Volume V, states baldly that "almost all of the commonly received stuff of his life story is shreds and patches of tradition, if not positive dream work . . ." Another standard work of reference, the *Concise Cambridge History of English Literature* has: "The diligence of investigators has amassed a quantity of information

(regarding Shakespeare), most of which is utterly useless and irrelevant", and, "the more frankly we admit our ignorance the less likely we are to be deceived . . ." Yet contemporary records of Ben Jonson are numerous, and we know more of Marlowe's 29 years than we do about Shakespeare's 52.

Shakespeare's father may have been a local figure of considerable eminence as claimed by Mr. Schoenbaum, but he could only make his mark and was, therefore, illiterate.

Bernard Levin asserts roundly that non-believers in the Stratford Legend, including such well known names as Henry James, Emerson, Freud, Mark Twain, and I believe Professor Trevor-Roper amongst contemporaries, are lunatics. To apply this epithet to the views of such a distinguished array of thinkers, amongst others, may seem inappropriate to your readers.

Yours faithfully,

NOEL FERMOR, Chairman.

12th March, 1971

Editor's Note: This letter was selected to appear in *The Times* but owing to a delay caused by the Chairman's absence from London, was finally omitted for space reasons.

DAILY TELEGRAPH CORRESPONDENCE

TRAVELS OF A 'SHAKSPERE' SIGNATURE

Sir,

In your "Around America" column (August 20) it is reported that the Folger Library, Washington, possesses a copy of a book by William Lambarde (1536-1601) and that that library "believes" the signature "William Shakspere" on the title page to be genuine.

This book once belonged to me. Its vellum binding was very warped, but seeing it in the window of a junk shop at Forest Hill I was interested and bought it for 2s. 6d. It was a collection of Anglo-Saxon laws in the original language with Latin translations. It was printed in 1568. I well remember the "William Shakspere" signature but considered it to be a forgery, probably by William Henry Ireland, who was the clerk to a lawyer towards the end of the 18th century when he was active with Shakespeare forgeries which were clever enough to fool the "experts" of his time.

I lent the book to a Mr. William T. Smedley, a prominent Baconian who had a fine library of Elizabethan and Jacobean books. He never returned the book, and after his death a number of his books were sold at Sotheby's—mine among them. The lot which included my book found its way to the Folger Library.

The librarian of the Folger called attention to the alleged Shakspere "signature" and was given prominence in *The Daily Telegraph*, and this led to correspondence. The forger also wrote the address where William Shakespeare lived, giving even the *number* of the house, quite oblivious of the fact that houses were not numbered in Shakespeare's lifetime. I cannot now remember the full address, but it was stated to be "near Dorset Steps". I believe this was in the Blackfriars region.

Perhaps among your readers there may be somebody who remembers the correspondence, which I think was about 40 years ago. I feel quite satisfied that by losing the book I am not the poorer by £400,000!

RODERICK L. EAGLE

Falmouth, Cornwall. August 25, 1971.

' SHAKSPERE ' SIGNATURE

Sir,

I have now located the correspondence in *The Daily Telegraph* concerning the "discovery" of the alleged signature "Wm Shakspere" in the copy of Lambarde's "Archaionomia" which was printed in 1568.

This correspondence appeared between August 24 and August 30, 1943. The report which led to the controversy was accompanied by a reproduction of the signature. There were four items in the lot which included my book, and they were sold for £1.

In addition to the so-called "signature" there is, on the inside of the front vellum cover, a note written in an 18th-century hand: "Mr. Wm. Shakspeare lived at No. 1 Little Crown Street Westminster. NB near Dorset steps." Presumably this refers to the "signature" but the Stratford man never had such an address. It was not until 1765 that an Act of Parliament passed a Bill for the numbering of houses.

I still believe William Henry Ireland was the most likely forger. The book was compiled for lawyers, and that was the profession of Ireland's employer. He used blank sheets of ancient deeds he found in the office and was not above extracting an old legal book in which to insert one of his numerous and well varied forgeries. He even discovered a method of making an ink with the brownish tint as used in Shakespeare's time.

RODERICK L. EAGLE

Falmouth, Cornwall.

September 1, 1971

* * * *

The Editor,
The Daily Telegraph,
135, Fleet Street,
London, E.C.4P 4BL.

Dear Sir,

Further to your news item on the supposed signature of William Shakespeare announced by the Folger Library, and the subsequent letter from your correspondent, Mr. R. L. Eagle,

research has shown that the Library first mentioned this matter in 1943.

The then Director, Joseph Quincy Adams, reported that the signature had been subjected "to a close examination with a magnifying glass and under ultra-violet and infra-red light". No proof as to its genuineness resulted, and Mr. W. Westley Manning, a well known collector of autograph letters and manuscripts, then commented that the signature was so faded that it had been photographed from the back of the page because the ink used by the writer had been absorbed by the paper. He added that Elizabethan ink was very carefully prepared and, as a rule, with a sensitive finger it could be felt on the surface, as the paper was too well sized to allow absorption, at least in his experience.

There appears to be no reason, therefore, for Dr. W. Nicholas Knight of the Library to suggest now that this signature should find general acceptance, and I feel that the public should be made aware of the position to avoid misconceptions.

Yours faithfully,

NOEL FERMOR, Chairman

September 1, 1971.
(not printed)

THE SPECTATOR CORRESPONDENCE

SHAKESPEARE AND DR. ROWSE

Sir,

By being so irrationally offensive to all who hold different views from himself, Dr. Rowse's article does no credit either to his cause or to his own reputation as a scholar and historian. Many of them are equally qualified scholars and historians in Dr. Rowse's own field.

'A proper historian,' says Dr. Rowse, 'detests theories and hypotheses and reconstructions; he respects facts'. He does indeed. But, unfortunately for the cause of truth, Dr. Rowse begins by begging an essential question in stating as proven the hypothesis that William Shakespeare the author and one William Shagsper (or Shakspur, or Shaksper) of Stratford were one and the same person. He would appear to be so deeply mesmerised by this hypothesis that he cannot or will not take a long, cold look at the so-called facts supporting it. Moreover, he dismissed the ever-increasing weight of evidence that is rapidly tipping the scales on the other side.

It should be clearly stated once and for all that every so-called biography of William Shakespeare is to all intents and purposes a work of fiction. The *facts*, as opposed to the theories and suppositions concerning William Shagsper of Stratford upon Avon could be written on a postcard—all the facts, gleaned from four hundred years of the most painstaking and intensive research. They concern such things as his baptism, his marriage, his purchase of property and other assets, legal proceedings by or against him, and his will—the only part of which that connects him in any way with the theatre is considered by some experts to be a later interpolation. Not one of these known facts connects him in any way with the authorship of the plays, or indeed with any kind of authorship. There is no record anywhere that the man himself ever made any such claim, or that any other person ever made it on his behalf. He died, as he had lived, a nonentity. The only contemporary reference to his death is a laconic—and curiously belated—entry in the diary of his son-in-law, a Stratford doctor: 'My father-in-law died *last Thursday*.'

At that time, twenty of the thirty-seven plays had not been printed. They were valuable assets. There is no mention of them in the Stratford man's very detailed will, bearing three of his six known signatures, whose obvious illiteracy baffled Stratfordian scholars have been at great pains to try to explain away.

It should also be clearly stated once and for all that the entire Stratford claim has grown from two vague references in the First Folio of 1623 (seven years after his death) which would seem from their context to have a deliberately ambiguous intention, and to conceal what they hinted at revealing—a game the Elizabethans and Jacobean loved to play.

In short, if the plays had come down to us anonymously instead of, as more and more people now believe, pseudonymously, would either the nature of the works themselves or the facts of their publication, or what is *in fact* known of this man from Stratford, point incontrovertibly to his authorship? The answer, from anybody with an open mind, must be a definite 'no'. To say that the man was a genius simply will not do. Even a genius must learn a foreign language before he can read books written in it, as this author evidently had. Nor are geniuses born with a detailed knowledge of the processes of law, or the techniques of music, or falconry, or soldiering—or even, for that matter, the rules of court procedure. Such things must be learned to become so much the stuff of metaphor as they are in the plays—and learning was not as easily come by in an Elizabethan tavern as the Stratfordians would glibly have us believe.

Dr. Rowse admits that 'people very often miss what is right under their nose'. That he himself, whose research into and contribution to our knowledge of the life and mores of Elizabethan England is immense, should miss what has been closer under his nose than almost any other scholar's, is further proof that specialists can be quite astoundingly blind to what they do not wish to see. Many other Stratfordians besides himself have missed the 'simple fact' as he calls it, that 'the dedication [to the Sonnets] was Thomas Thorp's, the publisher's—yet it is clearly signed by him, T.T.—and not Shakespeare's at all'.

It may surprise Dr. Rowse to learn that many of his 'crackpots' had noticed this. Indeed, the independent researchers of Oxfordians have established beyond what an intelligent judge weighing evidence would call reasonable doubt, that Mr. W. H. was William Hall, a publisher's tout from Hackney, who is well known to have been a 'begetter' of other manuscripts for Thomas Thorp (not always by over-scrupulous means). They have also established that Hall was married at Hackney at the time of the Sonnets' publication, with their 'well-wishing' dedication, and that the contents of King's Place, Hackney, were disposed of by Oxford's widow about the time when the sonnets could have been procured thence by Hall.

Incidentally, Oxfordians seem to be the only 'crackpots' who have attached any 'significance' to another 'simple fact' about the dedication to the sonnets: that its punctuation is uniquely odd, and that its plethora of curiously placed full stops might contain an important clue to the real identity of 'our Everliving poet' whose pseudonym was William Shake-Speare. But it would be as fruitless to ask any Stratfordian—and Dr. Rowse in particular—even to consider this possibility as it would be to ask him to contrast the facts of Oxford's life with those of the Stratford man and draw the only logical conclusion. More and more of the 'idiot public' however, for whom Dr. Rowse expresses such contempt, are doing just that, and it cannot be very long now before Shakespeare lovers will finally realise that they have for far too long been worshipping at the wrong shrine.

JAMES WALKER

Pilgrim's Way,
Wistwell,
Nr. Ashford, Kent.

Sir,

Thorp's authorship of the Dedication is stated as a fact by Lee in his *Life of Shakespeare* (1898) and Walter Raleigh in his *Shakespeare* (1907). Dr. Rowse, on the other hand, and Lord David Cecil, if we are to believe the former, 'never noticed it'. Were they too busy talking to read? Or were these two authors beneath their notice?

A. N. G. RICHARDS

14 Pembroke Square,
London, W.8.

* * * *

Sir,

My namesake (unrelated and unknown to me) comments on the inability of Dr. Rowse to distinguish between himself and Shakespeare. I am more concerned with his inability to distinguish between himself and history. Any sensible literary scholar will pay due respect to the consensus of historians on a matter within their professional competence. But in this case, where is the consensus? If Dr. Rowse, instead of dividing English scholars into good and bad guys, can produce five or six Tudor historians, prepared to testify that he is demonstrably right—his claim is no less—on the identity of the young man of the Sonnets, it will be time to worry. Till then, agnosticism remains a tenable position.

J. C. MAXWELL

Balliol College, Oxford.

(Editor of *Notes and Queries*—Editor)

* * * *

The Editor,
Spectator,
99, Gower Street,
London, W.C.1.

Dear Sir,

As Chairman of this Society, which was founded in 1885 and ever since then has investigated the Shakespeare authorship ques-

tion, I was pleased to see the able arguments advanced by Mr. James Walker contained in your issue dated the 17th October.

Your correspondent exposed the paucity of biographical facts relating to the Stratford man but, unfortunately, enters more controversial ground later in his letter.

His statement that William Hall was the 'begetter' of manuscripts for Thomas Thorp is still open to doubt in our view, and the insertion of periods after each word of the dedication to the sonnets is not 'uniquely odd' as there is, for instance, a similar device on the Robert Burton Monument in Christchurch Cathedral, Oxford, except that commas are used instead of full stops. Contrary to your correspondent's claim, our Society noticed the peculiarities of the dedication many years ago, numerous articles and references have appeared since in our magazine, *Baconiana*, and there will be a brief reference to it in the current number due to be published in a few days' time.

Despite these disagreements we do agree with Mr. Walker that the Stratfordians have been worshipping at the wrong shrine for far too long, whether this may be taken as the Stratford Man or Mammon.

Yours faithfully,

NOEL FERMOR, Chairman
Francis Bacon Society.

20th October, 1970.

* * * *

SHAKESPEARE AND DR. ROWSE

Sir,

It is a pity that Dr. Rowse should have gone out of his way to be so offensive in his article to those who hold different views from his own as this has the inevitable result of giving his opponents a stick to beat him with. This is the more unfortunate as I, for one, had found it so refreshing to see him dismiss with contempt the assorted Baconians, Marlovians, etc. (all those who, in Tennyson's words, 'would tear the laurel from the brow of the dead Christ').

As an ordinary, non-academic lover of the Bard, I will not presume to offer a letter of the length of James Walker's (October 17). I would simply mention that not long ago I went to a recital of Tudor poetry at the Royal Festival Hall in the course of which it was fascinating to hear lines about Shakespeare from a number of his contemporaries, ranging from Green's 'upstart crow' to Ben Jonson's 'sweet swan of Avon'. In other words, the poet's rivals, both those who hated him and those who paid tribute to his supreme genius, all knew and acknowledged his authorship. The idea that there was a conspiracy of his contemporaries to mislead posterity is of course too absurd for words. That it would be joined by his enemies, who would have been delighted to suggest that he was an ignorant provincial quite incapable of the lofty thought of an Oxford or similar courtier is surely too silly to occupy our thoughts for a moment.

It is clearly bitter medicine for a lot of people to know that a man with so little formal education should produce the greatest works of literature in the history of the world. I am afraid it will just have to be swallowed.

L. E. WEIDBERG

14 Templewood Avenue,
Hampstead, London, N.W.3.

* * * *

Sir,

Mr. James Walker suggests that the Oxfordians appear to be the only ones who have called attention to the peculiarities of the dedication prefixed to the first edition of the Sonnets in 1609—the full-stop following each word, and its shaping rather like a monumental inscription. I did just this in my book *The Secrets of the Shakespeare Sonnets*, published by the Mitre Press, London, in 1965. No other dedication to a book has ever appeared in such a strange and significant shape and wording.

RODERICK L. EAGLE

27 Avenue Road, Falmouth.

BACON AND DR. ROWSE

Sir,

With reference to Mr. Weidberg's letter in your issue dated October 21, I would ask him to remember that 'contempt' is no substitution for discussion on the Shakespeare authorship question which clearly neither he nor Dr. A. L. Rowse has studied.

The contemporary references to Shakespeare which he quotes are obviously to the playwright, and it is a *petitio principii* to assume that the Stratford Man is meant. Those in the secret of the authorship could hardly avoid using the *nom-de-plume* used in the title pages of the Plays, but it is significant that there is no recorded instance of William Shaksper using the spelling adopted for the First Folio.

As to your correspondent's point that a man with so little formal education could have produced the world's greatest literary works perhaps I may reply in Ralph Waldo Emerson's words: I cannot marry the man to his works.

NOEL FERMOR, Chairman

The Francis Bacon Society,
Islington, London, N.1.

* * * *

BACON AND DR. ROWSE

Sir,

The Chairman of the Francis Bacon Society purports to answer my letter but significantly fails in his letter (November 7) to deal with the gravamen of the points raised. Might I be permitted to pin him down ?

As he concedes that the references by the Bard's contemporaries are to the Stratford Man, will he answer the obvious question as to why these people, friends and enemies alike, should all engage in a conspiracy to make the name of Shakespeare immortal? Why did Greene carp about the 'upstart crow' instead of denouncing the provincial bumpkin as a fraud and an imposter? What on earth possessed Jonson, an acknowledged

genius in his own right, to pen that moving tribute to his 'sweet swan of Avon' after Shakespeare's death, if he too knew that he had lived and died a sham? Mr. Fermor must surely realise that the conspiracy theory looks just plain nonsense to ordinary people and that the onus is on him to try and make sense out of it by giving clear answers to the kind of questions I have posed instead of ducking them. Meanwhile he should not be so careless as to suggest that the argument about the impossibility of a man of so little formal education producing these immortal works is my point. It was in fact the only point of even seeming substance in the long anti-Shakespeare letter to which I was replying and I am obliged to him for the splendid way he demolishes it.

Lastly, readers may be interested to know that no sooner had my letter appeared in your columns than I received a free copy of a booklet by a *Spectator* reader being a collation of anti-Shakespeare quotes over recent years. There are about a score of such pieces of 'evidence' each one of which, taken singly, weighs precisely nothing. Your readers will know the value of twenty nothings. I would just mention the final 'authority' which is an extract from an American Express guide for Yankee tourists visiting Windsor! To such barrel-scrapings are the anti-Shakespeareans reduced. I see no reason to apologise for endorsing Dr. Rowse's contempt.

L. E. WEIDBERG

14 Templewood Avenue,
London, N.W.3.

SHAKESPEARE AND DR. ROWSE

Sir,

Absence in America prevented me from replying to the various letters about my Address as President of the Shakespeare Club at Stratford, but really there was nothing to reply to.

One person could not see that the Sonnets are visibly addressed to a social superior, in fact to a peer: 'Lord of my love', with Shakespeare's duty as poet to his patron thrice emphasised.

Another had no idea of the secondary meaning of the word 'will' in Elizabethan English—meaning desire, or specifically the sexual organs. And thus he could not interpret the 'Will' references in Sonnets 135 and 136. He is not to be blamed, for most editors of the Sonnets have not been able to either.

But they are explained and made perfectly clear in my edition of the Sonnets (Macmillan), the purpose of which was to modernise spelling and punctuation, provide a prose version of each sonnet, and so make the whole thing intelligible.

Perhaps I may briefly refer questioners to that.

A. L. ROWSE

* * * *

All Souls' College, Oxford.

Sir,

I must reject Mr. Wiedberg's charge that I have failed to deal with the points he raised, and I would be most grateful if you would allow me space to correct his misconceptions.

I did not 'concede' that contemporary references to the Bard were to the Stratford Man; except those of a derogatory nature, such as Greene's 'upstart crow'. Ben Jonson's earlier allusions were also derogatory, but later changed in tone. Honest Ben assisted Bacon to translate his Essays into Latin. It seems, therefore, that some time before that he had been let into the secret. If so, the expression 'Sweet Swan of Avon' would help to pull the wool over people's eyes, and it is significant that in his *Discoveries* (1640), printed posthumously, he gave exactly the same praise to Bacon, as he had given in the 1623 Folio to the author of the Shakespeare Plays:

Leave thee alone for the comparison,
Of all that insolent *Greece and haughty Rome* . . .
sent forth . . .

Surely Jonson was not so bankrupt in ideas as to use the same phrase for two different writers?

There is no difficulty in suggesting reasons why Bacon could have concealed his identity under a *nom de plume*. To mention two, for a nobleman openly to have written plays in the Elizabethan period would have been unacceptable, particularly when they contained 'treasonable' matter, as in *Richard the Second*.

I am not responsible for booklets sent to Mr. Weidberg by others, but if he cares to consult the very considerable literary and historical evidence available to the public at our headquarters, I hope that, in due course, he will agree that abuse is not a substitute for rational discussion.

NOEL FERMOR, Chairman

Francis Bacon Society,
Canonbury Tower,
Islington, London, N.1.

* * * *

Sir,

Mr. Noel Fermor, Chairman of the Francis Bacon Society, claims (November 7) that contemporary references to Shakespeare (previously quoted by another correspondent) 'are obviously to the playwright', and that 'it is *petitio principii* to assume that the Stratford Man is meant'. Then perhaps Mr. Fermor will tell us what exactly Ben Jonson meant when, in the memorial verses of the First Folio, he called the playwright the 'sweet swan of Avon', and what Leonard Digges, another contemporary, meant when, in the same context, he spoke of the Bard's 'Stratford Monument'.

The truth is that, apart from Jonson and Digges, a number of Elizabethans and Jacobeans made remarks clearly identifying the poet with the London actor William Shakespeare (or Shakspeare) whom, as far as I know, the Baconians have always acknowledged as being identical with the man from Stratford.

I am sure Mr. Fermor has heard of the satirical play *The Return from Parnassus*, performed in 1597, whose unknown author makes the Elizabethan players Kempe and Burbage talk about 'our fellow Shakespeare'; in the same play Shakespeare is listed as a poet together with Chaucer and Spenser, and specifically quoted as the author of *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. Furthermore the players Heminge and Condell, joint editors of the First Folio, declared that they had received the manuscripts from the author—their fellow-actor William Shakespeare.

There is thus no substance in the theory that in Shakespeare's days no one considered the author to be identical with the actor. Shakespeare's contemporaries evidently took it for granted that the Stratford-born player was the Bard, and that the Bard was the player.

S. F. KISSIN

36 Grosvenor Road, Caversham,
Reading, Berks.

Note: Unfortunately this correspondence was then closed, and our Chairman's reply to Mr. Kissin did not appear.

GORHAMBURY

Two miles of the white umbrils of cow-parsley
Say and say not Bacon wrote Shakespeare,
Was the Queen's son.
The farmed fields are new.
Even the crumble of red brick does not talk to me.

Here I step in the tangle of his land, nettles,
Mint, brambles, briony, coltsfoot, xampion, a man-sized
Thistle, arms outstretched to seize,
And head as high as my eye.
These weeds' ancestors were perhaps his companions.

Scarlet angles on black, red admiral settles
On the purple. *Novum Organum*, he thought
The sun was of the nature of fire, because
When he brought butterflies stupid from cold indoors,
They revived before his fire as if in the sun.

Jean Overton Fuller

Reprinted from *The Poetry Review* by kind permission of the Poetry Society

FRANCIS BACON SOCIETY'S BOOKS FOR SALE

*Price not
including
British
postage*

Bevan, Bryan. The Real Francis Bacon - - -	£1.27½
Dawbarn, C. Y. C. Bacon-Shakespeare Discussion - -	10p
Eagle, R. L. The Secrets of Shakespeare's Sonnets (with facsimile)* -	£1.30
Farrington, Professor Benjamin. Francis Bacon, Philosopher of Industrial Science - - -	75p
The Philosophy of Francis Bacon - - -	£1.30
Francis Bacon, Pioneer of Planned Science - -	57½p
Gerstenberg, Joachim. Bacon, Shakespeare and the Great Unknown - -	50p
Coincidences. A Baconian Essay - - -	15p
Bacon-Shakespeare for Beginners - - -	50p
Gundry, W. G. C. Francis Bacon—A Guide to His Homes and Haunts (Illustrated) - - - (Reduced)	9p
Manes Verulamiani (1626 edition in full photo-facsimile, with translation and comment; limited to 400 copies, of which a few only remain) - - -	£2.50
Johnson, Edward D. The Shakesper Illusion (Illustrated) - - -	£1.30
Francis Bacon's Maze - - -	62½p
Shakespeare's Sonnets - - -	62½p
Melsome, W. S. Bacon-Shakespeare Anatomy (Reduced)	55p
Pares, Martin. A Pioneer*: second and augmented edition -	50p
Knights of the Helmet* (Revised) - - -	37½p
Sennett, Mabel. His Erring Pilgrimage: Interpretation of "As You Like It" - - - (Reduced)	14p
Theobald, B. G. Exit Shakespeare - - -	15p
Enter Francis Bacon - - -	15p
Francis Bacon Concealed and Revealed (Illustrated)	44p
Shakespeare's Sonnets Unmasked - - -	30p
Woodward, Frank. Francis Bacon's Cipher Signatures -	£1.32½
(Photo Facsimile Illustrations)	

PAMPHLETS FOR SALE

Price not
including
British
postage

Baker, H. Kendra. Bacon's Vindication* - - -	6p
Pope and Bacon - - - - -	6p
Shakespeare's Coat of Arms - - - - -	7½p
Bokenham, T. D.	
The <i>Original</i> Shakespeare Monument at Stratford-upon-Avon* - - - - -	10p
Bridgewater, Howard.	
Shakespeare and Italy - - - - -	7½p
Evidence Connecting Francis Bacon with Shakespeare	9p
Dawbarn, C. Y. C. Oxford and the Folio Plays - - -	9p
Dodd, Alfred. Mystery of the Shakespeare Sonnets - - -	7½p
Who Was Shakespeare? - - - - -	10p
Eagle, R. L. Shakespeare Forgers and Forgeries (Illustrated)	7½p
Bacon or Shakspeare: A Guide to the Problem - - -	15p
The 'Friend' and 'Dark Lady' of the Sonnets - - -	10p
Eagle/Hapgood. Stratford Birthplace (Illustrated) - - -	6½p
Ellis, Walter. Shakespeare Myth (Illustrated) - - -	9p
Franco, Johan. Bacon-Shakespeare Identities Revealed by their Handwritings (Illustrated) - - - - -	13½p
Gundry, W. G. C.	
Was Shakespeare Educated? (Illustrated) - - - - -	15p
Johnson, Edward D. Don Adriana's Letter (21 diagrams) - - -	15p
Shake-Spear - - - - -	6p
The Shakespeare Quiz - - - - -	6p
Francis Bacon: Similarity of Thought - - - - -	6p
Will Shakspeare of Stratford - - - - -	20p
Francis Bacon of St. Albans - - - - -	20p
A Short History of the Stratford "Shakespeare" Monument - - - - -	6½p
The Fictitious Shakespeare Exposed - - - - -	14p
Bacon-Shakespeare Coincidences - - - - -	9p
Francis Bacon v. Lord Macaulay - - - - -	6½p
Pares, Martin. Will O' The Wisp - - - - -	12½p
Seymour, Henry. John Barclay's Argenis & Cipher Key - - -	5p
Witney, M. A. Francis Bacon - - - - -	13½p

All the books and pamphlets for sale from the Secretary,
Canonbury Tower, Islington, London, N.1

* New Publications

BACONIANA (Copyright Reserved)

The official journal of the Francis Bacon Society (Inc.) is published at £1 (post extra). Back numbers can be supplied. When enquiry is made for particular copies the date should be specified. Some are now very scarce and, in the case of early issues, difficult to obtain unless from members of the Society who may have spare ones.