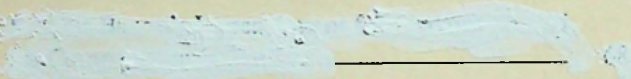


BACONIANA

Founded 1886

December 1990

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THE FRANCIS BACON SOCIETY

(INCORPORATED)

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

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

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Mrs. Olive Driver, a long-standing American Member of the Society, is the author of *The Bacon-Shakespeare Mystery* (1960) and *The Shakespeare Portraits* (1964).

John Hudson is parish priest to seven small rural communities in north Buckinghamshire. He has lectured extensively on the *Old Testament* and has an abiding and scholarly interest in the life and works of George Herbert.

Clifford Hall is Senior Lecturer in Law at the University of Buckingham.

Francis Carr is the author of *European Erotic Art* (1972), *Ivan the Terrible* (1981) and *Mozart and Constanze* (1983). Since 1976 he has been the Director of the Shakespeare Authorship Information Centre.

Thomas Bokenham has been a Member of the Society for more than 30 years and has been a regular contributor to *Baconiana* on a wide variety of subjects, in particular the cipher system demonstrated in the 1624 *Cipher Manual* published in Germany by Augustus, Duke of Brunswick.

SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

The Editor will be glad to receive manuscripts with a view to their publication in a future issue of *Baconiana*. They should be sent to C. G. Hall, the Editor, *Baconiana*, School of Law, University of Buckingham, Buckingham MK18 1EG.

Manuscripts should preferably be typed on A4 size paper, on one side of the paper and double-spaced. Footnotes should be numbered from 1-99 in arabic numerals.



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BACONIANA

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DECEMBER 1990

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

Baconiana has 'taken on' a new Editor who must serve for a time. The emphasis is deliberate. Editors come and go. Their "Old, learned, respectable bald heads/Edit and annotate the lines" but, *D.V.*, the Society and especially, here, our journal, have an independent existence predicated upon the principles which engendered both. Those principles are broad enough and wise enough to attract all manner of persons for whom Bacon's life has a seductive mystery and charm and the massive columns of whose work transcend the vagaries of time and fashion. Doubtless there will be argument upon this or that aspect of these things but such cannot be incompatible with the pursuit of Truth. As Bacon himself tells us in the *Advancement of Learning* (V.8): "If a man begin with certainties, he shall end in doubts; but if he will be content to begin with doubts, he shall end in certainties."

Thus it is that for this issue we were happy to receive Mrs. Driver's important work arguing that it was Anthony, not Francis, who was the chief author of the *Plays* and Martin Gwynne's piece questioning Bacon's 'virtue'. Neither is wholly incompatible with a vigorous Society dedicated to one who, as Lord Kilmuir L.C. once reminded us in toasting the "Immortal Memory of Francis Bacon",* so diversified his efforts in Literature, Politics, Philosophy and Law. "Diversification of effort", Lord Kilmuir said, "is either a snare which brings its pursuer down hard and certainly among the second-rate, or a success whose very versatility is puzzling to the ordinary man." Like so many

* At the Dinner to commemorate the 4th Centenary of Bacon's birth, at Gray's Inn in 1961 (see XLV *Baconiana*, p.15). The Society hopes to hold a similar Dinner in 1991.

of us, Kilmuir regarded Bacon as a genius who had entered the "straight gate into the rare Elysian field of true greatness." For what other reason could the Founding Fathers have established the Society?

Lest we forget them, we hope to re-print some of their early contributions to *Baconiana* from time to time; and for other reasons too. Then, as now at Nevern Square, Members read their papers at meetings held, in 1886, at 81, Cornwall Gardens. Many of these had a considerable intellectual vigour shorn of the rhetoric which, for this writer, so often mars the writings of the 'apologists'. In this issue, we re-print an anonymous piece from Volume 5 (N.S.), 1897 entitled "A Few Words about Past, Present and Future", which is appropriate not least because of late the Council has been giving much thought to how the Society should progress into the 21st Century. Naturally we wish to secure the support of new Members both from home and abroad. Having lost our 'headquarters' at Canonbury we need to find a new home for the Library – perhaps establish a new centre for Baconian studies – but to do that we must raise funds. We certainly need to secure a wider audience for *Baconiana* and encourage contributions to the journal from more varied sources than has, perhaps, hitherto been the case in recent years. As Mrs. Driver's piece in this issue demonstrates, our journal is able to plough a broader intellectual furrow than is suggested by the simple idea of 'articles on Francis Bacon'. Our intention is to ensure that *Baconiana* remains of the highest academic and literary quality such that it can quite properly take its place in the acquisitions lists of university libraries as well as on the bedside table.

The article "A Few words...." is also significant in that in its opening paragraph reference is made to an event "preeminent in importance", namely, "the bringing into full light the *Manes* of 'the incomparable Francis Bacon of Verulam'." This consists of 32 elegies to Bacon's memory first printed a few months after his death by John Haviland. The elegies have not received the attention from scholars which, unquestionably, they merit. In particular, Bacon's contemporaries illumine his reputation as a supreme poet, as a writer of unacknowledged literary work who was associated with the theatre and as one in respect of whom there was a mystery which it was the duty of posterity to unravel. It is a very important work and in 1950

W.G.C. Gundry edited the *Manes* and had them privately printed in facsimile, with an Introduction, translations by Father William Sutton S.J., notes and bibliography, by The Chiswick Press. Only 420 copies were produced, very handsomely indeed, and the Society (through Thomas Bokenham) is fortunate in retaining some of these being individually numbered. In 1950 the price was two guineas. Today, we can offer them for a nominal £10.95. The *Manes* make for fascinating reading and are to be accounted a 'must' for all serious Baconians.

We were very happy to receive John Hudson's "Note" on Psalm CXXXVII. Over the years, Bacon's *Translations of the Psalms* have sadly been neglected as with his other religious writing. Nor have the *Translations* been accorded uncritical praise. The reader may judge for himself. We think they have a timeless quality which faithfully capture the concept of psalm as song and a simplicity as captivating as any of the *Sonnets*. They might have been written by Tennyson or Philip Larkin and so have their own 'stamp' of high quality. We hope that John Hudson will explore more of them.

Finally, it is with much pleasure that we record the House Dinner at Gray's Inn on 15 June, 1989 to commemorate the sixtieth year of the Call to the Bar of Master Francis Cowper, our Honorary President. In proposing the toast to Master Cowper, The Treasurer, Master Lord Wigoder, Q.C., referred to *A Prospect of Gray's Inn*, our President's sympathetic, definitive history of the Inn, a copy of which is presented to every student of Gray's upon Call to the Bar. It is, he said, "one of the most readable and lovable books on our great legal institutions"; and Master Cowper's unique contribution to the Inn lies, he said, in "that with erudition and wit he's made us all aware, and indeed, proud of our heritage. Without that knowledge we would fade away. With it, we can look forward confidently to the years ahead." It is entirely fitting that this encomium should have been addressed to the President of the Francis Bacon Society.

**THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE SHAKESPEAREAN PLAYS AND
POEMS AS REVEALED BY THESE LITERARY PRODUCTIONS***

Olive Wagner Driver†

As a result of the recent controversy about whether Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, was the true author of the Shakespearean Plays, a friend urged me to write a brief summary of the authorship problem as set forth in my books, *The Bacon-Shakespearean Mystery* (1960) and *The Shakespearean Portraits* (1964, 1966). I trust the reader will forgive me when I sometimes quote myself in this endeavor.

I have followed the method of the first defender of the Earl of Oxford, namely J. Thomas Looney in his book, *Shakespeare Identified* (London, 1920). He used a list of specifications that he thought characterized the author Shakespeare, and proceeded to try to find a man to fit his specifications. To arrive at such a list one must use the author's books, since there is no other information upon which we can depend. The *Sonnets* are particularly valuable for this purpose. Sonnets from their very nature tend to be self revealing, especially so if they are written under an assumed name. It is difficult to believe that the author Shakespeare could have written over one hundred and fifty sonnets without giving us something of his individual history. It is not necessary or logical to interpret the *Sonnets* symbolically and to disregard what the poet has to say. The *Plays* give us more general information about his background, his education and reading, his associations and his travels.

My list of specifications follows.

1. The author was a man. This is obvious, if we accept the "dark lady" of the *Sonnets* literally and not as a symbol of his muse or some other mental image, as has been suggested.
2. His name was not Shakespeare. Sonnet 81 reads:

* Dedicated by Mrs. Driver to "Ernest, my companion on the long road to truth."

† I gratefully acknowledge a gift from Dr. and Mrs. Richard H. Post which has helped to finance this work.

*Or I shall live your Epitaph to make,
Or you survive when I in earth am rotten,
From hence your memory death cannot take,
Although in me each part will be forgotten.
Your name from hence immortal life shall have,
Though I (once gone) to all the world shall dye,
The earth can yeeld me but a common grave,
When you intombed in mens eyes shall lye,
Your monument shall be my gentle verse,
Which eyes not yet created shall ore-read,
And touns to be, your beeing shall rehearse,
When all the breathers of this world are dead,
You still shall live (such vertue hath my Pen)
Where breath most breaths, even in the mouths of men.*

And he wrote in Sonnet 72:

*My name be buried where my body is,
And live no more to shame nor me, nor you.*

The *Sonnets* were dedicated to "Mr W.H.". This is the enigma. Identified by his initials only, how could the name of the youth be immortalized by the *Sonnets*, if the name of the poet, whose name appears on the title page, is to die? Yet that is exactly what the *Sonnets* say. It is evident that the name on the title page cannot be the name of the real author, and someone took this method of telling us so.

3. He was well educated in the classics and in foreign languages. It is significant that his first published poem, *Venus and Adonis* (1593), used a story from the classics. Some of the incidents in the *Plays* are based on stories written in languages other than English and not yet translated into English at the time when the *Plays* were being written. Karl J. Holzknrecht in *The Backgrounds of Shakespeare's Plays* (1950) gives a number of examples of this sort of thing, including the main plot of *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, the basic story of *The Merchant of Venice*, the plot of *Othello*, and others. The vocabulary of the *Plays* is also astounding, not alone in the number of words used but also in the number of words derived from Latin and other foreign languages.

4. He was trained for the law. Some Shakespearean scholars have explained the many legal terms in the *Plays* and poems by suggesting that he may have worked as a clerk in a lawyer's office.* This was the suggestion of Lord Campbell C.J. in *Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements* (1859). He contradicted his own thesis, however, when he wrote (p. 110):

Hamlet's own speech, on taking in his hand what he supposed might be the skull of a lawyer, abounds with lawyer-like words:

Where be his quiddits now, his cases, his tenures, and his tricks? Why does he suffer this rude knave now to knock him about the sconce with a dirty shovel, and will not tell him of his action of battery? Humph! This fellow might be in's time a great buyer of land, with his statutes, his recognizances, his fines, his double vouchers, his recoveries: is this the fine of his fines, the recovery of his recoveries, to have his fine pate full of fine dirt? will his vouchers vouch him no more of his purchases, and double ones too, than the length and breadth of a pair of indentures?

Referring to the indictment of the *Second Part of King Henry VI* (Act IV, Sc. 7), he said:

How acquired I know not, but it is quite certain that the drawer of this indictment must have had some acquaintance with *The Crown Circuit Companion* and must have had a full and accurate knowledge of that rather obscure and intricate subject – *Felony and Benefit of Clergy*.

A number of other authors have also testified to the vast and exact knowledge of the law revealed in the Shakespearean *Plays*.

5. He had a background of foreign travel. His description of the "tawny ground" of France, of the Court of Navarre in *Love's*

* See, e.g., O. Hood Phillips, *Shakespeare and the Lawyers* (Methuen, 1972)—Ed..

Labour's Lost, of the dreary Scottish moor in *Macbeth*, of a storm at sea in *The Tempest* has led various Shakespearean scholars to suggest that Shakespeare had probably gone to Scotland, had travelled on the Continent, or had taken a sea voyage. Shakespeare's knowledge of the sea was discussed by W.B. Whall, Master Mariner, in *Shakespeare's Sea Terms Explained* (1910). In his introduction he wrote:

One thing is certain, that the sea expressions scattered through the *Plays* cannot be understood by the ordinary reader without some help of the kind given here. I take one of the well known editions with notes. I find twelve words mentioned, and these very briefly, and in some cases wrongly explained. Many really curious words are passed over in silence, the annotator evidently not knowing their meaning. ... Being an old sailor of the old sailing days, and having made a study of these archaic terms, I am able to dogmatize upon them. This study of archaic sea terms is full of pitfalls for the unwary and those with only a little knowledge of the subject.

6. He had some social status and some knowledge of Court life. (One of Looney's specifications was that he was an aristocrat.)

Sonnet 125 begins:

*Wer't ought to me I bore the canopy,
With my extern the outward honoring,
Or layd great bases for eternity,
Which proves more short than wast or ruining?*

Looney thought this canopy was the pall held over King James VI of Scotland at his coronation as King James I of England. However, it might equally well have been the canopy carried over Queen Elizabeth on her way to St. Paul's Cathedral or on her progressions to visit the noble homes of England. To serve in this capacity one would have been at least part way up the social ladder. Common people were not accorded this honor in socially conscious England.

Many of the *Plays* deal with royalty or nobility, not only in Britain, but also of Greece, Egypt, Italy, France, Denmark. Such

characters as maids and serving men were usually not servants as we know them but rather attendants of royalty or nobility, such as maids of honor to the Queen. The comic characters were often court jesters, soldiers attending royalty on the field of battle, or the personnel of taverns that men of rank patronized. *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is the only play that descends throughout to the common level.

7. He was familiar with sports. In *Shakespeare's Imagery* (1935), Caroline Spurgeon states that Shakespeare drew more images from sports than did other Elizabethan dramatists. The *Plays* reveal that the poet had a thorough knowledge of archery, falconry, and other royal sports. As G.B. Harrison has pointed out,¹ this could mean that he was a sportsman, or it could mean just the reverse. Since the poet admittedly was lame, it could mean that his knowledge of sporting terms came from his eager observation of his more active companions.

8. He was careless in his attitude towards money, putting other things ahead of money in his sense of values. In *Romeo and Juliet*, Romeo exclaims, as he pays the apothecary for poison:

*There's thy Gold,
Worse poyson to mens soules,
Doing more murther in this loathsome world,
Than these poore compounds that thou maiest not sell.
I sell thee poyson, thou hast sold me none.*

9. He was a religious liberal. Although denouncing the Pope in *King John* (Act III, Sc. 1), his treatment of Friars and priests was actually sympathetic, as the picture drawn of Friar Lawrence in *Romeo and Juliet*. His representation of Cranmer, first great Protestant Archbishop in *King Henry VIII*, shows him to have been tolerant towards the Protestant faith. That he did not go along with the Puritans is revealed by his portrayal of Malvolio in *Twelfth Night*, which is usually interpreted as a caricature of the Puritan viewpoint. That he was not what we would call a pious man is evident from the *Sonnets*. In these exquisite poems addressed to the beloved youth there is no direct mention of religion, even in the passages where he

1. *Introducing Shakespeare*, p. 39.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE SHAKESPEARE PLAYS AND POEMS

gives advice. Apparently mercy, tolerance and humanity were more important to him than religious dogma.

10. He must have had the leisure to write. This is an important point and one often neglected. Even if the poet had the necessary background in education and travel, as well as the inherent genius to write the *Plays*, he must also have had the time to review the literature, some of which he sometimes used in his *Plays*. If one considers all that this entails, it seems incredible that it could have been accomplished by anyone except a person willing and able to devote most of his time to this one project.

11. He was in disgrace when he wrote some of the *Sonnets*. I quote.

Sonnet 29:

*When in disgrace with Fortune and mens eyes,
I all alone beweepe my out-cast state,
And trouble deafe heaven with my bootlesse cries,
And looke upon myself and curse my fate.*

Sonnet 36:

*I may not ever-more acknowledge thee,
Least my bewailed guilt should do thee shame,
Nor thou with publike kindnesse honour me,
Unlesse thou take that honour from thy name.*

Sonnet 72, already quoted:

*My name be buried where my body is,
And live no more to shame nor me, nor you.*

12. He was living in exile when he wrote some of the *Sonnets*: see Sonnet 29, above. Sonnets 48 and 50 describe his flight.

Sonnet 48:

*How carefull was I when I took my way,
 Each trifle under truest barres to thrust,
 That to my use it might un-used stay
 From hands of falsehood, in sure wards of trust.*

“Trifle” was the term used by an Elizabethan poet to describe one of his compositions.

Sonnet 50:

*How heavie doe I journey on the way,
 When what I seeke (my wearie travels end)
 Doth teach that ease and that repose to say
 Thus farre the miles are measurede from thy friend.
 The beast that beares me, tired with my woe,
 Plods duly on, to bear that waight in me,
 As if by some instinct the wretch did know
 His rider lov'd not speed being made from thee.
 The bloody spurre cannot provoke him on,
 That some-times anger thrusts into his hide,
 Which heavily he answers with a grone,
 More sharpe to me than spurring to his side.
 For that same grone doth put this in my mind,
 My greefe lies onward and my joy behind.*

13. He was lame. Sonnets 37 and 89 tell us so.

Sonnet 37:

*As a decrepiti father takes delight,
 To see his active childe do deeds of youth,
 So I, made lame by Fortunes dearest spight
 Take all my comfort of thy worth and truth.
 For whether beauty, birth, or wealth, or wit,
 Or any of these all, or all, or more,
 Intituled in their parts, do crowned sit,*

*I make my love ingrafted to this store:
So then I am not lame, poore, nor despis'd,
Whilst that this shadow doth such substance give,
That I in thy abundance am suffic'd
And by a part of all thy glory live.*

Sonnet 89:

*Say that thou didst forsake mee for some falt,
And I will comment upon that offense,
Speake of my lameness, and I straight will halt:
Against thy reasons making no defence.*

14. He was at least forty years old when the *Sonnets* were written (about 1600). Leslie Hotson in *Shakespeare's Sonnets Dated* (1949) tried to establish the date as about 1590, because he believed that the "mortal moon" in Sonnet 107 described the Spanish fleet, which assumed a crescent or moon shaped formation for battle. I quote:

*The mortall Moone hath her eclipse indur'de,
And the sad Augurs mock their owne presage,
Incertenties now crowne them-selves assur'de,
And peace proclaimes Olives of endlesse age.*

He was thinking, of course, of the Armada of 1588. However, the defeat of the Spanish fleet was not a permanent one. By 1596 they were as strong as ever and ready for a second attempt against England. They were defeated and scattered in June of that year. I believe that Sonnet 107 refers to this second armada, so we may date the *Sonnets* close to 1600. I place the age of the poet at forty or more when he was writing the *Sonnets* because of the many references in them to his age. Thus Sonnet 73:

*That time of yeeare thou maist in me behold,
When yellow leaves, or none, or few doe hange
Upon those boughes which shake against the cold
Bare rn'wd quiers, where late the sweet birds sang.
In me thou seest the twi-light of such day,*

*As after Sun-set fadeth in the West,
 Which by and by blacke night doth take away,
 Deaths second selfe that seals up all in rest.
 In me thou seest the glowing of such fire,
 That on the ashes of his youth doth lye,
 As the death bed, whereon it must expire,
 Consum'd with that which it was nurrisht by.
 This thou percev'st, which makes thy love more strong,
 To love that well, which thou must leave ere long.*

The figure forty appears at the beginning of Sonnet 2.

*When forty Winters shall besiege thy brow,
 And digge deep trenches in thy beauties field,*

Forty appears to be the poet's idea of age when he is giving advice to the beloved youth, and it may be assumed that he is speaking from the vantage point of the forty years that he describes.

Now we come to the candidates themselves. We can discount some on the basis of age, as being too young in 1600: Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland (24 years), Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex (33 years), Christopher Marlowe (36 years) and William Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon (36 years). Most of the others can be discounted on the basis of not living in exile: William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby, Sir Edward Dyer, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Bacon and the candidate who has caused the recent furor, Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford.

I submit that my candidate, Anthony Bacon, older brother of Francis Bacon, is the only one fitting all specifications. I shall give a condensed sketch of his life, using primarily *The Dictionary of National Biography*. Thomas Birch's *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1754), the recent biography by Daphne du Maurier, *Golden Lads* (1975), and the results of my own research in my books on Shakespearean authorship. All Shakespearean quotations duplicate the Folio of 1623 or the original (1609) edition of the *Sonnets*.

Anthony Bacon was born in 1558 (birth unrecorded) to Sir Nicholas Bacon and his wife, Ann Cooke Bacon. Sir Nicholas Bacon was appointed Lord Keeper of the Great Seal a month after Elizabeth

came to the throne in November, 1558. His brother-in-law, William Cecil (later Lord Burghley), became Lord High Treasurer some years later. Anthony and his younger brother Francis grew up at York House, the official residence of the Lord Keeper, and at Gorhambury in the parish of St. Albans, where their father built a fine new country house. In London both boys were familiar with the high born figures of the English Court.

Lady Ann Bacon was an accomplished Latin and Greek scholar. She undertook the education of her sons in these languages as well as in the scriptures. A Protestant with Puritan leanings, she was a firm disciplinarian and expected strict attention to study and to family prayers. Anthony was a great worry to his parents because of his feeble health. At fourteen his sight was despaired of and he was lame throughout life. For this reason he did not progress as fast in his studies as his younger brother, so that the boys entered college together at thirteen and fifteen years of age, sharing quarters at Trinity College, Cambridge. Their tutor was John Whitgift, who later became the Archbishop of Canterbury.

At Cambridge, Anthony and Francis studied the classics as well as more recent European literature, and were thoroughly exposed to the philosophy of Aristotle, then in vogue. However, the inquiring minds of the brothers rebelled against the doctrine that all truth had been expounded by Aristotle over nineteen hundred years earlier. Both felt that, since nature had been wrongly interpreted, there must have been something wrong with the methods of interpretation. This belief, which grew stronger with the years, is reflected in the anti-Aristotelian atmosphere of the Shakespearean *Plays* and the inductive methods of research advocated in Francis Bacon's *Essays* and other writings, so that the intellectual revolt of the Bacon brothers while at college had the profoundest effect upon the thinking of their generation and of generations to follow. In 1576, the two boys, being sons of a judge, were admitted as *ancients* to Gray's Inn, one of the four Inns of Court, which trained young gentlemen for the law as well as instructing them in social graces.

It was about this time that a secret literary society developed under the patronage of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the Queen's favorite, who was interested in the theatre as well as in literary composition. His nephew, Philip Sidney, became the first young

leader of this group. At this time Anthony Bacon fell deeply in love with Philip Sidney's sister Mary, a love that endured long after her marriage in 1577 to Henry Herbert, 2nd Earl of Pembroke. After Sidney's untimely death Francis Bacon became the managing director of the secret society in England, although Anthony was soon recognized as its most gifted poet. Some of his early poetry has come down to us under the name of "Shepherd Toni". Later he adopted the pen name of William Shakespeare, using an actor from Stratford-on-Avon with a similar name to put his *Plays* before the public.

In my first book on Shakespearean authorship, I explained at some length why it was necessary for Anthony to use a pen name. The climate in Elizabethan England was so unfavorable for the writing of poetry that Sir Philip Sidney felt it necessary to write a treatise which he called *In Defence of Poesie*. No one who desired to keep social prestige or gain political advancement would dream of writing poetry for profit, even if it were possible to do so, or even of publishing his poetry for general distribution. Plays were considered even more reprehensible. Even Sidney disapproved of the early plays that he had seen, and plays were banned from the newly established Bodleian Library. Lady Anne Bacon's Puritan beliefs made the situation particularly difficult for Anthony. The usual practice for an author caught in this sort of trap was to use someone else for a mask, in order to get his writing into print. Anthony used the man from Stratford-on-Avon, because he was an actor. Other writers often used their secretaries.

Soon after his entrance into Gray's Inn, Francis Bacon was sent abroad with Amyas Paulet, the English ambassador to Paris. For over two years he mingled with the nobility of the French Court and learned much about political intrigue while on the continent. During this time Queen Elizabeth visited the Bacon home at Gorhambury. It is probable that this was the occasion when Anthony "bore the canopy", as a mark of favor by the Queen to the youthful courtier. In February, 1578-9 Francis was called home by the death of his father. As in the case of many less distinguished men, Sir Nicholas Bacon had neglected to change his will in order to provide for his youngest son. The bulk of the estate went to the sons of the first marriage, and to Anthony, the older son by the second marriage. The home at St. Albans was left to Lady Bacon for life.

Meanwhile Anthony, at the suggestion of his uncle, Lord Treasurer Burghley, was sent abroad on a tour of political intelligence. On the continent he was in constant correspondence with Nicholas Faunt, secretary of Sir Francis Walsingham, Queen Elizabeth's chief of espionage, whose network of secret investigation covered Britain and continental Europe. Anthony first resided in Paris, where he became friendly with William Parry, an English Catholic refugee, which caused considerable alarm to his mother when she heard of it. He lived for almost two years in the home of Theodore Beza, the great Biblical scholar, who had become the leader of the Protestants in Geneva after the death of Calvin. He was in Lyons in 1582 and journeyed to Montpellier and Toulouse. In January, 1582-3 he was recuperating from a long illness in Marseilles, where he wrote some sonnets which he sent to Nicholas Faunt. He resided in Bordeaux for over a year, becoming friendly with Michel de Montaigne, who was the chief magistrate. He then visited Pau, the birthplace of Henry of Navarre, where he met Lambert Daneau, who dedicated his *Commentary on the Minor Prophets* to Anthony.

In 1585 he went to the Court of Navarre at Nerac and became intimate with Henry of Navarre, the leader of Protestant France, and his sister Catherine. Daphne du Maurier portrays him participating in sporting events with his hosts. At any rate Henry went off to fight French Catholic forces and Anthony moved to near-by Montauban, where many of Henry's chief followers lived. He called on the family of Henry's chief councillor, Philippe Mornay du Plessis, who gave him a warmer welcome than Anthony had anticipated. Madame du Plessis, who had a daughter by a former marriage, got the idea that Anthony would make a fine son-in-law. Anthony was still deeply in love with Mary Sidney Herbert, and he was not ripe for the picking. He secluded himself in his house beside the river Tarn, where he employed a number of boys to do the chores and as companions. Du Maurier describes music and laughter proceeding from the house during most waking hours. It is my opinion that their chief leisure activity was play acting. Anthony wrote short plays which the boys enjoyed performing. Music naturally entered into their activities, since Anthony played the lute and the virginals.

Anthony further antagonized Madame du Plessis by unwise remarks in agreeing with a church official who criticized her

headdress. "Hell has no fury like a woman scorned" and here were two women scorned. This resulted, according to du Maurier, who investigated the city records of the time, in Anthony's arrest on a charge of sodomy in the fall of 1586. The du Plessis family were wealthy and powerful. It would have been easy for them to frame such a charge against Anthony by intimidating or bribing the boys, which is what I think they did. The penalty for sodomy at that time and place was burning at the stake. What dreadful women, to hate anyone enough to want him burned alive!

If it had not been for the intervention of his friend, the King of Navarre, Anthony might have paid the supreme penalty. He was also badgered by monetary difficulties from which Henry helped to extricate him, so that England owes the preservation of her most gifted poet to a King of France.

There is no doubt that Anthony visited Italy during his long sojourn on the continent. He may have done so from Geneva, since Birch notes that Nicholas Faunt wrote to Anthony from Pisa on August 16, 1581, "desiring to see Mr. Bacon before the latter pass'd the Alps". He also had ample time to visit Italy during his five year residence in Montauban. He may have gone to Italy on a secret diplomatic mission.

In 1590, Anthony returned to Bordeaux and resumed his friendly intercourse with Montaigne, probably visiting him at his country chateau. He also used his influence to secure the release from prison of Anthony Standen, one of Walsingham's Catholic agents, who had been imprisoned because of the false suspicion that he was in the service of Spain.

That Anthony was already corresponding with literary friends may be judged from this letter penned to him on March 11, 1590-1:

The good acceptance of my writing gladdened my heart, tho' I confess it to have been no more, nay much less than my duty, for such favours, as I have felt at your hands in my greatest need; the which, tho' it pleaseth you to forget, or not to take notice of, yet I always at the least with a thankful heart remember, and, God willing, so long as I live, the memory thereof shall never die.²

2. Birch's *Memoirs*, Vol. 1, p. 61.

Anthony returned to England in February, 1591–2. He was met by Nicholas Faunt, who conducted him to his brother's quarters at Gray's Inn. Anthony was still weak from his various illnesses while on the continent, so he did little for a while except lie on a couch in an attempt to regain his strength.

Sir Francis Walsingham, Anthony's most powerful friend, had died before Anthony's return to England. As soon as he was able Anthony turned to his uncle, Lord Treasurer Burghley, for help in obtaining some sort of post at Court. Burghley, however, consistently refused to help either of his nephews in their efforts to win political advancement. It may be that he feared the intellectual superiority of the Bacon brothers to his own crafty and deformed son, Robert Cecil, who later became the Earl of Salisbury. At any rate Anthony withdrew from Court to confine himself to his studies and writing, leaving his brother to tread the long and slippery path leading to political advancement. He did, however, serve in the House of Commons, his first term as the Member for Wallington.

In 1593, having concluded that Burghley would do nothing for them, the Bacon brothers entered the service of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, who was the Queen's current favorite. Anthony continued to live at Gray's Inn or at the Bacon estate of Twickenham Park by the Thames until April, 1594, when he moved to a house in Bishopsgate near the Bull Inn. This proximity to the theatre so distressed his mother that he soon moved to Chelsea. During this time the Bacon brothers were in financial distress. Francis turned to a money lender, who may have served as a model for Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*.

Although Anthony sold land and spent his resources to help his brother, it was Francis who managed their business affairs, as is evident from the letter Anthony wrote to Francis on January 26, 1594–5:

But I must confess, freely and unfeignedly, that finding myself by imperfection of nature not only careless of myself, but incapable what is best for myself, I will and do intirely commit myself to the resolution and direction of my most honourable friend and dearest brother.³

3. *Ibid.*, at p. 199.

This letter supports my specification number 8, *i.e.*, he was careless in his attitude towards money.

In April, 1593, *Venus and Adonis*, the first publication bearing the name of William Shakespeare, was registered with the Stationers' Company. This poem, the "first heir of my invention", was dedicated to Henry Wriothesley, the youthful Earl of Southampton, who was the closest friend of the young Lord Essex. By "first heir of my invention" I believe Anthony meant his first published work under his new pen name, not the first thing he ever wrote. In 1594 *Lucrece* was published with his new pen name. This poem was also dedicated to the Earl of Southampton.

In 1594-5 the Bacon brothers were in the midst of collecting and annotating material for some of the Shakespearean *Plays*. This activity was first described by Mrs. Henry Pott in 1883 in a book called *The Promus of Formularies and Elegancies by Francis Bacon*, being hitherto unpublished notes in the handwriting of Francis Bacon, begun in 1594. The original notes, discovered in the British Museum, had over 1600 entries, such as proverbs, Biblical and classical quotations, and expressions in other languages, such as Latin and Italian. The significant point about these notes is that the entries in *The Promus* do not appear in the books of Francis Bacon but do appear in the Shakespearean *Plays*. "We should almost have to bring ourselves to believe", wrote Mrs. Pott, "that Bacon took notes for the use of Shakespeare." She spoke the truth in this case without realizing it, for I believe that is exactly what happened. Anthony, weak and ill, lay on the couch in his lodgings, while Francis patiently noted the phrases that Anthony dictated to him, as he recalled them to mind. As early as 1592 the Bacon brothers had repaired to the estate at Twickenham Park on the Thames, where they established a "scriptorium" and employed several "good pens" or secretaries to help them in their literary efforts. In *The Promus* there is an entry reading, "The Law at Twickenham for Mery Tales".

In October, 1595, Essex offered Anthony the security of Essex House, which, despite his mother's protests, he gratefully accepted. During the years that followed he served as a private secretary, handling the political correspondence of Essex, much of it in cipher, with important people in Britain and on the continent, including Henry of Navarre (now King Henry IV of France) and King James of Scotland.

The second attempt on England by a Spanish Armada occurred in the spring of 1596. The Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, was in command of the naval forces, while Essex was in charge of the land forces. The Lord Henry Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh went on this expedition as counsellors for the sea service, while Sir Francis Vere, Sir Conyers Clifford, and Sir George Carew joined the forces of Essex. It is interesting to read a mention of Raleigh in one of Anthony's letters sent to Essex at Plymouth during the preparations precedent to sailing:

Yet Sir Walter Rawleigh's slackness and stay by the way is not thought to be upon sloth or negligence, but upon pregnant design; which will be brought forth very shortly, and found to be, according to the French proverb, *fiis ou fille*.⁴

Here we have the same double meaning and play upon words that occur so frequently in the Shakespearean Plays.

On May 9th Anthony wrote to Dr. Hawkyms in Venice that:

Her Majesty's army at Plymouth consisted of 14,000 men at the least, of whom there were 1,500 gentlemen volunteers, who upon the mere love and honour, which they bore to him, who commanded them, sacrificed their lives and livings to his lordship's direction in this honourable action.⁵

The fleet sailed from Plymouth on June 1, 1596. After a sea battle in which the Spanish fleet was defeated and dispersed, Essex and his soldiers landed and forced the surrender of Cadiz. The usual aftermath of defeat in the sixteenth century was expected to be a time of horror, with all the savage instincts of the victorious soldiers unleashed on a helpless population. To Essex' credit we read of his restraint over his troops in this victory, although Cadiz was burned and much booty taken. He enforced his orders that women were not to be molested or stripped of their jewels.

4. *Ibid.*, at p. 486.

5. *Ibid.*, at p. 481.

Essex returned to London a conquering hero, to the wild acclaim of the populace, but his reception at Court was not so enthusiastic. The Queen was annoyed that he had not taken more booty in Spain, and he discovered that his friend, Francis Bacon, had again been passed over in his quest for political advancement. Sir Thomas Egerton had been promoted to Lord Keeper, and Robert Cecil, malicious cousin of the Bacon brothers, had become Chief Secretary.

In 1597, Anthony served as M.P. for Oxford, and Francis published the first edition of his *Essays*, which he dedicated to his brother. Francis had, meanwhile, risen steadily in favor with the Queen, so that he now served as her unofficial advisor, but without salary. His private fortunes were now in a deplorable shape, mostly, I believe, because of the heavy expenses incurred in various literary enterprises. On September 23, 1598, Francis, returning from business at the Tower of London, was arrested for debt and detained, but soon released. It is interesting to note that at the very time when the fortunes of the Bacon brothers were at their lowest ebb William Shakespeare felt prosperous enough to purchase the largest home in Stratford-on-Avon, which he called "New Place". 1598 was also the year that saw *Love's Labour's Lost*, the quarto edition of a play first bearing the name of William Shakespeare as the author, published.

Sometime during this period Anthony met the young man of the *Sonnets*. A letter to Essex, dated September 14, 1597, written by the Lord Henry Howard on behalf of Anthony, whose hands were disabled by gout, gives us the approximate date:

He knows your noble disposition, and hath often had experiment of your facility in acquitting persons guilty, as he cannot feel your hard conceit against him, that will ever be innocent, believing your most noble favour to be grounded upon principles of antient experience, too strong to be shaken with any blast of emulation.⁶

William Herbert, who became the 3rd Earl of Pembroke, fits the description given in the *Sonnets* much better than does Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, who was twenty-four years old in 1597, compared with William Herbert, who was seventeen at that

6. *Op. cit.*, Vol. 11, pp. 358-9.

time. The *Sonnets* continually emphasize the immaturity of the beloved youth. He is addressed as "sweet boy" in Sonnet 108.

William Herbert was the son of Mary Sidney Herbert with whom Anthony had been so deeply in love. In him Anthony saw the son who, under happier circumstances, might have been his, and he loved the youth with all the devotion of his ardent nature. So he wrote in Sonnet 3:

*Thou art thy mothers glasse and she in thee
Calls backe the lovely Aprill of her prime.*

Anthony also met the "dark lady" about this time, but the affair progressed slowly, as shown by Sonnet 128:

*How oft when thou my musike musike playst,
Upon that blessed wood whose motion sounds
With thy sweet fingers when thou gently swayst,
The wiry concord that mine eare confounds,
Do I envie those Jackes that nimble leape,
To kisse the tender inward of thy hand,
Whilst my poore lips which should that harvest reape,
At the woods bouldness by thee blushing stand.*

This sonnet shows the musical ability of the dark lady as well as giving one the impression of a cultured background. She apparently did not conform to Anthony's idea of beauty, but she must have been fairly presentable to have been so attractive to several men. So Anthony wrote in Sonnet 141:

*In faith I doe not love thee with mine eyes,
For they in thee a thousand errors note,
But 'tis my heart that loves what they despise,
Who in dispite of view is pleased to dote.*

She probably became his mistress the following spring. This arrangement may have lasted for close to two years, when she transferred her favors to the youth.

Scholars have been bothered by the fact that the poet continued to

love the youth, in spite of the latter's infidelity in taking the affection of his mistress. The reason for this is simple. He loved the youth more than he loved the woman. He plainly says so in Sonnet 42:

*That thou hast her, it is not all my grief,
And yet it may be said I lov'd her dearly;
That she hath thee is of my wailing chief,
A loss in love that touches me more nearly.*

There has been much speculation about the identity of the dark lady, so called because she is described as black in the *Sonnets*. However, one must remember that until recently in England and even today in Germany brunettes are called black, meaning that they are not blonds. The most popular candidate for this character has been Mary Fitton, twenty year old maid of honor to Queen Elizabeth in 1598. In February, 1601, she had a child out of wedlock by William Herbert, who was sent to the Fleet prison for this offense, but soon released. The youth admitted his fault but refused to marry the mother of the child, which died soon after birth.

The presumption that the woman was Mary Fitton is based partly on Sonnet 135, where we read:

*Whoever hath her wish, thou hath thy Will,
And Will to boot, and Will in overplus.*

One "Will" would be William Herbert, another the author of the *Sonnets*, and the third is thought to have been Sir William Knollys, who is known to have been a suitor. Sonnet 136 ends:

.....for my name is Will.

This has proved a stumbling block for those who do not support the man from Stratford-on-Avon. Of course it could refer to the pen name of the poet or there is a possibility that he had more than one given name. The fact that the dark lady had black eyes, as described in Sonnets 127 and 132, does not tally with a portrait of Mary Fitton, showing a young woman with brown hair and gray eyes.

The words of Sonnet 130, "her breasts are dun", and of 132

*Then will I swear beauty her selfe is blacke,
And all they foule that thy complexion lacke.*

suggest to me a dark brunette but not really a black woman, as we think of one. Leslie Hotson supported the idea that she was a madam whom the poet met in a brothel. For proof that Anthony was not that kind of man, one has only to turn to du Maurier's *Golden Lads* (pages 168 and 169). This reference also proves that Anthony's relationship with the beloved youth of the *Sonnets* was not a homosexual one. I suggest that the large Italian colony in London is a better place in which to start one's search for the dark lady. That will have to await further research, however.

From 1598 onwards the fortunes of Essex and of Anthony, his friend and confidential secretary, steadily declined. The death of Lord Treasurer Burghley in that year left them particularly vulnerable to the dislike of Robert Cecil, who now had no one to curb his crafty designs. Meanwhile the unrest in Ireland had been increasing at an alarming rate, with the rebel Tyrone threatening the Queen's royal government. After various unhappy brushes with the Queen and her Council, Essex found himself maneuvered into accepting the command of an expeditionary force to attempt the "reconquest of Ireland". The expedition, which set sail at the end of March, was a dismal failure from the very start. Much time was wasted in fruitless marches through territory already secure, and rainy weather caused sickness among the soldiers, while Tyrone's superior forces played a delaying game with Essex' dwindling army. At the end of the summer Tyrone felt secure enough to haggle about terms of settlement.

The Queen, meanwhile, became more and more furious with Essex and demanded a written account of Tyrone's terms, which Essex had promised Tyrone he would not give, lest the written matter fall into Spanish hands. Although Essex had been forbidden to return to England without permission from Queen or Council, he decided to return to see the Queen and to confront his political enemies. He arrived in London at the end of September, 1599, and went directly to the Queen. At first his mission seemed to be successful, but the cards were stacked against him. For about five months he was confined to York House, the home of the Lord Keeper. He became so ill that his

death seemed imminent and the church bells of London were tolled for his passing. In March, Anthony Bacon, the Earl of Southampton and others who lived in Essex House were ordered to leave and Essex was moved thither. All this punishment was before there was any hint of treason, only misjudgement in a difficult and unfortunate campaign.

In June, 1600, Essex was tried for his misdemeanours, which were represented to be treasonable, and ordered to live in his own house as a prisoner. Chiefly through the intercession of Francis Bacon he regained his liberty, but he was banished from Court. When in September the renewal of his patent for sweet wines was refused, cutting off his income, Essex' condition became really desperate, and on February 7, 1600-1, he and a few followers attempted an assault on the residence of the Queen. Apparently Essex had no real intention of harming the Queen, only of seeing her without the intervention of the advisors around her, but circumstances and his own passionate nature worked against him. Essex hoped to gain followers as he progressed towards the residence of the Queen. This hope was not realized. When it became apparent that his cause was lost, Essex returned to Essex House to burn personal papers, saying that "they should tell no tales to hurt his friends". It is presumed that most of the correspondence of Anthony Bacon from 1597 went up in smoke that day, as there are few letters after early in that year. About ten o'clock that night Essex and his friends surrendered and the leaders of the revolt were committed to the Tower of London.

The trial of Essex caused contempory society and history to condemn Francis Bacon, who, with Sir Edward Coke, presented the case for the Crown. Francis first asked to be excused, but was commanded by Elizabeth to proceed with his duty to Queen and country. There is another consideration that has not occurred to those who condemn what they call Francis Bacon's betrayal of friendship. A dearer friend than Essex was in grave peril, the older brother to whom Francis had dedicated his *Essays*. Anthony was one of Essex' closest friends and his confidential secretary. He had handled treasonable correspondence with King James VI of Scotland, according to testimony at the examination of Cuffe, an Essex secretary. Where was he and why was he not in prison with the others? I believe that Francis hoped, by proving that one Bacon

brother was loyal to crown and country, to avert suspicion from the other. With a heavy heart he pressed the charges that condemned Essex, in order that his beloved brother might go free.

Anthony meanwhile, ill of body and sick at heart, beheld his world collapsing around him. His mother had lost her mind from worry and grief. Essex, his friend and patron, had fallen under the headsman's axe. Anthony's enemies were beginning to murmur his name in a suggestively frightening fashion. He had not forgotten Robert Cecil's taunt that he "held [him] for [his] mortal enemy, and would make [him] feel it when he could." Francis realized his brother's peril. So did other members of the secret society. On May 27, 1601, John Chamberlain wrote to Carleton, "Antony Bacon died not long since, but so far in debt, that I thincke his brother is little the better by him."⁷

This is the only notice we have of the death of Anthony Bacon, except for a few later references by Francis to his brother's death. My letter to the Lambeth Palace Library in London brought the response that it is not known when or where Anthony Bacon died. However, I have since learned that there is a burial register in the parish church of St. Olave in London, as follows:

May 17 1601 Mr. Anthonye Bacon, buried in the chanc'll
within the vallt.

The rector of the church has written me that "there is no tomb or stone to Anthonye Bacon", although one cannot be absolutely sure about this, as some of the stones are so worn as to be undecipherable. I have wondered how Francis managed his brother's escape from England at a time when his enemies were clamoring about his involvement in the Essex conspiracy. This burial entry was probably enough to avert the investigation of the alleged death of a person known to have been a chronic invalid.

From this time, until his death in 1609, the career and whereabouts of Anthony can only be surmised, mainly from evidence from the *Sonnets* and *Plays*. It is possible that his escape was by way of Scotland, since he was so intimately involved in the correspondence

7. His letters were published by the Camden Society: London, 1841.

with agents of King James. His knowledge of the Scottish moor, as described in *Macbeth*, suggests a personal acquaintance with the countryside.

It is my belief that his first sanctuary was the Calf of Man, an uninhabited island of approximately five miles circumference just off the southern extremity of the Isle of Man in the Irish Sea. The Manx people are the result of intermarriage between the original Celts and their Viking conquerors. Since 1406 the islands had been held by the Stanley family, Earls of Derby, with whom Anthony had been intimate.

The Calf of Man apparently furnished the setting of *The Tempest*. The Isle of Man and its Calf form a terminal barrier for the Gulf Stream, giving them a mild temperature. The reference in *The Tempest* to "dew from the still-vext Bermoothes" (Act I, Sc. 2) apparently refers to the warm air accompanying the Gulf Stream from the vicinity of Bermuda, bringing with it a heavy mist or dew. The many references in *The Tempest* to fairies, elves and other creatures of Gaelic folklore also point to these lovely islands in the Irish sea.

On his tiny island Anthony slowly repaired the ravages of sorrow and misfortune upon body and spirit. The horror of the execution of Essex and others of his friends had so shocked his sensitive nature that the tone of his writings changed from comedy to deep pathos, and we find the four great tragedies – *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello* and *King Lear* – coming from his pen. Anthony's observation of his mother's condition in the dark days before his flight is reflected in his portrayal of insanity in such plays as *Hamlet* and *King Lear*. Many of the later plays are colored by his island sojourn. *Macbeth*, while closely following the story of Holinshed, has an island flavor, especially in the scenes involving witches. The wild country through which the distraught King Lear wandered and the cliff above the sea over which Gloucester sought to throw himself are descriptive of island scenery.

It is interesting to note how many times Hall Caine refers to Shakespearean characters in writing about his native island. In his *The Little Manx Nation* (1891), he describes the "Manx Macbeth", the "Manx Glo'ster" and the "Manx Caliban". On page 60 occur these very significant words:

And indeed it is difficult to shake off the idea that Shakespeare must have known something of the early story of Man, its magicians and its saints. We know the perfidy of circumstance, the lying tricks that fact is always playing with us, too well and painfully to say anything of the kind with certainty. But the angles of resemblance are many between the groundwork of *The Tempest* and the earliest of Manx records. Mannanan-beg-Mac-y-Learr, the magician who surrounded the island with mists when enemies came near in ships; Maughold, the robber and libertine, bound hand and foot, and driven ashore in a wicker boat; and then Bridget, the virgin saint. Moreover, the stories of Little Mannanan, of St. Patrick, and of St. Maughold were printed in the sixteenth century. Truly that is not enough, for, after all, we have no evidence that Shakespeare, who knew everything, knew Manx.

However, there is a bit of evidence that the poet did know some Manx. In *Macbeth*, in the second scene with the witches, Macbeth exclaims, "Aroynt thee, witch." We get this phrase again in *King Lear* (Act III, Sc. IV): "Aroynt thee, witch, aroynt thee." I submit that this is an old Manx expression. *Roin* is the infinitive form of an old Manx word, meaning *to run*. In old Manx *a* is a prefix meaning *away*, so *aroin* means *to run away*. Adding a *t* to *aroin* and following it by *je*, which means *you*, makes it the imperative form: *aroint je* or *run away*. The poet simply changed the *i* in *aroint* to *y*, an acceptable substitute in Elizabethan England, and anglicized *je* to *thee*. One should note that this phrase occurs only in plays written after Anthony's exile to the Calf of Man.

According to the *Manx Miscellany, A Selection of Proverbs and Legends Peculiar to the Isle of Man*:

There is a tradition that a little ruin on the island, called the 'Calf of Man', was formerly tenanted by a man who retired to this wild spot in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, imposing upon himself a solitary residence as a penance for having killed a beautiful woman in a fit of jealousy.⁸

8. Vol. XXI (1873).

This editorial note introduces a ballad entitled *The Island Penitent, A Legend of the Calf*, by Miss M. Nelson. Four verses follow.

*There is a headland bare and bold
By Mona's lovely isle;
And there the wanderer may behold
A solitary pile;
A hoary sinner rear'd that pile,
That time-worn 'cruciform',
And there full many a day mourn'd he
Above the mist and storm.*

*There is a cave within the rock.
As dark as evil thought;
When winds howl'd loud, and waves dash'd light,
Its gloom the sinner sought.
Where not a ray of heaven's light,
Could that wild temple pierce;
Oh! he would mock the mad tempest
With laughter loud and fierce!*

*Oh, what is elemental wrath
To the deep mental strife?
Alas! the sinner's bitter laugh
With agony was rife;
It mock'd, yea mock'd the elements,
It mock'd his own sad soul;
Woe, and alas, for evil hearts
And minds that spurn control.*

*And years went by, and from his cave
The sinner passed away;
None knew the wherefore, when or how –
None know it to this day!
Where'er he went, whate'er his fate,
All dark Castrooan's flood
Could never from his conscience cleanse
The memory of blood.*

I think even the fugitive poet himself would have approved the moral sentiment of these verses.

It is noteworthy that plays written before Anthony's exile show little sea influence, while those written afterwards indicate marine or coastal experience. He may have accompanied Manx sailors on some of their voyages. Of course it would have been impossible for Anthony to have survived on that island without help. He may have been served by some of the personnel of Castle Rushen on the main island, which belonged to his friend, William Stanley, Earl of Derby. Thomas Bushell, a long time servant of Francis Bacon, undoubtedly acted as emissary between Francis and his brother. He himself later retired to the Calf of Man after the fall of Francis Bacon from political power and lived there as a hermit for three years.

Anthony later left his island sanctuary and probably returned to the area of his former residence near the Court of Navarre. There are still existing letters from Henry IV of France, written in 1596, thanking him for services rendered and pledging friendship and help, should need arise. The reference to waters of a "seething bath" in the last two *Sonnets* implies residence at some sort of health resort. There are several of these warm mineral springs in southern France.

There is evidence that Anthony stopped on the way to visit Francis, probably in 1606, when Francis was married. He went in disguise and was not recognized. Many of the later *Plays* reflect Mediterranean associations except for the *Tempest* and *Cymbeline*, which revert to incidents of his exile on the Calf of Man.

Anthony Bacon died in 1609, probably on the continent. We know this to be true from a letter written by Francis to his friend, Toby Matthew, who was the son of a prominent English clergyman of the same name. The senior Matthew was appointed Archbishop of York in 1606, the year in which the son became converted to Catholicism. The son was exiled from his native England for over ten years, residing on the continent, mainly in Flanders and Spain, except for brief visits to England arranged by his friends. He was intimate with the Bacon brothers and was surely connected with the secret society. Literary historians refer to him as Francis Bacon's *alter ego*, and Francis Bacon's *Essay on Friendship* is thought to have been written for him. The correspondence between the two men is extremely illuminating, in spite of the fact that some unknown person

in the past tried to obscure its meaning by going through the collection of letters and erasing names and dates in an apparent attempt to conceal history. Enough remains to tell us what we need to know. James Spedding, Francis Bacon's biographer, gives us the date.⁹ In a letter, the date of which must have been, according to Spedding, "December, 1609 – probably early in December", Francis wrote to Toby Matthew as follows:

Sir,

The reason of so much time taken before my answer to yours of the fourth of August. was chiefly my accompanying my letter with the paper which here I send you; and again. now lately. (not to hold from you till the end of a letter, that which by grief may, for a time. efface all the former contents) the death of your good friend and mine A.B. to whom because I used to send my letters for deliverance to you, it made me so much the more unready in the dispatch of them. In the mean time I think myself (howsoever it hath pleased God otherwise to bless me) a most unfortunate man to be deprived of two (a great number in true friendship) of those friends whom I accounted as no stage-friends. but private friends. (and such. as with whom I might both freely and safely communicate). him by death, and you by absence.

The *Sonnets* were published in 1609, the year of Anthony's death. Francis, as editor of the secret society, arranged for the publication of the *Plays* not yet in print, including the *Folio of 1623*, which was dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke, the beloved youth of the *Sonnets*, and to his brother, the Earl of Montgomery, who probably bore at least part of the cost of publication. In 1620 Francis had hired Ben Jonson to work with him in order to help with translating his writings into Latin, which he believed to be the universal and hence enduring language. Although Francis did not take Jonson into his confidence about the Shakespearean *Plays*, fearing Ben's loose tongue under the influence of liquor, Jonson saw enough to lead him to believe that Francis Bacon was the author. This has caused misunderstanding

9. *Bacon's Letters and Life*, Vol. IV. p. 139.

about Ben Jonson's testimony, a circumstance that has confused Shakespearean scholars and helped Baconians in some of their arguments.

The most notorious Matthew letter has lost its date, but, since it is addressed to the "Lord Viscount St. Alban", we can place it after January, 1620-1, when Francis had that title conferred upon him. It is in answer to a letter of Francis Bacon's of the 9th of April and was written from "this side of the sea", which implies that Matthew was not in England when he wrote the letter. From contemporary records and correspondence we know that Matthew was in England during these crucial months except for a diplomatic mission to Spain from late April, 1623, until October of that year, when he returned to London and received knighthood. Toby Matthew wrote as follows:

To the Lord Viscount St. Alban: -

Most Honored Lord, - I have received your great and noble token and favour of the 9th of April, and can but return the humblest of my thanks for your Lordship's vouchsafing so to visit this poorest and unworthiest of your servants. It doth me good at heart, that, although I be not where I was in place, yet I am in the fortune of your Lordship's favour, if I may call that favour, which I observe to be so unchangeable. I pray hard that it may once come in my power to serve you for it; and who can tell but, as *fortis imaginatio generat casum*, so strong desires may do as much? Sure I am that mine are ever waiting on your Lordship; and wishing as much happiness as is due to your incomparable virtue, I humbly do your Lordship reverence.

The letter probably refers to the *Shakespearean Folio*, the first copies of which had just come off the press, since Spedding states¹⁰ that Francis Bacon's *De Augmentis* was "not out before October, 1623". Matthew added the following postscript:

The most prodigious wit that ever I knew, of my nation, and of this side of the sea, is of your Lordship's name, though he be known by another.

10. Vol. VII, p. 353.

This sentence has been seized upon by Baconians to prove that Sir Francis Bacon was the author of the so-called "Works of Shakespeare". The sentence seems to me to suggest another person, and may be more correctly interpreted as referring to Anthony Bacon.¹¹

It is interesting to note that Anthony Bacon seems to have been more openly recognized as a poet and honored in France than in England. I quote from Mrs. Pott's *Francis Bacon and His Secret Society* (1891):

Amongst the 'Tenison manuscripts' at Lambeth Palace, there is a large sheet covered on three sides with French verses, headed 'Au Seigneur Antoine Bacon – Elegie,' and signed La Tessee. These verses described 'Bacon' as the flower of Englishmen, the honour of the nine Muses, who, without his aid, wandered sad and confused in the wilderness, without guide, support, or voice. The writer laments the want of more Mecenases who should value the favourites of Phoebus, Mercury, and Themis, and 'lend a shoulder' to help poets; in future, he trusts that the number of these will be glorified not less beyond the seas than in these islands, remembering a time 'when our swans surpassed those of the Thames' . . . He alludes to 'Bacon' as 'a brilliant star seen in tranquil nights as through a thick veil;' so a man of honour, virtue, and wit shines amongst these 'milords' and so does Bacon, the oracle of his isle', one whom to praise is an honour.

Such a man, continues the poet, is the hope and ornament of his country. To him Themis, the wise, (by the messenger Mercury, who expounds her message), entreats heaven, earth, and the infernal regions to forward his steps. To him 'devout Piety, the pillar of the church, offers her most precious gifts, that he may rank with immortal heroes,' for so rare a spirit, continually bent upon safely steering the helm of the state in the stormiest times, is not unworthy that the state should care for his interests. Bacon, the eye of wisdom, in whom goodness

11. For more details of this argument, one may consult Judge Nathaniel Holmes' book, *Authorship of Shakespeare* (1866), pp. 172-77. Holmes, however, was supporting Francis Bacon.

abounds, raises men above themselves and above the world.
 He retires into himself – a perfect and holy place – his soul
 wrapped in his reason and his reason wrapped in God.

Du Maurier also quotes a contemporary French poet who spelled out Anthony's name by the initial letters of the lines of the poem. Anthony's friendship with Michel de Montaigne was not a superficial one. They exchanged letters after Anthony's visits were over. According to du Maurier, the last letter Montaigne received was from Anthony. Death prevented him from writing the letter he wished to send in return.

In his plays Anthony Bacon made frequent use of people he had known. *Love's Labour's Lost*, for example, describes some of his observations at the Court of Navarre, King Ferdinand representing his friend Henry of Navarre. It is of interest that Berowne, Longavill and Dumane were actual Court figures of the time. Both Biron (Berowne) as minister and Dumain (Dumane) affixed their signatures to Anthony's passport on his return to England. This passport was discovered among other papers of the period in the British Museum.

While visiting in Nerac, my husband and I toured what is left of the once royal Court of Navarre, then strolled through the gardens on the other side of the river, now maintained as a public park. Here we came upon a grotto from the sides of which water descends to a pool below. In the middle of the pool is a large rock across which is draped a marble statue of a scantily clad maiden. A section of the guide book purchased at the palace is devoted to "The Legend of Fleurette". It seems that Fleurette was the daughter of the gardener at the Court of Navarre. She and Prince Henry grew up together and were childhood sweethearts. At nineteen, Henry left for Paris to marry Marguerite de Valois, daughter of Catherine di Medici and sister of the King of France. Fleurette, crushed by grief and despair, threw herself into the stream and was drowned. It seems likely that Fleurette was the source from which the poet drew the character of Ophelia in his great tragedy of *Hamlet*. As expressed by J.B. Goux, a French poet, in *La Guirlande des Marguerites*:

*La malheureuse enfant en lui n'espera plus;
 Un soir, comme Ophelia, on la trouva noyée
 Sous les rameaus en pleurs des saules chevelus.*

Polonius in *Hamlet* has been recognized by several commentators as Lord Treasurer Burghley, uncle of the Bacon brothers. Hamlet himself I believe to be Anthony's portrait of and memorial to his unfortunate friend and patron, Essex. The studious young prince perfectly describes Essex, who, in his *Apology* addressed to Anthony Bacon, writes of "my bookishness from my very childhood". The circumstances of the hurried remarriage of the Queen in the play to Hamlet's uncle corresponds to the rumored acceptance by Essex' mother of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, as her lover at the time of her husband's death, although their secret marriage did not occur until almost two years later. Young Essex strongly resented his mother's relationship with Leicester. His resentment is expressed in the words of Hamlet:

*O Heaven! A beast that wants discourse of Reason
Would have mourn'd longer.*

The suspicion of the time that Leicester may have poisoned the older Essex in order to marry his wife is also echoed in the play. An autopsy did not bear out this suspicion, however. Hamlet's madness corresponds exactly to the condition of Essex as he beheld the triumph of his enemies, which hurried him to disaster. Sir John Harrington wrote at the time that Essex "shifteth from sorrow and repentance to rage and rebellion so suddenly, as well proved him devoid of good reason as of right mind. In my last discourse he uttered strange words, bordering on such strange designs, that made me hasten forth and leave his presence. Thank heaven, I am safe at home, and if I go in such troubles again, I deserve the gallows for a meddling fool" adding that "the man's soul seemed tossed to and fro, like the waves of a troubled sea."¹² Horatio, who evidently represents Anthony, obeyed the plea of his dying friend to

*Absent thee from felicitie awhile,
And in this harsh world draw thy breath in paine,
To tell my Storie.*

12. From Walter Devereux, *Lives and Letters of the Devereux Earls of Essex* (London. 1853).

Horatio's lines:

*Goodnight, sweet Prince,
And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest:*

are Anthony's farewell to his tragic young friend Essex. These lines are reminiscent of part of a letter written by Lady Ann Bacon to Essex in December, 1596, which letter passed through Anthony's hands.

God . . . send his holy angels to pitch round you and your army, . . . and with fulness of good days and years in this life preserve you to his heavenly kingdom forever and ever.¹³

The Comedy of Errors is an early play based on a Latin comedy by Plautus. The action of the play involves two sets of identical twins who are caught up in a series of mistaken identities. Since one twin of each pair was thought to have been lost at sea in infancy, the surviving twins, who lived in Syracuse, were given the names of their brothers, Antipholus, the master, and a servant Dromio.

Near the end of Act II Dromio of Syracuse, having accompanied his master to the home of Antipholus of Ephesus, is mistaken by a fat and greasy kitchen maid for her husband. He later describes her to his master. "She is sphericall, like a globe: I could find out countries in her." He then describes in crude language where on her body he found Ireland, Scotland, England, France, Spain.

In Act IV, Antipholus of Ephesus meets his twin's servant, whom he mistakes for his own. He commands the servant to go to his house to obtain and bring back some ducats from his wife Adriana. Dromio of Syracuse reasons thus with himself:

*To Adriana, that is where we din'd,
Where Dowsabell did claim me for her husband,
She is too bigge I hope for me to compasse
Thither I must, although against my will:
For servants must their masters mindes fulfill.*

The name Dowsabell is such an uncommon one that it calls to
13. Birch's *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 220.

mind an episode in du Maurier's *Golden Lads*. It seems that Anthony Bacon had been betrothed at the age of sixteen to a Miss Dowsabell Paget of Southampton, whose family was wealthy and socially prominent. The marriage contract was signed in December of 1574, the wedding to take place the following May. As in the case of many Elizabethan marriage contracts, the details were arranged entirely by the parents. Anthony may not have met his prospective bride until somewhat later. When he did meet her, his reaction was apparently like the words of the song, "She's too fat for me". The wedding never took place. It is interesting to note that this play was not published until the *Folio of 1623*, over thirty years after the probable time of composition.

As You Like It was registered with the Stationers' Company in August, 1600, but not published until the *Folio of 1623*. The comic scenes, as in many of the *Plays*, are full of significant symbolism. The two chief characters of these scenes are the Clowne Touchstone and Audrey, a country girl with whom he is in love. Audrey apparently symbolizes the spirit of poetry of the Shakespearean Plays, while Touchstone represents the author, and uses the idea of the touchstone or philosopher's stone, which could turn dross into gold.

The most significant scene of all is Scene I, Act V. Preceding this, Touchstone has tried to arrange marriage with Audrey but has been hampered by various circumstances, finally ending by his refusal to use the services of the Vicar of the neighboring village, Sir Oliver Mar-text, whom he repudiated. Enter Touchstone and Audrey, who are not yet married.

Clowne (Touchstone): We shall find a time Awdrie, patience gentle Awdrie.

Awdrie: Faith the Priest was good enough, for all the olde gentlemen saying.

Clowne: A most wicked Sir Oliver, Awdrie, a most vile Mar-text. But Awdrie, there is a youth heere in the Forrest lays claime to you.

[Enter William, who, I believe, represents the man William Shakespeare. This is one of the few places where the name William appears in the Plays.]

William: Good ev'n Audrey.

Audrey: God ye good ev'n William.

William: And good ev'n to you Sir.

Clowne: Good ev'n gentle friend. Cover thy head, cover thy head: Nay prethee bee cover'd. Howe olde are you Friend?

William: Five and twentie Sir.

Clowne: A ripe age: Is thy name William?

William: William, sir.

Clowne: A fair name. Was't born i'th Forrest heere?

William: I sir, I thanke God.

Clowne: Thanke God: A good answer: Art rich?

William: 'Faith sir, so so.

Clowne: So, so, is good, very good, very excellent good: and yet it is not, it is but so, so: Art thou wise?

William: I sir, I have a prettie wit.

Clowne: Why, thou saist well. I do now remember a saying: The Foole doth thinke he is wise, but the wiseman knowes himselfe to be a Foole. The Heathen Philosopher, when he had a desire to eate a Grape, would open his lips when he put it into his mouth, meaning thereby, that Grapes were made to eate, and lippes to open. You do love this maid?

William: I do, sir.

Clowne: Give me your hand: Art thou Learned?

William: No sir.

Clowne: Then learn this of me. For it is a figure in Rhetoricke, that drink being powr'd out of a cup into a glasse, by filling the one, doth empty the other. For all your writers do consent, that ipse is hee: now you are not ipse, for I am he.

William: Which he sir?

Clowne: He sir, that must marrie this woman: Therefore you Clowne, abandon: which is in the vulgar, leave the societie: which in the boorish, is companie, of this female: which in the common, is woman: which together is, abandon the society of this Female, or Clowne, thou perishest: or to thy better understanding, dyest; or (to wit) I kill thee, make thee away, translate thy life into death, thy libertie into bondage: I will deale in poyson with thee, or in bastinado, or in steele: I will bandy thee in faction, I will ore-run thee with police: I will kill thee a hundred and fifty wayes, therefore tremble and depart.

Audrey: Do good William.

William: God rest you merry sir.

Several things are of interest in this passage. Touchstone says that William lays claim to Audrey (the poetry of the Shakespearean Plays). Touchstone tells William to "cover thy head, cover thy head", which is suggestive of a mask. Touchstone asks William if he was born in the forest, which is represented to be the Forest of Arden. (The mother of William Shakespeare was Mary Arden.) William likewise says that he is "so so" rich. (The play of *As You Like It* was registered with the Stationers' Company on August 4, 1600. William Shakespeare bought "New Place" shortly before this, in 1598.) William also says that he is not learned.

Then comes the Clowne Touchstone's very significant speech about emptying a cup into a glass, and his telling William that he is not *ipse* (Latin for "he") "for I am he". When William asks, "Which he?" Touchstone replies, "He sir, that must marrie this woman" (the spirit of poetry of the Shakespearean Plays). "Therefore you Clowne, abandon . . . this . . . woman."

The only point in this passage that does not fit what is known about the man William Shakespeare is the stated age of "five and twentie". Examination of various specimens of Elizabethan handwriting leads me to believe that we have here a printer's misinterpretation of the author's manuscript. One has only to turn to Samuel A. Tannenbaum's *The Handwriting of the Renaissance* (1930) to realize how difficult the problem can be. For example, Elizabethan A's often lacked a cross bar, i's were often undotted, and i's and e's were used interchangeably. It is almost impossible to distinguish between r's and n's in some manuscripts, t's may be mistaken for c's, and so on. Add to this the variations in spelling, even of people's names, and one has a real problem. William Shakespeare was thirty-five years old in 1599, when this play was probably revised. In the passage quoted above, where William states his age, Touchstone's response, a "ripe age", also indicates an error in copying the manuscript, since "five and twentie" could not be considered a "ripe" age even in Elizabethan England.

The use of the name *Anthony* or variations of it in the Shakespearean plays is so frequent as to occasion comment. This

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name is used in ten plays, the next most popular name being Lucius, which occurs in nine. If we accept Touchstone in *As You Like It* and Horatio in *Hamlet* as representing the author, it becomes evident that Anthony Bacon figures as a character in several of his own plays. A list of the plays in which the name Anthony and its variations occur is given below, with dates of possible composition to the left and dates of publication to the right. This list does not include Anthony Dull in *Love's Labour's Lost* and Anthony Woodville in *King Richard III*.

1590-1	<i>Two Gentlemen of Verona</i>	Folio of 1623
1590-1	<i>The Taming of the Shrew</i>	Folio
1594	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	1599
1594	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	1600
1597	<i>Much Ado About Nothing</i>	1600
1597	<i>Julius Caesar</i>	Folio
1600-1	<i>All's Well That Ends Well</i>	Folio
1600-1	<i>Twelfth Night</i>	Folio
1606	<i>Anthony and Cleopatra</i>	Folio
1606-9	<i>The Tempest</i>	Folio

Except for the quarto of *Hamlet*, published in 1604, there is a gap in sequence after 1600. Several students have noticed this and have surmised that there must have been some sort of crisis in the life of the poet in 1601. We now know this to have been the execution of Essex and Anthony's flight to the Calf of Man.

Let us now consider the Anthonys in the *Plays*. The first to use the name are *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Taming of the Shrew*, both written about 1590 but not published until the *Folio of 1623*. Since *Two Gentlemen of Verona* is colored by his visit to Italy, it may have been composed earlier. Here, as in all the plays using the name except *Julius Caesar* and *Anthony and Cleopatra*, the poet used the Italian version of the name, *Antonio*. Significantly *Antonio* is anglicized to *Anthonio* in some of the plays. In *Two Gentlemen of Verona* Antonio is the father of Proteus and, as far as I can tell, has no special significance in terms of Baconian symbolism. This being the first play where the name is used and also with an Italian setting, he apparently used it merely as a convenient and common Italian name. The same can be said for *The Taming of The Shrew* and for *Romeo and Juliet*,

Antonio not even appearing on stage and being mentioned only in passing. Apparently the poet had not yet conceived the idea of giving the name *Antonio* any personal significance.

The Merchant of Venice thus becomes the first play to use the name in any revelatory sense. As a matter of fact, he here plays a star role and a most revealing one. In Act I, Scene I, he says:

*I hold the world but as the world Gratiano,
A stage, where every man must play a part,
And mine a sad one.*

His friend Bassanio tells him:

*. . . .to you Anthonio
I owe the most in money, and in love,
And from your love I have a warrantie
To unburthen all my plots and purposes,
How to get cleere of all the debts I owe.*

To which Anthonio replies:

*I pray you good Bassanio let me know it,
And if it stand as you your selfe still do,
Within the eye of honour, be assur'd
My purse, my person, my extreamest meanes
Lye all unlocked to your occasions.*

Bassanio says:

*In my schoole dayes, when I had lost one shaft
I shot his fellow of the selfesame flight
The selfesame way, with more advised watch
To finde the other forth, and by adventuring both,
I oft found both. I urge this child-hoode prooffe,
Because what followes is pure innocence.
I owe you much, and like a wilfull youth,
That which I owe is lost: but if you please
To shoote another arrow that selfe way*

*Which you did shoot the first, I do not doubt,
As I will watch the ayme: Or to finde both,
Or bring your latter hazard backe againe,
And thankfully rest debter for the first.*

Anthony explains to Bassanio:

*Thou knowst that all my fortunes are at sea,
Neither have I money, nor commodity
To raise a present summe, therefore goe forth
Try what my credit can in Venice doe,
That shall be rackt even to the uttermost,
To furnish thee to Belmont to faire Portia.
Goe presently enquire, and so will I
Where money is, and I no question make
To have it of my trust, or for my sake.*

This passage suggests the monetary difficulties of the Bacon brothers and Anthony's recorded generosity to Francis. It is known that Francis, at least, resorted to a money lender, who may have been portrayed in this play.

In the play Anthony borrows 3000 ducats from Shylock, agreeing to forfeit a pound of flesh if he cannot repay in three months time. The story is familiar to all. Anthony's ships do not come in. He cannot pay. It warms the heart to hear Bassanio offer himself instead:

*Good cheere Antonio. What man, corage yet:
The Jew shall have my flesh, blood, bones, and all,
Ere thou shalt loose for me one drop of blood.*

Anthony replies:

*I am a tainted Weather of the flocke,
Meetest for death, the weakest kinde of fruit
Drops earliest to the ground, and so let me;
You cannot better be employ'd Bassanio,
Then to live still, and write mine Epitaph.*

This exactly describes the physical condition of Anthony, who was a semi-invalid throughout life.

Then comes Portia's celebrated speech about mercy, which both Bacon brothers doubtless felt could be used to better advantage in the English courts. The court scene is especially noteworthy, because both young men were residents of Gray's Inn and hence very conscious of legal matters about the time when this play was written.

In *Much Ado About Nothing* we have the significant ballroom scene (Act II, Sc. I), where the dancers are masked.

Ursula: I know you well enough. You are Signior Anthonio

Anthonio: At a word, I am not.

Ursula: I know you by the wagling of your head.

Anthonio: To tell you true, I counterfet him.

Ursula: You could never doe him so ill well, unlesse you were the very man: here's his dry hand up & down, you are he, you are he.

Anthonio: At a word I am not.

Ursula: Come, come, doe you thinke I doe not know you by your excellent wit? can vertue hide it selfe? goe to, mumme, you are he, graces will appeare, and there's an end.

Here Ursula is saying that she recognizes the true author of the Shakespearean plays, even if he is "mumme" and masked. The "you are he, you are he" is very like the passage from *As You Like It*, where the clowne Touchstone says, "For all your Writers do consent, that *ipse* is hee: now you are not *ipse*, for I am he."

All's Well That Ends Well is another play where Anthonio is barely mentioned in passing, the widow saying, "That is *Anthonio*, the Dukes eldest sonne." While this line may be merely coincidental, it fits Anthony's status as the older of the two Bacon brothers.

In *Twelfth Night* Antonio is a sea captain friend of Sebastian. The following lines refer to the precarious position of the friends of Essex and his followers in the closing months of 1600, when this play was probably written (Act II, Sc. 1). Antonio speaks:

The gentlenesse of all the gods go with thee:

I have many enemies in Orsino's Court,

*Else would I very shortly see thee there:
But come what may, I do adore thee so,
The danger shall seeme sport, and I will go.*

In Act III, Sc. 3, Antonio says:

I do not without danger walk these streets.

The characterization of Malvolio in this play is thought to be a clever satire of the Puritan mind.

The Antony in *Julius Caesar* is particularly interesting because it is the only place where the English ending of the name is used in the *Plays*, except in *Anthony and Cleopatra*, which makes use of the same character. (As noted before, I have not included Anthony Dull and Anthony Woodville in my list of characters.) In *Julius Caesar* the letter *h* is omitted from the spelling of Anthony. In *Anthony and Cleopatra*, written later, the poet finally arrives at the correct spelling of his given name. In *Julius Caesar* all the characters are given their Latin names except Marcus Antonius, who is designated *Mark Antony*. This is significant. It is another play upon a double meaning. We are to “mark” Antony (Bacon). The personality of this individual is also interesting. He is the silver tongued orator whose words can sway the emotions and sentiments of men. Significantly Caesar says of Cassius:

*. . . . He loves no Playes.
As thou dost Antony: he heares no Musicke.*

This description of Mark Antony was written in 1597, when the world looked rosy to Anthony Bacon and his friend Essex.

The figure of Mark Anthony in *Anthony and Cleopatra* was drawn after the dreadful days of the Essex uprising and of Anthony’s flight from England. This Mark Anthony is an older, world weary individual, who is conscious of his faults and regrets them. The romantic episodes in the play reflect his experience with the dark lady of the *Sonnets*. When the poet wrote:

*Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale
Her infinite variety.*

I think he was describing his lost mistress, whom he idealized in this play. Early in the play Cleopatra makes this pointed remark:

*Oh, my Oblivion is a very Anthony,
And I am all forgotten.*

The significant line:

Oh Anthony, oh thou Arabian Bird!

occurs here. The Arabian bird was the phoenix, which rose from its own ashes to live again. It is interesting to note that du Maurier's quotation in *Golden Lads* of a poem by a French poet who sought to honor Anthony addresses him as "English phoenix" (in French, of course).

At the end of the play are two estimates of Anthony's character, written probably by his brother Francis.

*. . . . The death of Anthony
Is not a single doome, in the name lay
A moiety of the world.*

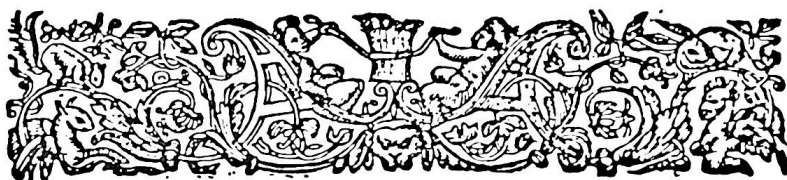
and

*A Rarer spirit never
Did steere humanity: but you Gods will give us
Some faults to make us men.*

The Tempest reverts to Anthony's exile on the Calf of Man. In this play Anthonio is pictured as usurping the place of Prospero as Duke of Milan. I think this symbolizes Anthony's remorse for the help and encouragement he gave Essex, that led to his friend's downfall. Prospero's cell is descriptive of Anthony's own hideout on the Calf of Man, where he took over one of the cross shaped *keills* of an early Christian missionary for his abode.

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Besides the significant written material in the *Plays* and poems, there is a wealth of pictorial cryptographic evidence in the form of title pages, head pieces, tail pieces, and other designs. Most of these have been largely ignored by all except the Baconians.



The Double A design
from the Folio



The Archer design
from the Folio

The most notable of the head pieces is the double A design. Here there are two A's set in a design of leaves, fruit, flowers, cherubs or animals, one A being light colored, the other dark, to indicate the double nature of the secret society, one representing public life, the other private activities. There are in all fourteen of these double A designs, ranging in time from 1576 to 1720, when it was used in a biography of Francis Bacon, and appearing in books printed on the continent as well as in numerous English works. Many Elizabethan A's look like inverted V's because they lack a cross bar. Most but not all of the double A designs have two cross bars instead of one, so that

in effect a B is set upon and worked into the A to make the letters AB, which are Anthony Bacon's initials. This device is found on the works of Spenser and on many Shakespearean publications.

Another conspicuous headpiece is the so called archer design. This headpiece has an archer on each side of a design containing rabbits, birds and horned creatures, the bow and arrow still suggestive of the letters AB. The two archers represent Castor and Pollux, statues of which adorned the entrance of the Bacon home at St. Albans. Castor and Pollux also appear as supporters of Francis Bacon's coat of arms, the crest of which is a boar. This twin idea is found in many of the pictures and some of the printed matter of the society, apparently meant to refer to the Bacon brothers, who were much closer than most brothers in affection and interests. Besides the symbolism of twins, Castor and Pollux are also stars in a constellation of that name, also known as the heavenly twins. Ben Jonson used that symbolism when he addressed the author of the Plays as "thou STARRE OF POETS" in his long dedicatory poem in the *Shakespearean Folio*. So did the French poet quoted by Mrs. Pott.

One of the most significant of all title pages is undoubtedly the Droeshout engraving of Shakespeare in the *Folio of 1623*. It was Ben Jonson who wrote the short verse facing the Droeshout engraving:

*This Figure, that thou here seest put,
It was for gentle Shakespeare cut;
Wherein the Graver had a strife
with Nature, to out-doo the life:
O, could he but have drawne his wit
As well in brasse, as he hath hit
His face; the Print would then surpasse
All, that was ever writ in brasse.
But, since he cannot, Reader, looke
Not on his Picture, but his Booke.*

My own study of these two pages has revealed several startling details. The word *Figure*, at the beginning of the Jonson verse, is a strangely ambiguous one, an old meaning of this noun being close to *feint*. Both words are derived from the Latin *fingerere*, which implies imitation with the purpose of deceiving. *Figure* also suggests a cipher

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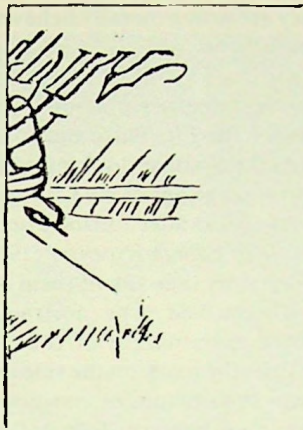


The Droeshout engraving
(After Kökeritz)

or secret writing. Turning to the portrait, one can discern, beneath the transparent square collar and partly obscured by parallel lines extending down from the hair, another smaller collar of the same approximate shape as the larger one, indicating, I believe, that beneath the mask-like face there is another face of the true author. The large collar has a white border which is relatively plain except for the upper right end (as one faces the picture) where it joins the hair. Here, in fine marks that resemble shading, one may read in old letters, *AB*, the A following an Elizabethan style that lacked a cross bar.

There also seemed to be some sort of strange writing in the upper left hand corner of the engraving, where the name and age of the subject is often placed. By dint of the use of background light and tracing paper I was able to transfer the inscription hugging the corner to a piece of white paper to give more contrast. For this work I used a facsimile of a copy of the *Shakespearean Folio* owned by the Yale University Library and produced by Helge Kökeritz in 1954. Turning the inscription upside down, I was amazed to see *ANT* in Renaissance script across the top, followed by a stop such as was often used at that time at the ends of lines, in this case what looks like a small reverse y. Turning the corner, I found *HONY* following down the left margin. The A is an Elizabethan one, as is the T, which looks like a C with two vertical lines through it. A loop before the H continues as the cross bar of the H and as the top of the O and second N. No longer do we have to wonder who waits behind the mask. The *AB* on the collar and the *ANTHONY* in the corner of the engraving could describe only one poet of the Elizabethan era, *Anthony Bacon*.

I might have been satisfied with this discovery, but I still longed to see a genuine portrait of the immortal bard. Study of the purported portraits of William Shakespeare made it evident to me that here were pictures of many men. Out of the multiplicity of pictures I finally selected the portrait of the "young Shakespeare" thought to have been painted by Federigo Zuccherò (Zuccari), an Italian artist. This painting was originally accepted as one of Shakespeare because the back of the panel bears the notation, *Guglielm. Shakespeare*, but it has been discounted by modern Shakespearean scholars. I found two reproductions of this painting, one a mezzotint by Henry Green and the other a fine engraving by W. Holl, the latter reproduced by J. Parker Norris in *The Portraits of Shakespeare* (1885). Since Zuccherò



came to England in 1574 and stayed at the most five or six years, it seems quite improbable that the artist who portrayed Queen Elizabeth, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Mary, Queen of Scots, Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Nicholas Bacon would have also painted an unknown youth of fifteen or sixteen living in Stratford-on-Avon. Furthermore, the subject of the painting appears to be somewhat older than this, probably in his late teens or early twenties. It is not unlikely that Zuchero could have done a portrait of Anthony at approximately the same time that he painted Sir Nicholas Bacon, Francis being at that time on the continent, or there is a possibility that the portrait could have been painted later, when Anthony was also on the continent. An unusual detail in both the engraving and the mezzotint is a faint line turning upwards from the outer corner of the left eye and then bending backwards to the hairline about half way up the side of the forehead. A study of other Elizabethan portraits revealed a strange fact; namely, that a similar line, resembling a scar, is clearly visible on the so called "Chesterfield portrait of Spenser" and faintly visible on the Droeshout engraving of Shakespeare. The same mark is also present on the two presumed Shakespearean portraits most resembling the Droeshout engraving, the Felton and the Flower. It is not known when or by whom these

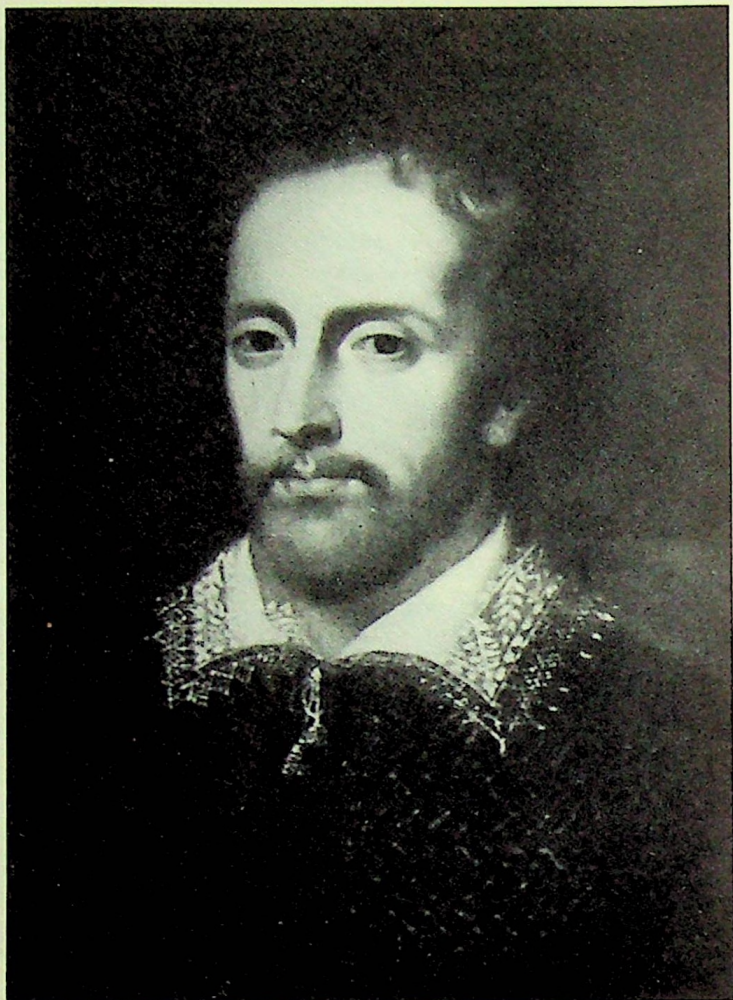
were executed, but they are now generally believed to be copies of the Droeshout engraving.

Considering the several Spenser portraits, it is obvious that the three recognized classes – the Fitz Hardinge miniature said to have been done by Hilliard, the Spanish looking portrait known as the Kinnoull, and the several paintings of the Chesterfield type – portray three quite different men. Alexander Judson discussed these portraits in some length in his *Life of Edmund Spenser* (1945), concluding that we cannot state with certainty that any of them are of Spenser. I was convinced that the Chesterfield type portraits are likenesses of Anthony Bacon. Closer examination of these portraits reveals a badly scarred face. Besides the mark on the side of the forehead, there are other marks more or less obvious on most of the portraits. Three widely divergent lines radiate backwards from the outer corner of the left eye, into the hairline. Several irregular scars disfigure the left side of the face. One of these crosses the left cheek diagonally forwards and downwards from a point between the eye and the ear. Another crosses the cheek from the lobe of the ear, approaching at the forward end a line curving down from across the nose. There is another scar approximately on the level of the upper lip, which is defaced and pulled partly out of shape below the left nostril. Although partly hidden by the mustache, this asymmetry of the upper lip can be made out in most of the portraits. A fine line passes vertically across the lower lip, below the left nostril, then trails diagonally sideways across the chin, faintly visible in spite of the beard. Other features are damage below the right eye as well as a small projection resembling a pimple on the bulbous part of the left side of the nose against the cheek. The defect on the nose is quite noticeable in the Zucchero portrait of the “young Shakespeare”. In other portraits it shows only as a tiny spot. It may have been an accident involving his eyes that endangered Anthony's eyesight at the age of fourteen, as reported in *The Dictionary of National Biography*.

It was not until I found a portrait that had descended in the Bacon family from Elizabethan times that I could put the final verdict on my theory. This portrait has been traditionally described as one of Sir Nicholas Bacon, father of Anthony and Francis, although there is some question about this and it has been suggested that it might be



The Holl engraving of the Zuccherro painting of the "young Shakespeare"
(After Norris)



The Chief Chesterfield portrait
(Courtesy of the University of London Library)

Anthony. This portrait shows the scars just described. The likenesses that I have seen of Sir Nicholas Bacon do not show them. The Droeshout engraving of Shakespeare shows some of these marks more or less clearly.

Of course there are variations in different copies of the Droeshout engraving. The soft metal of the time did not lend itself to giving clear impressions for long. New plates had to be made periodically, which could also cause some differences. Photographic reproduction of the portraits may not always be perfect. However, for those who are willing to look with care and discrimination, the marks are there in most good reproductions.

I believe that Francis Bacon, who supervised the printing of the *Folio*, directed the artist to put the *AB* on the collar of the Droeshout engraving, and the *ANTHONY* hugging the upper left hand corner, as well as the distinctive scars of Anthony on the face of Shakespeare. One wonders why this did not reveal the secret to contemporary society, until it is remembered that by the time the *Folio* was published in 1623, Anthony and many of his associates were gone.

I have recently come across another bit of evidence that I consider unimpeachable. On the lower right eyelid of the family portrait one can see a segment that looks as if a flap of skin had been torn down and had been pushed back so it could heal into place. On the Chesterfield type portraits and on the Droeshout engraving in the *Folio of 1623*, this defect is shown only by two very faint, almost indistinguishable vertical lines. In a copy of the *Third Shakesporean Folio*, published in 1663, this flap on the lower right hand eyelid can be distinguished. This engraving is pictured in *Studies in The First Folio, written for The Shakespeare Association in Celebration of The First Folio Tercentenary* London, 1924. It consists of articles contributed by six members, after an introduction by Sir Israel Gollancz. This copy of the *Third Folio* is owned by Wadham College. Surely this means that the family portrait must be one of the models used for the Droeshout engraving. It also suggests that the secret society was still functioning almost forty years after the death of Francis Bacon.

In closing I should like to make it clear that I consider Anthony Bacon to have been the sole author of the *Sonnets*. There may have been some collaboration between the Bacon brothers on some of the



The Bacon family Portrait

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plays. Francis must have had poetic ability, since he was known as a poet by many of his associates. He was also great in his own right. His acknowledged works have given him a substantial literary and scientific reputation. The evidence shows, however, that it was Anthony who was the chief author of the *Plays*, and it was he who possessed the unique genius known as "Shakespeare's".

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PLAYS

(as close as I can tell)

<i>Possibly written</i>		<i>Published</i>
1590 (+ or -)	<i>Love's Labour's Lost</i>	1598, Folio
	<i>Two Gentlemen of Verona</i>	Folio
	<i>The Taming of The Shrew</i>	Folio
1591-1593	<i>The Comedy of Errors</i>	Folio
	<i>King Henry VI (3 parts)</i>	Folio
	<i>King Richard III</i>	1597, Folio
1594-1596	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	1599, Folio
	<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i>	1600, Folio
	<i>King Richard II</i>	1597, Folio
	<i>King John</i>	Folio
	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	1600, Folio
1597-1598	<i>King Henry IV (part 1)</i>	1598, Folio
	<i>King Henry IV (part 2)</i>	Folio
	<i>Much Ado About Nothing</i>	1600, Folio
	<i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i>	Folio
	<i>As You Like It</i>	Folio
	<i>Julius Caesar</i>	Folio
1599-1600	<i>King Henry V</i>	Folio
	<i>Twelfth Night</i>	Folio
	<i>Measure for Measure</i>	Folio
	<i>All's Well That Ends Well</i>	Folio
	<i>Troilus and Cressida</i>	1609, Folio
1601	<i>Hamlet</i>	1604, Folio
1603-1604	<i>Othello</i>	1622, Folio
1606	<i>King Lear</i>	1608, Folio
	<i>Macbeth</i>	Folio
1607	<i>Anthony and Cleopatra</i>	Folio
	<i>Timon of Athens</i>	Folio
	<i>Coriolanus</i>	Folio

BACONIANA

1608-1609	<i>Cymbeline</i>	Folio
	<i>The Winter's Tale</i>	Folio
	<i>The Tempest</i>	Folio
	<i>King Henry VIII</i>	Folio
	(Probably revised and finished by Francis Bacon.)	

Neither *Titus Andronicus* nor *Pericles* appear to me to have been written by the author known as Shakespeare. They were reworked by Anthony and/or Francis Bacon for publication, the former in 1594, the latter in 1609 but not included in the Folio. Four plays were pirated; *Romeo and Juliet* in 1597, *Merry Wives of Windsor* in 1602, *King Henry V* in 1600, and *Hamlet* in 1603.

BIOGRAPHICAL CHRONOLOGY

1553	Marriage of Sir Nicholas Bacon and Anne Cooke.
1558	Death of Queen Mary. Elizabeth ascended the throne. Sir Nicholas Bacon appointed Lord Keeper. Birth of Anthony Bacon.
1561	Birth of Francis Bacon.
1564	Birth of William Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon.
1567	Birth of Robert Devereux (Essex).
1573	The Bacon brothers entered Trinity College, Cambridge.
1576	The Bacon brothers entered Gray's Inn. James Burbage erected the first theatre in the London area. Francis Bacon went to France with Sir Amyas Paulet.
1577	Queen Elizabeth visited the Bacon home at St. Albans.
1579	Death of Sir Nicholas Bacon. Francis Bacon returned to England to study law. Anthony Bacon left for the continent.
1580	Birth of William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke.
1581/2	Anthony Bacon at the home of Theodore Beza in Geneva.
1583	Anthony Bacon in Bordeaux. The inception of his friendship with Michel de Montaigne.
1584	Anthony Bacon at the Court of Navarre.
1585/90	Anthony Bacon in Montauban, the headquarters of part of the Court of Navarre.
1590/1	Anthony Bacon in Bordeaux; renews friendship with Montaigne.
1592	Anthony Bacon returned to England. The Bacon brothers established a "scriptorium" at Twickenham Park.

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- 1593 Publication of *Venus and Adonis*, the first Shakespearean publication. The Bacon brothers entered the service of Essex.
- 1594/5 The Bacon brothers compiled "The Promus".
- 1595 Anthony Bacon went to live at Essex House.
- 1596 Defeat of the Second Spanish Armada and capture of Cadiz.
- 1597 First edition of Francis Bacon's *Essays*. Anthony Bacon met the young man of the Sonnets and the "dark lady".
- 1598 Publication of *Love's Labour's Lost*, the first quarto of a play bearing the name of William Shakespeare. The Globe Theatre erected.
- 1599 Essex sailed for Ireland.
- 1600 Essex tried for treason.
- 1601 Execution of Essex and others. Flight of Anthony Bacon from England.
- 1603 Death of Queen Elizabeth. King James VI of Scotland crowned King James I of England. Francis Bacon received knighthood.
- 1605 First edition of Francis Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*.
- 1606 Francis Bacon's marriage to Alice Barnham. Probable date of Anthony Bacon's secret visit to England.
- 1609 Death of Anthony Bacon. First edition of the *Shakespearean Sonnets*.
- 1610 Death of Lady Ann Bacon.
- 1616 Death of William Shakespeare.
- 1617 Francis Bacon became Lord Keeper.
- 1618 Francis Bacon named Baron Verulam.
- 1620 Francis Bacon employed Ben Jonson to help put his writings into Latin.
- 1621 Francis Bacon named Viscount St. Alban. His fall from political power.
- 1623 The *First Shakespearean Folio*. Publication of Francis Bacon's *De Augmentis*.
- 1626 Death of Francis Bacon.

A FEW WORDS ABOUT PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE*

The event which, during the past year, has seemed to be pre-eminent in importance, is the bringing into full light the "*Manes*" of "the incomparable Francis of Verulam." The verses in his honour by no means diminish in interest as we proceed with the collection; and it is satisfactory to feel that no well-informed person can in future maintain the absence of documentary evidence showing Francis Bacon as the Great Poet of his Age, and recognised as such by his friends and contemporaries.

In truth, such documentary evidence has never been lacking since James Spedding discovered amongst the Northumberland MSS., the noteworthy paper book, on the outside leaf of which is a catalogue of the original contents. This list, included with Mr. Francis Bacon's "Essaies," &c., other works "by the same Author" – e.g., *Richard II.*, and *Richard III.*, *The Conference of Pleasure, Osmond and Cornelia*, and other pieces written for performance on State occasions – with orations, and verses to be delivered by the Earls of Leicester, Sussex, and Essex, to be passed off as their productions. *The Conference* remains intact, but the *Plays* have disappeared, the connecting string having apparently been cut for the purpose of removing these tell-tale pieces.

Neither can documentary evidence be honestly said to have been wanting since the publication, in 1883, of the mass of manuscript notes known as "Bacon's *Promus*," and the collation of these notes with passages in the "Shakespeare" plays and poems. None but minds most prejudiced, or incapable of weighing evidence, can fail to perceive the force of the arguments derived from the coincidences between the titles of works included in the List of Contents on the paper book, and the titles of two of the acknowledged *Shakespeare* plays; or, again, the immense number of coincidences between the manuscript entries in the *Promus* and "*Shakespeare*".¹

* Published anonymously from Vol. V (N.S.) *Baconiana* (1897).

1. It is perhaps right to add that further research and collation show that the entries on certain sheets (chiefly of Proverbs and Turns of speech), are found in plays of various dates ranked amongst the "Minor Dramatists" of the Elizabethan period, and which we believe to be the juvenile or less polished productions of Anthony and Francis Bacon.

Again, the word *Shakespeare* is many time scribbled upon the outside leaf of the paper book, and with it the word *Honorifiabilitudino*. It seems as if the latter must be an attempt by the amanuensis to write down the wonderful word in *Love's Labour's Lost* – "*Honorificabilitudinitatibus*," and we may fairly regard this as evidence that the clerkly servant who indexed the contents of the paper book, beguiled his spare minutes by scribbling the future pseudonym of the Poet – the "Shakespeare" which, for the first time, appeared on the title-page of every play after *Richard II* was printed.² The pseudonym was at that time adopted and affixed to the *Plays* in consequence of Queen Elizabeth's jealous displeasure and alarm at the repeated performance, by the orders of the Earl of Essex, of that very play – *Richard II*. Can we doubt that the scribe, practising his pen upon the word (which was never so spelt or signed by any member of the Shakspeare, or Shaxpurre family, until twenty years after the death of the actor-manager), knew perfectly well of the connection between the Name, the Play, and the true Author?

In the course of a few years it may become a matter of inquiry and curiosity – Why, when there exists so much plain evidence of Bacon's poetic genius, of his connection with "*Shake-speare*," and of the fact that *these things were, and must be at the present day, known* to a considerable number of persons – why, or how comes it that any educated or intelligent man should be found wilfully and tenaciously clinging to proved fictions, and to unproved statements? Such would have us believe that Francis Bacon, "the Glory of his Age and Nation," "the most prodigious wit," the concealed man upon whom, if upon any man, "a beam from Heaven" had descended, was in spite of such a cloud of witnesses:

1. No Poet.
2. That he had no more connection with the great religious movements of the day, than he had with Poetry and the Stage.
3. That he knew nothing of "*Shakespeare*," or of Spenser, Cowley, Ben Jonson, Kemp, Burbage, and Alleyne,

2. We are informed that upon a sheet in a writing case which belonged to Francis Bacon, and is now in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk, the word *Shakespeare* is similarly scribbled.

although these names recur often in Anthony Bacon's correspondence as "Servants" or subordinate agents in his work at home or abroad.

4. Sometimes it is positively added (though without proofs offered) that Francis Bacon could have had neither part nor lot in the institution of Freemasonry, and that this vast Secret Society existed for ages before his "Methods" were invented.
5. That the Ciphers lately discovered, and now vigorously worked upon by Baconians, are mere delusions and absurdities, and the results arrived at by their means, fictions, or impostures.

It is easy to listen with equanimity to objections which proceed either from innocent ignorance or from a kind of loyalty to hereditary beliefs, such as inclines the mind to perceive in any praise of the "Incomparable Francis of Verulam," a stab under the arm at William Shakspeare. *Not at the Poetry*, but at the man himself, the supposed Heaven-born Genius who, with no certified teaching, without a library, so far as is known, without a book, without even being able to write or to spell his own name, wrote the *Plays* "out of his head," by an inspiration which enabled him to quote glibly or allusively from the ancient writers of Greece and Rome as well as from modern works in French, Italian, and Spanish. An inspiration which enabled him to borrow, adapt, or to coin words previously unknown, but which have been received into our language, and are now part and parcel of the best English styles. Meanwhile, this unparalleled prodigy was pouring into his plays not only Science a hundred years in advance of his times, Rhetorical terms which even now require a footnote in explanation, the Law, not of a lawyer's clerk but of an Attorney-General or of a Lord Chancellor, and withal, the matchless metaphors and similes, the axioms and antitheses, the ethical and contemplative wisdom which we find in the most magnificent and poetical, or in the most condensed and pithy prose writings of Francis Bacon.

We never attempt in this little periodical to *review* books, but merely draw attention to those which can be recommended as most useful and to the point. Would anyone read an excellent and almost

exhaustive *résumé* of the arguments and evidence, on either side, of the "Bacon-Shakspeare" controversy, we commend him to a work too little known in England, but now already running through its seventh edition: *Bacon versus Shakspeare; a Brief for the Plaintiff*, by Mr. Edwin Reed, Member of the Shakespeare Society, New York.³ This book is full of interesting and entertaining information imparted in a clear and most readable style, with authorities and references liberally appended. No one should set about discussing or writing upon this subject without having first read a work which, for its purpose, could hardly be better written. We are glad to hear that another book is soon to be expected from the same pen.

Since it is only right to hear all that can be said on the other side, we have strenuously endeavoured to glean from opponents definite statements of opinion concerning the *Manes Verulamiani*, and to learn how they would propose to explain away the force of these verses as evidence to the justice of our own conclusions. From writers for newspapers and literary periodicals we expected little, and have heard absolutely nothing. From strong Anti-Baconians and Shakspeareans we have received the following checks or criticisms:-

1. "I see nothing in the verses to support the notion that Bacon was a poet, or that he had anything to do with Shakespeare or the Drama."
2. "The verses are mere hyperbolical compliments after the fashion of the day."
3. "Perhaps these queer verses were written as a kind of joke by young men who considered that Bacon was absurdly over-praised. In these Elegies they meant to out-Herod Herod."
4. "The signatures of George Herbert, &c., may be forgeries."
5. "Of course these Elegies are spurious, otherwise the over-zealous Baconians would have produced them long ago."
6. "Since this collection of laudatory verses is printed in the *Harleian Miscellany*, the editor of that *Miscellany* must have known whence he copied them. Why did he not say

3. Pub. Boston, Mass., 1895. Copyright, London, for Joseph Knight & Co..

where we may see the originals? Where is the collection of Dr. Rawley's papers? Some one must know this. I cannot believe that there is no man living who can answer this question."

This writer adds that he does not "approve of mysteries, which almost always have some fraud behind them," hinting, though not in so many words, that this may be some device of the evil Baconians to exalt their hero, and to depress *Shakespeare*. With his remarks above, and with his objection to mysteries, we cordially agree, but many of us consider that the difficulties suggested may all be explained by the "Freemason Theory".

When Francis of Verulam confided to his faithful friends and allies the charge of his "cabinet and presses full of papers," to be by them perused, and, according to their judgment, published or suppressed, their judgment seems to have caused them to *suppress* for a considerable period, and afterwards by degrees to publish, that vast collection of MSS.. In the same way, we consider it most probable that these *Manes* were first suppressed, and afterwards circulated amongst Bacon's Sons of Science, the highest literary and religious Freemasons; finally, when the NAME and fame of the great Verulam had been long in the shade, when the NAME "*Shakespeare*" had assumed the mask of the poet, then these Latin verses might safely pace forth. How many would care to read their "obscure" Latin? Mere compliments – hyperbolic flatteries – the fashion of the day – "words, mere words, nothing from the heart." That is what men, in days no wiser then than now, would say; they have said it, and say still. Truly Francis Bacon was "cunying in the humours of persons" – he knew that, as men were before and in his time, so in the main they would always be.

The other objections seem to be almost too feeble to invite attack; yet we call upon Common-sense to reply to one point. Can it be considered any "compliment" to commend a man for his skill in things which he has never been known to attempt, or to extol in him gifts, powers, or any kind of talent which he was never supposed to possess? For example, could it be called compliment and hyperbolical

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laudation to describe our present Prime Minister, or even his versatile predecessor, as "one who in no light or trivial spirit drew on the socks of comedy and the high-heeled boots of tragedy?" Would there be wit, point, or sense in similar remarks applied to the Lord Chancellor, the President of the Royal Society, or the most distinguished man of science in any centre of learning? Or would it be more suitable, wittier, or more comprehensible, if we were to address such dignitaries as *Teachers of the Muses, ranking next to or equal with Apollo himself?* Would it improve matters if we were to describe them as *the Tagus of Oratory?*

Finally, is it credible that, on such a subject, some thirty scholars would have written, that Dr. Rawley would have preserved, that Lord Oxford and others should have handed down, and caused to be printed in choice and valuable books, a collection of poems with false signatures, untrue and absurd statements, or, as one correspondent describes them – "jokes"?

"WHEN THOU SHALT VISIT THY JERUSALEM": A NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION OF PSALM CXXXVII

John Hudson

*When, as we sat all sad and desolate,
By Babylon upon the river's side,
Eased from the tasks which in our captive state
We were enforced daily to abide,
Our harps we had brought with us to the field,
Some solace to our heavy souls to yield.*

*But soon we found we fail'd of our account,
For when our minds some freedom did obtain,
Straightways the memory of Sion Mount
Did cause afresh our wounds to bleed again;
So that with present griefs, and future fears,
Our eyes burst forth into a stream of tears.*

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*As for our harps, since sorrow struck them dumb,
We hang'd them on the willow trees were near;
Yet did our cruel masters to us come,
Asking of us some Hebrew songs to hear:
Taunting us rather in our misery,
Than much delighting in our melody.*

*Alas, said we, who can once force a frame
His grieved and oppressed heart to sing
The praises of Jehovah's glorious name,
In banishment, under a foreign king?
In Zion is his seat and dwelling-place,
Thence doth he show the brightness of his face.*

*Jerusalem, where God his throne hath set,
Shall any hour absent thee from my mind?
Then let my right hand quite her skill forget,
Then let my voice and words no passage find;
Nay, if I do not thee prefer in all
That in the compass of my thoughts can fall.*

*Remember thou, O Lord, the cruel cry
Of Edom's children, which did ring and sound,
Inciting the Chaldean's cruelty,
"Down with it, down with it, even unto the ground."
In that good day repay it unto them,
When thou shalt visit thy Jerusalem.*

*And thou, O Babylon, shalt have thy turn
By just revenge, and happy shall he be
That thy proud walls and towers shall waste and burn,
And as thou did'st by us, so do by thee.
Yea, happy he, that takes thy children's bones,
And dasheth them against the pavement stones.*

Francis Bacon constantly fought for justice and that which he thought was rightfully his. It is no small wonder, then, that he found in the *Psalms* echoes of his own situation. There he found comfort,

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courage and concern. From them, he was able to see a way forward, even if that meant that he would still never fulfil, like the Psalmist, his destiny. If Bacon at times allowed some small personal vindictiveness to occur under the cloak of righteousness, are we right to condemn it? For, surely, we are mortal too. Did he value life more than right or did he interpret his life only in terms of what he saw as rightfully his?

Throughout history, the *Psalms* have not only inspired us but have, perhaps more importantly, reflected our mood and feelings, the situation in which we find ourselves placed. Bacon's responses to them were thus not unique. They enabled him to externalise his feelings about himself and his station in life. In his Dedication to George Herbert, he acknowledged the fact that Herbert had abandoned a glittering career at court, a thing which Bacon himself still aspired to. And so he sought to justify himself in his translations of the *Psalms*, perhaps to ennoble his feelings of self-aggrandisement.



The writer of *Psalm CXXXVII* is not in Babylon, but calls to mind what happened when he was there. The tender pathos of the opening verses enlists our sympathy; the terrible denunciations of the closing verses shock and repel us. Vengeance is invoked for Edom because of the unbrotherly spirit which rejoiced at Israel's destruction; and upon Babylon for having accomplished that destruction. The coals of fire which the Psalmist scatters among Israel's foes are not those which Christ's servants are bidden to heap on their enemies' heads. The *new law*, "Thou shalt love thine enemy", was unknown to the Psalmist – and, yet, is not the destruction of evil the complement of the preservation of good? The sadness of Israel sprang from the memory of their losses; and how much they lost – their temple, their country, their freedom. How could they *sing* with hearts riven by blackened memories? Moreover, their oppressors demanded they sang to create mirth and this drove the iron deeper into their souls. What they had forgotten was that it is only when memory of past and present sorrows includes the thought of that sin which brought about the sorrow, that tears are worthy and healing.

And so the old joyful songs stick in the exiles' throats and they cry out for the punishment of the barbarian invaders and vengeance. No

doubt they had witnessed all manner of atrocities at the hands of the Babylonians. This might itself shock us but today we tend to be over-sentimental about rank evil. The Psalmists knew God to be one too pure to look upon it. His countenance cannot gaze upon wrongdoing and this is why, naturally enough, the Israelites were moved to their own calls for vengeance. God's character and purpose demanded it. Right could not triumph unless evil was overthrown and those who did wrong were punished. When, today, we glibly pray "Thy Kingdom come" we are as like as not horrified when the Psalmists spell out just what this means – the purgation of evil. Perhaps we love God less than they did and value life more than right.

It must be remembered that the *Psalms* form part of the wisdom literature of the *Old Testament*. Wisdom is the ability to cope. It is the voice of experience and reflection and its root lies in the knowledge of self. This is what Bacon understood it to be and why he could say, without hypocrisy, that a reader of the 'book of hearts' would not find him corrupt. The *Translations of the Psalms* amply demonstrate the centrality to him of his relationship with God. Unlike most men, Bacon's image of himself did not change with the passing years and so again, unlike most of us, neither did his image of God. The *Psalms* confirmed for him the changelessness of God. Constantly drawn to them, he sought to read something of their profundity into his chequered world.

However, the Psalms are poems intended to be sung. They are not, at least explicitly, doctrinal treatises nor even sermons, and they must be read as poems if they are to be understood. Carelessly, we may find ourselves reading into them something which is not there. For Bacon, they provided solace but also a confirmation of his destiny and a configuration of the guiding principles of his spiritual life. Though he does not seem to have translated it, *Psalms XXIV* must also have been especially meaningful to him for it is the Psalm of the Crown. Here the Psalmist asks who is qualified to dwell with God in his holy place, who is to share fellowship with the King, who has the divine right. The candidate must have "clean hands". The outward life of action must be sustained and the hands are the instruments by which we accomplish our endeavours. Hence, to have clean hands is the equivalence of being upright and blameless. He must have pure thoughts and affections, a "pure heart". God's demands go beyond

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action. He requires purity of purpose and desire, inward holiness. There must, thirdly, be purity of speech ("nor sworn deceitfully"). Words must correspond with honest thoughts, for to dwell with God there must be righteousness in thought, word and deed.

Only a man who combines these attributes can live in God's highest presence and enjoy His fellowship and friendship, and it was to these things which Bacon aspired and through them he divined the right of Kings. Doubtless, he "lay down and wept" in being enslaved in a strange land. But the knocks of this life barely touched the aspirations of his heart.

**FROM LITTLE ACORNS: HOW FRANCIS
BACON LOST 'FRIENDS' BUT INFLUENCED PEOPLE
IN 1593***

Clifford Hall

In 1523, Sir Thomas More, a Lincoln's Inn man and then newly elected Speaker of the House of Commons, made a speech in Parliament. In it, he told Cardinal Wolsey, who had descended upon the House of Commons with much pomp and a considerable retinue to coerce the grant of a massive £500,000 subsidy, that as Speaker he could not answer for the Members present unless so instructed and that since no-one was prepared to instruct him he could give the Chancellor no answer. Thereby was established the precedent that the Commons might only communicate with others through its Speaker who himself might only speak by order of the House. At the commencement of the Parliament, More had also prayed for privilege of speech. In their silence at Wolsey's attempted intervention, the Commons had also struck an early blow for the principle that matters of supply were for the House alone without dictation or interference. In 1593, Francis Bacon, the 32 year old Member for Middlesex, also made a speech to a House of Commons from whom an extortionate subsidy was demanded. Bacon spoke of law reform not subsidies. Of money, he said, he was ignorant but of laws he had had some experience. They were made to "guard the rights of the people, not to feed the lawyers". They should be known to all, reduced in bulk, informed with philosophy and put "into every man's hand".¹ Now the distinguished Elizabethan historian, J.E. Neale, has described this speech as misplaced and irrelevant,² but his views on Bacon

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1. Spedding, *Letters and Life* Ch.6, p.209 *et seq.*; Alfred Dodd, *Francis Bacon's Personal Life Story* (1986), pp.199-200.

2. *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments 1584-1601* (paperback - 1965), p.299 (hereinafter *Neale*).

generally are as sympathetic as a wasp in the mouth. Even at this time, Neale tells us, Bacon's was a "cold, prudent mind, untouched by the fire of youth, immune from infection by his audience, already a prerogative man."³ And so deceived by this familiar caricature, our historian wholly misses the point of the speech which, in its way, was as much a blow for the precept of liberty of speech – conceived then as no more than a privilege – as the House's eloquent silence in face of Wolsey's bullying and More's adroit response to it seventy years before.

To appreciate this fully requires an excursus into the fortune of privilege of speech prior to the events of 1593. It is especially significant that from early times Members might only discuss certain matters at grave peril. The most obvious was the conduct of the King and his courtiers. Thus Thomas Haxey, who had criticised Richard II and his court in 1397, found himself branded a traitor and condemned to the scaffold. He was saved by the intervention of the Archbishop of Canterbury who claimed he was a clerk in orders.⁴ Similarly, Speaker Thomas Thorpe suffered imprisonment in Henry IV's reign after disparaging the Duke of York.⁵ A Parliament was thus no protection from treasonable speechifying. Dangers likewise there were in criticism of foreign princes since that was interference with foreign policy. In the Parliament of 1586–87, Job Throckmorton was packed off to the Tower following a "lewd and blasphemous" speech⁶ defaming both the honour of King James of Scotland, with whom Elizabeth wished to remain on good terms, though she had had his Mother butchered, to combat Spanish influence in the North, and Henry of France, whose continued goodwill was thought necessary for similar reasons.

Inveighing against abuses obviously carried risks. Perhaps the most influential example is that of Richard Strode, fined and imprisoned by the Stannary Court in Henry VIII's time for having proposed, with others, bills regulating the privileges of tin mines. The

3. *Neale*, p.175.

4. Two years on he was pardoned and the judgment against him formally annulled following a Commons' petition.

5. He was not the first Speaker to suffer this fate. Peter de la Mare was imprisoned in 1376 though released on Richard II's accession.

6. So said Burghley.

decision was reversed by Act of Parliament,⁷ the significance of which, as a particular or general Act, underpinned much argument in *Elliot, Hollis and Valentine* in Charles' reign.⁸ Whatever the thrust of the Act, it did not protect the incorrigible Peter Wentworth who, in the Parliament of 1575-76, having spoken out against abuses, was committed to the Tower for his trouble by the House of Commons itself. In 1588, undaunted, he raised the question "whether this Council was not a place for any member of the same, freely and without control, by bill or speech, to utter any of the griefs of this commonwealth"⁹ and again, with others, was committed to the Tower though now by the Council.

Bills relating to Church government were also reckoned taboo. In 1571, Strickland was summoned before the Council and ordered to be restrained for introducing them, and in 1593 James Morice was also committed for introducing measures relating to Anglican discipline. Nor did privilege of speech extend, in Elizabeth's reign, to discussion of whom the Queen might marry or the succession. Attempts to do so resulted in reprimands through the Speaker and injunctions to desist. Typical was the admonition of Lord Chancellor Bromley to the Speaker in 1580 "that the House of Commons should not deal or intermeddle with any matters touching her Majesty's Person, or Estate, or Church Government".¹⁰

Against this barrage of prohibitions it might well be asked what matters of serious interest to the Commonwealth might be raised in the Commons. The relative brevity of parliamentary sessions and their infrequency made it virtually impossible for the House meaningfully to control the executive and so inhibited moves to organise opposition to the Court party.¹¹ Members were expected to consider matters addressed to them, on occasion to amend them, and to deliver an affirmative or negative voice. They were not generally

7. 4 Henry VIII.

8. (1629) 3 State Trials 293. The Statute declared the proceedings against Strode void and also any future proceedings against any Member in present or future Parliaments in respect of any "bill, speaking, reasoning".

9. See Hallam, *Constitutional History* 1, p.257.

10. D'Ewes, *Journals of the Parliaments of Elizabeth*, p.269 (hereinafter *D'Ewes*).

11. See Holdsworth, *History of English Law* IV, p.88.

expected to initiate legislation. The great matters of state, the broader issues of foreign and domestic policy, were left in other hands. In 1531, complaint was made that the Commons' time had been dissipated by "the prohibition of the pastime of cross bows and handguns especially to foreigners . . . Nearly the whole time of Parliament has been occupied with these petty matters, and with complaints between different towns and villages."¹² Though since 1541 successive Speakers had prayed for the "ancient and undoubted" privilege of speech, Bromley's admonition to Members in 1580 was not aberrational. Bacon's Father, Nicholas, had similarly warned them when Lord Keeper that "they should do well to meddle with no matter of State, but such as should be propounded unto them."¹³ Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was only tangentially milder, in 1575, in enjoining that Members should not confuse freedom of speech with the right of a man to speak upon what or about whom he pleased in his own home. Holdsworth goes too far in suggesting that freedom of speech was well recognised.¹⁴ In form, perhaps it was; but not in substance. The monarch might acknowledge the privilege, but only as an expedient to manage Parliament not as a necessary incident to the appropriate procedures of the third estate. When Henry came to the Parliament of 1536 and delivered to the burgesses "a bill which he desired them to weigh in conscience, and not to pass it because he gave it in, but to see if it be for the common weal of his subjects",¹⁵ and when, in *Ferrer's Case*, he declared that "we at no time stand so highly in our Estate royal as in the time of Parliament, wherein we as Head and you as Members are conjoined and knit together into one body political",¹⁶ we may take him as employing statecraft, little more than standard mouthwash, to flatter those whose support he knew he needed in face of Papal protests. Elizabeth adopted a similar policy but with considerably less patience. James also acknowledged it with virtually none. When Sandys was committed in 1621, the former stormed that the privileges of the Commons were on sufferance only; and when that redoubtable

12. Chapuys in 1531, quoted in Holdsworth, *ibid.*, n.4.

13. In 1571: *D'Ewes*, pp.141-42.

14. *Supra* n.11, pp.91-92.

15. *Ibid.*, p.91.

16. *Ibid.*, n.1.

body protested that by those privileges, being the ancient birthright of the subjects of England, it could consider any matter it pleased, James' answer was to send for the Journal in which the protest was recorded, tear out its pages and dissolve Parliament. Though somewhat hysterical, this was little more than a practical application of the injunction, uttered 63 years earlier, that privilege was granted on condition that Members be "neither unmindful nor uncareful of their duties, reverence and obedience to their sovereign."¹⁷

Of course, there were areas in which the Commons acknowledgedly asserted a legitimate authority. The House regulated its own procedure. Due deference was paid to the Speaker. Strangers were excluded. Members were warned not to divulge the secrets of the House.¹⁸ It asserted jurisdiction over its Members. Those who absented themselves without leave were fined. Hall, the Member for Grantham, was expelled, fined and imprisoned, for example, in 1581 for a libel on the House and the Speaker.¹⁹ One Dr. Parry, three years on, was similarly punished for intemperate language used in opposing a Bill directed against seminary priests.²⁰ In the Parliament of 1575-76, Peter Wentworth agitated about abuses, referring to rumours that "the queen likes or dislikes such a matter; beware what you do." "None is without fault", he said, "no not our noble queen, but has committed great and dangerous faults to herself."²¹ We have already noted what happened to him. The case of *Elliot, Hollis and Valentine* (1629) was the first test of Parliament, and particularly the Commons, as a court and it is difficult not to be impressed by the reasonings on both sides of that judicial debate, as with others in the Stuart period, in the matter of their particular thuggery.²² Clearly, even here it was not asserted that Members were free to say what they

17. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents 1485-1603*, p.552.

18. Such being one reason for Wolsey's intemperate intervention in 1523.

19. Tanner, *supra* n.17, pp.592-93.

20. *Ibid.*, and p.594.

21. *D'Ewes*, p.236.

22. The King had given the Speaker, Sir John Finch, a direction to move an adjournment of the House. To prevent this, Elliot (and later Hollis) had delivered filibustering speeches "replete with malicious and seditious words" while Valentine and Hollis had forcibly restrained the Speaker in his Chair. It was contended that the Speaker had been touched, but only "lightly and softly".

liked but only that if they did they were accountable to the House and to no-one else.

This, then, is something of the background to the events of 1593 serving to place Bacon's speech on law reform in appropriate perspective. As our historian suggests, the speech does not appear to signal an obviously critical moment in the history of parliamentary privilege. The reality, however, is very different.

The session began uncompromisingly. The government knew that Philip of Spain still contemplated invasion and wished to mount anticipatory expeditions. The seminary priests were still active in the papist cause. The Queen wanted a massive subsidy. In her presence, Lord Keeper Puckering addressed the two Houses assembled on 19 February and outlined the Spanish danger and the possibility of attack from north and south. The Queen's intention in summoning Parliament, he said, was not to devise new laws nor even to abridge and clarify the old. She required expeditious decisions, not "vain discourses and tedious orations", for the vigilance of the enemy "who sleepeth not but lieth in wait for us" required that stout men should quickly return to their homes.²³ In particular, money was needed for a war. On 22 February, Coke, the Speaker, as was now customary, claimed privilege of speech. Puckering answered him with a series of threats and injunctions. Her Majesty granted "liberal but not licentious speech" for there would be "no good conclusion where every man may speak what he listeth". It was prudent, therefore, "that each man of you contain his speech within the bounds of loyalty and good discretion being assured that as the contrary is punishable in all men, so most of all in them that take upon them to be counsellors and procurators of the Commonwealth." And so Members were not "to speak of all causes" such as their "idle brains" should dictate, for no prince would "suffer such absurdities". Indeed, her Majesty "hopeth no man here longeth for his ruin as that he mindeth to make such a peril to his own safety" by not partaking "of her intent and meaning". Liberty of speech was granted, yet Members were to vote only Aye or No, as they thought best, and only with some

23. *Neale*, p.247. On 26 February, it was insinuated by Sir John Wolley, a member of the Court party, that since the "sickness" was in London Members had an even better reason to be expeditious, since they could not be sure whether their lodgings were contaminated.

brief declaration of their reasons.²⁴ There was no mistaking the tenor of all this. Within days, Wentworth was in the Tower for delivering a petition relating to the succession. Representations being made for his release, the Council replied: "Her Majesty had committed him for causes best known to herself." Seven Members were imprisoned or sequestered during the session, a number unprecedented in Elizabeth's reign.

This was Bacon's third Parliament. He had previously been Member for Taunton (1586) and Liverpool (1588). He was no novice. He was Elizabeth's Counsel Extraordinary. Yet he was briefless and penniless. Burghley, though not the most solicitous of mentors, had secured for him, despite some opposition, the reversion of the Clerkship of the Council in the Star Chamber (1589), but that was presently worthless and was later mortgaged. He had never employed him in any professional capacity.²⁵ As Parliament assembled in 1593, Bacon assured his Uncle of his fidelity as kinsman, patriot and servant.²⁶ The Attorney's place was mentioned as a possible appointment. During the session, Bacon published his *Observations upon a Libel*,²⁷ a powerful defence of the Queen, Burleigh and the conduct of government policy, which had been written a year earlier. So, though it seemed to Bacon then that "one-and-thirty years is a great deal of sand in the hour glass", there was still, as they say, 'everything to play for'. The Queen's favour and affection seemed assured. But four days after Puckering's admonition to Coke in the House, he put his career and, indeed, his person in jeopardy with the speech on codification of the law.

As already noted, our historian who labels this irrelevant, wholly fails to divine its subtlety. A double subsidy was sought as it had been, exceptionally, in the previous Parliament. The Commons stirred but not excessively. It was then that Bacon spoke. It was not, he said, the sole duty of the Commons to vote supplies, but also to frame and amend laws. Puckering's earlier instructions were, to him, a shameful attempt to deprive Members of this right, under pretence of necessity, as well as of the more general right to speak critically. In short, the

24. *Neale*, pp.249-50.

25. Letter to Burghley, Montagu. *Works* 3. p.53 (hereinafter *Montagu*).

26. *Montagu*, *loc cit.*, p.1.

27. *Montague* 1, p.247.

Court party had attempted to 'gag' Members. Bacon's speech was thus a skilful opening salvo in defence of the Commons' rights; law reform being the subject the Queen had expressly forbidden to be discussed. The speech was fraught with danger and eyebrows were raised.

A Committee was formed. Coke and Bacon were members. It reported to the House in favour of the subsidy; so far so good. Concern was expressed that the supply be used only for war purposes, since that was why it had been proposed, but as yet there was no reason to suppose that all would not go smoothly. On March 1, however, the government 'own goaled'. The Lords delivered a message, in terms similar to Puckering's, that the Commons should get on and grant the subsidy immediately, and to this end they asked for a conference. It took place that afternoon. Burghley, as spokesman, delivered an ultimatum. Their Lordships would assent to no Act for less than *three* subsidies. Moreover, though the custom was for the Crown to ask for half a subsidy a year, at two shillings in the pound, the three grants were to be paid over three years, a whole subsidy a year, at four shillings in the pound. A further conference was insisted upon.

Bacon was present to witness his Uncle displaying yet another act of ruthlessness in this Parliament, one reminiscent of Wolsey's masquerade in More's time. It horrified him, for it had been understood since the reign of Henry VIII that it was for the Commons alone to initiate taxation. And so, the following day, Neale's 'prerogative man' rose, after Cecil had reported to the House his Father's demands, and informed Members that though he would not vote against the grant, since no man should begrudge funds to defend the kingdom, by no means should the Commons join with the Lords in the grant. The right to give was theirs alone and the government had exceeded its powers. Coke tried to intervene but Bacon resisted:

I mistake that this House should join the Upper House in the granting for the custom and privilege of this House hath always been first to make offer of the subsidy hence into the Upper House. And for this reason it is that we should stand upon our privilege Therefore we should proceed as

heretofore we have done, apart by ourselves, and not joining with their Lordships.²⁸

From his doublet he produced "An Answer to the Lords" which he proposed should be read. Bacon's argument was also referred to a Committee which met twice, but inconclusively, save that a majority were for a conference. Cecil reported to the whole House, which promptly split into two camps, the Court party and the opposition. Robert Beale produced a precedent from the reign of Henry IV, when the Commons, with the King's support, had refused to confer on grounds of breach of privilege. The House fell into uproar and the question whether to confer had to be put twice: victory for the opposition by over 100 votes. This negative voice was remitted to the Lords, who asked for details of the precedent: another negative voice. It was a famous victory for the opposition group and the Queen was furious. Names of those who had spoken were reported to her, a clear breach of privilege, and at the next sitting, on March 5, some of those on the 'hit list' climbed down. Chief of these was Beale, the courtier who had produced the precedent. He had misunderstood, he said. To agree to a general conference was not servile, still less to comply with the demand as to the quantum of the subsidy. To Raleigh, it was even unclear whether the subsidy was on the agenda. Coke immediately framed a motion to confer and this was carried.

The conference was a non-event. Burleigh did little more than outline the dangers to the realm and express disappointment at the Commons' want of expedition. Back in the Commons, a debate ensued as to the incidents of the tax and again the matter was referred to a Committee, which met in the afternoon of the 7th and the morning of the 8th. A variety of formulae were proposed, payment over three, four and six years. Late on the 8th, Bacon spoke again. In Neale's words, Privy Counsellors present were "shocked – as we know the Queen was – when one of their own Court circle rallied the rebels and plunged the question back into uncertainty . . . If he foresaw its repercussions, then he was a courageous man."²⁹ Though he accepted the necessity for three subsidies, he told the House,

28. *Spedding and Dodd* (p.201), *supra* n.1.

29. Page 309, though this was *not* Neale's view. To him, Bacon "had merely become intoxicated by popularity – an unaccustomed experience for him."

payment should be deferred over six years, the old rate of half a subsidy a year. Any other course, he said, was unacceptable:

. . . the poor man's rent is such as they are not able to yield it. The gentlemen must sell their plate, the farmers their brass pots . . . we are here to search the wounds of the realm and not to skin them over . . . This being granted, other Princes hereafter will look for the like; so that we shall put an ill precedent upon ourselves and to our posterity. In histories it is to be observed that of all nations the English care not to be subject, base, taxable . . .³⁰

The speech was a turning point in the battle for the three year double subsidy for he succeeded in securing a compromise: the subsidies were to be paid over four years, not three, and the grant was made expressly for the defence of the realm. This decision was confirmed by the House and later by the Lords and everyone was relieved that the play was, at last, over.

But for Bacon, it was not. To the Court party he had shown himself a traitor to his class. To Elizabeth, a woman scorned, he had been unforgivably disloyal. Through Burleigh and Puckering she forbid him her Court and let him understand that he should never again expect from her advancement or fortune. To Neale, Macaulay and Campbell this exercise in self-destruction had come about because Bacon, the solitary, cerebral man who was prone to pant through nerves when he spoke in public, yearned for cheap popularity. Nothing could be sillier. He well knew that in public life popularity is nothing unless it ripens into power. The dangers in his stand were self-evident, and though adamant in letters to Burleigh and Puckering that he had not sought disgrace, nor wished it, he remained unrepentant – still a staunch patriot, a dedicated libertarian, one whose conscience and principles he set before personal advantage. To Burleigh he wrote:

I was sorry to find . . . that my last speech in Parliament, delivered in discharge of my conscience, my duty to God, her

30. D'Ewes précisising Bacon's speech: *Spedding and Dodd* (p.202), *supra* n.1.

majesty, and my country, was offensive . . . if my heart be misjudged by implication of popularity, or opposition, I have great wrong, and the greater, because the manner of my speech did most evidently show that I spake most simply, and only to satisfy my conscience . . .³¹

To Puckering he was more blunt:

It might please her sacred majesty to think what my end should be in those speeches, if it were not duty, and duty alone. I am not so simple but I know the common beaten way to please. And whereas popularity hath been objected, I muse what care I should take to please many, that take a course of life to deal with few.³²

Nowhere is there a hint of apology for the substance or manner of his speeches. Moreover, the spirit of these letters was repeated defiantly in the House on 20 March when Bacon spoke on the second reading of a Bill for the Better Expedition of Justice in the Star Chamber. The speech begins: "Neither profit nor peril shall move me to speak against my conscience in this place." The perception that Bacon was a cold, calculating, prerogative man and an overweening self-seeker is here wholly unrecognisable. Rather the 'double-subsidy' speeches eloquently proclaim his sincerity, integrity, courage and patriotism. They also demonstrate his genuine and consistent belief that exorbitant taxation should be shunned, not only for its resulting hardship but also, given alternative means of raising revenue, because it saps the vitality of the nation. Thus, in the *Essay Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms*, not published until 1612, he declared: "neither will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial . . . no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire."³³

More importantly than these lessons, and what they reveal of his character, his achievements in this episode are critical in establishing the benchmarks of parliamentary democracy and, in particular, the

31. *Montagu* 3, p.9.

32. *Montagu, loc. cit.*, p.91.

33. *Montagu* 1, p.37.

rights of the Commons. Nothing could be farther from the truth than Gardiner's assessment that "he was never able to understand what a gulf there was between his own principles and those of the representatives of the people."³⁴ For what he had proclaimed was that the House had the right to freedom of speech without dictation from the Lords or Crown; that it was for the Commons alone to determine the quantum and duration of supplies; and that parliaments were not called solely to vote supplies but equally to frame and amend laws. It was the assertion of these very principles which exercised government under the Stuarts and the failure to accommodate them which presaged the final rift between Commons and King. Bacon had also shown that the burgesses and aldermen, the squires and country justices could organise themselves into a cohort, an effective opposition to government in the Commons.³⁵ Everyone knew of his intimate relationship with Elizabeth, one which modern Baconians argue was filial, albeit natural. Small wonder, then, that the lead he gave in this Parliament was sufficient to secure for him the lasting affection of the Commons, which had witnessed events as momentous in our constitutional history as ought since More's time; and why, without perversion or undue partiality, we may take issue with our historian, so blindly dismissive of a speech on law reform from this Philippe Égalité of British politics in 1593.

34. *History* ii, p.198.

35. The Commons 'opposition' party was soon to resurface. So in Elizabeth's last Parliament (1601), Members were increasingly vexed by the question of monopolies. One Member asked: "Is not bread among their number?" In James first Parliament (1604), the House was not inclined to grant a subsidy being agitated by excessive grievances. This apparent want of courtesy resulted in "A Form of Apology", presented to the King, which asserted unceremoniously, that the Commons' privileges *and* liberties were a "right and inheritance" which could not be withheld and that the customary request for them at the commencement of Parliament was merely "an act of manners".

THE ANCIENT MURAL AT THE WHITE HART, ST ALBANS

T.D. Bokenham

In 1985 a fine mural was discovered when the panelling in a room in this public house was removed. The discovery was reported only in the local Press and the photographs then produced showed few recognizable features which identified its subject. However, the Warburg Institute and the eminent Clive Rouse were able to inspect it and Mr. Rouse gave a glowing report stating it was a priceless discovery which can only be matched in places like Hampton Court. In 1986, the painting was again enclosed in its panelling, though not before our Francis Carr was able to make some detailed photographs. No further notice appears to have been made to this peculiar situation until the room was let by the Brewers to a bedroom shop, the proprietors of which recently decided to exhibit parts of this large painting which they have protected by glass panels.

The death of Adonis depicted in the important mural is clearly connected with the story of Venus and Adonis in which Adonis, having been killed by a boar, is restored as a flower "the colour of his blood on the ground".

In R.P. Knight's *Enquiry into Symbolic Language of Ancient Art* (1876), we are reminded that "Adonis, or Adonae, was the Oriental title of the Sun, and the boar supposed to have killed him was the emblem of Winter during which the productive powers of nature were suspended until Adonis was restored to life."

Shakespeare's Adonis was restored as a rose and the classical scholar, W.F.C. Wigston, tells us in his *Bacon, Shakespeare and the Rosicrucians* (1888) that "Adonis was the key figure or myth centre round which the society of the Rosy Cross and their emblem revolve" (p.87). That emblem is a Cross adorned with a Rose.

The allegory of Venus and Adonis is very ancient and Wigston also tells us that in the poetical tales of the ancient Scandinavians, Frey, the deity of the Sun, was fabled to have been killed by a boar. In Shakespeare's *Sonnet* 53, Adonis is identified with the Sun which brings in "The Spring and foyzon of the year".

Dame Francis Yates told us in her *Shakespeare's Last Plays* (1975)

THE ANCIENT MURAL AT THE WHITE HART

that Shakespeare's and Bacon's works, such as *The Tempest* and Bacon's *New Atlantis*, were strongly influenced by Rosicrucian doctrines. We are also told that though she was convinced that Shakespeare was the author of the plays and poems, there was probably a link between Bacon and Shakespeare. It seems clear, then, that this room at The White Hart was used at the end of the sixteenth century as a Rosicrucian Lodge.

It is suggested that the horsemen in the mural, fully armed and carrying their boar-spears, who are about to kill the boar, represent the Rosicrucian Knights who sought to change Darkness to Light, or if you like, Winter to the rebirth of nature in the Spring. It will be noticed that the nearest horse wears a rose in its bridle, and the use of boar-spears suggests a reference to Bacon's pseudonym. The painting has been dated about 1600 some seven years after the publication of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*.*

* More information about the *Venus and Adonis* mural at the former White Hart Inn may be obtained from Francis Carr, Shakespeare Authorship Information Centre, 9 Clermont Court, Clermont Road, Preston, Brighton -Ed..

REINVENTING SHAKESPEARE

By GARY TAYLOR

[The Hogarth Press, 1990. 461pp. £18.00]

This book about Shakespeare's impact contains no information about William Shakespeare, the Elizabethan or the Jacobean age. It commences its narrative in 1660, some four decades after the poet's death. At the end of his four-hundred-page opus Taylor tells us that he has "tried to encourage you not to trust me" (p.412). On the last page (p.414), in the last paragraph, he points out that 'Shakspere' seems to have been the Warwickshire man's preferred spelling of his name. Baconians in the past have been admonished as pedants when they have mentioned this discrepancy. Now it is openly admitted by the orthodox.

Taylor's main task is to cut Shakespeare down to size. Was he really the world's greatest playwright? How does he compare with Aeschylus, and the other Greek and Roman dramatists? Not very well. "What I dislike about Shakespeare's comedies and tragedies", we are told, "is their softness, their central mushiness, their inevitable 'love interest', their wholesomeness" (p.400). Taylor prefers "the hard-core exuberance of Plautus". When did you last see a Plautus play – or any production of a Greek or Roman drama? Our author is of course undeniably correct in pointing out that, compared with Sophocles and Molière, Shakespeare of Stratford was not much of an actor. All we know is that he took the role of Adam in *As You Like It* and the ghost(!) in *Hamlet*.

Where else can we find a shortcoming? Nothing, Taylor declares with surprising – and significant – candour, "in the facts of Shakespeare's life can define or support his alleged supremacy among the world's writers" (p.377). Here he has 100% support from the Baconians. On the subject of that popular dramatist, Euripides, Taylor points out that "thanks to the survival of a single manuscript containing nine plays" (p.381), we can read a quarter of Euripides'

works, all of his late tragi-comedies. This author was born in 480 B.C. and he died in 406 B.C.. Taylor does not mention that we do not possess a single line of any Shakespeare play in manuscript.

In a vain attempt to enlist support for his criticism of Shakespeare's achievement compared with that of the ancient classical authors, Taylor says that Ben Jonson "did not give Shakespeare preference over the Greek triumvirate" of Aeschylus, Euripides and Sophocles. He merely "asserted equivalence" (p.382). What Jonson actually wrote, in praise of Shakespeare in the great 1623 *First Folio*, was

*Leave thee alone for the comparison
Of all that Insolent Greece or Haughty Rome
Sent forth.*

Gary Taylor finds Shakespeare sadly lacking in care, a lack of concern, of interest in the squalor that surely surrounded him. There was William Shakespeare, a common man, befriended by the poor folk of Bankside, "but where, pray tell, are the prostitutes?" (p.389). We never see, never hear them. Not only did Shakespeare fail to write about whores sympathetically, he failed to write with adequate care about women. Most of the parts in his plays are for men. We can't have that, can we? And then again, most of these male roles are members of the upper class, when surely he should have been writing about the working class, the majority of the population. What is more, this traitorous author seeks to demonstrate that nobility is found exclusively among the nobles, the kings and queens. "Like women, the lower and middle classes are systematically under-represented by Shakespeare. They are also misrepresented. They are all, like the prostitutes, seen from above" (p.395). Comrade Taylor, like a true Republican or Communist, finds that W. Shaksper is a class enemy, and sentences him to a long period in a corrective labour camp.

That is not all. What Taylor misses most in Shakespeare is "fantasy, the exhilaration of fantasy" (p.402). But the chief complaint is that this overrated, mushy author "decided not to write about the misery around him - unemployment and economic exploitation, inflation and dislocation" (p.404). True. Shakespeare

failed lamentably to write about poverty in the Third World, our lack of trust in Muscovy's good will, and the inadequacy of his government's commitment to the concept of the Welfare State.

Francis Carr

In this book, Taylor seems to have entirely missed the point that the Shakespeare *Plays* were designed both for entertainment and for instruction. They were, in fact, largely didactic, and for ethical reasons. In the *Comedies* we are taught good manners and many of our weaknesses and foolish conceits are laughed at. In the later plays we are shown the harm produced by our uncontrolled passions, such as hatred, selfishness and intolerance, and these plays are based on the Ancient Wisdom taught by Pythagoras, Plato and others and, of course, by Jesus, the greatest of them all. It is known that Jesus was familiar with the teachings of the Essenes much of which was derived from the philosophy of Pythagoras.

As it happens, the works published under the name "Shakespeare", like those by Sidney, Spenser and others, were part of the Neo-Platonism which was sweeping the Elizabethans at the time. Queen Elizabeth herself wrote a commentary on Plato, and Sidney's *Arcadia*, to say nothing of his *Defence of Poetry*, is entirely Platonic in content. In the 1570's, England was witnessing the intolerance meted out to the Huguenots in France which culminated in the September Massacres of 1572, and the Puritans were also preaching intolerance in this country and elsewhere. Thinking men were seeking a way, without offending the established religions, of persuading men to curb their native passions while developing their more spiritual qualities which concern Brotherly love or Fraternity. They turned to the ancient wisdom which taught that good and evil were in fact, the light and dark sides of our natures, and this was one of the main purposes of the Rosicrucian Fraternity whose beliefs, according to Dame Frances Yates, were shared by both Shakespeare and Bacon.

Taylor's theories concerning the reasons why "amateurs" were attracted to the Baconian movement are naive in the extreme. We are also told that this movement emerged during the transition between aristocracy and bureaucracy when Shakespeare was institutionalised and expropriated by the new civil servants of literature. It happens

that, by the 1620s, a number of learned men were fully aware that Francis Bacon was not only the author of the Shakespeare works, but that he was a supreme poet who surpassed the greatest of the Greeks and Romans. We have evidence of this in the thirty-two Latin poems in memory of Bacon published in 1626 and now known as the *Manes Verulamiani*. Mr. Taylor has obviously not troubled to study these tell-tale and erudite poems which inform us a great deal about Bacon's secret work. Very much more about this has been found in Bacon's incredible cipher work which has been studied by Baconians for many years. But this subject is derided by those who do not understand it and by those who prefer to disparage it for professional reasons.

T.D. Bokenham

FRANCE HAS HER 'SHAKESPEARE' TOO

I thought that readers of *Baconiana* would be interested to know that there is some sort of equivalent of Francis Bacon in French literature, that is to say, a playwright who wrote under a 'mask' which has never been stripped off even though the possibility that the plays were written by the purported author simply does not exist. The French Francis Bacon is classical dramatist Pierre Corneille, and his 'Shakespeare' is the far better known writer of comedies, Moliere, born Jean-Baptiste Poquelin.

The evidence that 'Moliere' is Corneille is even clearer, if possible, than the evidence that 'Shakespeare' is Bacon; but nevertheless, extraordinarily, although questions have been raised about the authorship of Moliere's works from time to time during this century (never by establishment scholars), there has been no proper scholarship on the matter, even by non-establishment authors, until this year. Now, however, a book has been published in Brussels called *Moliere ou l'Auteur Imaginaire?*, by Hippolyte Wouters and Christine de Ville de Goyet, and a very good book it is, very well written, in nice easy French (thank goodness!), and brilliantly argued.

I shall not attempt to summarise the authors' case, though I might do so for a subsequent *Baconiana* if there is sufficient interest, but

what is perhaps worth mentioning is that there are a number of parallels between Bacon-'Shakespeare' and Corneille-'Moliere'. For instance, Moliere, like 'Shakespeare', was an actor; like 'Shakespeare' he left behind no manuscripts of the plays attributed to him; although, unlike 'Shakespeare', he may not have been completely illiterate, there is no evidence of a single letter having been written by him or to him; like 'Shakespeare', he manages to include in 'his' plays much legal terminology notwithstanding the fact that he had no legal training, whereas Corneille was a professional magistrate and an excellent legal scholar; like 'Shakespeare' he used foreign language sources which he could not possibly have had access to, whereas Corneille certainly did; as in the case of 'Shakespeare' and Bacon, he and Corneille used coined words which no other French author has used; and, again as in the case of 'Shakespeare' and Bacon, he and Corneille even made the same mistakes. And another parallel, of course, is that, like the plays of 'Shakespeare', those of 'Moliere' are today massively popular and are played in many different languages all over the world.

The book gives no indication that the reasons for Corneille using a mask were anything like as complicated and profound as Bacon's reasons for doing the same thing. Corneille needed money but not for the same reasons that Bacon needed money; his were the more humdrum ones of having to provide for a fairly large family. Also Moliere was in a privileged position of being able to get away with almost anything (relatively speaking anyhow, in that much stricter age), and Corneille could make attacks under the mask of Moliere which he could never have made in his own name without suffering ruin. But I suppose the possibility that Corneille had deeper motives cannot be ruled out, because the book does not address itself to that question. And certainly 'Moliere's' plays contain much that is anti-what was then considered to be the established order of things.

Incidentally the authors of *Moliere ou l'Auteur Imaginaire?* think that Corneille wrote under other masks too, for instance Quinault and Chapell; but they do not take upon themselves the task of giving any proofs of that in this book, simply mentioning that there are great similarities of style. In due course there is going to be published a massive work on the subject of Corneille and 'Moliere' by a literary scholar called Francois Vergnaud, some of whose evidence is

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summarised in an appendix by him included at the end of *Moliere ou l'Auteur Imaginaire?* In the meantime, for those who are interested, the publishers of *Moliere ou l'Auteur Imaginaire?* are:

Editions Complexe, 1990,
S.A. Diffusion Promotion Information,
24, rue de Bosnie,
1060 Brussels,
Belgium.

Whether it is available in France, I do not know; but I imagine that it can be obtained in any reasonably sized bookshop in Belgium or, by special order, from any helpful bookshop in England.

N.M. Gwynne

FOUCAULT'S PENDULUM

By UMBERTO ECO
(Trans. W. Weaver)

[Secker & Warburg, 1989. 641 pp. £14.95]

We are told in the wrapper of this fascinating book that it is "a breathtaking journey through the world of ideas and aberrations, the treasures and traps of knowledge, which will delight, tease, provoke and stimulate", and this is a fair description of these 641 pages.

This entertaining profusion of satirical fun, sprinkled with some more serious observations, is directed against some of the extravagant theories expressed by romantic speculators and genuine historians regarding the aims and beliefs of the countless sects, fraternities, religious movements and secret mystery schools which have puzzled scholars for many generations. Included in this list are the Templars, the Alchemists, the Jesuits, the Rosicrucians, the Masons, the Baconians, the Theosophists and a host of other societies which probably never really existed.

Most of these semi-secret fraternities appear to have been accused, at one time or other, of aiming at world domination by means of their magic powers, though not necessarily the black magic supposed to have been exercised by men like Aleister Crowley.

Much of Professor Eco's humour concerns the popular concepts surrounding the Templars and the Rosicrucians who, at times, are made to appear as some sort of joint stock enterprise, sharing the same beliefs. Also coming under his relentless gaze is the famous eighteenth century mystic known as the Comte de Saint Germain, who appears to have discovered the secret of longevity and who, according to some, hoped to become the ruler of the Universe through his occult knowledge and wisdom. In the end, however, he and the other searchers for the mythical Templar "plan", were all finally "put out of their humours" as Ben Jonson put it. It must be said, however, that Aglie, the St. Germain of this novel, is shown to have a fund of knowledge and common sense somewhat in advance of the other researchers, though he did not confirm or deny the statement voiced by the character, named Casaubon, that Francis Bacon was the author of Shakespeare plays. It will be remembered that learned Isaac Casaubon was listed as one of the *Assessours* under "The Lord Verulam, Chancellor of Parnassus" in *The Great Assises Holden in Parnassus* (printed by Richard Cotes and published anonymously) of 1645. Maybe this omission was because Aglie wished to avoid any suggestion that he was a later incarnation of that profound poet – philosopher as some people believe.

It seems then that, like so many satires, the purpose of this book is to weed out some of the follies of the ignorant so as to clear the soil for the seeds of truth to achieve fruition in due course. In Chapter 71, the crazy investigators looking for the Templar "plan" discussed the English Templars and their leader John Dee who died in 1608. One of them states: "Dee is succeeded by Francis Bacon, grand master of the English Templar group, and since he is clearly the author of the plays of Shakespeare, we should also re-read the complete works of the Bard, which certainly talk about nothing else but the Plan" (p.398). Another character adds: "St. John's Eve, a midsummer nights dream." He is answered: "June 23 is not midsummer." In other words, this book is an amusing mixture of nonsense and suggestive truths. One is never quite sure who is joking and who serious.

In Chapter 74 Professor Eco makes one of his characters state:

“The idea that Bacon was the author of the Rosicrucian manuscripts he had come upon somewhere or other. But one thing in particular which struck me was that Bacon was Viscount Saint Albans. When in 1164 Saint Bernard launched the idea of a council at Troyes to legitimize the Templars, among those charged to organise everything was the prior of Saint Albans. Saint Alban was the first English martyr who evangelized the British Isles. He lived in *Verulamium* which became Bacon’s property. He was a Celt and unquestionably a Druid initiate, like Saint Bernard.

This prior of St. Albans was abbot of Saint Martin-des-Champs, the abbey where the *Conservatoire des Arts et Metiers* was later installed (in Paris). The *Conservatoire* was conceived as a homage to Bacon. On 25 *Brumaire* of the year 111 the Convention authorised its *Comite d’Instruction Publique* to have the complete works of Bacon printed. And on 8 *Vendemaire* (1794) of the same year Convention had passed a law providing for the construction of a house of arts and trades that would reproduce the House of Solomon as described by Bacon in his *New Atlantis*, a place where all the inventions of mankind are collected.

“The Pendulum is in the *Conservatoire*”, said Belbo. “The Pendulum was invented and installed only in the last century.” “Haven’t you ever seen the ‘Monad Hieroglyph’ of John Dee, the talisman that is supposed to concentrate all the wisdom of the universe? Doesn’t it look like a pendulum?”

The prior of Saint Albans is the abbot of Saint Martin-des-Champs, which therefore becomes a Templar center. Bacon through his property establishes a contact with the Druid followers of St Alban” (p.417).

In Chapter 76 Aglie states:

“The fact that the Templars were connected with the early lodges of the master masons established during the construction of Solomon’s Temple is certain. And it is equally certain that

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those associates, on occasion, recalled the murder of the Temple's architect, Hiram, a sacrificial victim. The masons vowed to avenge him. After their persecution then, many knights of the Temple must have joined those artisan confraternities, fusing the myth of avenging Hiram with the determination to avenge Jacques de Molay" (p.427).

T.D. Bokenham

CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor,
Baconiana.

1st May, 1990

Dear Sir,

The *Sunday Times* of the 22nd April, 1990 last contained an article by Joan Bakewell on William Shakespeare which was topical in view of his birthday on the 23rd and, if I may say so, typical of most utterances on that celebrated man. This article included the probable subjects taught at the little school at Stratford which he is said to have attended, though no record has been found that he was sent there or to any other school in the neighbourhood. We are told that the author, whoever he was, certainly made some mistakes and that geography was not his strong point, mentioning, of course, the sea coast of Bohemia and the link by water of two Italian cities, both having been proved to have been in existence in times past. Miss Bakewell was amazed at the achievements of her hero who, as we were told by Halliwell Philips many years ago, arrived in London almost destitute of any learning. She is content, however, to accept the evidence of the monument at Stratford which refers to Shakespeare as a writer "who bears comparison with Virgil and Socrates".

This monument has on it the well-known epitaph which appears to have been inscribed a few years after the actor's death in 1616:

*Iudicio Pylium, genio Socratem, arte Maronem
Terra tegit, populus maeret, Olympus habet.*

*Stay Passenger, why goest thou by so fast
Read if thou canst whom envious Death hath plast
Within this monument Shakspeare with whom
Quick nature dide whose name doth deck; tombe
Far more then cost sith all he hath writt
Leaves living art but page to serve his witt.*

The Latin words which head this epitaph have been translated as:

The Latin words which head this epitaph have been translated as:

*A Nestor in his judgement, a Socrates in his genius,
A Maro by his art, here covered by earth,
The people bewail him, he resides in Olympus.*

Nestor, King of Pylus, was a judge who was known for his wisdom and eloquence. Socrates was a great philosopher and Maro, or Virgil, was a great poet.

It is quite extraordinary that the contributors to the thirty-two Latin tributes to Francis Bacon published after his departure in 1626, and now known as the *Manes Verulamiani*, seem to have consulted the Shakespeare monument at Stratford and its curious epitaph. *Manes* No. 7 states: "Your fame adheres not to sculptured columns nor is read on the tomb . . . Stay traveller your steps". *Manes* No. 8 contains the lines: "The nerve of genius, the marrow of persuasion, the golden stream of eloquence, the precious gem of concealed literature".

Manes No. 16 gives: "Give place O Greeks, give place Maro, first in Latin story". *Manes* No. 23 has: "The Verulam star glitters in ruddy Olympus". *Manes* No. 32 gives: "He taught the Pegasean arts to grow as grew the spear of Quirinus swiftly into a laurel tree". The name Quirinus was derived from the Sabine word Quiris, a spear. *Manes* No. 4 contains the lines: "As Euridice, wandering through the shades of Dis, longed to caress Orpheus so did Philosophy, entangled in the subtleties of the schoolmen, seek Bacon as a deliverer with such winged hand as Orpheus lightly touched the lyre's strings, with like hand stroked Philosophy, raised her crest. Nor did he with workmanship of fussy meddlers patch, but he renovated her walking lowly in the shoes of Comedy. After that more elaborately rises on the loftier tragic buskin, and the Stagirite, like Virbius, comes to life again in *Novum Organum*." The "Stagirite" was, of course, Aristotle.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Bokenham

PUBLICATIONS

PUBLICATIONS

All the following publications are available from the Francis Bacon Society. Enquiries should be made to the Chairman, T.D. Bokenham, at 56 Westbury Road, New Malden, Surrey KT3 5AX, from whom an up-to-date price list may be obtained.

Baker, H. Kendra

The Persecution of Francis Bacon

A story of great wrong. This important book presents lucidly the events and intrigue leading up to the impeachment of Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor. (Paperback – 1978).

Barker, Richard

How to Crack the Secret of Westminster Abbey

A step by step guide to one of the key ciphers concealed in the Shakespeare Monument, and a signpost to what it implies.

Bokenham, T.D.

A Brief History of the Bacon-Shakespeare Controversy

A concise and clear summary, concluding with some new cipher evidence. Illustrated. (Paperback – 1982).

Dawkins, A.P.

Faithful Sayings and Ancient Wisdom

A personal selection of Francis Bacon's *Essays* and *Fables* from the Wisdom of the Ancients, chosen for the teachings that Bacon gives in these concerning the fundamental laws of Creation and Redemption. Illustrated. (Paperback – 1982).

Journal 3: Dedication to the Light

The Bardic Mysteries. The secret marriage of Elizabeth I and Leicester: the birth, adoption and upbringing of Francis Bacon in Bardic and Platonic fashion. (Bacon's life: 1561–2).

Journal 5: Arcadia

The Egyptian Mysteries and Hemiticism. The mystery of Arcadia. The secret Arcadian Academy of English alchemical poets & beginnings of modern Freemasonry. (Bacon's life: 1579–85).

Francis Bacon – Herald of the New Age

An introductory essay to the genius and hidden nature of Sir Francis Bacon, and to the nature of his vast philanthropic work for mankind. *Bacon, Shakespeare & Fra. Christian Rose Cross*

Three essays: Francis Bacon, Father of the Rosicrucians / Celestial Timing – The Virgin Queen and the Rose Cross Knight / Shakespeare: The Sons of the Virgin.

Dodd, Alfred

Francis Bacon's Personal Life-Story

A revealing account of Bacon's secret as well as public life, revealing his genius and role as poet, author, playwright and director of the English Renaissance, as 'Shakespeare', as 'Solomon' of English Freemasonry, and as Francis Tudor, son of Queen Elizabeth I. (Hardback – 1986).

Gundry, W.G.C.

Francis Bacon – a Guide to his Homes and Haunts

This little book includes some interesting information and many illustrations. (Hardback – 1946).

Manes Verulamiani

A facsimile of the 1626 edition of the elegiac tributes to Francis Bacon by the scholars and poets of his day, showing Francis Bacon to have been considered a scholar and a poet of the very highest calibre although 'concealed'. With translations and commentary, this is a most valuable book. (Hardback – 1950).

Johnson, Edward D.

Francis Bacon's Maze

The Biliteral Cipher of Francis Bacon

Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin

Bacon is Shakespeare

With Bacon's *Promus*.

Macduff, Ewen

The Sixty-Seventh Inquisition

The Dancing Horse Will Tell You

These two books demonstrate by means of diagrams and photofacsimiles that a cipher, brilliantly conceived, but simple in execution, exists in the 1623 Shakespeare *Folio*. The messages revealed, and the method of finding them, form a fascinating study and an unanswerable challenge to disbelievers. The books are the result of many years' careful research. (Hardbacks – 1972 & 1973).

PUBLICATIONS

Melsome, W.S.

Bacon-Shakespeare Anatomy

Dr. Melsome anatomises the 'mind' of Shakespeare, showing its exact counterpart in the mind of Francis Bacon. (Hardback – 1945).

Pares, Martin

Mortuary Marbles

A collection of six essays in which the author pays tribute to the greatness of Francis Bacon. (Paperback).

A Pioneer

A tribute to Delia Bacon. (Hardback – 1958).

Knights of the Helmet

Useful notes on the Baconian background. (Paperback – 1964).

Sennett, Mabel

His Erring Pilgrimage

An interpretation of *As You Like It*. (Paperback – 1949).

Theobald, B.G.

Exit Shakespeare

A concise and carefully reasoned presentation of the case against the Stratford man, Shakespeare, as an author of the Shakespeare works. (Card cover – 1931).

Enter Francis Bacon

A sequel to *Exit Shakespeare*, condensing the main facts and arguments for Francis Bacon as a supreme poet and author of the Shakespeare Plays. (Hardback – 1932).

Trevelyan, Sir George

The Winters Tale – An Interpretation

An esoteric interpretation in the Light of the Spiritual World View showing that the play is in essence a Mystery Play based upon the Greek Mysteries.

The Merchant of Venice – An Interpretation

An esoteric interpretation in the Light of the Spiritual World View showing that the play is a story of soul initiation based upon the Ancient Wisdom teachings.

Woodward, Frank

Francis Bacon's Cipher Signatures

A well presented commentary on many of the 'Baconian' cipher signatures in text and emblem, with a large number of photofacsimiles. (Hardback – 1923).

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The Society owns a unique collection of some 2000 works relating to Bacon's life and times, some of which are very rare. Details about the books and where they may be studied are available from the Chairman.