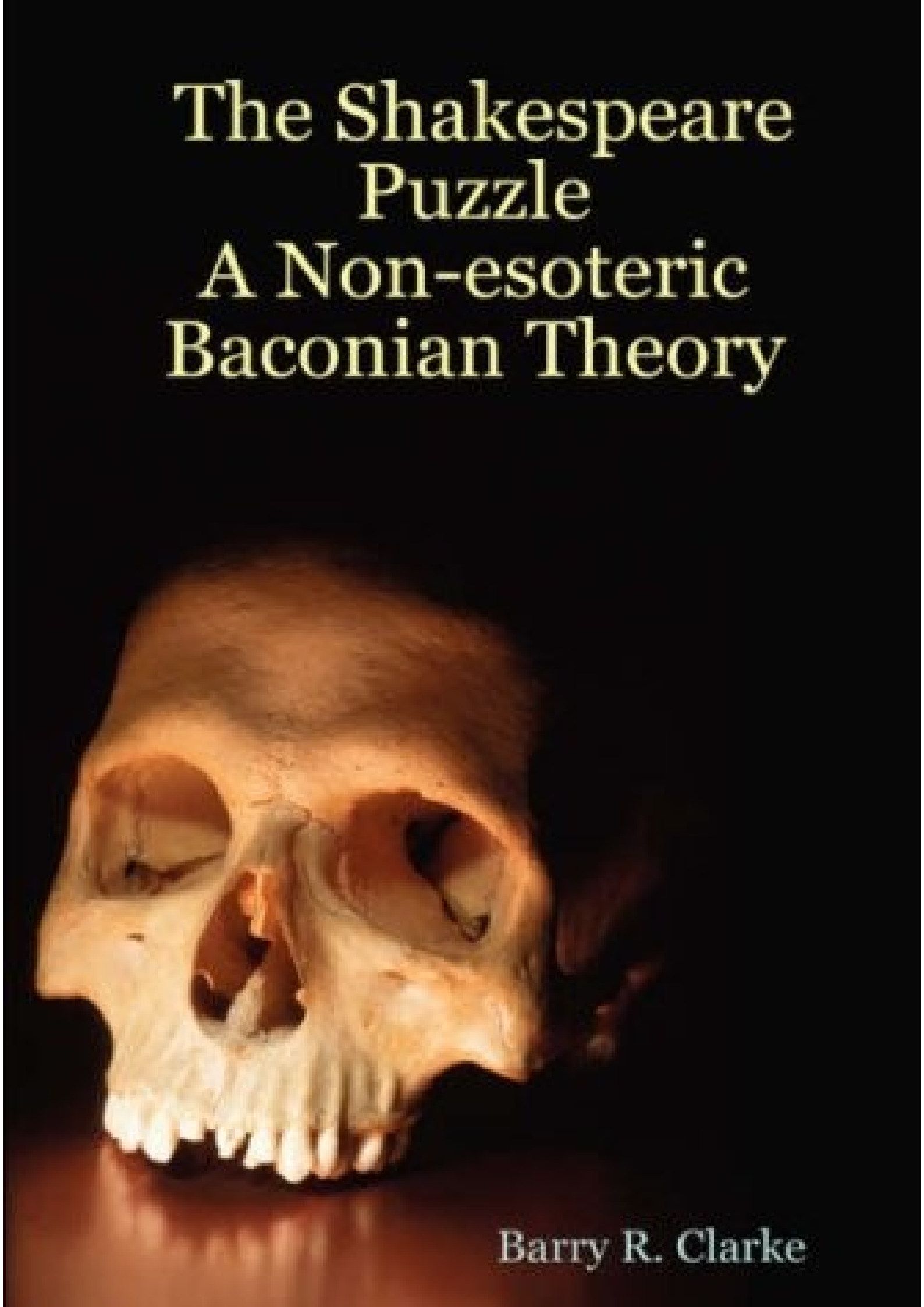
The Shakespeare Puzzle
A Non-esoteric Baconian Theory



Barry R. Clarke

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Acknowledgments

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Did he, or didn't he? That is the question,
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to prefer
The ceaseless shower of outrageous falsehood,
Or to take arms against a sea of propaganda,
And by opposing end it.

"a book capable of fostering new research"
KASPER HEWS

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Barry R. Clarke has written a regular puzzle column for *The Daily Telegraph* (UK) as well as contributing enigmas to *The Sunday Telegraph*, *The Sunday Times*, and *New Scientist*. His books of original brain teasers include *Brain Busters* (Dover: 2003), *Challenging Logic Puzzles — Mensa* (Sterling: 2003), and *Puzzles 4 Pleasure* (Cambridge University Press: 1994). As well as his work being featured on BBC TV's *Mindgames,* Barry holds a Master of Science degree in quantum mechanics and has published work in the *Journal of Physics A*.

Back cover photograph by Graham Wiltshire

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Preliminary Notes

A distinction shall be drawn by name between three characters: Shakspere of Stratford, Shakespeare the actor, and Shake-speare the author, one of our tasks being to examine the grounds for their shared identity (see Chapter 2).

The dates given for the plays are those estimated by scholars of the Shake-speare work and are taken from *The Complete Oxford Shakespeare* by Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor.

The main resource for Sir Francis Bacon has been the 14 volumes of his works and letters edited by James Spedding. The *Works* (1857-59) of Bacon are Vols 1-7 (Vol. 6 is in two parts) and the *Life and Letters* (1861-74) are Vols 8-14. So, for example, we adopt Cockburn's notation 'Spedding 11.143' to denote Vol. 4 of the *Life and Letters*, page 143.

For details on the life of William Shakspere of Stratford, I am indebted to Schoenbaum, S., *William Shakespeare* (Oxford University Press: 1987). Hereafter, this work will be referred to as 'S.S.'.

The Elizabethan New Year began on the 25 March and so, for example, in original documents 20 March 1596 actually means 1597. The old calendar has been modified to our modern year throughout the text.

Unless otherwise stated, passages from Shake-speare largely follow *Shakes-speare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (1623) hereafter known as the First Folio, with slight modifications to spelling when clarification is required. Generally, notes intended to clarify passages are flagged by superscripted letters and given in a Key on the same page. The main source for these is Crystal, David, and Crystal, Ben, *Shakespeare's Words* (Penguin: 2002).

References and notes supplementary to the text are flagged by superscripted numbers and are given in References and Notes at the end of the book. These often indicate further lines of research.

Prologue

William Shakspere of Stratford (1564–1616) had his name, or at least a similar one, on all the relevant literature: *Venus and Adonis* (1593), *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594), *Shake-speare's Sonnets* (1609), and the *First Folio* (1623). There are also records that verify he was an actor with the Lord Chamberlaine's Men — later the King's Men — a company that enacted some of the plays, and court documents that record his name as author of plays performed at Whitehall before the Queen. On this basis most people accept that he wrote them and this is the popular view today.

Why doubt Shakspere's authorship?

If this were the complete picture there would be little else to say — but there is much more. If we return to the Renaissance and examine the testimony of some of Shakspere's contemporaries, we discover that their view of him was different to ours. Several people who knew him raised objections about his competence for authorship. The fact is, there were much better candidates than Shakspere, much-travelled Elizabethan courtiers trained in law and the classics who realised that their credibility for high office might be jeopardised by being exposed as a dramatist, a lower-class profession in Tudor times. As George Puttenham revealed in *Art of English Poesie* (1589):

> So as I know very many notable gentlemen in the Court that have written commendably and suppressed it again, or else suffered it to be published without their own names to it, as if it were a discredit for a gentleman to seem learned and to show himself amorous of any good art.[1]

Presumably, they contributed some of the 88 known plays that Chambers[2] informs us appeared anonymously from the Elizabethan era. In *Farewell to Folly* (1591), the dramatist Robert Greene went further. Not only were ambitious gentleman unwilling to place their name on their work but they also sometimes covered their tracks with the assistance of an accomplice:

> Others … which for their calling and gravity being loth to have any profane pamphlets pass under their hands, get some other Batillus[a] to set his name to their verses. Thus is the ass made proud by this underhand brokery. *Key : (a) minor poet in the reign of Augustus Caesar*

It is inconceivable in our own age that anyone writing to Shake-speare's standard would willingly forgo the credit and financial reward. However, in Elizabethan times the dramatist's remuneration for a play

was small and, for an ambitious gentleman, artistic approbation was less important than gaining the favour of an influential courtier who could open up a position in government and an attractive pension to go with it. So, how can we be sure that William Shakspere was not simply acting as a mask for one of these gentlemen of court?

Those who defend William Shakspere's claim to authorship usually proceed from the premise that since his name is on the work, any further evidence is superfluous. If he did not write it, then (they maintain) the onus is on others to prove it. However, the point is not whether or not sufficient evidence exists to refute his claim, but whether sufficient doubt can be raised to justify considering an alternative candidate. After all, there is no information about his schooling, no record of what he read afterwards, and no extant letters of his against which stylistic comparisons might be made with the published work. More discomforting, there are expositions of a variety of political systems in the Shake-speare work that one should not expect from a man who had no career in politics. Those who rise to the challenge of discrediting Shakspere usually fall into error. How, they ask, could Shakspere, the butcher's apprentice, with no record of a university education have attained such high learning? The answer is, the same way that Ben Jonson did. Jonson, who had similar humble origins, began as an apprentice bricklayer, but nevertheless found his way to become court poet. Much attention has also been paid to the quality of the legal terms in Shake-speare's work for there is no record of Shakspere enrolling at any of the four Inns of Court law schools. How then, they ask, could he have acquired this knowledge without the training of a lawyer? The answer is, the same way that George Peele and Ben Jonson did for neither had any formal training yet legal terms permeate their work. For example, Peele presents three kinds of writ in *Edward I*:

> Return your Habeas Corpus. Here's a Certiorari for your Procendendo.

and Jonson's Picklock has little inhibition reciting his legal vocabulary in *Staple of News*:

> Pleas, Bench and Chancery, Fee Farm, Fee Tail, Tenant in Dower, at Will, for Term of Life, by copy of Court-Roll, Knight service, Homage, Fealty, Escuage, Soccage or Frankalmoyne, Great Sergeanty or Burgage.[3]

However, the notion that Shakspere had access to a large number of scholarly books and also the time to read them from the start of his writing career seems to be incongruous with the profile of a busy low-class London actor engaged in repertory theatre. Perhaps like Ben Jonson, William Shakspere was fortunate enough to gain the favour of a

member of the nobility who from the start of his writing career granted him entry to a substantial library. The trouble is, no one knows. However, the crux of the matter is this, Shakspere's claim suddenly runs into difficulty if one rejects the assertion that Shakspere's name on the title page necessarily implies his authorship. For then Shakspere must relinquish the higher ground and place himself alongside rival claimants where he can stand in fair comparison.

History of Baconian Theory

The earliest explicit suggestion that Sir Francis Bacon authored the Shake-speare work appears to have been advanced by James Wilmot (1726-1808) in 1781. A Warwickshire clergyman and Oxford graduate, Wilmot visited the libraries of country houses within a 50-mile radius of Stratford searching for any books and letters owned by Shakspere that might support his claim to have authored the Shake-speare work. Wilmot's failure to discover any significant evidence led him both to the suspicion that Shakspere was not the true author and to the conclusion that it was the former Lord Chancellor Sir Francis Bacon who deserved the credit. Wilmot's unpublished research was communicated to the Ipswich Philosophical Society by James Corton Cowell in 1806 and was later deposited with the University of London library where it was discovered in 1932 by Professor Allardyce Nicholl.

In 1857, Delia Salter Bacon and William Henry Smith both published books expounding the Baconian Theory, which unfortunately led to their dispute about priority. Delia Bacon (1811-1859) was an American school teacher and historian who published the results of her meditations in *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded*, a book of almost 700 pages. Her thesis was that a group of authors including Sir Francis Bacon, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Edmund Spenser were jointly responsible for the plays which she claimed conveyed the merits of a republican political system — in opposition to the monarchial despotism practiced by Queen Elizabeth — an exposition for which the group was in fear of assuming responsibility. Independently of Delia Bacon, William Henry Smith of Brompton, England published *Bacon and Shakespeare: an inquiry touching players, playhouses, and play-writers in the days of Elizabeth* asserting that Sir Francis Bacon was the sole author of the Shake-speare work. This followed a letter dated September 1856 which was published in pamphlet form and was addressed to Lord Ellesmere, who by then was a former President of the Shakespeare Society. Smith's 16-page pamphlet was entitled *Was Lord*

Bacon the author of Shakespeare's plays? and expressed his doubts about Shakspere, mentioning several letters to and from Francis Bacon that he thought hinted at Bacon's authorship.

The next step was taken by Constance Mary Pott (1833-1915) in 1883 who, after a diligent deciphering of the Elizabethan handwriting, published *The Promus of Formularies and Elegancies of Francis Bacon* in 1883, a list of proverbs that Bacon had gathered together in his private wastebook from the early 1590s (see §8.1). Mrs Pott noted that several ideas and figures of speech from the *Promus* could also be found in the Shake-speare plays and concluded that Sir Francis Bacon was their secret author. She was so inspired by her findings that in December 1885 she organised the first meeting of the Francis Bacon Society.

At this point the Baconian Theory took an esoteric turn. Ignatius Loyola Donnelly (1831-1901) was a lawyer, Congressman, spiritualist, and Atlantis theorist who turned his mind to the discovery of hidden codes in the Shake-speare work which he claimed pointed unequivocally to Francis Bacon's authorship. In 1888, he published his 'discoveries' in *The Great Cryptogram: Francis Bacon's Cipher in Shake-speare's Plays*, a two-volume work of nearly a thousand pages. His method relied on noting the page number, line number and position on the page of certain key words in the First Folio, such as 'Francis' and 'William', which he claimed had been placed in the Shake-speare work according to a definite arithmetic rule. Unfortunately, it had not occurred to Donnelly that the time and cost involved in typesetting the First Folio to the accuracy his method demanded would have jeopardised its very production.

Donnelly was followed by the American physician Dr Orville Owen who, after eight years of preparatory thought, finally decided to paste together the works of Bacon, Shake-speare, Marlowe, Greene and sundry others (who he thought were all Bacon) into a gigantic scroll. This he wound onto two large spools to facilitate the marking out of certain words that he felt were key such as 'Fortune' and 'Honour' which were then interpreted as pointing to other groups of words. Over two years starting in 1893, Dr Owen published the five volumes of *Francis Bacon's Cipher Story*, revealing the result of his deciphering. He concluded that Francis Bacon was the secret son of Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Leicester, but more significantly that Bacon's original Shake-speare manuscripts were buried beneath the River Wye near Chepstow Castle. So in 1909, he headed for England, hired boatmen and labourers, and proceeded to excavate the Wye river bed. Of course, nothing was

found but such was his conviction that only his death in 1924 arrested his persistence.

Inspired by Dr Owen's work, the American astrologer and high school principal Elizabeth Wells Gallup (1848-1934) took up the cipher challenge. By using Bacon's own bi-lateral cipher, a method using two distinct fonts in a piece of text, she reached the same conclusions as her mentor. Bacon's cipher operates by partitioning a given text into consecutive strings of five letters so that the permutation of the two fonts amongst the five positions in a string can be translated into a letter of the alphabet. For example, if the text is constructed from two different fonts A and B (perhaps one Roman and one Italic) and they appear in the five-letter string in the order ABBAA then this gives the letter N. However, Gallup went further than Dr Owen. Not only was Francis Bacon the secret son of Queen Elizabeth and Leicester but so was the Earl of Essex, 'facts' which she revealed in *Francis Bacon's the Bi-lateral Cipher* published in 1899. Unfortunately, like Donnelly before her, she overlooked the effort and cost required to typeset messages in the First Folio using two different fonts.

Meanwhile, in 1890, W.F.C. Wigston had apparently shown in *Bacon, Shakespeare and the Rosicrucians* that Sir Francis was the founding member of the Rosicrucians, a secret society of occult philosophers. A year later, having read Wigston's work, Constance Pott published *Francis Bacon and his Secret Society* and declared that Bacon had communicated 'important physical secrets' in his work to other members of the Rosicrucians using codes and ciphers. However, Pott did not stop there. Bacon did not die in 1626 as everyone supposed but lived on to write other great works of the Rennaisance under various pseudonyms.

William and Elizabeth Friedman, two professional cryptologists — William headed the US army's cryptoanalytic bureau during the Second World War — concluded in *The Shakespeare Ciphers Examined* (1957) that Mrs Gallup's method of detecting messages in the First Folio could not be reproduced and was therefore unscientific, and that Donnelly's rules for discerning key words were too flexible to admit a unique deciphering.

Sanity was restored to the Baconian Theory with the work of the English barrister Nigel Cockburn who in 1998 self-published *The Bacon-Shakespeare Question*, a carefully researched, closely argued and fully referenced work of over 700 pages. The present work owes a debt to Cockburn, however, it also presents many new arguments and lines of

approach in assembling a case for Bacon, particularly in relating his need for concealment to his Great Instauration project and by a detailed exploration of the circumstances in which the Inns of Court first presented certain plays.

Nature of our proof

Our assimilation of the evidence can only result in a probability estimate. In fact, this is precisely how a court case proceeds, for the weighing of a man's guilt usually depends on an estimate of the probability, based on precedents, that a particular set of irregular circumstances connected with the defendant should coincide with the crime in view. For example, if a victim is shot in his house, and immediately afterwards, a man is found in the vicinity with a gun secreted about him, we must estimate from recollection the proportion of similar occasions where the suspect also turned out to be the murderer. We should expect that the greater prevalence of firearms in the US would result in a smaller probability than, say, in France since for the former there might be several people in the vicinity who routinely carry a firearm. If a further irregular circumstance occurs, for example, the defendant was found running away from the scene, then again one needs to examine precedent to estimate the chance that his flight was criminally motivated. The probability, that one should expect *none* of these unusual circumstances to coincide with the crime (probability of innocence), decreases as their number increases, in other words, the weight of proof grows with the number of relevant facts. In order to carry out a judgment, there must be a critical value for the probability of guilt above which one asserts that the offence is proved 'beyond all reasonable doubt' and the recognition that this value has been attained is by no means independent of the jury selection.

Of course, the Shake-speare authorship question exhibits several differences to a court case. In the former, witness testimonies are entirely documented and one must be clear that there has been sufficient access to their history to exclude the clever forgery. Also, a document defies cross-examination, so the possible interpretations of a testimony can only be judged by collation with those from other documents. Nevertheless, as in court, witness reliability stands in need of assessment as to the extent of bias towards truth or falsehood.

Unfortunately, the Shakespeare authorship debate often takes the following sterile form. Mr X publishes a piece of evidence and presents a particular interpretation of it that is favourable to his authorship

candidate. Mr Y publishes an alternative interpretation that has equal credibility for his own different candidate. Since there is nothing to assist in deciding between these possibilities then no progress is made. The way out of this, and the way to convince an impartial jury, is to assemble several pieces of evidence that reinforce a particular interpretation, that is, the evidence needs to be presented in clusters around a given conclusion.

It is also a common mistake in thinking that weight is added to an argument by suggesting a superior wisdom, for example, by maintaining that Lord This or Professor That subscribes to it, or by using the phrase 'most scholars agree'. These facts add nothing of substance. Everyone is capable of error, many people are capable of the same error, and an argument should be judged entirely on its own merits.

So, in our investigation into the authorship question, while there can be no certainty, I believe that it is possible to persuade the jury of readers that the higher probability lies with the thesis that *Francis Bacon provides more evidence than William Shakspere*.

Need for research

Any work questioning the authorship of the Shake-speare plays is destined to invoke misgivings, after all, the priority given to William Shakspere of Stratford has already survived 400 years of literary scholarship — or so one might expect. In fact, it turns out that many scholars, faced with a rival claimant, uncharacteristically desert their investigative principles and are cynically dismissive without any serious attempt to examine the evidence. There is a good example of this. In 2005, I attended a lecture in Oxford by one of the University Press's well-schooled Shakespeare authors who, after skilfully deflecting questions from the audience concerning the Stratford man's authorship, brought all discussion of the matter to a close with the confident declaration:

> I am immovable in my view that Shakspere [of Stratford] wrote the work.

Perhaps it is the obsession with the details of the Stratford man's claim that has prevented academics from exploring more widely. It is also rather incongruous for anyone claiming an academic reputation to dismiss all discussion of Shakspere's authorship until one has carefully assimilated the evidence for all the alternative candidates. However, I share the view of Professor William Rubinstein, that the main difficulty lies in the circumstance that academics of literature are not historians

and that the Shake-speare authorship controversy properly belongs to the province of historical investigation.

Nevertheless, the skepticism exhibited by academics is partly justified. For example, any work arguing the case for the Earl of Oxford has great difficulty relating his early death in 1604 with several Shake-speare plays. Oxfordians are committed to challenging any scholarly research that places the date of a play after 1604. There are at least 10 of them including *The Tempest* and *Coriolanus* which contain topical allusions or sources that suggest a later date of conception. One cannot escape this dilemma by assigning the topical lines in these plays to the hands of actors for then the probability that their position is true disintegrates under the weight of additional unsubstantiated hypotheses. As for the Baconian Theory, its nineteenth century obsession with ciphers and cabbalistic practices has raised deep suspicion. This is unfortunate because as I believe that the case for Bacon when adequately presented carries greater depth than that for the Earl of Oxford.

Overview

The book is organized into three parts: doubts against Shakspere of Stratford's authorship, the case for Sir Francis Bacon, and possible allusions to Bacon. In the religious tension of Tudor England (Chapter 1) we distinguish between three men: Shakspere of Stratford, Shakespeare the London actor, and Shake-speare the author. The aim in consistently using these spelling variants is to avoid the assumption that the Stratford man wrote the work and to assist in clarifying our examination of the evidence for connections between them. One new argument compares the time taken for Jonson and Shakspere to first obtain noble patronage for their work (Chapter 2). In Chapter 3, new evidence is examined in the form of a Virginia Company document that suggests that Shakspere would have had great difficulty accessing the Strachey letter, a source upon which *The Tempest* is thought to have been based. We also give a new topical allusion that suggests that *The Tempest* was originated after 1609. Chapter 4 presents a brief biography of Francis Bacon followed by an assessment of his life's work, his Great Instauration project, in relation to the Shake-speare canon (Chapter 5). The Inns of Court law schools are investigated by a detailed examination of the *Gesta Grayorum* (Chapter 6), a document that describes the Gray's Inn revels of 1594-5 which Bacon appears to have organized. Here the first known performance of the *Comedy of Errors* occurred and

there are many references to *Love's Labour's Lost* which seems to have been intended for performance but cancelled. New evidence is presented by referring to the Pension Book of Gray's Inn which suggests that the Lord Chamberlain's Men were not the only company of players acting Shake-speare plays. The Inns of Court law schools also had a company that performed them and it was Francis Bacon who had control over them. We also survey new evidence that Francis Bacon wrote the *Gesta Grayorum* (§6.11) which contains many parallels to the Shake-speare work.

The remaining chapters present intriguing examples of apparent allusions to Bacon in connection with the Shake-speare authorship question. It is often thought that none of Francis Bacon's contemporaries ever suggested his connection to a Shake-speare work but the Hall–Marston satires from 1597-8 appear to hint at his production of *Venus and Adonis* (Chapter 7). The many verbal parallels between the Shake-speare work and both Bacon's published work and his private wastebook (the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies*) are given in Chapter 8 with further parallels in Appendix B concluding with examples of his published verse in Appendix D. The reader might be intrigued by Chapter 9 which includes a new study detailing several apparent appearances of Bacon's name in the dedications that preface the Shake-speare collections. However, there is no claim to esoteric practices in this and if their appearance was intentional then they are assumed to occur as a product of Bacon's unconventional imagination.

When we examine the facts closely and analyse whether the documents refer to the Stratford man or the author, we find that apart from Shakspere's name on the work, there is little else to connect him with it. There are the First Folio tributes but we shall see why Ben Jonson's "sweet swan of Avon" must be treated with caution (§2.4). In contrast, we find numerous points of connection between the Shake-speare work and Bacon's writings and circumstances, and if the work had been published anonymously then Sir Francis Bacon would have been the first to arouse suspicion. If Bacon had been the author then several people must have suspected him but could such a conspiracy theory have been maintained in his time? Given the known practice of secret authorship amongst the aristocracy (as mentioned by Puttenham and Greene), the relatively low importance of the Shake-speare work in that era (Marlowe and Jonson were the leading dramatists of the day), and the fact that Bacon only achieved celebrity status during the latter part of Shake-speare's output (when he was appointed Solicitor-General

in 1607), it is unlikely that Bacon's concealment would have seemed sensational.

The weight of the argument presented here in favour of Bacon's authorship will depend on how well the numerous connections between Bacon and the Shake-speare work reinforce each other and while a structure's components can sometimes fall apart by accident we must remind ourselves that they can only fall together by design. My greatest hope is that this work will stimulate further research because the ground for development is certainly fertile. Any researcher with a detailed knowledge of the Shake-speare work is urged to examine the 14 volumes of the *Works* (7 Vols) and the *Life and Letters* (7 Vols) of Lord Bacon edited by James Spedding (1808-81) because the evidence suggests that striking similarities of thought, attitude, and expression are still waiting to be found. As Bacon once said:

> I have only taken upon me to ring a bell to call other wits together[4]

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 *Preliminary*

Following Henry VIII's break with the Catholic church, the England that William Shakspere was born into on 26 April 1564 was racked by religious tension. In 1559, The Act of Supremacy declared Queen Elizabeth to be Supreme Head of the Anglican Church[1] and any clergy refusing the oath of loyalty to the crown lost their position. Ordinary Catholics did not escape censure either. The Act of Uniformity demanded use of the *Book of Common Prayer* in all churches and anyone who slandered it or continued to practice Mass faced imprisonment. Enforcement might have been easier had there not been interference from abroad but three years later the Vatican, encouraged by Phillip II of Spain, tried to incite rebellion by ordering English Catholics to boycott Anglican services.

When Elizabeth's cousin, Mary Queen of Scots, fled to England in 1568 to escape the Protestant Scottish Lords ranged against her, the English Catholics suddenly found a focal point for their monarchic aspirations. In 1571, a Spanish-backed plot was uncovered involving Mary and the Duke of Norfolk who intended to join in matrimony and take the throne of England. The scheme failed and Mary, who was fortunate to receive Elizabeth's compassion, survived with imprisonment at Chartley Manor. The Duke of Norfolk, whose cousin was *not* the Queen of England, went to his execution. Nevertheless, throughout the 1570s, the Catholic opposition to Elizabeth steadily increased as organised recruitment brought foreign priests into the country to spread the doctrine. In 1585, Parliament introduced measures to expel them and proposed the death penalty for any priest evading extradition and for anyone offering sanctuary. As a result, an estimated 187 holy men went to their execution.

Mary Queen of Scots met her executioner on 7 February 1587 after Sir Francis Walsingham, the Queen's spy master, uncovered the Babington plot, a scheme to assassinate Elizabeth. Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of wealth, had urged Mary to endorse an attempt on the Queen's life. Walsingham's agents, aware of the fact that Mary was using empty beer caskets to smuggle secret messages out of her prison, intercepted a ciphered letter and passed it on to Thomas Phellips, the Queen's cryptoanalyst. It was less than Walsingham had hoped for. Declining to address a planned assassination attempt, Mary had merely offered recompense to anyone who could effect her escape.

Nevertheless, despite Elizabeth's deep reservations, the Queen's Privy Council, of which Walsingham was a member, issued an execution warrant.

1.2 *Dangers of Publishing*

Clearly, the Privy Councillors were men to be feared. Appointed by the Queen to advise on policy, they ruthlessly participated in its enforcement. In investigating public disorder, sedition and treason, they often fabricated evidence and were particularly adept at extracting 'confessions' by torture. Suspects were racked and usually, one of two outcomes ensued: the inability to confess led to an agonising end; or an extracted 'confession' resulted in execution. With such prejudice against the truth, one wonders how an innocent man ever managed to prove himself so.

The control over the media was also profound. The Act of Supremacy had ensured that anyone who declared in print that Elizabeth was not the rightful sovereign was guilty of high treason. Five years later, a Star Chamber decree confined the printing presses to London with the exception of one in Oxford and another in Cambridge, and in 1570, a proclamation encouraged people to inform on authors of "seditious" books with the inducement that they "shall be so largely rewarded as during his or their lives they shall have just cause to think themselves well used." Presumably, the reward was avoiding the imprisonment that would have resulted from failing to alert the authorities.

The stationers faced dire consequences too if they were suspected of distributing Catholic propaganda. In 1581, Robert Parsons managed to escape to France as Walsingham's agents descended on his press in Henley. Unfortunately, his five assistants were left behind to face the Tower. Vestige's in Smithfield surreptitiously disappeared after managing just two titles, but at least William Carter succeeded in producing 11 publications before a charge of treason returned him to his maker. Meanwhile, the Earl of Leicester, himself a Privy Councillor, was appalled to find himself in the satirical pamphlet *Leicester's Commonwealth* (1584) and encouraged the Privy Council to take action. Anyone discovered hoarding a copy faced incarceration while state prisoners were interrogated in an attempt to identify the authors. The paranoia intensified as Walsingham's network of informants moved among the general population and on 6 September 1586, Hugh Davies gave evidence of a conversation with a Robert Atkins who had extolled

the virtues of *Leicester's Commonwealth* "at offensive length". Meanwhile, Robert Poley was interrogated merely for possessing a copy. In the end, Walsingham's methods succeeded and the authors turned out to be Catholic ex-courtiers in exile. The stationers were eventually brought under control with a decree from the Star Chamber Court (1586), run by members of the Privy Council, demanding that all published works must secure approval from agents working for the Bishop of London or the Archbishop of Canterbury. As the 1590s approached, England and particularly London was a dangerous place to be publishing work of a controversial nature.

1.3 *Actors*

In medieval England, strolling players, skilled in the arts of juggling, stilt-walking, and tumbling, toured the towns with a wagon which they placed in the market place or village green. If a drama was to be enacted, a "booth stage" was constructed consisting of a rectangular wooden platform about 20 feet by 15 feet raised above the ground on barrels.[2] At the back of the platform was a rectangular booth constructed from four upright posts set at the corners of a rectangle and stabilised at the top by horizontal poles which were then draped with curtains. This served as the tiring-house in which the actors changed costume. There was no guarantee of a reward for their endeavours. This rather depended on the generosity of the gathered crowd who, at the end of the show, were invited to place money in a hat.

Sometimes an inn-keeper, grasping the opportunity to attract more customers, would allow the players to position their booth stage at one end of his inn yard. This developed into purpose-built venues, such as the one to be found in 1598 at the Boar's Head in Whitechapel Street, London. In order to avoid the wrath of the Privy Council, the troupe required a licence from the mayor of the town, informing him of the identity of their noble patron, however, the procedure was often flouted. In 1556, the Lord President of the North received a letter from the Privy Council in respect of "certain lewd persons naming themselves to be the servants of Sir Frances Lake."[3] The independence of the strolling players came to an end in 1572 when Queen Elizabeth issued a proclamation demanding that unless the players were attached to a patron they were to be classified as "rogues and vagabonds." Two years later, the City of London passed the Act of Common Council prohibiting innkeepers from allowing performances "within the house, yarde or anie other place within the Liberties of this Citie" unless having met with the

approval of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. This marked the beginning of purpose-built theatres with a resident patronised company of players.

Following Queen Elizabeth's proclamation of 1572, several acting companies came together supported by noble patronage. The first to receive the royal licence was Robert Dudley's Leicester's Company in 1574, one of the five listed actors being James Burbage who appears to have built the Theatre for their use. In 1583, he defected to the Queen's Men who took over from Leicester's Men at the Theatre. Four years later, Leicester's Men toured England, taking in Stratford upon Avon and when the Earl of Leicester died in 1588, members of his company joined with the Lord Admiral's Men to found Lord Strange's Men, patronised by Fernando Stanley. They boasted the noted actor Edward Alleyn, and according to Philip Henslowe's diary,[4] they played "harey the vj" — Shake-speare's *Henry VI, Part 1* — at the Rose theatre in Southwark on 3 March 1592. When Lord Strange, Earl of Derby, died in April 1594, the company was renamed the Lord Chamberlaine's Men, first under the protection of the Lord Chamberlaine, Henry Carey (Lord Hunsdon) then in July 1596 under the patronage of his son George Carey who became Lord Chamberlaine eight months later. With William Shakspere, Richard Burbage, and Will Kempe as members, they became the resident company at the Globe after it was built in 1599 and when Elizabeth died in 1603 and King James I took the throne, the company was renamed the King's Men.

1.4 *Theatres*

In 1576, the Theatre was built by James Burbage at Finsbury Field. In common with all outdoor public playhouses that would follow in the period 1576-1613, it was positioned outside the City boundaries to avoid conflict with the authorities and followed the "round" or polygonal ground plan (an exception being the First Fortune theatre which in 1600 adopted a square plan.) A year later, the Curtain appeared in the same vicinity, from which Henry Laneman kept the profits. There then followed a cluster of theatres on Bankside, about half a mile to the west of London Bridge on the south side of the Thames: the Rose owned by Philip Henslowe (1587); the Swan built by Francis Langley (1595); the Globe (1599); the First Fortune (1600); and the Red Bull (1605). The Globe and the Theatre were actually the same building because the latter was taken down on 28 December 1598[5] when the lease expired, transported across the Thames, and reconstructed as the Globe on Bankside by James Burbage's sons, Richard and Cuthbert, assisted by

their carpenter Peter Street and his men.

The 20-sided Globe, built of timber and measuring 100 feet in diameter and 33 feet high, was burnt down on 29 June 1613 when a cannon shot ignited the thatched roof during a performance of *King Henry VIII*. In a letter dated 2 July 1613 to his nephew, Sir Edmund Bacon, we find the account of Sir Henry Wotton, Provost of Eton:

> Now King Henry making a masque at Cardinal Wolsey's house, and certain chambers being shot off at his entry, some of the paper, or other stuff, wherewith one of them was stopped, did light on the thatch … and ran round like a train, consuming within one hour the whole house to the very grounds.[6]

Fortunately, there were no casualties and the Globe was in service again by 30 June 1614 before being demolished in 1644 by the Puritans.

The largest of these theatres held 3000 paying customers who stood in an unroofed space near the stage or, for a little extra money, could sit in a roofed gallery with a cushion. The stage was raised up to 2 metres above the ground with a tiring house at the rear where the actors changed costume. Performances were advertised by a flag flying above the theatre and always took place in the afternoon to make use of the natural light.

As well as the public venues, which tended to attract the lower classes, there were also places for private performance for the more discerning audience. Academic institutions, such as St John's College, Cambridge, or one of the four Inns of Court law schools, often produced plays that were written and acted by the students and lawyers. The Queen would also command performances at the Great Hall of Whitehall Palace, which began in the evening after 10pm and ran until 1am (see §6.6). There were also private playhouses, mostly operating within the City boundaries, one of which was the Second Blackfriars (1596), a converted old monastery founded by James Burbage. By 1600 a company of boy actors, the Children of the Chapel, were regularly performing there, and in 1608, Shakspere's company, the King's Men (formerly Lord Chamberlaine's Men) were giving winter productions.

1.5 *Marlowe's Death*

On 30 May 1593, Christopher Marlowe, who wrote for the Lord Admiral's Men and was widely regarded as the leading dramatist of the day, was 'accidentally' killed in an argument over a bill. The facts of Marlowe's death are worth relating, not only because he has often been put forward as an authorship candidate, but also because they perfectly illustrate what the Privy Council were capable of. By the time

Christopher Marlowe had acquired his BA from Cambridge in 1584 aged 20 years, he had already been recruited as a secret agent for Sir Francis Walsingham. However, Marlowe was unpredictable. In 1589, he was charged with the murder of William Bradley and sent to Newgate Prison only to be acquitted after two weeks. Three years later, he was arrested for his involvement in a street fight in which a man died. Then during his stay in the Netherlands he participated in the counterfeiting of gold coins and was deported back to England. In May 1593, with Walsingham now deceased, the officers of the Star Chamber Court fell upon a transcript of John Proctor's *Fall of the Late Arian* in the room belonging to the dramatist Thomas Kyd, a friend of Marlowe, consisting of "vile heretical Conceiptes denyinge the deity of Jhesus Christe." Under torture at Bridewell prison, Kyd attributed the ownership to Marlowe who he claimed had left it in his room, also alleging that he was inclined "to jest at the devine scriptures [and] gybe at praiers."

On 20 May, Marlowe was arrested on a charge of atheism, an indictment that carried the death penalty, and was granted nine days freedom on condition he presented himself daily. Marlowe had a reputation for being outspoken and cared little for who overheard his blasphemous views. The authorities were waiting their moment. Lord Burghley, who recruited spies from Cambridge University, had received a note to pass on to the Queen headed "A note contayninge the opinion of one Christopher Marlye concernynge his damnable opinion and Iudgement of Religioun and scorne of Gods worde." Meanwhile, the Privy Council had acquired an informer, one Richard Baines, to testify against Marlowe. The case never reached court.

On Wednesday 30 May, Marlowe attended a meeting at the house of Dame Eleanor Bull in Deptford, who provided a room and meals. The three other guests in attendance were Robert Poley, a highly ranked espionage agent; Nicholas Skeres, an agent of lower rank; and Ingram Frizer, a servant of Thomas Walsingham (a relation of Sir Francis) who was entertaining Marlowe at his manor house in Chislehurst, Kent when he was arrested. The official version of events was that Marlowe and Frizer disagreed over "the sum of pence, that is, le recknynge" charged to them for the day's provisions. Marlowe, in a fit of rage, grabbed Ingram's dagger and wounded him on the head. In the ensuing struggle, Ingram recovered the weapon and gave Marlowe "a mortal wound over his right eye to the depth of two inches & of the width of one inch" from which he "instantly died." On Friday 1st June, the Queen's coroner, who just happened to preside over Deptford where the fracas had occurred,

ruled that Frizer had acted in self defence. (Frizer returned to prison and was pardoned in record time 28 days later to resume work the following day.) Later that day, the burial of the body was recorded in the burial register at St. Nicholas' Church, Deptford. It was never found.

These circumstances are indeed irregular. There are some who have suggested that Marlowe had friends in high places and was secreted abroad from Deptford where he continued his writing career under the name of Shake-speare. However, the diary of the theatre owner Philip Henslowe lists *Henry VI, Part 1* — later identified as a Shake-speare play — as being performed by Strange's Men at the Rose theatre on 3 March 1592, 15 months before Marlowe's death. If it was Marlowe's, why did he not put his name to it at the time of its conception as he did with his other work?

Professor David Riggs has provided a convincing explanation[7] as to why the Privy Council might have wanted to eliminate Marlowe. About the time Marlowe was arrested, a spy report was filed — thought to be by one Thomas Drury — against a Richard Cholmeley who led a gang of 60 armed followers and had boasted "that he now meante to kill the Queene." Cholmeley had just teamed up with two of the Babington conspirators, John and James Tippings, recently returned from France. The report claimed that Cholmeley "saieth & verely beleveth that one Marlowe is able to showe more sounde reasons for Atheisme than any devine in England is able to give to prove devinitie" and that Cholmeley intended to assassinate the Queen "make a Kinge amonge themselves & live according to their own lawes." Whether or not Marlowe was aware of the plan, he appeared to be its inspiration. This apparently reinforced the government's view that atheists and Catholic provocateurs were conspiring to cause unrest. What seems to have sealed Marlowe's fate was that a report of the testimony of the Privy Council's informer Richard Baines, who had once roomed with Marlowe, had arrived at Greenwich on 27 May, three days before Marlowe's demise, declaring that Baines "hath confessed that he was perswaded by Marloes reasons to become an Atheist," and that Marlowe claimed "as good a Right to coin as the Queen of England." Baines had recommended that "all men in Christianity ought to endeavour that the mouth of so dangerous a member be stopped."[8] Marlowe's fate was sealed. In the end, what probably steered the Privy Council from a public to a private execution was the fear of provoking civil unrest.

1.6 *Danger for Dramatists*

Despite the difficulties, Queen Elizabeth was an enthusiastic theatre goer and so the Privy Council was content to keep them open. However, it was not willing to tolerate insubordination and reacted quickly against dramatists who went too far. In 1597, Thomas Nashe and Ben Jonson submitted their (now lost) play *Isle of Dogs* to Lord Pembroke's Men for performance at the Swan. It soon incurred the wrath of the Privy Council who saw it as "seditious", which usually meant a Catholic bias. Jonson was hauled in for interrogation. Both Nashe and Jonson tried to attribute authorship to the other but it was Jonson who was jailed along with two actors from Pembroke's company. Nashe managed to evade capture by fleeing to Great Yarmouth, in consequence of which, all London theatres were closed for two months and threatened with demolition. By the time he presented himself, the Privy Council had censured all his work.

Apparently, Ben Jonson did not learn from his time in prison. In 1605, two years after Elizabeth's death, his play *Eastward Ho!* with its derogatory reference to the Scots offended King James and Jonson returned to jail. Even as late as 1624, Thomas Middleton was imprisoned for his 'scandalous' play *A Game of Chess*, which satirized marriage negotiations with the Spanish. Clearly, dramatists had to proceed with great caution in the reign of both Elizabeth and James because anyone writing plays about government as Shake-speare did ran the risk of offending the Crown. As we shall see, this was what happened with *Richard II* (see §4.4)

PART 1: CASE AGAINST SHAKSPERE

Chapter 2. The Three Shakespeares

2.1 *Preliminary*

The documents that survive refer to three Shakespeares which we shall designate as Shakspere of Stratford, Shakespeare the London actor, and Shake-speare the author of the high-style *Sonnets* (1609) and plays in the First Folio (1623) — the variation in their spelling is deliberate. Our aim will be to decide whether or not there are grounds for common identity, however, it will be no guide to rely on name alone because, in an age when English was yet to be standardised, the documents record several spelling variants: Shakspere (1564), Shaxpere (1582), Shagspere (1582), Shackespere (1588), Shakespeare (1593), Shackespeare (1598), Shaksper (1598), Shakespere (1602), Shexpere (1604), and Shackspeare (1608). There were no precedents for the curiously hyphenated Shake-speare originating from Stratford yet it *did* appear on the title pages of the high style *Shake-speare's Sonnets* (1609) and First Folio (1623). In fact, these are the publications upon which we shall focus because although many Shake-speare plays appeared individually in quarto edition at the time, it appears that these two collections were prepared for posterity.

2.2 *Shakspere of Stratford*

William Shakspere of Stratford was baptised on 26 April 1564 in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-upon-Avon. His birth date is not documented, but Queen Elizabeth's *Book of Common Prayer* (1559) advocates that a christening should not be delayed beyond the first Sunday or Holy day following birth. Since the 26 April was a Wednesday, then the earliest birth date would have been the previous Sunday 23 April 1564 because a delivery before that date would have required a christening *on* that Sunday. There was a Holy day on Tuesday 25 April, St. Mark the Evangelist's Day, but it was evidently not used for the christening, possibly because it was considered unlucky. The Shakspere monument at Holy Trinity Church provides an enigma in this regard because it records his last day alive as 23 April 1616, age 53. With one day less than exactly 54 years as his maximum age and exactly 53 years as his minimum age, a calculation reveals that his birthdate must have been from 24 April 1562 to 23 April 1563 inclusive. Was the christening delayed for over a year or is the monument in error?[1] Whatever the explanation, 23 April 1564 is now traditionally taken to be Shakspere's birthdate.

The 2000 inhabitants of Elizabethan Stratford were not renowned for their literacy in fact, 13 of the 19 men who ran the town's affairs made a mark instead of signing a name.[2] William's father, John, was a glover,[3] wool trader,[4] constable,[5] and town bailiff.[6] His signature does not survive although there are several examples of his mark on official documents. William's mother, Mary Arden, was the daughter of Robert Arden of Wilmcote, a yeoman farmer. When her father died, she was left Asbyes, the estate in Wilmcote. She too employed a mark.[7]

No evidence of William's schooling remains, leaving us to reconstruct possible facts from a typical childhood of that era. From the age of four or five, a child would have been educated by an usher at a petty school.[8] Each child brought a hornbook consisting of a sheet of paper framed in wood and covered with transparent horn. The paper had both the capital and lower-case letters of the alphabet, syllables, and the Lord's Prayer. The hornbook was followed by The ABC with Catechism, a series of questions and answers from the *Book of Common Prayer* together with graces to expound at meal times. Finally, The Primer and Catechism taught the Calendar, Almanac, and the seven penitential psalms. These instruments of learning allowed instruction in prosodia (reading), orthographia (writing) and sometimes numeration.

After two years, the student was suitably prepared for grammar school. The Kings New School at Stratford-upon-Avon, as well as other grammar schools, would have had the *Short Introduction to Grammar* (1534) by William Lily as the standard textbook, one which Edward VI decided should be used in all schools.[9] In addition to the principles of grammar, there were Latin sentences to be memorised by rote usually from *Sententiae Pueriles* by Leonhardus Culmannus, *Cato* by Erasmus, and the fables of Aesop. The works of Terence and Plautus might be used for practising translation from Latin to English, and the Latin works of Horace, Juvenal, Ovid, Virgil were often studied for sense before the student left school at 14 years old. Whether or not young Shakspere was acquainted with these texts is unknown, but these were the standard texts of the day. However, there would have been no English history, no modern languages, and little instruction in the writing of English. John Brinsley, headmaster of Ashby-de-la Zouch grammar school in Leicestershire, gives an insight into the state of contemporary English teaching in grammar schools in his book *Ludus Literarius* (1612):

> … there is no care had in respect to train up scholars so as to express their minds purely and readily in their own tongue.[10]

Whatever Shakspere learnt at Stratford Grammar School it would have fallen far short of the comprehensive learning that Shake-speare later exhibited. He would undoubtedly have needed a program of self-education and almost certainly access to a substantial library.

In this regard, much has been made of an entry in the will of Alexander Hogton, a Catholic squire of Lea Hall, Preston, Lancashire that commentators have used to fill in Shakspere's late teens. In the document, dated 3 August 1581, Hogton instructs his half-brother Thomas to:

> … be friendly unto Folk Gyllome and William Shakeshafte now dwelling with me, and either to take them unto his service or else to help them to some good master.

In the will, Thomas could look forward to receiving:

> … instruments belonging to musics and all manner of play-clothes, if he be minded to keep and do players.[11]

If Shakeshafte was Shakspere of Stratford, he would have been 17 years old and, following the interpretation that some have placed on this entry, he had already began life as a player in a private household and was benefitting from a substantial library where he could acquire the requisite research materials. Their construction links Shakspere to various Earls and patrons familiar to the Hogton family who could have later advanced young Shakspere's writing career. It also turns out that John Cottam, master of Stratford grammar school from September 1579, returned to his family home at Tarnacre near the Hogton's home in 1581 allowing some to conjecture that it was he who effected the introduction of Shakspere to the Hogtons. However, as Schoenbaum has pointed out,[12] even though Stratford saw several variant spellings of Shakspere, Shakeshafte was not one of them, but it *was* a spelling used around Lancashire, and there are known to have been many William Shakeshaftes resident there at the time. It is also far from certain that the "play-clothes" were those of actors and could with more justification have been those of musicians who played the "instruments belonging to musics." We must not forget that Shakspere needed time to court Anne Hathaway for she was three months pregnant when he married her in Stratford 15 months after Hogton penned his will. Presumably, Hogton did not die immediately after he made it and so Shakspere had even less time. The facts conspire against the Hogton scenario being true and while it is possible that Shakspere had access to a substantial library there is no evidence for it.

Nothing more is known about Shakspere until 28 November 1582, when as William Shagspere, he married Anne Hathwey, the daughter of

a local farmer, who was eight years his senior.[13] To do so, the unusual step was taken of travelling 21 miles to Worcester to acquire a common licence from the consistory court. The licence would have been addressed to the minister assigned to preside over the wedding in Stratford and would have been issued to waive the customary regulations governing marriage in order to hasten its completion. The privilege came with a penalty with two friends of Anne's family taking up a bond against which £40 would have been forfeited if the marriage failed. One wonders if a pregnant Miss Hathwey had forced the issue, because six months later, once again as Shakspere, William baptised his first child Susanna at Holy Trinity Church. Three years later, the twins Hamnet and Judeth completed the family, receiving their baptisms on 2 February 1585.

According to *Shakespeare For All Time*,[14] the final two lines of Sonnet 145 are "probably addressed to Anne Hathaway" (Hate-away) which are claimed to add up to "a declaration of love":

> Those lips that love's own hands did make
> Breathed forth the sound that said 'I hate'
> To me that languished for her sake;
> But when she saw my woeful state,
> Straight in her heart did mercy come,
> Chiding that tongue that ever sweet
> Was used in giving gentle doom,
> And taught it thus anew to greet:
> 'I hate' she altered with an end
> That followed it as gentle day
> Doth follow night who, like a fiend,
> From heaven to hell is flown away.
> 'I hate' from hate away she threw
> And saved my life, saying 'not you'.

In §2.4, we present an epigram written by John Davies from which one can construct a possible reference to Francis Bacon being Shake-speare. However, without further information, neither this epigram nor the above sonnet can be claimed to "probably" allude to their respective candidates without entertaining hope more than reality.

There is no record that Shakspere had the University education of leading dramatists such as Francis Beaumont (Pembroke College, Oxford), John Dryden (Trinity College, Cambridge), Christopher Marlowe (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge), John Marston (Brasenose College, Oxford), Thomas Nashe (St. John's College, Cambridge) and Edmund Spenser (Pembroke College, Cambridge),

although this did not hinder other playwrights such as Ben Jonson and Thomas Kyd. These two *did*, however, have the advantage over Shakspere of attending the prestigious Westminster School. Neither is there any evidence that Shakspere ever sent or received a letter although there are no surviving letters either for Marlowe, Webster, Fletcher, or Beaumont. Someone who *did* send a letter was John Dowdall who on 10 April 1693 dispatched one to his cousin Edward Southwell from Butler's Merston, six miles from Stratford-upon-Avon and eight miles from Warwick. It describes his travels around Warwickshire, one of his visits being to Holy Trinity Church at Stratford where Shakspere had been buried almost 77 years earlier. There he reports that:

> The clerk that showed me this church was above eighty years old. He says that this Shakespeare was formerly in this town bound apprentice to a butcher, but that he ran from his master to London, and there was received into the play-house as a servitour[a], and by this means had an opportunity to be what he afterwards proved.[15]
>
> *Key : (a) servant*

Unfortunately, the clerk neglected to reveal what it was he thought Shakspere proved to be. The seventeenth century antiquarian John Aubrey corroborates this account of young Shakspere's apprenticeship and his life in London:

> His father was a Butcher, and I have been told heretofore by some of the neighbours, that when he was a boy he exercised his father's trade, but when he kill'd a calfe he would doe it in a high style, and make a speech.[16]

However, according to Aubrey, Shakspere had a rival:

> There was at that time another butcher's son in this towne, that was held not at all inferior to him for a natural wit, his acquaintance and coetanean, but dyed young.

Aware of its implications for Shakspere's wit, the Stratfordian scholar, Samuel Schoenbaum, dismisses this Aubrey anecdote claiming it "belongs not to biographical record proper but to mythos."[17] However, when Aubrey reports William Beeston's view that Shakspere:

> … understood Latin pretty well: for he had been in his younger years a schoolmaster in the country…[18]

then Schoenbaum seems unable to apply the same level of scepticism. As far as teaching the older students is concerned, "in the country" could not have been Stratford because an Oxford or Cambridge degree was a prerequisite but it might have been possible to find a position in a smaller community without a degree.

Aubrey also estimates the age at which Shakspere moved to London:

> This William being inclined naturally to poetry and acting, came to London, I guesse, about 18; and was actor at one of the playhouses, and did act exceedingly well.

Given that Shakspere's twins, Hamnet and Judeth, were baptised when he was 21 years old, was Shakspere dividing his time between Stratford and London or was Aubrey's estimate incorrect? There is more:

> He began to make essayes at dramatique poetry, which at that time was very lowe; and his playes took well.

It is unfortunate that Aubrey is unable to reveal his source for it is one of the few testimonies that Shakspere of Stratford was also a dramatist. He claims it came from "some of the neighbours." Were there witnesses that saw Shakspere writing them — which would have been valuable first-hand testimony — or were they simply expounding the popular view?

It is instructive to compare William Shakspere with Ben Jonson, whose background most closely resembled that of the Stratford man, for this will show us what we might reasonably expect from one who rose from humble beginnings. Jonson began in his stepfather's trade as a bricklayer and joined the English army in the Netherlands before becoming an actor with the Earl of Pembroke's Men around 1597. It was about this time that he wrote his earliest known play *The Case is Altered*, graduating the following year to write plays for the Lord Admiral's Men. His third comedy, *Every Man Out of His Humour*, draws from Plautus, Terence, Persius, Horace, Juvenal, Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, and Lucien, demonstrating the fact that he had access to a good private library.[19] Despite hindering his own prospects of securing noble patronage — he killed a player with Pembroke's Men in a quarrel and subsequently adopted the Catholic faith — by 1605, Jonson had written a Twelfth Night masque for King James and boasted the Earls of Pembroke, Salisbury (Robert Cecil), and Montgomery amongst his friends. By 1609, about 12 years after his first play, he had secured the patronage of Prince Henry, King James's eldest son, for his published learned commentary on *The Masque of Queens*. This suggests that objections levelled against Shakspere's candidacy for authorship on the basis of inferior class and the absence of a formal education are insufficient. However, it is perfectly natural to demand evidence that Shakspere acquired the requisite learning.

There is some evidence that the Stratford man was also the London player. At the Herald's College are two preliminary drafts dated 20 October 1596, by the Garter King-of-Arms, Sir William Dethick, of a document granting William's father, John, a family coat of arms. When John Shakspere died in September 1601, William inherited it, and since

he also owned land, he was entitled to be known as a 'Gentleman', that is, a member of the landed gentry. In 1602, the York Herald, Ralph Brooke, accused Dethick of "elevating base persons." Of the 23 cases Brooke cited, Shakspere was fourth on the list and below Brooke's rough drawing of his coat of arms is written "Shakespear the Player by Garter."[20] By 1602, Shake-speare had written over 20 plays so one wonders why Shakspere did not present himself as a dramatist.

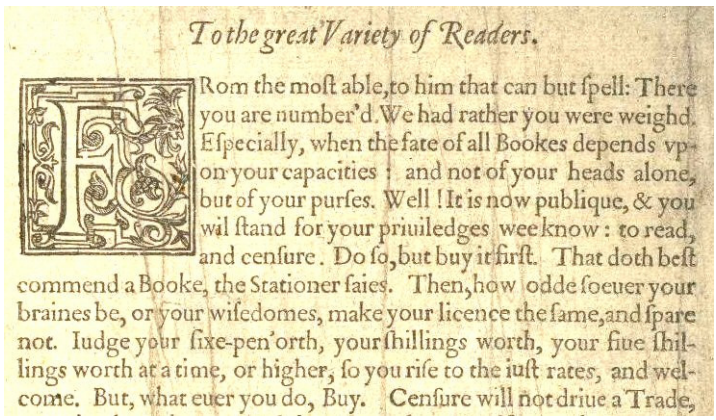
Shakspere was also involved in several business deals around Stratford. In May 1597, he purchased New Place for £60 in silver[21] from the lawyer William Underhill, and in October, Richard Quiney penned Shakspere an unsent letter requesting a £30 loan, although it is not known if the money was despatched. Five years later, Shakspere bought 107 acres of Stratford land for £320 and took a lease on Chapel Lane Cottage which sat on a quarter of an acre.

In 1604, we find Shakspere as a litigant suing the Stratford apothecary, Philip Rogers, at the Court of Record for 35 shillings and 10 pence plus 10 shillings damages, though history does not relate if Shakspere obtained his due. Four years later, he sued John Addenbrooke for £6 with 24 shillings damages. When Addenbrooke took flight, Shakspere (recorded as Shackspeare) chased his surety, the blacksmith Thomas Horneby, for the full amount. Whether or not he succeeded is unknown, but he appears to have been persistent. The documentary evidence shows that the whole affair ran in the court at least from August 1608 to June 1609.

When the final draft of his will (see Appendix A) was completed on 25 March 1616, Shakspere left property, household goods, a yearly allowance to his younger daughter Judeth, and a second-hand bed. He left no books in his will (although this was not unusual) and neither has any book owned by Shakspere ever been traced (which is far less unusual). There is one certainty about the greatest dramatist of the age, books would have occupied the centre of his life. In contrast, several of Ben Jonson's books have been found, signed and annotated by him[22] and even Edward Alleyn, a player in the Lord Admiral's Men, left a small library. Shakspere *did*, however, bequeath money to John Heminge and Henry Condell, who were actors in the King's Men and authors of a commendatory verse that appears in the First Folio. This strongly connects Shakspere of Stratford to Shakespeare the London actor and, on the basis of their First Folio tribute to him (see Figure 1), must also serve as evidence in favour of him being Shake-speare the dramatist. Certainly, their eulogy gives no indication that they thought otherwise. If

they *did* think otherwise, then since their company owned the rights to some of the plays, their pretence was most likely financially motivated. Their First Folio tribute seems to confirm that they were expecting to profit from the sales of the Shake-speare collection:

> Well! It is now publique, & you wil stand for your priviledges wee know; to read, and censure. Do so, but buy it first … Judge your six-pen'orth, your shillings worth, your five shillings worth at a time, or higher, so you rise to the just rate, and welcome. But, what ever you do, Buy.



To the great Variety of Readers.

FRom the moſt able, to him that can but ſpell: There you are number'd. We had rather you were weighd. Eſpecially, when the fate of all Bookes depends vpon your capacities: and not of your heads alone, but of your purſes. Well! It is now publique, & you wil ſtand for your priuiledges wee know: to read, and cenſure. Do ſo, but buy it firſt. That doth beſt commend a Booke, the Stationer ſaies. Then, how odde ſoeuer your braines be, or your wiſedomes, make your licence the ſame, and ſpare not. Iudge your ſixe-pen'orth, your ſhillings worth, your fiue ſhillings worth at a time, or higher, ſo you riſe to the iuſt rates, and welcome. But, what euer you do, Buy. Cenſure will not driue a Trade,

Figure 1. Dedication by Heminge and Condell urging the public to buy, 'To the great Variety of Readers,' *Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories & Tragedies* (1623)

Ben Jonson also produced a tribute to "The Author Mr William Shakespeare" in the First Folio referring to him as the "Sweet Swan of Avon" and while this connects the Stratford man with the author we shall see in §2.4 why there is a need for caution in taking this at face value.

Neither does his will indicate any acquaintace with members of the aristocracy which he would have needed to gain patronage for his work. However, the most curious fact about Shakspere's will (see Appendix A) is that there is not the slightest concern about the 18 still unpublished Shake-speare plays some of which were also unperformed. Are we to believe that he simply submitted everything he wrote to the King's Men before he died (thereby dispensing with the rights) when he had a family who might profit from them after his death? We can contrast his will with that of a comparable mind to Shake-speare, the philosopher and statesman Sir Francis Bacon who in April 1621 was confined to bed and believed he was near to death. Although his will was produced in haste,

his unpublished work was sufficiently important to him to merit inclusion:

> My compositions unpublished, or the fragments of them, I require my servant Harris to deliver to my brother Constable, to the end that if any of these be fit in his judgment to be published he may accordingly dispose of them. And in particular I wish the Elogium I wrote *In felicem memoriam Reginae Elizabethae* may be published. And to my brother Constable I give all my books: …[23]

Bacon survived to make a further will four years later which ran into even greater detail about his intentions for publication.[24]

On 23 April 1616, Shakspere died. His funeral was just an ordinary event unlike those of Ben Jonson, Edmund Spenser, John Dryden, Michael Drayton, and Francis Beaumont, who were all honoured by a place in Westminster Abbey. Perhaps Shakspere's wish was for a home-town burial. Shortly after they died, John Fletcher, George Chapman, Philip Massinger, Francis Beaumont, and Ben Jonson all received eulogies from their illustrious contemporaries. Apart from a sonnet written by the minor poet William Basse, Shakspere received no such honour. In fact, it was not until seven years later in the First Folio that any organised tributes were expressed and some of those appear cryptic.

The only surviving handwriting by William Shakspere appears in six signatures, one of which appears at the end of his will. No original manuscript for a sonnet or play by Shake-speare has ever been found, which itself is a mystery since manuscripts still survive for the work of Christopher Marlowe, Ben Jonson, John Fletcher, Francis Beaumont, Robert Greene, Thomas Heywood, Thomas Dekker, and Thomas Middleton.[25] It is difficult to imagine that they would not have interested contemporary collectors. One possibility is that only scriveners' copies were ever distributed. This would then account for Ben Jonson's recollection that the players had told him "that in his writing, (whatsoever he penn'd) hee never blotted out line" (see §2.3). Scriveners were employed by theatre companies to produced cue-script copies for the actors but why would Shakspere go to the expense of a scrivener for publication when he could write it himself?

2.3 *Shakespeare the Actor*

The first reference to Shakespeare the actor appears in an autobiographical pamphlet from 1592. When the Cambridge-educated dramatist Robert Greene died on 3 September 1592 at the age of 32, his friend and fellow playwright Henry Chettle edited together some of his papers. Seventeen days later, they were published under the title *A*

Groats-worth of Witte. One article, addressed to three unidentified playwrights, was entitled "To those Gentlemen his Quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making plaies, R.G. wishest a better exercise, and wisdome to prevent his extremities." The first, "thou famous gracer of Tragedians" and follower of a "Machivilian … Diabolicall Atheisme" was almost certainly Christopher Marlowe; the second, "yong Juvenal, that byting Satyrist" was most likely the leading satirist of the time, Thomas Nashe; and the third, "sweete St. George" could easily have been George Peele. After admonitions to the three, they are served with a warning to beware of a particular player:

> Base-minded men all three of you, if by my miserie you be not warn'd: for unto none of you (like mee) sought those burres to cleave: those Puppets (I meane) that spake from our mouths, those Anticks garnisht in our colours. … Yes, trust them not: for there is an upstart Crow, beautified with our feathers[a], that with his Tyger's hart wrapped in a Player's[b] hyde, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blanke verse as the best of you: and beeing an absolute Iohannes factotum[c], is in his owne conceit the only Shake-scene in a countrey. O that I might entreat your rare wits to be employed in more profitable courses: & let these Apes imitate your past excellence, and never more acquaint them with your admired inventions.[26]
>
> *Key : (a) see below, (b) actor's, (c) Jack-of-all-trades*

Apart from the "Shake-scene" wordplay, the fact that identifies Shakespeare the author is the "Tyger's hart wrapped in a Player's hyde" which is derived from a speech by the Duke of Yorke in *Henry VI, Part 3*, which Shakespeare in his "Player's hyde" appears to have claimed to have written. Queen Margaret has murdered the Duke of York's young son Rutland, and soaking a handkerchief in his blood, offers it to the Duke for consolation. Some time later, the Duke of York is captured by the Queen and as he faces his execution he confronts her inhumanity:

> *Yorke.* … Oh Tygres Heart, wrapt in a Woman's Hide,
> How could'st though drayne the Life-blood of the Child,
> To bid the Father wipe his eyes withall,
> And yet be seene to beare a Woman's face?
> (1590-2 *Henry VI, Part 3,* Act 1, Scene 4)

The "Tyger's hart" casts Shakespeare as ruthless and predatory and the charge that he "supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blanke verse as the best of you [three dramatists]" is evidently referring to his claim to authorship. Greene had previously used the 'crow and feathers' metaphor in the dedication to his *Myrrour of Modestie* (1584):

> But your honour may thinke I play like Ezops Crowe, which dekt hir selfe with others feathers, or like the proud Poet Batyllus, which subscribed his

name to Virgils verses, and yet presented them to Augustus.

We note that this fable of Aesop's, "The Crow, the Eagle, and the Feathers" is directed "against people who boast that they have something they do not."

The recommendation that dramatists should "never more acquaint them [the players] with your inventions," makes it clear that the accusation is one of plagiarism. An Elizabethan actor usually worked from a prompt script consisting of pages cut and pasted together into a scroll. This gave his own lines and the cues that preceded them. So it was unusual for an actor to possess a complete script ("invention") and the complaint appears to be that Shakespeare not only had access to them but was asserting his authorship of them.

There was some doubt at the time as to whether Greene actually composed this piece. The dramatist Henry Chettle was accused of hiding behind the deceased Greene's name to propagate his own views, especially since the publisher William Wright had entered it in the Stationers Register "upon the peril of Henrye Chettle," thereby awarding Chettle full responsibility.

Chettle subsequently published *Kind Hart's Dream* [registered 8 December 1592] in which he reveals that:

> About these three months since died M. Robert Greene ... his Groatsworth of Wit, in which a letter written to diverse play-makers, is offensively by one or two of them taken …

We note that Chettle says that the letter was written *to* the ones who took offence not *about*. This means that he is referring to any two of Marlowe, Nashe, and probably Peele. He continues:

> With neither of them that took offence was I acquainted, and with one of them I care not if I never be ...

This sounds like the diabolical atheist Marlowe. Our problem is, who was the other one? Chettle informs us that:

> ... myself have seen his demeanor no less civil than he excellent in the quality he professes: besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writing, that approves his art …

In the hope of dissolving the *Groatsworth* attack, some Stratfordians have claimed that this apology was intended for Shakespeare but there is nothing here to suggest this. In fact, it is much more likely to have been Thomas Nashe because there is good evidence that he had already taken offence to the *Groatsworth* before Chettle's apology was published. In the second edition of *Pierce Penilesse His Supplication to the Devil* [registered 8 August 1592; 1st edition published 8 September 1592; 2nd

edition almost immediately after] Nashe had identified the *Groatsworth* to be a "scald lying trivial pamphlet ... given out to be my doing". That Nashe was suspected is confirmed by Chettle's claim that the misdeed was "not mine nor Maister Nashes". Aside from being accused of authoring an offensive pamphlet, Nashe's anger seems also to have arisen from his friend Greene's name being tainted "with pamphleting on him after his death". This seems to make Nashe a stronger candidate than Shakespeare. Whoever wrote it, if this were the only complaint against Shakespeare, it might easily be dismissed as the professional jealousy of a fellow dramatist. However, as we shall see, there were others who appeared to share the *Groatsworth* view.

When riots and then the plague closed the London theatres between June 1592 and April 1594, except for about a month each Christmas, any performances that occurred were confined to the provinces. On 15 March 1595, William Shakespeare received payment as a player with the Lord Chamberlaine's Men for a performance that took place before the Queen at Greenwich on 28 December 1594, Innocents Day[27] (see Figure 2, transcript in Appendix C):

> To William Kempe, William Shakespeare & Richard Burbage, servaunts to the Lord Chamberleyne, upon the Councelle's warrant dated at Whitehall xv. to Marcij 1595, for twoe severall comedies or enterludes shewed by them before her majestie in Christmas tyme laste paste viz St. Stephens daye and Innocents daye xiijli vjss vijd, and by way of her majesties Reward vjli iiijd, in all xxli.

Assuming that Shakspere and Shakespeare were the same man, then this entry represents a change to the phonetic ʃeɪkspɪər (Shakespeare) from one of the variant spellings of the phonetic ʃækspeər (Shakspere)

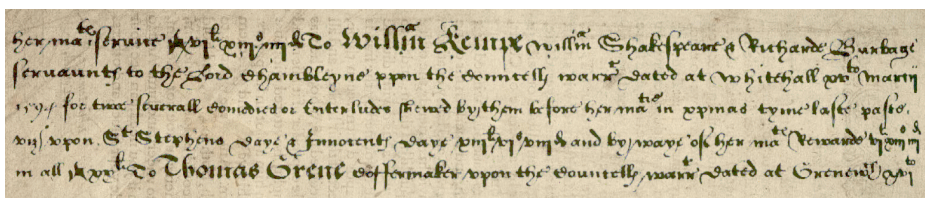


Figure 2. William Shakespeare remunerated for a performance with the Lord Chamberlaine's Men on Innocents Day 1594 at Whitehall (March 1595)

he had hitherto been using. The first occurrence of this 'new' name appears on the title page of the long poem *Venus and Adonis* (registered 8 April 1593) and we shall examine a possible reason for this subtle change in §6.5.

In November 1596, a Court order named "William Shakspere"

amongst others in a petition for sureties of the peace. To obtain such an order, the complainant, in this case William Wayte, a known criminal, would have had to swear before a Judge of the Queen's Bench that he was in danger of death or bodily harm. The accused would have had to post bond to keep the peace, on pain of forfeiting the security.[28] The appearance of Robert Langley on the document, a man who had helped finance the Swan playhouse in Paris Garden, strengthens the link between Shakspere and Shakespeare.

We know that Shakespeare appeared in other plays besides those for which he claimed authorship. Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*, performed in 1598, and *Sejanus* from 1603 respectively name "Will. Shakespeare" and "Will. Shake-speare" in the cast list[29] alongside "Ric. Burbadge, Aug. Philips, Hen. Condel, Joh. Hemings, Will Sly" and others from the Lord Chamberlaine's Men (later the King's Men). However, *The Workes of Ben Jonson* (1616) inform us that after *Sejanus* (1603), the King's Men enacted Jonson's *The Foxe* (1605), *The Alchemist* (1610), and *Cataline* (1611) without Shakespeare appearing in any of them.

In December 1598, in a clandestine operation, the Lord Chamberlaine's Men relocated their home from The Theatre in Shoreditch, south across the Thames to Bankside, using materials from the original building to construct the Globe. On 21 February 1599, Shakespeare was listed with John Heminges, William Kempe, Augustine Phillips and Thomas Pope on a document leasing land upon which the new Globe was built. Three parties were involved: Nicholas Brend leased it out, and the Burbage brothers, Cuthbert and Richard, divided in two the acquisition of the lease with five members of the Lord Chamberlain's Men.[30]

The final years of the 16th century were punctuated by satirical comedy with rival dramatists attacking each others work. When the long poems *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594) were published, their title pages carried a dedication to Henry Wriothesley, the Earl of Southampton. After much protestation of his unworthiness of such patronage, the author "William Shakespeare" leaves his name. We have already seen (see §2.2) that it took Ben Jonson, whose origins closely resemble Shakspere's, about 12 years from his first play to get noble patronage for a publication. If Shake-speare was Shakspere, could he have achieved it in four (assuming that he had been writing from 1589 at the earliest)? John Marston seems not to have thought so. In the third satire of his *Scourge of Villanie* (1598), Marston the satirist makes

use of sexual metaphors while citing Shake-speare's *The Rape of Lucrece*. In referring to the Roman satirist "gloomie Juvenal" and his disastrous fortune, Marston seems to be directing his protest at Shakespeare *the actor*:

> M. [Marston] is clearly thinking of the tradition, deriving from the scholiast, about Juvenal: that he lampooned Paris, an actor, whom Domitian was in love with, and that the emperor in revenge appointed the satirist to a minor post in Egypt where he ended his days in miserable exile.[31]

In stating that his "satyrick vain" would not be silenced, Marston must also have anticipated disastrous consequences for himself and, in fact, his satires were destroyed by the authorities less than a year later. The "nobilitie" can only be the Earl of Southampton to whom *Lucrece* is dedicated.

> Shall broking pandars[a] sucke[b] nobilitie?
> Soyling faire stems with foule impuritie?
> Nay, shall a trencher slave[c] extenuate,[d]
> Some *Lucrece* rape?[e] And straight magnificate[f]
> Lewd *Jovian* Lust? Whilst my satyrick vaine
> Shall muzzled be, not daring out to straine
> His tearing paw? No gloomy Juvenall,[g]
> Though to thy fortunes I disastrous fall.
>
> *Key: (a) pimp or procurer, (b) attract, (c) player or villain, one who feeds off others,*[32] *(d) make light of, (e) possible theft, also alluding to Shake-speare's* The Rape of Lucrece*, (f) praise, (g) Roman satirist whose work Marston parodied*

In other words, could a "foule impuritie" such as Shakespeare the actor, who is characterized as a broker and procurer, have attracted the patronage of such fair noble blood as the Earl of Southampton? Lines 3 and 4 might also be claiming that Shakespeare the "trencher slave" has made light of his abduction of *The Rape of Lucrece* work.

John Marston was soon to be on the end of some biting satire himself. When Ben Jonson's *Poetaster* was acted in the summer of 1601, Jonson portrayed himself as the heroic Roman lyric poet Horace, while John Marston and Thomas Dekker were represented as Crispinus and Demetrius Fannius, two characters who were morally and intellectually deficient. By the final act, Caesar has given permission for Horace to administer an emetic pill to Crispinus (Marston) who subsequently vomits out all the convoluted words and phrases with which Marston had offended Jonson's taste. Later that summer, Dekker's *Satiromastix* presented Horace (Jonson) as a pretentious, short-

tempered buffoon who rejected criticism and was only interested in accepting praise. This was acted by the Lord Chamberlaine's Men, with Shakespeare in the cast, at the newly built Globe theatre.

To some extent, the Injunction of 1 June 1599 arrested this satirical trend warning "That noe Satyres or Epigrams be printed thereafter" or they were liable to be burnt. John Marston, whose work had parodied the Roman satirist Juvenal, was one victim. That month, his satires were banned and publically burnt by order of the Bishop of London and The Archbishop of Canterbury. Far from being discouraged, Marston turned his hand to drama. Neither did it prevent the appearance of *The Return From Parnassus*,[33] a three-part series of satirical plays performed at St. John's College, Cambridge from 1599 to 1601. Allegedly written by Marston or Dekker or both, there are several references to Shakespeare. The third part, inappropriately named Part II, was performed for the Christmas Revels of 1601-2, and contains references to the Jonson–Dekker exchange. Two graduates, Philomusus and Studioso, are desperate for employment, having learnt that their university education offers them little prospect. After trying several professions, they approach Dick Burbage and Will Kempe of the Lord Chamberlaine's Men with the aim of becoming actors "and must the basest trade yield us relief." While Burbage preserves his civility, Kempe cannot disguise his contempt for university-educated playwrights nor for classically-educated non-university ones such as Ben Jonson:

> *Kempe.* Few of the vniuersity men pen plaies well, they smell too much of that writer *Ouid,* and that writer *Metamorphosis,* and talke too much of *Proserpina & Iuppiter.* Why heres our fellow Shakespeare puts them all downe, I and *Ben Ionson* too. O that *Ben Ionson* is a pestilent fellow, he brought vp *Horace* giuing the Poets a pill, but our fellow Shakespeare hath giuen him a purge that made him beray his credit.
> (*The Return From Parnassus, Part II*, Act 4, Scene 3, 1806-79)

In fact, the only sense in which Shakespeare — who is portrayed as a non-university man — gives Jonson a metaphorical purge is by acting in Dekker's *Satiromastix*, the play that satirises Jonson. One is tempted to interpret "pen plaies well" as confirmation that Shakespeare and Shakespeare were the same person, however, what follows raises doubt. Disillusioned, Philomusus and Studioso leave the acting company and become travelling fiddlers:

> *Studioso (going aside sayeth).* Faire fall good Orpheus, that would rather be King of a mole hill than a Keysars slave:[34]
> Better it is mongst fiddlers to be chiefe,
> Than at [a] plaiers trencher[a] beg reliefe.

But ist not strange these mimick apes[b] should prize
Unhappy Schollers at a hireling rate?
Vile world, that lifts them up to hye degree,
And treads us downe in grovelling misery.
England affordes those glorious vagabonds[c],
That carried earst their fardels[d] on their backes,
Coursers to ride on through the gazing streetes,
Sooping[e] it in their glaring Satten sutes[f],
And Pages to attend their maisterships:
With mouthing words that better wits have framed
They purchase lands, and now Esquires are named.
(*The Return From Parnassus, Part II*, Act 5, Scene 1, 1914-28)

Key : (a) service, (b) actors, (c) actors, (d) bundles, (e) sweeping, (f) suits

This appears to be a general reference to the exploitation of scholars by players. However, Shakespeare had inherited his father's coat of Arms in September 1601 only three months before this play was performed "and now Esquires are named." (On 10 October 1601, an updated deed transferring ownership of the Globe and other Southwark properties mentions "Richard Burbage and William Shackspeare gentleman".) However, it is not even necessary for this to be particular to Shakespeare. Even if all actors were the target, the speech implies that every actor that has land and is a "Gentleman", including Shakespeare, speaks the words of better wits, presumably university-educated ones, that is to say, none of the plays he speaks in are his own, contradicting the position that Shakespeare acted in plays that he also wrote. As for Philomusus and Studioso, they finally decide to become shepherds and end the play attending flocks of sheep on the downs of Kent.

There are two other references to Shakespeare the actor that deserve inclusion. There is a diary entry by John Manningham dated 13 March 1602, who obtained it from Mr Towse, a Bencher of the Inner Temple, relating an amusing incident that occurred after a performance of Richard III:

> Vpon a tyme when Burbidge played Rich. 3. there was a Citizen greue soe farr in liking with him, that before shee went from the play shee appointed him to come that night vnto hir by the name of Ri: the 3. Shakespeare overhearing their conclusion went before, was intertained, and at his game ere Burbidge came. Then message being brought that Rich. the 3.d was at the dore, Shakespeare caused returne to be made that William the Conquerour was before Rich. the 3. Shakespeare's name William.[35]

Also, when Queen Elizabeth died on 24 March 1603, James VI of Scotland was crowned King of England. James, who enjoyed the theatre,

took over the patronage of The Lord Chamberlaine's Men, then London's premier acting company, with its new name the King's Men. William Shakespeare's name appears on the patent creating the new company:

> Wee ... doe licence and aucthorize thise our Servauntes Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustyne Phillippes, Iohn Heninges, Henrie Condell, William Sly, Robert Armyn, Richard Cowley, and the rest of theire Assosiates freely to vse and execise the Arte and faculty of playing Comedies, Tragedies, histories, Enterludes, moralls, pastoralls, Stageplaies and Suche others like as theie haue alreadie studied or hereafter shall vse or studie as well for the recreation of our lovinge Subjectes as for our Solace and pleasure when wee shall thincke good to see them duringe our pleasure.[36]

The following note was discovered amongst Ben Jonson's papers after he died in 1637. It was published in *Timber: or Discoveries, made upon men and matter* (1641) and represents a clear expression of Jonson's perception of the relationship between Shakespeare and Shakespeare:

> I remember, the Players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his writing, (whatsoever he penn'd) hee never blotted out line. My answer hath beene, 'Would he had blotted a thousand,' which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this, but for their ignorance, who chose that circumstance to commend their friend by, wherein he most faulted.[37]

Our first observation is that "in his writing" is qualified by "whatsoever he penned" as if Jonson is casting doubt on what should be attributed to the actor. We then have "Would he have blotted a thousand" which is clearly identified as a "malevolent speech." Jonson evidently felt that the actor's writing (if it existed) was unworthy of commendation. He continues with a comment on Shakespeare's spontaneity:

> … wherein he flow'd with that faculty, that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopp'd: *Sufflaminandus erat*[a]; as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his owne power; would the rule of it had beene so too. Many times he fell into those things could not escape laughter, as when he said in the person of Caesar, one speaking to him 'Caesar, thou dost me wrong.' He replied, 'Caesar never did wrong but with just cause': and such like, which were ridiculous. But he redeemed his vices with his virtues. There was ever more in him to be praised than to be pardoned.
>
> *Key : (a) he had to be repressed*

This is a telling reference to the Roman orator Haterius who had a reputation for confusing his words. With "would the rule of it had beene

so too," Jonson does not confirm the level of intelligence one might expect from the author of the Shake-speare work. *Julius Caesar* was first printed in the First Folio (1623) where the following appears at the end of a 14-line speech by Caesar:

> *Caesar*. … Know, Caesar doth not wrong, nor without cause
> Will he be satisfied
> (1599 *Julius Caesar*, Act 3, Scene 1)

The two most likely interpretations of Jonson's comments relate to the question as to whether Shakespeare's "ridiculous" speech was an attempt to recall the First Folio version of the play or a lost earlier version. Either,

(a) The line that he heard the actor recite was from an earlier version of *Julius Caesar*, Shakespeare correctly recalled it, and so Jonson was instead criticising the writing. Since the *actor* was the object of the ridicule, Jonson was then attributing the writing to him. Caesar's speech must have been modified later for the First Folio; or

(b) There was no earlier version of Caesar's speech and it originally existed as given in the First Folio. The actor had incorrectly recalled the line and replaced it with an ill-considered version. Jonson was therefore ridiculing the recollection not the writing.

Fortunately, there is some evidence to allow us to decide between these alternatives. In 1625, Ben Jonson's comedy *The Staple of News* was acted by "His Majesty's Servants" containing the line that had made Shakespeare such an object of ridicule for Jonson. The Induction (or Prologue) has the following exchange between Prologue and Madame Expectation:

> *Prologue* : [We ask] That your Ladyship would expect no more than you understand.
> *Expectation* : Sir, I can expect, enough.
> *Prologue* : I fear, too much, Lady and teach others to do like.
> *Expectation* : I can do that too, if I have cause.
> *Prologue* : Cry you mercy, you never did wrong, but with just cause.

In consideration of case (a), it is reasonable to assume that Jonson would have been aware of the correction to the line in *Julius Caesar*, especially since there is evidence that he worked on Shake-speare's First Folio (see §2.4) and the fact that he provided two eulogies suggests some empathy for the writer at that time. Two years later *The Staple of News* appeared. It seems unlikely that Jonson would now continue to ridicule the deceased author because not only had the line now been corrected for the First Folio, but he had demonstrated his respect for him only two

years earlier. This leaves us case (b), where the First Folio version of *Julius Caesar* was a copy of the original one and the actor incorrectly recalled a line that was not his. The implication is that Jonson perceived Shake-speare the author and Shakepeare the actor to be different people, for while one might forgive the real Shake-speare for forgetting one of his own lines, one would not expect him to give a "ridiculous" substitute in its place.

In 1687, the dramatist Edward Ravenscroft published his updated version of *Titus Andronicus*. In the preface, he claims that:

> I have been told by some anciently conversant with the stage that it was originally not his but brought by a private author to be acted, and he only gave some master-touches to one or two of the principal parts or characters.[38]

We do not learn who this "private author" was but mere "touches" are insufficient to award Shakespeare authorship priority. On the other hand, the date suggests that Ravenscroft was not reporting contemporary testimony.

As mentioned in the Prologue, Robert Greene, in his *Farewell to Folly* (1591), provides us with some insight into what seemed to be a frequent practice, by likening some who have placed their name on work to Batillus, a minor poet in Augustus Caesar's reign:

> Others … which for their calling and gravity being loth to have any profane pamphlets pass under their hands, get some other Batillus to set his name to their verses. Thus is the ass made proud by this underhand brokery.[39]

While we have not succeeded in finding strong evidence that the player was the author we already have the testimony of Dowdall, Aubrey and Jonson that the Stratford man was the player (see §2.2). We now examine what is known about Shake-speare the author.

2.4 *Shake-speare the Author*

When the long poems, *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594), were published by Richard Field, with the name William Shakespeare at the foot of the dedications to the Earl of Southampton, it was widely acknowledged that the work was exceptional. The clergyman Frances Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia: Wits Treasury* (1598) enthused:

> As the soul of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweet witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare, witness his Venus and Adonis, his Lucrece, his sugared sonnets amongst his private friends, etc.

In the same year, the poet Richard Barnfield wrote:

> And Shakespeare thou, whose honey-flowing Vein
> (Pleasing the World), thy Praises doth obtain.
> Whose Venus, and whose Lucrece (sweet, and chaste)
> Thy Name in Fame's immortal Book have placed.

The diary[40] of Philip Henslowe, who owned the Rose theatre at Southwark in the 1590s, gives an important insight into the world of Elizabethan theatre. The manuscript consists of a folio of 242 leaves measuring about 13.25×8 inches, which appears to have been used for several different purposes: mining accounts which predate Philip Henslowe's ownership and were entered by his brother John before he died; Philip's personal notes that include medical remedies; his pawn accounts for which business he appears to have used agents; and, finally, his theatrical business. This last category covers the years 1592–1603, and itself divides into four divisions: the naming of plays and their daily receipts from 19 February 1591/2 to 5 November 1597; expenditure on behalf of the Lord Admiral's Men (or Worcester's Men); payments for the building and repair of his interests (the Rose and Fortune theatres); and miscellaneous notes that include the names of actors employed. The earliest reference to a Shake-speare work is "Harey the vj" (although no dramatist is named alongside it) which was acted as a new play by Lord Strange's men, probably at the Rose, on the 3rd of March 1592. In the summer of 1592,[41] Thomas Nashe in *Pierce Penilesse, his Supplication to the Divell* mentions Talbot from the same *Henry VI, Part 1,* being played on the stage:

> How would it have joyed brave Talbot, the terror of the French, to think that after he had lien two hundred years in his tomb he should triumph again on the stage, and have his bones new-embalmed with the tears of ten thousand speactators at least, at several times, who in the tragedian that represents his person imagine that they behold him fresh bleeding![42]

We recall from the Greene–Chettle *Groatsworth*, that the attack on Shakespeare indicates that *Henry VI, Part 3* had already been performed, so it is a fair estimate that all three parts of *Henry VI* were already on the stage by the end of 1592.

An important document for the history of the Shake-speare work is *Palladis Tamia* (1598) written by Frances Meres which gives us an upper limit to the date of many of the plays:

> As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for comedy and tragedy amongst the Latins, so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage. For comedy, witness his *Gentlemen of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Love Labour's Lost*, his *Love Labour's Won*,

> his *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and his *Merchant of Venice*; for tragedy, his *Richard the 2*., *Richard the 3*., *Henry the 4*., *King John*, *Titus Andronicus* and his *Romeo and Juliet*.

It is not, however, taken as a complete list for *The Taming of the Shrew*, the three parts of *Henry VI*, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, all of which have been dated prior to 1598, are omitted.

Shake-speare's name might have been recorded for posterity, but his contemporaries appear not to have appreciated the man behind the name. The letters of John Chamberlaine which were full of gossip about London life and the theatre world have no mention of him:

> John Chamberlaine wrote 479 extant letters covering the period 1597-1627, but never mentioned Shake-speare though he did mention Samuel Daniel, Ben Jonson (several times), Edmund Spenser and John Donne.[43]

The same can be reported of another man of letters, Sir Henry Wotton, who corresponded with many notable figures of the time. When he published his *Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems, with Characters of Sundry Personages etc.* Shake-speare was conspicuous by his absence.

After years of corrupt Shake-speare manuscripts finding their way into print as 'bad' quartos — usually derived from doubtful recollections by actors who knew only their own part — the high-style versions of Shake-speare's work were collected together as *Shake-speare's Sonnets* (1609) and the 36 plays in the First Folio (1623). When the First Folio appeared on 1 November 1623, Sir Francis Bacon was the only one of the main candidates still alive: Shakspere had been in his grave seven years, Edward de Vere the Earl of Oxford 19 years, and Christopher Marlowe 30 years.

There are several tributes that preface the plays of the First Folio. First, on the left-hand page opposite the grotesque image of Shake-speare, B.I. (Ben Jonson) addresses a few remarks "To the Reader" (Figure 3). We then have two contributions from Heminge and Condell, William Shakespeare's fellow players; another from Ben Jonson; a Hugh Holland eulogy; a memoriam by L. Digges, one of Shakspere's friends, who clearly believed that Shakspere was Shake-speare when mentioning "thy Stratford moniment"; and finally a few lines from the unidentified I.M. who some believe to be James Mabbe, a friend of L. Digges.

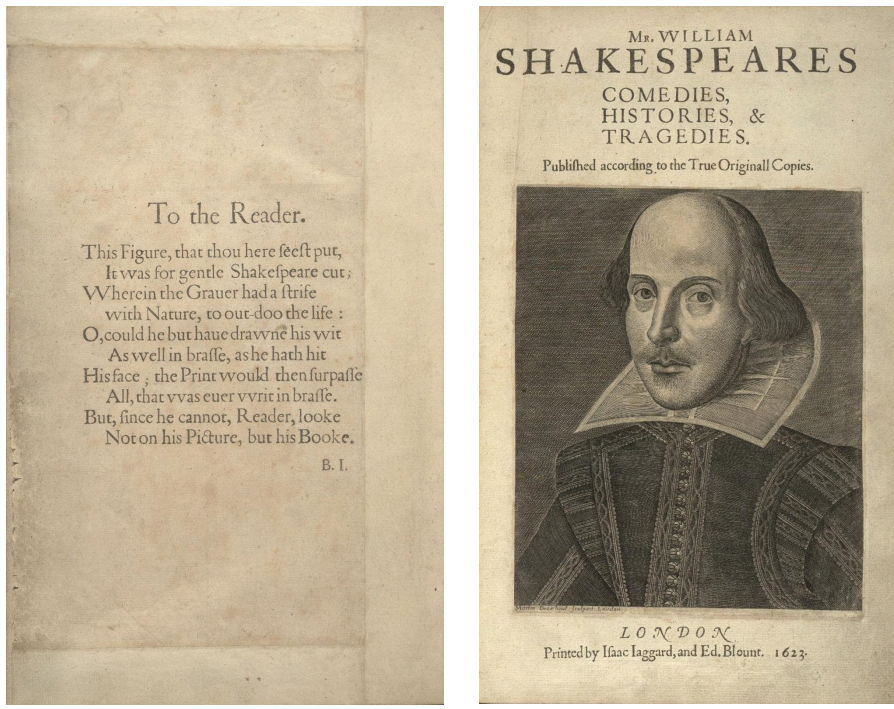
Ben Jonson is a central figure in the authorship debate because he knew both William Shakspere and Sir Francis Bacon well, which places him in an ideal position to judge who wrote the work. Jonson's second tribute consists of 80 lines of largely effusive but equivocal verse addressed to "The Author Mr William Shakespeare" and is of interest to the authorship question for its reference to Stratford-on-Avon:

Sweet Swan of Avon! What a sight it were
To see thee in our waters yet appeare,
And make those flights along the bankes of Thames,
That so did take Eliza and our James!

This has often been taken as clear confirmation that Shake-speare was the Stratford actor, however, there is need for pause. The notion of a reflection "To see thee in our waters yet appeare" could well denote appearance as opposed to reality, and "take" might not mean "impress" but the derogatory "deceive".

For a good Poet's made, as well as borne.
And such wert though.

This sounds like a manufactured poet, a front for another man.



To the Reader.

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

B. I.

MR. WILLIAM
SHAKESPEARES
COMEDIES,
HISTORIES, &
TRAGEDIES.

Published according to the True Originall Copies.

LONDON
Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623.

Figure 3. Dedication by B.I. 'To the Reader' opposite supposed Shakespeare image, *Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories & Tragedies* (1623)

The puzzle continues (italics added):

Or, when thy sockes were on
Leave thee alone, for the comparison
Of all, that *insolent Greece, or haughtie Rome*
Sent forth, or since from their ashes come.

The reference here is to the plays inherited from the Greek and Roman

civilisations and years later, writing in his *Timber: or, Discoveries*, Jonson commends Sir Francis Bacon in a similar vein:

> But his learned and able (though unfortunate) successor [Bacon] is he who hath filled up all the numbers[a], and performed that in our tongue which may be compared or preferred either to insolent Greece or to haughty Rome. In short, within his view, and about his times, were all the wits borne [including Shake-speare], that could honour a language, or helpe study. Now things daily fall: wits grow downe-ward, and Eloquence growes back-ward: so that he may be named, and stand as the mark[b], and acme of our language.[44]
>
> *Key: (a) verse-writer or polymath, (b) target to be reached*

Here, in one sentence about Bacon, is an allusion to the First Folio and a declaration that he is the master of the English language. All this when Jonson has had full knowledge of Shake-speare's literary output. Marriott[45] has countered the suggestion that "filled up all the numbers" refers to verse-writing:

> Ben Jonson's assertion that Bacon 'filled up all the numbers' is probably an adaptation … of Cicero's '*Mundus expletus omnibus suis numeris et partibus*', the world complete in all its numbers and parts — words in which there is no reference to metrical numbers at all, and which as applied to Bacon might be paraphrased 'his set purpose was the perfecting of knowledge in all of its numerous departments' …

It seems that the 'probably' depends on the following circumstance:

> Jonson also applied the same phrase to another well-known experimental philosopher of the day Sir Kenelne Digby, whom in his Eupheme, a poem in praise of Lady Venetia Digby, he described as "A Gentleman absolute in all the numbers".

While this is a possible interpretation, Miss Marriott has no alternative explanation for "insolent Greece or haughty Rome" nor the fact that Jonson gives Bacon not Shakspere (even though Jonson assisted with the First Folio) as "the mark of our language", remarking only that "a mountainous deduction from such a molehill of premises can hardly be found except amongst Baconians".

Jonson now cites a well-known dichotomy of the Elizabethan age, the division of things into Nature and Art. This view located anything that did not originate from the reality of Nature (and so was "not of Nature's family") in the inventive sphere of Art:

> The merry Greeke, tart Aristophanes,
> Neat Terence, witty Plautus now not please;
> But antiquated, and deserted lye
> As they were not of Nature's family.
> Yet must I not give Nature all: Thy Art

My gentle Shakespeare, must enjoy a part.

This is an ambiguous passage. The claim that "they were not of Nature's family" could mean that the work of these three classical dramatists was in some way unreal. Titus Maccius Plautus (251–184 B.C.) was born in the small Umbrian mountain village of Sarsina and rose to become ancient Rome's best known comedy playwright. The English academic and poet, Nicholas Grimald (1519–1562), commenting on his own translation of Cicero's *De Officiis* (1556) claimed that both Plautus and Terence assumed the ownership of work they had translated from Greek:

> I call it mine as Plautus and Terence called the comedies theirs which they made out of Greek …[46]

Grimald probably had the Greek writer Menander in mind whose comedies Plautus adapted.

Terence (190–159BC), or Publius Terentius Afer, was born at Cathage and was an African enslaved to the Roman senator Terentius Lucanus who had him educated before liberating him. Terence went on to write celebrated drama, or at least, that was how it appeared. In 1570, Roger Ascham, tutor to Elizabeth I, proposed Scipio as the real author of the Terence plays in his book *The Schoolmaster* (1570):

> Because it is well known, by good record of learning and that by Cicero's own witness, that some Comedies bearing Terence's name were written by worthy Scipio, and wise Lælius, and namely Heauton: and Adelphi.

Whether or not Terence really did act as a mask for Scipio is irrelevant. The point is that it was an Elizabethan point of view. Aristophanes (c.448–385BC) was a Greek comedy writer whose first three plays, *The Banqueters*, *The Babylonians*, and *Acharnians*, were produced under the name of an older friend Callistratus. In fact, to disguise his youth, he had once entered *Archanians* in a competition using the pseudonym Detalis. So it is feasible that Jonson's point is one of a misrepresentation of the ownership of work and the last three lines associate these three writers with Shake-speare.

This was not the only time that Terence was compared to Shake-speare. When John Davies of Hereford published the Scourge of Folly (1610), a collection of epigrams, he presented Epigram 59 as a tribute "To our English Terence, Mr Will Shake-speare":

> Some say good Will (which I in sport do sing)
> Had'st thou plaid some Kingly parts in sport,
> Thou had'st bin a companion for a King;
> And been a King among the meaner sort.
> Some others raile but raile as they thinke fit,

Thou hast no rayling, but a raigning Wit:
And honesty thou sow'st which they do reap;
So, to increase their Stocke which they do keepe.

There is an interesting curiosity in this verse, though it is by no means clear if it was intentional. We take the use of "bin" in line 3 as a clue (N.B. "been" suffices in line 4). If we partition the letters as "*b* / in a companion for / *a King*" we arrive at the Bacon homophone "baKing". Bacon was certainly a companion to King James being one of his advisors. We could then take the last two lines to indicate that the real author's work was being used by another man. It is no less probable than the interpretation of the "Hate-away" sonnet from §2.2.

As for Jonson, one of his biographers David Riggs believes his contribution to Shake-speare's First Folio ran deeper than a couple of commendatory verses:

> … the men who prepared the folio for the press (and Jonson may well have been one of them) remade Shakespeare in Jonson's image. Heminge's and Condell's prefatory letter "To the Great Variety of Readers" echoes Jonson's Induction to Bartholomew Fair … The prefatory poems by Jonson, Hugh Holland, James Mabbe, and Leonard Digges transform Shakespeare into a specifically literary figure whose works have achieved the status of modern classics; the closest analogue to these tributes are the poems prefixed to Jonson's 1616 folio. The scribes who prepared the copy for the Shakespeare folio abandoned the "light pointing" or "playhouse punctuation" of the Shakespeare quartos and adopted the so-called logical pointing that Jonson had employed in his *Works* (1616). The extensive use of parentheses, semicolons and end-stopped lines in the 1623 folio owes more to Jonson's example than to Shakespeare's habits of composition.[47]

According to Archbishop Tennison, Ben Jonson later worked for Bacon translating his *Essays* (1625) into Latin:

> The Latin translation of them was a work performed by divers hands; by those of Dr Hackett (late Bishop of Lichfield), Mr. Benjamin Jonson (the learned and judicious poet) and some others whose names I once heard from Dr Rawley; but I cannot recall them now.[48]

If Bacon was harbouring an authorship secret, it is very likely that Jonson would have been privy to it.

2.5 *Summary*

According to Dowdall, Aubrey and Jonson, the Stratford man was also the London actor who performed with the Lord Chamberlaine's Men. Like Ben Jonson, Shakspere would have needed access to a substantial library as well as a voracious appetite for self-education in law, the

classics, English history, and several modern European languages in order to write the Shake-speare work. This is not impossible but there is no evidence for it.

A name similar to Shakspere's appears on the published sonnets and plays, as does the name of Shakspere's company The Lord Chamberlaine's Men and it is mainly these facts that persuade modern opinion that he wrote them. Ben Jonson's First Folio tribute connects Shakspere with the author but it invites interpretation (see §2.4). On the other hand, Robert Greene (or Henry Chettle), Ben Jonson and John Marston collectively cast contemporary doubt on the Stratford actor also being the author of these celebrated works and seem to portray him as an opportunist who claimed ownership of plays he had gathered. This charge of wholesale plagiarism might account for the wide variation of style that has been observed under the name of William Shakespeare in the quarto copies, one that has often been attributed to his collaboration with fellow dramatists. Scholars of Renaissance literature, who for centuries have believed they were discovering in the quartos who Shakspere worked with, might instead have been unwittingly revealing who the actor stole from.

In an age when class distinction was more pronounced that the present, one wonders how Shakspere managed, in so short a time, to gain the familiarity with court life that his early plays exhibit. There is the absence of a passport record in the Public Record Office in London that would have demonstrated he travelled abroad (and a connection with the French Court of Navarre would almost have been a necessity for *Love's Labour's Lost*). Finally, there is the requisite uninterrupted leisure time to write over a long period which a London actor in repertory theatre did not have.

There were other names similar to Shake-speare who frequented the London theatre world. It is likely that William's brother Edmond Shakespeare appeared as a player in London at that time, it is certain that there was a William Shakshafte who acted under Alexander Houghton's patronage in 1581, and there was a player called Edward Schackspeere who baptised his son at St Giles in 1607.[49] So if a nobleman wanted to manufacture the name Shake-speare and find a similar name in the theatre world to act as a mask then there were candidates available.

Chapter 3. The Tempest

3.1 *Preliminary*

We examine the evidence that the main source for *The Tempest* was a secret pamphlet sent back from the newly established Virginia colony in 1610, about a year before the play was given its first known performance. The argument to be developed here is that the pamphlet contained sensitive information and that it is very unlikely that William Shakspere would have been able to have gained access to it.

3.2 *New Virginia Colony*

In 1606, the newly inaugurated Virginia Company published a Charter with the design of financing and promoting the inhabitation of the new Virginia colony in America. Eight names appeared on the document who bought shares at £12 10s (£12.50) each. The Virginia Company's three ships set sail in December 1606, containing 144 men and boys, and on 13 May 1607, the first settlers built a three-sided fort on the banks of the James at Jamestown Island. The early settlers attempted to make the venture profitable by producing glass, pitch, potash and tar, on the promise of land ownership after seven year service. Unfortunately, it was cheaper to buy them elsewhere.

On 23 May 1609, the Second Virginia Charter was issued signed by King James with the attached names of shareholders, 52 of which were Council members charged with governing the colony from London. Sir Francis Bacon was one of them but William Shakspere was not. Bacon, whom King James had promoted to Solicitor-General only two years earlier, was well placed to devise the charters of government for the new colony in 1609 and 1612, as was another Council member, the Attorney General Sir Henry Hobart, although it is unclear who the task fell to.

An expedition of nine ships carrying some 600 passengers set sail from Plymouth to reinforce the colony on Friday evening 10 May 1609. On 23 July, while off Bermuda, one of the ships, the Sea Venture, carrying both the intended Deputy Governor, Sir Thomas Gates, and the Secretary, William Strachey, hit a severe storm which damaged their vessel. Miraculously, after bailing out water for three days and four nights, the ship became wedged between two rocks off Bermuda and all 150 passengers reached dry land. The rest of the fleet made it to Virginia only to find disease, starvation, and social disorder. Meanwhile, at Bermuda, despite several attempts at mutiny, the survivors built two small vessels from the remains of the Sea Venture, and on 10 May 1610

they continued to Jamestown. On reaching the colony on 23 May, they found that most of the emigrants had died of starvation the previous winter. The native Indians had prevented the settlers from hunting, fishing or gathering wood, and had been killing those who ventured outside to do so. So on 7 June the colonists abandoned the post for Newfoundland with the intention of returning home on the English fishing fleet but instead they met some English supply ships and elected to return to the colony. Nevertheless, many were discouraged and later returned to England.

In the Shake-speare play *The Tempest*, a fleet bound for Naples hits a storm and the ship carrying Alonso, King of Naples, becomes separated from the rest of the fleet who assume that Alonso has succumbed:

> *Ariel* …and for the rest o' th' Fleet
> (Which I dispers'd), they all have met again,
> And are upon the Mediterranean Flote
> Bound sadly home for Naples,
> Supposing that they saw the King's ship wrackt,
> And his great person perish.
> (1610-11 *The Tempest*, Act 1, Scene 2)

3.3 *William Strachey's Letter*

In the middle of July 1610, Gates left the colony, arriving back in England in September 1610. In his possession was a 2000-word pamphlet written by William Strachey, addressed to a noble lady connected with the Virginia Council, revealing the murders and insurrections in the new colony. As we shall see, there are many descriptive correspondences between this letter and passages in *The Tempest* which suggest that the letter had been used by Shake-speare as a source for the play. However, the letter was not published by the Virginia Council and was only discovered when Richard Hakluyt, one of the eight names on the First Virginia Charter (1606), died in 1616 and a copy was found among his papers. Instead, the Virginia Company published a sanitized version of the letter, *A True Declaration of the state of the Colony in Virginia with a confutation of such scandalous reports as have tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise*[1] which was entered in the Stationers Register on 8 November 1610. Silvester Jourdain, who had been aboard the Sea Venture when it ran aground off Bermuda, published his own account of the storm in *A Discovery of the Bermudas, Otherwise Called the Isle of Devils*[2] which appeared on 3 October 1610 and ran to about 12 pages. As far as we know, *The Tempest* was first performed on 1 November 1611 while the Strachey

letter was first published in *Purchas His Pilgrims* (1625).[3]

The following table gives 12 correspondencs between the Strachey letter and *The Tempest*, that appear in neither of the other two published accounts. The left-hand column shows the entry from Strachey's pamphlet while the right-hand column gives the item in *The Tempest*.

Strachey Letter[4]	**The Tempest**
The storm is described as having "beat all light from heaven; which like an hell of darkness turned black upon us … The sea swelled above the clouds, which gave battle unto heaven." (pp.4, 7)	*Miranda* … The sky it seemes would powre down stinking pitch, But that the Sea, mounting to th'welkins [sky's] cheek, Dashes the fire out … (Act 1, Scene 2)
"we … had now purposed to have cut down the Maine Mast the more to lighten her" (p.14)	*Boteswaine.* Downe with the top-Maste… (Act 1, Scene 1)
"Sir George Somers … had an apparition of a little round light, like a faint star, trembling, and streaming along with a sparkling blaze, half the height upon the Maine Mast, and shooting sometimes from shroud to shroud, tempting to settle as it were upon any of the four Shrouds …" (p.12) … "The superstitious seamen make many constructions of this sea fire." (p.13)	The spirit Ariel reports to his master Prospero. *Ariel.* I boorded the King's ship: now on the Beake, Now in the Waste, the Decke, in euery Cabyn, I flam'd amazement, sometime I'd diuide and burne in many places; on the Top-mast, The Yardes and Bore-Spritt, would I flame distinctly, Then meete and ioyne …(Act 1, Scene 2)
The sailors "threw over-boord much luggage . . . and staved [emptied] many a Butt of Beere, Hogsheads of Oyle, Syder, Wine, and Vinegar, and heaved away all our Ordnance on the Starboord side" (p.14).	*Stephano* … I escaped upon a But of Sacke [white wine], which the sailors heaued o'reboord …(Act 2, Scene 2) *Stephano* … helpe to bear this away, where my hogshead of wine is … (Act 4, Scene 1)
"Berries, whereof our men seething, straining, and letting stand some three or four days,	Caliban is reminiscing about how kind Prospero had been to him. *Caliban* … would'st giue me Water

made a kind of pleasant drink" (p.18)	with berries in't … (Act 1, Scene 2)
Animals mentioned are "Toade" (p.23), "black beetle" (p.23), "owls, and bats in great store" (p.30)	*Caliban* … Toades, Beetles, Battes light on you … (Act 1, Scene 2) *Ariel* (singing) … There I cowch when Owles do crie, On the battes back I doe fly… (Act 5, Scene 1)
Some rebels "by a mutual consent forsook their labour . . . and like outlawes betook them to the wild woods" after which they demanded "two suits of apparel" each from the Governor (pp.49, 50).	Ariel leads Stephano, Trinculo and Caliban to Prospero to trick them into stealing clothes … *Ariel* … they my lowing follow'd, through Tooth'd briars, sharp furzes, prickin gosse, & thorns *Prospero*… The trumpery in my house goe bring it hither … *Enter* Ariel *laden with glistering Apparell* (Act 4, Scene 1)
The Governor uncovered an insurrection "before the time was ripe for the execution thereof" following which "every man thenceforth commanded to wear his weapon . . . and every man advised to stand upon his guard" (p.47).	Sebastian and Antonio's plot against the King is discovered. *Gonzalo* … I saw their weapons drawne: there was a noyse, That's verily: 'tis best we stand upon our guard; Or that we quit this place; let's draw our weapons. (Act 2, Scene 1)
One of the plotters "was brought forth in manacles" (p.45)	*Prospero* (to *Ferdinand*) …I'll manacle thy neck and feet together (Act 1, Scene 2)
At first Gates, refusing to respond in like manner to the barbarous native Indians, "… would not by any meanes be wrought to a violent proceeding against them, for all the practices of villainy, with which they daily endangered our men, thinking it possible, by a	Prospero's hardening of attitude towards Caliban, after Caliban has attempted to rape Miranda, mirrors the Governor's change towards the natives. *Prospero* … I pitied thee, Took paines to make thee speake, taught thee each hour, One thing or

more tractable course, to win them to a better condition: but now … he well perceived, how little a faire and noble intreaty workes upon a barbarous disposition, and therefore in some measure purposed to be revenged" (p.88)	another: when thou didst not (Savage) Know thine own meaning … But thy wild race (Tho thou didst learn) had that in't, Which good natures Could not abide to be with; therefore wast thou Deservedly confin'd into this Rocke …(Act 1, Scene 2)
The Spaniard "Gonzalus Ferdinandus Oviedus," who first described the Bermudas is mentioned (p.18)	Two of the characters in The Tempest are Gonzalo and Ferdinand.
"… the sharp winds blowing northerly" (p.21)	*Prospero*…To run upon the sharpe winde of the North (Act 1, Scene 2)

This brings us to our main point. *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*,[5] maintains that Strachey's letter was "circulated in manuscript". There is no discussion of any restriction on who might have received a copy and one is left with the impression that it would have been widely available, in particular, to Shakspere.

There is evidence that the murderous behaviour of the native Indians was unknown prior to Sir Thomas Gates setting out for Jamestown on 10 May 1609. Item 18 of the Virginia Council's *Instruccions Orders and Constituccions ... To Sr Thomas Gates Knight Governor of Virginia* dated May 1610 states that:

> The second enemy is the natives who can no way hurte you but by fire or by destroyinge your catle, or hinderinge your workes[6]

There is no mention of the behaviour that Strachey subsequently reported in his letter, that

> … the Indians killed as fast without, if our men stirred but beyond the bounds of their blockhouse, as famine and pestilence did within.[7]

Neither could the Virginia Council have anticipated Strachey's report about how much the settlers wanted to leave the colony after Gates finally reached them from Bermuda:

> it pleased our governor to make a speech unto the company … if he should not find it possible and easy to supply them with something from the country by the endeavours of his able men, he would make ready and transport them all into their native country … at which there was a … shout of joy[8]

As we have learnt, the men actually left the colony, and it was only the intervention of English supply ships that encouraged them to turn back.

The aim of the Virginia Company was to attract both new investment and new settlers and it appears inconceivable that the central committee of the Council would have sanctioned circulation of this manuscript, least of all to an outsider such as Shakspere whose business was public. The fact that he might have known members of the Council fails to dilute this point. That secrecy was indeed an issue is exemplified by Item 27 of the governing Council's instructions to Gates:

> You must take especial care what relacions [accounts] come into England and what lettres are written and that all thinges of that nature may be boxed up and sealed and sent to first of [sic] the Council here, … and that at the arrivall and retourne of every shippinge you endeavour to knowe all the particular passages and informacions given on both sides and to advise us accordingly.[9]

The Council must have realized that, by word of mouth, details of the murder and low morale on the colony would get back to England so they made no attempt to conceal it. Instead they put out a reinterpretation of the facts. When *A True Declaration of the state of the Colony in Virginia with a confutation of such scandalous reports as have tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise* was published it placed full responsibility for the debacle with the settlers:

> Our mutinous loiterers would not sow with providence … An incredible example of their idleness is the report of Sir Thomas Gates, who affirmeth that after coming thither he hath seen some of them eat their fish raw rather than they would go a stone's cast to fetch wood and dress it.[10]

The author of this admonishment must have been fully aware of Strachey's account that when the men gathered strawberries or fetched fresh water, the Indians:

> would assault and charge with their bows and arrows, in which manner they killed many of our men.[11]

He must also have anticipated that this last fact had already been made public because he again blamed the settlers:

> They created the Indians our implacable enemies by some violence they had offered;[12]

The *True Declaration* reports the slaughter of some 30 settlers and although admitting that "they were cruelly murdered and massacred" it is framed as the response of a provoked tribe of Indians who were "boiling with desire of revenge".[13] It concludes by listing in glowing terms the abundance of trees, fish, and minerals on the colony evidently designed to encourage new investment and colonists. Suffice it to say, that if the Council were so keen to attribute blame to the settlers when the Strachey letter clearly places it with the Indians then they would

have almost certainly kept the Strachey letter restricted.

3.4 *King James*

William Strachey went on to write *The History of Travel into Virginia Britannica*,[14] a book that avoided duplicating the details in the letter. First published in 1849 and edited by R.H. Major, three manuscript copies survive dedicated to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland; Sir William Apsley, Purveyor of his Majesty's Navy Royal; and Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor. In the dedication to Bacon, which must have been composed after 1618, Strachey writes:

> Your Lordship ever approving himself a most noble fautor [supporter] of the Virginia Plantation …

Bacon certainly had an interest in the New World. In 1610, he was a founder member of the Newfoundland Fisheries Company and in 1618 was admitted a brother of the East India Company.

With the letter arriving in England in September 1610, there was ample time to write a play. The first known performance was at Court on Hallowmas night, 1 November 1611, by the King's Men,[15] Shakespeare's company, although it is unlikely that he was still acting with them at this time — he appeared with the King's Men in neither *The Foxe* (1605), *The Alchemist* (1610), nor *Cataline* (1611), see §2.3. After the *Comedy of Errors*, *The Tempest* is the shortest of the Shakespeare plays, making it an unsuitable length for the theatre, and Prospero's closing speech hints at its intended audience:

> *Prospero.* … Our Revels now are ended
> (1610-11 *The Tempest*, Act 4, Scene 1)

It was also acted on St Valentine's Day 1613 at the marriage of Princess Elizabeth[16] and it seems that actors from Gray's Inn together with the other Inns of Court were present. Sir William Dugdale informs us that they performed in a "great mask" for the occasion:

> In the 10th [year] of king James, the gentlemen of this house [Gray's Inn] were (together with those of the other innes of court) actors in that great mask at Whitehall at the marriage of the king's eldest daughter unto Frederick count palatine of the Rhene …[17]

It is not clear what the "great masque" was but since Bacon was still a producer of Gray's Inn masques in February 1613 (see §6.3) it appears likely that he produced this one.[18]

Kermode[19] and Bullough[20] have suggested that instead of the Strachey letter providing the ship-wreck material for *The Tempest*, two earlier sources could have been relied upon, namely, Eden's *The Decades of the New Worlde Or West India* (1555) and Erasmus's

Naufragium/The Shipwreck (1523). Kositsky and Stritmatter[21] have demonstrated that there are some good parallels with *The Tempest*. For example, when the Boteswaine cries "down with the top mast":

> When he so said, he commanded al the ropes to be cut, and the Maine-maste to be sawen down close by the boxe (Erasmus, Burton translation 1606, G2v)

We might also imagine the spirit Ariel's visit to the ship:

> For there appeared in theyr shyppes certeyne flames of fyre burnynge very cleare, which they caul Saynt Helen and Saynt Nicholas. These appeared as thoughe they had byn uppon the masts of the shyppes, in such clearnesse that they tooke away theyr sight … I have here thought good to saye sumewhat of these straunge fyers which sum ignorant folkes thynke to bee spirites or such other phantasies wheras they are but natural thunges proceadynge of naturall causes … Of the kynde of trewe fyer, is the fyer baul or starre commonly called Saynt Helen which is sumetyme seene abowte the mastes of shyppes … and is a token of drowning. (Eden, 1555 edition, Readex Microprint 217v-218)

So did Shake-speare use a 1609 source or a much earlier one? One point that must not be neglected is that the first known performance of *The Tempest* was before King James. Since the King had a strong commitment to the Virginia Colony any allusions to it in the play would have captured his attention when he attended the 1611 performance at Whitehall. To illustrate this point about topical allusions, there was a rumour circulating King James's court in December 1609, that Arabella Stuart, a first cousin of the King's and a member of the Queen's household, was secretly planning to wed Stephano Janiculo, a man of dubious character who was posing as the Prince of Moldavia.[22] Two years later, *The Tempest* was performed before King James with two characters Stephano and Trinculo who form a double-act as servants to Alonso, the King of Naples. Joined together, these two names exhibit a remarkable similarity to Stephano Janiculo. One dramatist who certainly made use of the incident was Ben Jonson:

> … the Prince of Moldavia, and of his mistris, mistris Epicoene
> (1610 *Epicoene*, Act 5, Scene 1)

There are several circumstances that conspire to make this a reasonable Shake-speare allusion. Stephano evidently sees himself as an aristocrat:

> *Stephano*. Monster, I will kill this man [Prospero]: his daughter and I will be king and queen ... (III.ii.104-5)

Caliban addresses Stephano as such with "Prithee, my King, be quiet"(IV.i.215), and Prospero engages Stephano with

> *Prospero*. You'ld be King o' the isle, sirrah?
> *Stephano*. I should have been a sore one, then. (V.i.287-8)

It is clear that Trinculo believes that Stephano does not deserve such a title:

> *Trinculo*. ... They say there's but five upon this island: we are three of them; if th'other two be brained like us, the state totters. (II.ii.4-6)

Like Stephano Janiculo, Stephano has awarded himself an aristocratic title above his rank. The connection between Stephano Janiculo and Stephano and Trinculo would only register with an audience if the two names were mentioned in dialogue together and this actually occurs:

> *Trinculo*. Stephano! If thou beest Stephano, touch me, and speak to me; for I am Trinculo ... (II.ii.101-102)

This apparent topical allusion in *The Tempest* has not, to my knowledge, been pointed out hitherto. Within the space of two years we have this possible allusion, the Strachey letter, and the first known performance of *The Tempest*, so this weighs in favour of a 1610-11 dating. Furthermore, having died in 1604, the Earl of Oxford, a commonly proposed authorship candidate, could not have had the presence of mind to construct the characters Stephano and Trinculo. It is also stretching credulity to expect actors to have done so. Why would Shake-speare rely on sources over 60 years old when he could interest the audience at Court with contemporary events close to James's heart?

We now examine the case for Sir Francis Bacon as author of the Shakespeare work. He was a high-ranking member of the governing council of the Virginia colony when the Strachey pamphlet arrived in England. *The Tempest* offers a small hint here in that Bacon's brother was called Anthony, and Prospero, like Bacon, was a man of books:

> *Prospero.* My brother and thy uncle called Anthonio : …
> (1610-11 *The Tempest*, Act 1, Scene 2)

PART 2: CASE FOR BACON

Chapter 4. The Phoenix Rises

4.1 *Preliminary*

If one had to find a candidate for writing the Shake-speare work, the only man who we know possessed the required range was the philosopher and statesman Sir Francis Bacon:

> Such great Wits are not the common Births of Time: And they, surely, intended to signifie so much who said of the Phoenix (though in Hyperbole as well as Metaphor) that Nature gives the World that Individual Species, but once in five hundred Years.

These are the sentiments of Dr Thomas Tennison, Archbishop of Canterbury, expressed in *Baconiana* (1679),[1] ones with which the dramatist Ben Jonson apparently agreed:

> Yet there happened in my time one noble speaker, who was full of gravity in his speaking. His language (where he could spare or pass a jest) was nobly censorious. No man ever spake more neatly, more pressly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness, in what he uttered. No member of his speech, but consisted of his own graces. His hearers could not cough, or look aside from him, without loss. He commanded where he spoke; and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him was, lest he should make an end … I have and do reverence him, for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever, by his work, one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had been in many ages.[2]

One of the main features of Shake-speare's work is the extensive vocabulary, which has been estimated at above 15,000 words while Charles Dickens used only about 7–8,000 and Christopher Marlowe about 7,000. James Boswell, in his biography of Samuel Johnson, reports that the author of the first English dictionary found Bacon's capacity remarkable:

> He told me that Bacon was a favourite author with him; but he had never read his works till he was compiling the English Dictionary, in which, he said, I might see Bacon very often quoted. Mr. Seward recollects his having mentioned, that a Dictionary of the English Language might be compiled from Bacon's writings alone, and that he had once an intention of giving an edition of Bacon, at least of his English works, and writing the Life of that great man. Had he executed this intention, there can be no doubt that he would have done it in a most masterly manner.[3]

Bacon has often been accused, mainly by those who have neglected to study his work, of having a dry legal style. The poet Percy Bysshe Shelly did not agree:

> Lord Bacon was a poet. His language has a sweet and majestic rhythm, which satisfies the sense, no less than the almost superhuman wisdom of his philosophy satisfies the intellect …[4]

In fact, in 1625 Sir Francis Bacon published his *Translation of Certaine Psalmes into English Verse*, the merit of which can be judged in Appendix D.

Toby Mathew (or Matthew) was a close friend of Francis Bacon. Educated at Gray's Inn from 1599, he later became Archbishop of York but was exiled for his Catholicism in 1619. They were regular correspondents and it is clear that Bacon often sent his work to Mathew for his opinion. They were such close confidants that in one letter from 1623, Bacon described Mathew as "another myself".[5] As first pointed out by William Henry Smith, in an undated letter from Mathew to Bacon, apparently from 1621 while the former was in exile abroad, Mathew thanked Bacon for "the great and noble token of 9th of April" and ended with an intriguing 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.[6]

It has been suggested that this could have been a reference to Thomas Southwell, a learned Jesuit living abroad, whose real name was Bacon, although Nigel Cockburn has argued convincingly that this *was* indeed a reference to Francis Bacon and no other man.[7] With less persuasion, he dates the letter to 1619 and suggests that the "token" might have been the collection of 10 separately bound Shake-speare plays that were published that year by Pavier and Jaggard (two of which were not actually Shake-speare's). Irrespective of the accuracy of these last two points, Mathew appeared to be revealing that Bacon had a pseudonym.

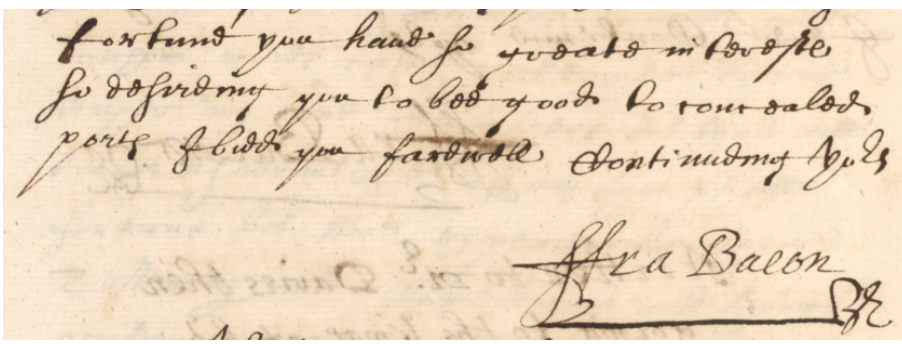


Figure 4. "… so desiring you to be good to concealed poets," letter from Francis Bacon to John Davies (1603)

On 28 March 1603, Francis Bacon wrote from Gray's Inn to John Davies, a barrister and distinguished poet. Davies was going north to meet King James of Scotland who was travelling south to London to take up the English throne. Bacon, intent on improving his own rank, was hoping that Davies would put in a good word for him, and expressed affinity with Davies with these final words (Figure 4, transcript in Appendix C):

> So desiring you to be good to concealed poets, I continue, yours very assured, Fr. Bacon[8]

Ben Jonson assures us that "poets" had the same meaning then as now:

> A poet is that which by the Greeks is called … a maker, or a feigner: his art, an art of imitation or feigning; expressing the life of man in fit measure, numbers[a], and harmony … For the fable and fiction is, as it were, the form and soul of any poetical work or poem.[9]
>
> *Key: (a) verses*

Perhaps Bacon was in a moment of self-revelation when he declared:

> There be some whose lives are as if they perpetually played upon a stage, disguised to all others, open only to themselves.[10]

4.2 *Early Life*

Francis Bacon was born on 22 January 1561 at York House, a mile outside the western wall of London on the Strand. His father, Sir Nicholas Bacon was already Lord Keeper of the Seal, and would have taken the grander title of Lord Chancellor with identical duties had his own father been an aristocrat instead of a yeoman farmer. Unfortunately for Francis, his mother, Lady Anne Bacon, was a Puritan, which was compensated in part by her being a classical scholar. It was a legacy that her own academic father, Sir Anthony Coke, had passed down, having been tutor to the young Edward VI. Anne had remarkable gifts claiming fluency in Latin, Greek, Italian and French. In 1594 she had published a recognised translation from Latin to English of the Anglican bishop John Jewel's *Defence of the Church of England*, which was then an outstanding achievement for a woman. Lady Anne had four other sisters, one of them, Mildred, who had married Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, the most powerful man in Queen Elizabeth's government.

Francis was the youngest of five, there being three children from his father's first marriage, while he and Anthony, three years his senior, arrived from his father's second with Anne. The young Francis was a precocious child who drew the Queen's attention at an early age:

> … [she] delighted much then to confer with him, and to prove him with questions; unto whom he delivered himself with that gravity and

> maturity beyond his years, that her Majesty would often term him, *The Young Lord Keeper*. Being asked by the Queen how old he was, he answered with much discretion, being then but a boy, *That he was two years younger than her Majesty's happy reign*; with which answer the Queen was much taken.[11]

Francis enjoyed a privileged childhood at York House. The Lord Keeper's official residence employed servants and had chambers "hanged with tapestry and tapers burning in stretched-out arms upon the walls." Surrounded by walls and turrets, it was a substantial property, with four stables, 10 cottages, and seven gardens, some of which stretched down to the Thames where the young Francis could watch the Queen pass by on the colourful royal barge. The Lord Keeper was a major beneficiary from Henry VIII's break with Rome, accumulating wealth from confiscated monastic property, and owning land in six counties. The aristocracy also grew rich on dissolved Catholicism, and it was they that the Protestant Elizabeth preferred to rely on for her Privy Councillors, men whose favour had already been purchased.

In 1568, Sir Nicholas completed the building of Gorhambury House, two miles from St. Albans, and 18 miles north-west of London in the Hertfordshire countryside. There Sir Nicholas could relax with Lady Anne, Anthony and Francis in an environment conducive to an independent life. As well as a millhouse, a bakehouse, and a brewhouse, there was also a chapel, orchard, stables, excellent gardens, and water pipes that ran into each chamber from the ponds a mile away. The Queen and her entourage visited four times, and with the rooms being low, Elizabeth once enquired why the house was so small. "Madam," replied Sir Nicholas, "my house is well, but it is you that have made me too great for my house".[12] From the conniving gossip of the visitors to Gorhambury House, Francis must have learnt an early lesson in how difficult it would be to attain high office:

> There is little friendship in the world and least of all between equals which was wont to be magnified.[13]

In Elizabethan England, boys attended University at a young age. In April 1573, when Francis was 12 years and three months old, his father sent him with his brother Anthony to Trinity College, Cambridge where they roomed together. It was at Cambridge under the tutelage of Dr John Whitgift, later Archbishop of Canterbury, that the teenage Francis:

> … first fell into the dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle; not for the worthlessness of the author, to whom he would ever ascribe all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulness of the way; being a philosophy … only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the

> production of works for the benefit of the life of man; in which mind he continued to his dying day.[14]

The philosophy of Aristotle was presented as a means of reinforcing medieval church dogma and students were inculcated with the idea that it was beyond question. In his preface to the Great Instauration, Bacon wrote:

> … for its value and utility, it must be plainly avowed that that wisdom which we have derived principally from the Greeks is but like the boyhood of knowledge and has the characteristic property of boys: it can talk but it cannot generate:

Book learning was rigidly adhered to at Cambridge with no thought devoted to experimentation to test out ideas.

> … For history of nature wrought or mechanical, I find some collections made of agriculture, and likewise of manual arts; but commonly with a rejection of experiments familiar and vulgar. For it is esteemed a kind of dishonour unto learning to descend to inquiry or meditation upon matters mechanical, except they be such as may be thought secrets, rarities, and special subtilities …[15]

4.3 *Man Without Means*

In March 1576, Francis and Anthony left Cambridge without taking their degrees, and on 25 September 1576, Francis landed at Calais with Sir Amias Paulet, the Ambassador in France, with whom he stayed to gain diplomatic experience. There he became acquainted with the Court of Henry III, following it to Blois, Tours, and Poitiers, while learning the native language. However, in mid-February 1579, his father, already burdened with asthma, accidentally fell asleep at an open window while the snow was thawing and became ill. He died within a few days. While Lady Anne inherited Gorhambury House and Anthony was heir to properties in Hertfordshire and Middlesex, the speed of Sir Anthony's death had left Francis unprovided for, although it seems that his father had been in the process of securing long-term purchases of land for him. So, apart from some dubious properties and leases that raised a modest £300 per year, he had no income, and now struggled to maintain the lifestyle he was accustomed to. He quickly fell into debt.

In 1579, in need of a profession, he enrolled at Gray's Inn law school and moved into his father's old chambers at Coney's Court[16] just north of Holborn. There he studied the common law from manuscript case reports, from statute law as written in the Parliament rolls, and from treatises penned by former judges. According to Stow's *Annales*, the lawyer's journey to the top was long and arduous:

> … after some years well imployed in the Studies of their professions they obtain the degree and stile of Inner Barresters, and at the seven yeares end, they proceed or become Outer Barresters, and are then said to be called to the Barre, and shortly after that they are allowed to make publike profession and practise of the Law in all Courts and to give Councell unto all Clients and hereupon they are also called Councellors of the Law, and Learned Councell.[17]

After several more years, they were allowed to read law publicly in their halls whereupon they could be called Reader, followed by Double Reader, Apprentice at Law, Bencher, and finally Ancient. While it usually took seven years to be qualified to plead as a barrister in Westminster Hall ("called to the Barre"), Francis Bacon achieved it in three, reporting that the Queen "hath pulled me over the bar."[18] It would be the last time she would help him. For Francis Bacon, law was merely a means of obtaining an income and several times he wrote to his uncle Lord Burghley pleading for a remunerated position in government. However, Lord Burghley already had his son and Francis Bacon's cousin, Robert Cecil, in line for the trappings of high office and there could be no rival.

In 1584, Bacon's plan for a new system of philosophy began to crystallise, a scheme he called his Great Instauration or Renewal of Learning. Observation and experiment would play a greater part than it had hitherto and would put an end to unproductive philosophical disputes that had disabled scientific progress. There would be new colleges that would abandon the Aristotlean approach and instead devote its resources to the new mechanical methods. Realising that he needed an influential position in government to implement his grand scheme, in 1584 he took his first step on the political ladder, entering Parliament to represent Melcombe in Dorset.

It was noted, with some irritation, that in speeches, Francis Bacon had a tendency to elevate himself by mention of his acquaintance with the Queen and of his late father's rank. In March 1585, "a bill against fraudulent means used to defeat wardships, liveries, and premier seisins" was referred to a House of Commons committee where Bacon made a speech. The recorder jotted down fragments of Bacon's delivery with his own comments alongside (italicised):

> *Speaking of the Queen*: worthy to be respected, for his father had received by her ability a fifth son to live upon: but that is nothing to the matter. *Then you should have left it alone.*[19]

From 1584 to 1597, five Parliaments were summoned and Bacon sat in each. In the Parliament of 1586 he sat for Taunton, in 1588 for

Liverpool, in 1592-3 for Middlesex, and in 1597 for Ipswich. However, from 1584-1597 Parliament sat only five times and from 1607-1613 it sat for a total of only six months. The speeches which he delivered and committees he sat on absorbed only a small portion of his time. He was certainly under-employed during Shake-speare's most prolific period and had ample time to prosecute substantial projects. Indeed *The Lives of the Lord Chancellors* written by Lord Campbell in 1845 (see Vol. 2 Chapter 1, The Life of Bacon) reports that Bacon had "abundant leisure".

It was around 1589 that Francis Bacon began to employ a team of scriveners to copy out work that was in progress, though it seems that his brother Anthony provided the finance. On 25 January 1595, Francis wrote to his brother from Twickenham:

> I have here an idle pen or two, specially one that was cozened[a], thinking to have gotten some money this term; I pray send me somewhat else for them to write out besides your Irish collection which is almost done. There is a collection of Dr. James of foreign states, largeliest of Flanders, which, though it be no great matter, yet I would be glad to have it.[20]
>
> *Key: (a) cheated*

One wonders how or even why Francis Bacon kept them occupied, for his first recognised publication, a slim volume of 10 essays together with his *Colours of Good and Evil* and *Religious Meditations*, did not appear until 1597. As for Shake-speare, it seems the quality of the copy received by John Heminge and Henry Condell, two actors in Shakspere's company, was unusual enough for them to pass comment. In *To the great Variety of Readers* that prefaces Shake-speare's First Folio (1623) collection, they believed that the hand and mind of Shake-speare (who they officially declared to be Shakspere) must have worked together, commenting that:

> … what he thought, he uttered with that easinesse, that wee have scarce received from him a blot in his papers.

It would certainly have been easier for an author to present unblotted copy to a company of actors if his draft had been copied by a professional scrivener. For Francis Bacon, it would have been a means of maintaining anonymity.

4.4 *Earl of Essex*

Bacon knew that the government lay in the hands of the Queen, Lord Burghley, and about 20 Privy Councillors, so two years later he was honoured to be elected to a committee which included all the Privy Councillors of the House. Meanwhile, his brother Anthony was in

France visiting King Henry of Navarre in between sending intelligence back from Europe at his own expense to Lord Burghley who took all the credit. In 1592, he returned to England exhausted and burdened with gout. Francis introduced him to the Queen's favourite Robert Devereux, the second Earl of Essex, and together they moved in a circle that included the Earl of Southampton, the nobleman who, a year later, would patronise Shake-speare's long poem *Venus and Adonis*.

The manoeuvring for position in Court created factions. On the one hand there was that of the Earl of Essex to which Anthony now belonged, and on the other, Francis Bacon's cousin, the hunchback Robert Cecil, whose father was the powerful Lord Burghley. Francis Bacon was cautious not to commit himself, realising that he needed Lord Burghley's help. At the age of 31, he revealed his life plan to his uncle:

> I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate civil ends, for I have taken all knowledge to be my province; and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations, and verbosities, the other with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils, I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries; the best state of that province.[21]

Bacon's intention was a new kind of university founded on practical science, one equipped with mechanical devices; stones, plants and animals for dissection; facilities for studying medicine; in short, a departure from Aristotle's fruitless formal logic and a celebration of a new experimental method. From Lord Burghley he needed finance and above all, his influence to set the project in motion. It was a clear statement of Francis Bacon's main purpose in life, the initiation of new institutions for investigative practical learning for which he needed the assistance of government. Unfortunately, Bacon's grand scheme found little sympathy with Burghley. For him it was a confession of Bacon's misplaced priorities, ones that did nothing to address the Queen's real concerns: consolidation of the Protestant faith, and the defence of England and its interests. Bacon soon realised that there was only one route to the Queen's favour, so he aligned himself with Essex, the Queen's darling.

Bacon did all he could to help Essex "any thing that might concern his Lordship's honour, fortune or service". When Essex financed the staging of pageants for the Queen's entertainment, Bacon produced speeches, "Mr Bacon in Praise of Knowledge"[22] being one of them. He

wrote letters on the Earl's behalf and advised his family on their education.

In 1593, Bacon entered Parliament representing Middlesex, which included Westminster and the law courts, but naively made a speech in opposition to the Queen's tax plans. He argued that the poor man could not afford the Queen's triple subsidy, especially with such a short collection period. Parliament largely agreed, but the Queen was incensed, commenting that in her father's time "a less offence than that would have made a man be banished his presence for ever".[23] Bacon was now denied access to Elizabeth. Although perturbed, he was not discouraged and several times in 1594, beginning on 25 January, he argued cases for the King's Bench, hoping to demonstrate his suitability for the post of Attorney General, while Essex, who was now a Privy Counsellor, solicited the Queen on his behalf. A barrister at Gray's Inn witnessed one of Francis Bacon's speeches and wrote to Anthony Bacon that he had "spangled his speech with unusual words" and that the reason his arguments were so hard to dispute was that one had first to overcome the obstacle of understanding them.[24] On one occasion, his puritanical mother sent one of his letters to Anthony with the entreaty "Construe the interpretation. I do not understand this enigmatical folded writing".[25] Despite the attempt to impress, the post of Attorney General went to the Solicitor General, Edward Coke. Bacon fell ill with dyspepsia, as was usual when confronted with a setback, but by the Easter term of 1594 had recovered sufficiently to argue alongside Coke in the celebrated *Chudleigh's Case* involving the law of inheritance and the *Statute of Uses*.

Soon his creditors circled, only keeping a distance on expectation of his promotion. Indeed, certain signals from court gave Bacon confidence that the Queen had him in mind for Coke's vacated position of Solicitor General. Meanwhile, Essex arrogantly persisted with importuning the Queen to the point of offence. In October 1595, Serjeant Fleming was made Solicitor General and Bacon blamed Coke. He was now desperate to clear his debts. Francis Bacon persuaded Essex to ask for Lady Hatton's hand in marriage. Twenty years old, wealthy and much admired, she was Lord Burghley's granddaughter and Sir Robert Cecil's neice so she certainly had the right connections. Somehow, the 46 year old Edward Coke managed to get there first, with a marriage so hastily arranged that even the Archbishop asked questions. From now on, Bacon and Coke would be bitter rivals.

In 1594, Francis Bacon was appointed Deputy Treasurer of Gray's

Inn and took on the task of organising the Gray's Inn Christmas revels 1594-5 to both entertain and educate the law students. Shake-speare's *Comedy of Errors* received its first known performance there and there is substantial evidence that *Love's Labour's Lost* was also intended but withdrawn from performance (see §6.10). As we shall see, because it was usual at the time for revels plays to be written and acted by Inns of Court members, the evidence is against an outsider such as William Shakspere conceiving them (see §6.2). Even more remarkable, evidence will be presented that these plays were designed to fit in with the Christmas revels programme which Bacon clearly had a major hand in.

Essex now found himself in a position to realise one of his ambitions, to pursue the Irish rebel Hugh Tyrone, and he crossed to Ireland commanding an army of 18,000.

> Were now the Generall of our gracious Empresse,
> As in good time he may, from Ireland coming,
> Bringing Rebellion broached on his sword;
> (1598-9 *Henry V*, Act 5, Scene 1)

Six months later, he returned home unsuccessful, having negotiated a truce and having abandoned his army in the field. A furious Elizabeth sought the advice of her Counsel Learned Extraordinary, Francis Bacon. She gave him the reversion of an office in Star Chamber worth £2000 per annum and dined with him at his lodge at Twickenham Park:

> … at which time I had (though I profess not to be a poet) prepared a sonnet directly tending and alluding to draw on her Majesty's reconcilement to my Lord …[26]

In the context of concealment, we note that there is a difference between 'being' and 'professing to be' something.

It would have been a great stride forward for Bacon if the Queen's offer of an office had been realistically attainable, because the Star Chamber boasted the members of the Privy Council as well as the two Chief Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas. As it turned out, Bacon received neither the office nor the money for another 12 years. As for Essex, Bacon counselled Elizabeth to "turn the light of her favour towards my Lord". However, in 1601 a performance of Shake-speare's *Richard II* and a publication by John Hayward, a doctor of civil law, based on the play and dedicated to the Earl of Essex, were used by Essex to raise an army and incite an uprising against the Queen. First the book appeared, and the Queen's Counsel, Francis Bacon, in his *Apologie in certaine imputations concerning the late Earle of Essex* (1604), commented:

> For her Majesty, being mightily incensed with that book [by John

> Haywood] which was dedicated to my Lord of Essex, being a story of the first year of King Henry the fourth, thinking it was a seditious prelude to put into the people's heads boldness and faction, said she had good opinion that there was treason in it, and asked me if I could not find any places in it that might be drawn within case of treason: whereto I answered: for treason surely I found none, but for felony very many. And when her Majesty hastily asked me wherein, I told her the author had committed very apparent theft, for he had taken most of the sentences of Cornelius Tacitus, and translated them into English, and put them into his own text. And another time, when the Queen would not be persuaded that it was his writing whose name was to it, but that it had some more mischievous author, and said with great indignation that she would have him racked to produce his author, I replied, Nay, Madam, he is a Doctor, never rack his person, but rack his stile; let him have pen, ink and paper, and help of books, and be enjoined to continue the story where it breaketh off, and I will undertake by collecting[a] the stiles to judge whether he were the author or no …[27]
>
> *Key: (a) collating*

One wonders if the Queen suspected Bacon of writing the book because her resistance to being persuaded by Bacon could easily have been a veiled confrontation. Bacon must have appeared to her as a possible author, not only because he was defending Essex, a man to whom he had given free service, but because he knew details of the book's sources. Perhaps it was retribution that motivated the Queen to award Francis Bacon a part in his friend Essex's prosecution. In his objection to participating in it, he curiously refers to "mine own tales":

> Hereupon the next news that I heard was, that we were all sent for again, and that her Majesty's pleasure was, we should all have parts in the business; and the Lords falling into distribution of our parts, it was alloted to me, that I should set forth some undutiful carriage of my Lord, in giving occasion and countenance to a seditious pamphlet, as it was termed, which was dedicated to him, which was the book before mentioned of King Henry the fourth. Whereupon I replied to that allotment, and said to their Lordships, that it was an old matter, and had no matter of coherence with the rest of the charge, being matters of Ireland, and that therefore I having been wronged by bruits before, this would expose me to them more; and it would be said that I gave in evidence mine own tales.[28]

Had Francis Bacon written a 'tale' about Henry the fourth? It is not clear what Bacon means by this. The Earl of Essex was brought before a hearing at York House and after a reprimand from Bacon, took the view that both Bacon and Robert Cecil were conspirators in a plot to undo him. The Queen set Essex free but banished him from her presence

while Bacon received threatening letters from Essex's followers.[29]

Then one Saturday afternoon in early February 1601, Shake-speare's *Richard II* was performed at the Globe. The performance of the play, in which the king resigns his crown to Henry Bolingbroke, was sponsored by Sir Gelly Merrick, a friend of Essex, who paid a reluctant Lord Chamberlaine's Men 40 shillings above their usual fee to perform it. Believing that it would incite the audience to join him, the next day Essex, with a small band of armed followers, staged a rebellion and attempted to force his way into the royal presence. The coup failed. On 19 February 1601, Essex went to trial at Westminster Hall where both Bacon and Coke spoke against him. Coke led the prosecution but his delivery of the evidence was incompetent. Meanwhile, Bacon urged Essex to confess, but the Earl simply passed off his insurrection as an attack 'against private enemies' who were barring his access to the Queen. It would not save him. Six days later, on Ash Wednesday at eight in the morning, Essex was executed at Tower Hill. His partner in crime, the Earl of Southampton, Shake-speare's patron, went to the Tower as did Hayward but Merrick, who had organised the performance of *Richard II*, went to the executioner. Although a representative of the acting company, Augustine Phillips, was questioned no one associated with the play was prosecuted, in fact, the evening before Essex's execution, the Lord Chamberlaine's Men were entertaining the Queen at Court.

4.5 *Rise to Office*

By the time Queen Elizabeth died on 24 March 1603, the world had already lost Lord Burghley and Anthony Bacon. Petitioning began in earnest to win the favour of King James I, who had already reigned 35 years in Scotland. Unknown to Bacon, Robert Cecil had already been courting James's favour, however, James had been an admirer of Essex and the fact that Anthony Bacon had assisted in the correspondence between Essex and James worked in Francis Bacon's favour, despite opposing Essex at his trial. On 23 July 1603, Francis Bacon received a knighthood at the Palace of Whitehall with about 300 others. With it came a pension of 60 pounds per annum and a patent as King's Counsel Extraordinaire, a position only slightly higher than Barrister. However, with Edward Coke as Attorney General, he saw no immediate prospect of advancement. Instead he began work on a different kind of advancement, a method for attaining knowledge. The *Advancement of Learning* (1605), dedicated to King James, opens by defending the

importance of learning in all aspects of life, while the second part divides knowledge into History, Poesy, and Philosophy, providing a detailed critique and suggestions for improvement.

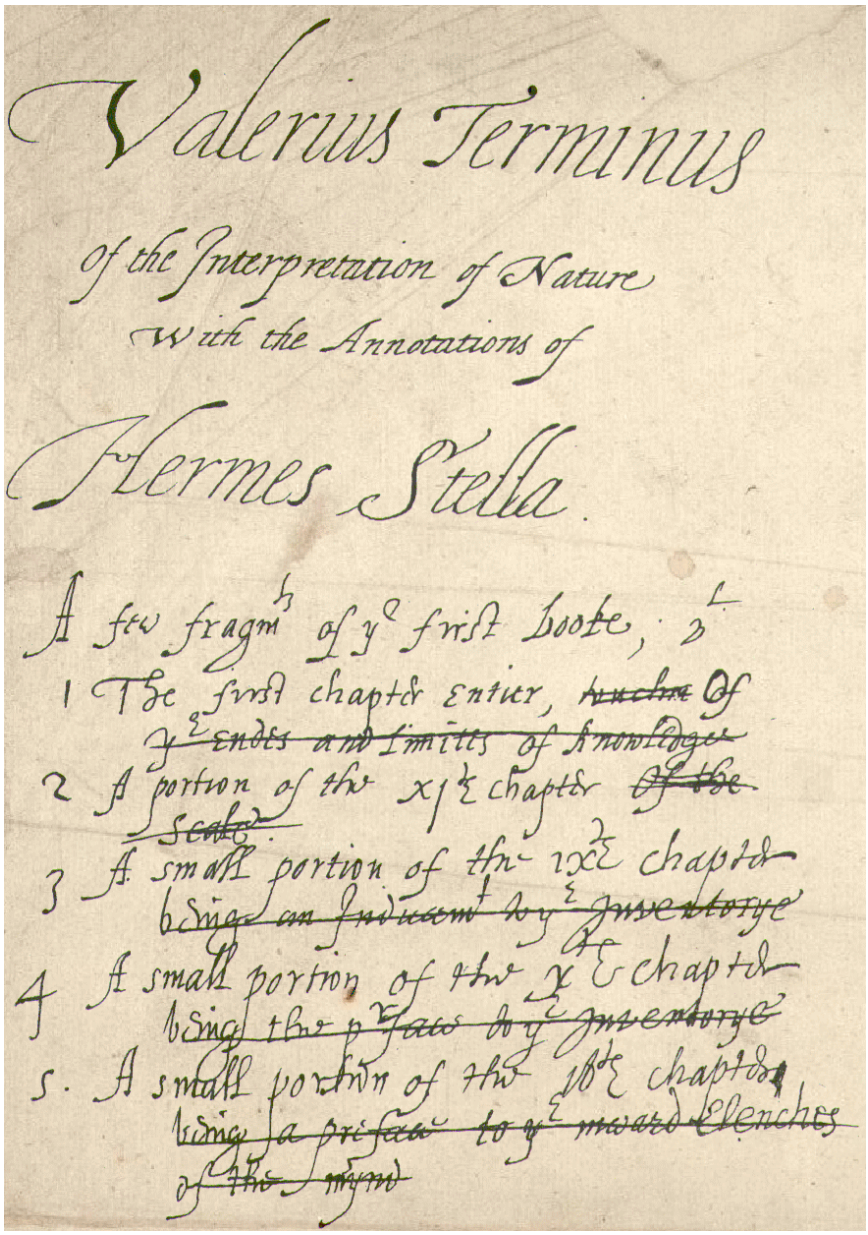


Figure 5. Francis Bacon's use of pseudonyms, *Valerius Terminus* (c.1603)

Bacon sent a copy to Sir Thomas Bodley, founder of the Bodleian

Library in Oxford with an enclosed letter that confessed:

> … knowing myself by inward calling to be fitter to hold a book than to play a part, I have led my life in civil causes; for which I was not very fit by nature, and more unfit by the preoccupation of my mind.

There exists a manuscript fragment from around 1603 that shows that Francis Bacon was intending to publish one of his philosophical works under two pseudonyms: Valerius Terminus and Hermes Stella. *The Interpretation of Nature*[30] which resides in the British Library in the hand of one of Bacon's scriveners, was eventually published in 1734 in Stephen's *Letters and Remains*, and the title page (Figure 5) exhibits a list of contents in Bacon's newly-adopted Italian-style handwriting.

The first 10 chapters of *The Interpretation of Nature*, although incomplete, correspond to the *Advancement of Learning* (1605) which was subsequently developed into *De Augmentis Scientiarum*. Why Bacon chose pseudonyms is unclear but it clearly demonstrates that he was capable of conceiving them.

On 10 May 1606, Sir Francis Bacon married 14 year old Alice Barnham, one of the daughters and coheirs of Benedict Barnham, Esquire and Alderman of London. It was an arranged marriage, in keeping with the times, and was proposed by Bacon to her parents when she was 11 years old. Her late father had been a rich draper to the Queen so it undoubtedly solved his financial problems. A letter, written a day later, describes Bacon the bridegroom as "clad from top to toe in purple." They had no children, there was no hint of romance, and Bacon left her nothing in his will. His essay Of Marriage and Single Life (1612) clearly reveals his attitude:

> He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune, for they are impediments to great enterprises …[31]

When the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas died in June 1606, Sir Edward Coke took his position, making way for Sir Henry Hobart to take his title of Attorney General. Sir Robert Cecil, now Lord Treasurer, had promised Bacon the position of Solicitor General but nothing happened. Bacon was aggrieved. However, a year later, his fortune turned. Not only was he made Solicitor General with the attendant salary of 100 pounds per annum and 1000 pounds per annum in fees and perquisites, but he also acquired the office of Registrar of the Star Chamber promised by Elizabeth 12 years earlier with a pension of 2000 pounds per annum. Among Bacon's duties was advising King James on his plantations in Virginia and Ireland, indicating the most suitable crops to grow there and the most appropriate craftsmen to select as settlers.

When in 1612, Sir Robert Cecil died, the man Queen Elizabeth had rather cruelly referred to as "her pygmy", Bacon felt that an obstacle had been removed. In a draft of a letter to King James he wrote:

> … let me not live if I thought not of the taking away of that man …[32]

The letter was never sent. His essay Of Deformity clearly has Cecil in mind in referring to an impediment to Bacon's promotion prospects:

> Deformed persons are commonly even with nature: for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature, being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) void of natural affection … and it layeth their competitors asleep, as never believing they should be in possibility of advancement, till they see them in possession.[33]

According to Bacon's chaplain Dr Rawley, Bacon certainly felt he had been thwarted:

> … which might be imputed, not so much to Her Majesty's averseness and disaffection towards him, as to the arts and policy of a great statesman then, who laboured by all industrious and secret means to suppress and keep him down; lest, if he had risen, he might have obscured his glory …[34]

Sir Francis Bacon now had the influence he had set out to achieve.

The law courts in Westminster Palace divided into two factions. The King was represented in Chancery by the Lord Chancellor, the Attorney General, and the courts of Star Chamber, while the common-law courts of Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer were supported by Parliament. The King, through his Lord Chancellor, wished to keep the judges under his rule by consultation, but Parliament was intent on maintaining independence. Coke supported Parliament and from his position as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas he succeeded in causing obstructions by sending praemunires to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere whenever he attempted to overrule the judges, writs that effectively accused Lord Ellesmere of recognising the power of the Pope above the King.

In the spring of 1613, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench died, a post higher than Chief Justice of the Common Pleas but with less financial reward and autonomy, being under greater supervision from the King. Bacon wrote to King James with a plan. Coke was to be brought under control by being assigned the vacant position, the malleable Hobart was to take Coke's place, and Bacon would accept the post of Attorney General. The King would then be strengthened when acting on constitutional questions. In October of that year, Bacon's Machiavellian scheme was set in motion: the post of Attorney General became his, and a furious Sir Edward Coke was shifted to a post he had

not wanted. From now on, Bacon would have less free time and, interestingly, this was when Shake-speare's output ceased.

June 1616 saw Bacon elevated to the Privy Council and, following Coke's "deceit, contempt and slander of the government" and "his raising of troubles or new questions" which had offended the King, proceedings began to have him removed from the bench and from the Privy Council. On 13 November, the new Attorney General, Sir Francis Bacon, dispatched the discharge form for the King to sign, finally sealing Coke's fate.

One of the suggestions Sir Francis Bacon made while in office was a reform of the law, ably set out in the 97 legal aphorisms of the *De Augmentis Scientarium* (1623). Measures should be taken to eliminate the disputes concerning jurisdiction between separate courts. There should be a digest of the statute laws made, obsolete laws should be deleted and existing laws should be clarified. Parliament could confirm the new digest while the old treatises, throughout which the present law was scattered, were to be kept in libraries for comparison. Though it was to be the work of many minds, Bacon certainly had the qualities to make a contribution. His charges to juries from the bench were a model of insight and brevity. For example, regarding the offence of duelling he once remarked:

> Life is grown too cheap in these times. It is set at the price of words, and every petty scorn or disgrace can have no other reparation; nay, so many men's lives are taken away with impunity that the life of the law is almost taken away.[35]

In the summer of 1616, he sent King James "A Proposition Touching the Compiling and Amendment of the laws of England" suggesting that the laws should be reduced to "more brevity and certainty."

When Lord Chancellor Ellesmere passed away in March 1617, Sir Francis Bacon wept "which I do not often". He took over as Lord Keeper of the Seal, at last being able to sit in the elevated marble chair at Westminster Hall where his father had once sat. In addition to hearing suits, the position came with the right to appoint justices of the peace and to act as speaker in the House of Lords. The new Lord Keeper was held in such high esteem that when King James visited Scotland he declared Bacon to be temporary Regent of England. As for Coke, he was quietly manoeuvring for position. Opposed by his wife, he suggested the marriage of his 14 year old daughter Frances to George Villiers, Earl of Buckingham, the King's new favourite, accompanied by a substantial dowry. Bacon, realising the peril, opposed the plan but only succeeded in annoying both the King and Buckingham. The marriage went ahead

and Bacon was left to demonstrate humility with letters to the King imploring forgiveness. The following year, with Buckingham's influence, Bacon became Lord Chancellor and subsequently Lord Verulam. Such was his wealth, he could now afford to issue his servants with livery embroidered with his crest, a boar.[36]

In October 1618, Lord Chancellor Francis Bacon was one of six commissioners appointed to examine Sir Walter Raleigh (Coke being another) who on being released from a 15 year sentence in the Tower in order to seek gold in Guiana, had attacked the Spanish settlement at St. Thomas. It had been against the wishes of King James who was attempting to arrange the marriage of his son Prince Charles to the Infanta of Spain. Realising how skilfully Raleigh could play on the affections of an audience, he was given a private hearing where it was decided that an old charge of treason should be consummated. On 29 October 1618, he went to his execution with such extraordinary calm that it became a notable event in history.

4.6 *Fall*

When Sir Francis Bacon published his *Novum Organon* (1620) in Latin, setting out his plan for a new method of learning, he sent a copy to the King. Provocatively, he also sent one bound in vellum to his nemesis Sir Edward Coke who, far from being grateful, scribbled the following on the title page:

> It deserveth not to be read in Schooles
> But to be freighted in the ship of Fooles.

perhaps alluding to Barclay's rendering of Sebastian Brandt's verse *Ship of Fools*.

On the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, Bacon gave a banquet for his friends at York House. The celebrated poet Ben Jonson had written a verse for the occasion:

> Hail, happy Genius of this ancient pile!
> How comes it all things so about thee smile?
> The fire, the wine, the men! And in the midst
> Thou stand'st as if some mystery thou didst …

Jonson omitted to elaborate on what the mystery was. Five days later, King James awarded his Lord Chancellor the title Viscount St Albans.

Bacon had suffered under Elizabeth, with Coke and Cecil managing to thwart every attempt to gain advancement. However, under James he had enjoyed great privilege. It was not to last. On 30 January 1621, in need of finance, King James called Parliament, the first for seven years. Lord Coke, now 69 years old, took his place amongst the elected

common lawyers on the benches. Dissatisfied with the abuse of monopolies, the proposed marriage of Prince Charles to a Catholic, and the King's stranglehold on the judiciary, Parliament had become rebellious. First they turned their attention to the King's right-hand man, George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham, accusing him of illegal earnings from patents. The right to manufacture certain commodities, such as gold lace, could be granted by whosoever the King cared to chose, usually a court favourite, who was pleased to make a profit. Anyone else who manufactured the products paid a fine from which Buckingham made a profit. At first, the House of Commons held their fire. Then two profiteers, Sir Giles Mompesson and one of his agents Sir Francis Michael, were brought down. Sir Giles was sentenced by Parliament to be:

> … degraded, disnobled and disabled to bear any office in the Commonwealth, for practising sundry abuses, in erecting and setting up new Innes and Alehouses, and exacting great summes of money of people, by pretence of Letters Patents, to him granted for the purpose:[37]

He climbed out of a window and escaped to France. Sir Francis Michael was less fortunate, finding himself in Finsbury Gaol with no prospect of release.

Next, the referees of monopolies — those who received payment for assessing the legal status of patents — were to be investigated, a committee being ready to sit on 8 March. Buckingham's brothers had been referees and so had Sir Francis Bacon, the man who, in deposing Coke, had moved to reassert the King's authority over the courts, which he felt to be a King's divine right. Buckingham decided to head off an attack by apologising before the House of Lords for his brothers' conduct. However, it soon became apparent that a Committee for Inquiring into Abuses in the Courts of Justice, initiated by Privy Counsellor Sir Lionel Cranfield, whom Bacon had once apparently offended, was investigating the Lord Chancellor's affairs. Bacon was accused of taking bribes, one of £100 pounds from Christopher Awbry and another of £400 in gold from Edward Egerton, to exhibit preference in judging their lawsuits, even though both Awbry and Egerton eventually lost their cases.[38] Sir Edward Coke, who sat on the committee of four to hear the case, led the assault. More witnesses came forward against the Lord Chancellor, all provided with immunity from prosecution. As the case gathered momentum, Bacon was struck down "with such extremity of headache," that he wrote a desperate letter to the King:

> When the book of hearts shall be opened, I hope I shall not be found to

> have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart in a depraved habit of taking rewards to pervert justice; …

Bacon confessed to the King that he *had* accepted gifts but *after* judgment — that is, no gift preceded his ruling on a case — and that it was such common practice — as indeed it was — he could see no fault. Moreover, there had been no secrecy involved since members of his household had always been present. James sympathised, even confiding to the Venetian Ambassador that:

> If I were to imitate the conduct of your republic and begin to punish those who take bribes, I should not have a single subject left.[39]

Then, in an extraordinary act of capitulation, the Lord Chancellor sent a letter to the House of Lords not only admitting the charge but also advising that his punishment be confined to a loss of office and no greater. On 24 April 1621, Bacon received the indictment of 28 charges against him. As with his former letter, his response to the "High Court of Parliament" offered not the slightest hint of a defence:

> Upon advised consideration of the charges, descending into my own conscience, and calling into memory to account so far as I am able, I do plainly and ingenuously confess that I am guilty of corruption; …

Apart from three of the charges, he appended the word "confessed" against each one on the list. One might have expected a man of Bacon's legal acumen to contrive a way out, and others must have expected it too. In fact, so surprising was his lack of resistance, a committee of 12 peers was sent to York House to verify that the confession was actually his. Confined to his bed, he appealed to their humanity:

> I beseech your Lordships, be merciful to a broken reed.[40]

On 1 May, a committee of four was sent by the King to recover the Great Seal from Bacon (see §9.2). The next day he was summoned to appear in Parliament but failed to turn up due to ill health. Two days later, the Earl of Southampton and the Earl of Suffolk, two Lords whom Bacon had helped prosecute in the course of his profession, gleefully assisted in passing judgment. Southampton, who had spent two years in the Tower, argued for an additional loss of titles realising that the forfeiture of Viscount St Albans and Baron Verulam would be a major humiliation. In the end, Southampton was defeated by two votes. Later that day the Commons assembled in the Lord's Chamber at Westminster Palace to hear the sentence:

> The Lord Viscount St. Alban to pay a fine of £40,000. To be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure. To be for ever incapable of holding any office, place or employment in the state or commonwealth. Never to sit in Parliament nor come within the verge of the Court.

In fact, this was less severe than it appeared. In such situations, the King frequently revoked fines and released the defendant, often in no more than a month. Nevertheless, Southampton and Coke had exacted their revenge. (Coke did not have the last word. He was later to spend time in the Tower himself for defiance of the King.) On the last day of May, Bacon was taken by barge to the Tower. Three days later he was free, largely through the influence of Prince Charles, and stayed at the house of Sir John Vaughan one of Charles's servants.

Seven years later, it was revealed why Bacon had offered no defence. Thomas Bushell, one of Bacon's servants, in his *First Part of the Youth's Errors* reported that:

> There arose complaints against his Lordship and the then Favourite at Court [George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham], that for some days the king was put to this quere, whether he should permit the Favourite of his affection or the oracle of his Council [Bacon] to sink in his service. Whereupon his Lordship was sent for by the King, who, after some discourse, gave him this positive advice, to submit himself to the House of Peers, and that upon his princely word he would then restore him again …

It is an account ratified by Dr Thomas Tennison who inherited Bacon's literary estate:

> The great cause of his Suffering, is to some, a secret. I leave them to find it out, by his words to King James, "I wish (said he) that as I am the first, so I shall be the last of Sacrifices in your Times."[41]

By the autumn, King James had allowed Bacon to name recipients for his fine of £40,000, a move intended to satisfy creditors.

4.7 *Final Years*

For the first time since 1613, Sir Francis Bacon had the leisure time to resume his work and by October 1621 he had finished a *History of the Reign of Henry VII*. In November 1622, his *History of the Winds* appeared, followed by the *History of Life and Death*. Bacon had compiled a list of 100 history titles, the third part of his Great Instauration, and had decided to write up these two examples himself. It was in this leisure period that Shake-speare's First Folio (1623) collection of 36 plays was published with its many amendments to the earlier published quartos (e.g. *Othello* was first published in quarto in 1622 but a year later appeared amended for the First Folio). In 1623, Bacon also completed *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, *Libra IX* and two years later, the third edition of the *Essays* appeared in Latin with 20 new additions. It is often claimed that Bacon was incapable of writing poetry

but in 1625, he published *Translation of Certaine Psalms into English Verse* which contain some parallels with Shake-speare's work (see Appendix D).

His last days were spent in his small house at Gray's Inn. He died on 9 April 1626 after venturing out in the cold near Highgate to investigate whether a chicken immersed in snow might be preserved. He caught a chill, was unable to return home, and after lying in a damp bed at the Earl of Arundel's house for 3 days he "died of suffocation." He was buried in St Michael's Church, St Albans, near his mother where his secretary Sir Thomas Meautys erected a statue of him in alabaster, sitting on a chair, hat on head, head in hand, immersed in contemplation.

Chapter 5. The Great Instauration

5.1 *Preliminary*

In this chapter we shall visit Francis Bacon the philosopher and examine his main commitment in life, his Great Instauration project (§5.2), in relation to the Shake-speare work. His intention was to set up new centres of research and fully realized the need to obtain political influence in order to effect these changes.

Bacon had a passionate interest in political history (§5.3) and expressed an interest in writing a history of Britain from Henry VII to James I. His *Memorial of Elizabeth* and *History of Henry the VII* amply demonstrate this interest and we examine the testimony that they were written in the style of a dramatist.

Shake-speare's *Henry VIII* (§5.4) is an interesting case as far as the authorship question is concerned. Bacon and Shake-speare somehow managed to avoid covering each other's historical ground while between them spanning the period from 1377–1603. We shall see evidence that even though Bacon received a royal commission to write a history of Henry VIII he gave different excuses for neglecting the work.

There are two aspects of the Great Instauration project that will be considered here in relation to the Shake-speare work: the ethical Histories; and the political Histories. For the former, Sir Francis Bacon's work on moral philosophy (§5.5) is explored and we consider Shake-speare's *Henry IV, Part 2* to illustrate the manner in which Prince Hal receives moral instruction from Judge Gascoigne, pointing out where the facts deviate from history in order to correspond with Bacon's view. His dedication to delivering his moral philosophy to the aristocracy in the most effective way, which he believed was on the stage, makes him the only alternative authorship candidate with a motive powerful enough to run the risk of concealment. The wide range of political systems explored by Shake-speare suggest a motive of completeness consistent with Bacon's intention of having a complete survey of political ideas constituting his political Histories to which his inductive method could be applied.

Finally, we consider an interesting curiosity (§5.6) in Lord Bacon's will that might be hinting at his use of a mask.

5.2 *Great Instauration*

The ambitious undertaking that gave meaning to Francis Bacon's life was a complete revision of the learning that had been passed down from

the Greek philosophers. Arguing against the fruitlessness of Aristotle's philosophy and the "ridiculous" claims of alchemy, he called his plan the Great Instauration or Renewal of Learning, a six-part program for a better comprehension of Nature. It necessitated the setting up of new institutes equipped with apparatus to conduct experiments. Experimental data would then be the starting point from which all science would cautiously proceed by use of his inductive method to construct theories. This emphasis on experimentation stood in contrast to his predecessors who saw experiment only as a means of confirming an anticipated result. As he explained to King James, his method was:

> … a new logic, teaching to invent and judge by induction (as finding syllogism incompetent for sciences of nature) … to make philosophy and sciences both more true and more active…[1]

The Tudors had inherited Aristotle's syllogism, a logical method that took the form of three propositions, the third following from the first two. For example:

> All beings with three arms come from outer space.
> My uncle has three arms.
> So my uncle comes from outer space.

It would take an observation, experiment or investigation of the facts to realise that the first premise is false since 'my uncle' actually originates from Earth and so *not* all beings with three arms originate from space. Unfortunately, Aristotle had little interest in observations so incorrect conclusions could be reached in virtue of the fact that the two premises had not been tested. Bacon realised that while Aristotle's syllogistic method was sound, without basing the premises on observation and experiment, it could only make limited progress.

The first part of Bacon's Great Instauration is described in the two Books of his *Advancement of Learning* (1605), the second Book of which Bacon enlarged as eight new Books in the Latin *De Augmentis Scientiarum* (1623). This consists of a classification of contemporary knowledge with two primary categories: human and divine learning. The former divides into History, Poesy, and Philosophy, in parallel with the faculties of memory, imagination, and reason. History has three categories: Natural, Civil, and Ecclesiastic. Civil separates into Memorials, Perfect Histories, and Antiquities, with Perfect Histories falling into Chronicles, Lives, and Relations. Poesy, with its subcategories of Narrative, Representative, and Allusive, was seen by Bacon as a way of educating the masses for:

> … joined also with the agreement and comfort it hath with music, it hath had access and estimation in rude times and barbarous regions, where

other learning stood excluded.[2]

Bacon appears to have stage plays in mind here and their utility in educating the masses. Under Philosophy stands four sections: Philosophia prima, Divine, Natural, and Human, and it was to Natural Philosophy that science belonged.

The second part of the Great Instauration, which Bacon did not quite complete, is set out in the *Novum Organon* (1620) and consists of instruction in the use of his inductive method. In an attack on the syllogistic approach of Aristotle, Bacon remarks on its propensity to produce arguments, inferences from principles, and probable reasonings that yield no results:

> … the way the thing has normally been done until now is to leap immediately from sense and particulars to the most general propositions, as to fixed poles around which disputations may revolve; then to derive everything else from them by means of intermediate propositions; which is certainly a short route, but dangerously steep, inaccessible to nature and inherently prone to disputations.

Instead, he promises:

> … an account of a better and more perfect use of reason in the investigation of things …

Framing his method as the "Interpretation of Nature", he declares that since all previous efforts had focused on the syllogistic method:

> …the logicians seem scarcely to have thought about induction.

The ancient method of the syllogism had failed to capture nature, being comprised of:

> …propositions, and propositions consist of words, and words are counters and signs of notions. And therefore if the very notions of the mind … are badly or carelessly abstracted from things, and are vague and not defined with sufficiently clear outlines … everything falls to pieces.

In contrast, by the method of induction, axioms can gradually be elicited step by step, so that the most general axioms are reached only at the very end. In this way, the new method has the advantage of staying close to nature and producing results.

Bacon saw experiments as "assistants to the senses":

> …for the subtlety of experiments is far greater than that of the senses themselves.

This leaves the senses to "judge only of the experiment" while "the experiment judges of the thing."

Part three of his grand scheme was to set down the Natural Histories, the fruits of experiment, the banks of data to which the inductive method could be applied. His *Novum Organon* (1620) gives a provisional list of

130 of these, ranging from the History of Smell and Odours, to the History of Wickerwork. Some he wrote up himself, such as the *History of the Winds*, but Bacon realised that this production of a grand data bank for "the Phenomena of the Universe, that is, every kind of experience, and the sort of natural history which can establish the foundations of philosophy" was not a task for one man alone but for the whole of humanity. New institutions were required to effect the program, and these required government backing:

> I hoped that, if I rose to any place of honour in the state, I should have a larger command of industry and ability to help me in my work; — for these reasons I both applied myself to acquire the arts of civil life, and commended my service, so far as in modesty and honesty I might, to the favour of such friends as had any influence.[3]

The last three parts of his plan were left largely untouched. The fourth, the Ladder of the Understanding, was to be a demonstration of how the inductive method could be applied to the Histories; the fifth was to contain provisional results of this application; and the final part, which evidently lay centuries ahead, would contain the completed theories.

5.3 *On History*

We now examine the monarchs covered by the work of Shake-speare and Bacon. A list of their dates of empowerment from Richard II to James I is given below:

Plantaganet
- Richard II 1377–99

Lancaster
- Henry IV 1399–1413
- Henry V 1413–22
- Henry VI 1422–1461 War of the Roses starts

York
- Edward IV 1461–1483
- Edward V 1483 (1470–83) imprisoned in Tower by Richard III
- Richard III 1483–85

Tudor
- Henry VII 1485–1509
- Henry VIII 1509–1547
- Edward VI 1547–53 minor
- Mary I 1553–58 (married Philip II of Spain)
- Elizabeth I 1558–1603

Stuart
James I 1603–

By 1605, the date of publication of the *Advancement of Learning*, Shake-speare's history plays had already covered the period 1377-1485 involving Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, Edward IV (in 3 *Henry VI*), Edward V (in *Richard III*), and Richard III. Henry, Earl of Richmond, later to become Henry VII, appears only at the start of his reign at the end of *Richard III*. Eight years later, Shake-speare's *Henry VIII* appeared at the Globe theatre.

On 2 April 1605, Sir Francis Bacon wrote to King James from Gray's Inn suggesting that:

> … it would be an honour for his Majesty, and a work very memorable, if this island of Great Britain, as it is now joined in monarchy for the ages to come, so were joined in History for the times past; and that one just and complete History were compiled of both nations [England and Scotland].[4]

When the *Advancement of Learning* was published that year dedicated to King James, it became clear that the period of history Bacon had in mind was 1485AD to the reign of King James, a period not yet covered by the Shake-speare plays:

> And if it shall seem that the greatness of this work may make it less exactly performed, there is an excellent period of a much smaller compass of time, as to the story of England; that is to say, from the Uniting of the Roses to the Uniting of the Kingdoms; a portion of time, wherein, to my understanding, there hath been the rarest varieties that in like number of successions of any hereditary monarchy hath been known. For it beginneth with the mixed adeption[a] of a crown by arms and title:[b] an entry by battle, an establishment by marriage,[c] and therefore times answerable,[d] like waters after a tempest, full of working and swelling, though without extremity of storm;[e] but well passed through by the wisdom of the pilot,[f] being one of the most sufficient[g] kings of all the number. Then followeth the reign of a king,[h] whose actions, howsoever conducted, had much intermixture with the affairs of Europe, balancing and inclining them variably; in whose time also began that great alteration in the state ecclesiastical, an action which seldom cometh upon the stage. Then the reign of a minor:[i] then an offer of a usurpation,[j] though it was but as *febris ephemera*.[k] Then the reign of a queen matched with a foreigner:[l] then of a queen that lived solitary and unmarried,[m] and yet her government so masculine, that it had greater impression and operation upon the states abroad than it any ways received from thence. And now last, this most happy and glorious event,

> that this island of Britain, divided from all the world, should be united in itself:[n] and that oracle of rest, given to Aeneas, *Antiquam exquirite matrem,*[p] should now be performed and fulfilled upon the nations of England and Scotland, being now reunited in the ancient mother name of Britain, as a full period of all instability and peregrinations. So that as it cometh to pass in massive bodies, that they have certain trepidations and waverings before they fix and settle; so it seemeth that by the providence of God this monarchy, before it was to settle in your majesty and your generations, (in which I hope it is now established for ever) had these prelusive changes and varieties.[5]
>
> *Key : (a) obtaining; (b) battle of Bosworth where the Yorkist Richard III dies; (c) Henry VII unites the houses of York and Lancaster by marrying Elizabeth of York, he inherited the Lancastrian claim to the throne through his grandfather's marriage to the widow of Henry V; (d) corresponding; (e) Henry VII challenged by succession of Yorkist plots; (f) Henry VII; (g) able; (h) Henry VIII; (i) Edward VI; (j) attempt by the Duke of Northumberland to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne; (k) a day long fever; (l) Mary I married to Phillip II of Spain; (m) Elizabeth I; (n) by James I; (p) seek out your ancient mother.*

We note that Bacon proposed to begin his treatise at the very point in history that Shake-speare had reached by 1605 and that a history of the reign of Henry VIII evidently was part of his project. It is clear that Bacon was hoping to get financial support for this work and later evidence shows that he intended to write it himself. In the summer of 1608, he completed his *Memorial of Elizabeth* which he sent to Sir George Carew the English ambassador to France.[6] Less than two years later, he sent the king *The Beginning of the History of Great Britain*.[7] It was only a "leaf or two" and briefly mentions Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth I, while arguing for the legitimacy of King James's reign, a device evidently designed to capture James's interest in the project. In a letter to the king accompanying the fragment, Bacon explains that:

> … the reason why I presumed to think of the oblation was because, whatsoever my disability be, yet I shall have that advantage which almost no writer of history hath had, in that I shall write of times not only since I could remember, but since I could observe.[8]

It was a clear statement that he intended to write these civil histories. Sir Walter Raleigh thought that Sir Francis Bacon also understood their nature. In his *History of the World* (which excluded contemporary history) compiled while in the Tower (1603-18) he wrote in his Preface that the laws and kinds of history:

> … had been taught by many, but by no man better and with greater brevity than by that learned gentleman Sir Francis Bacon.

The last two Shake-speare plays, *King Henry VIII* and the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, have been dated to 1613, and in October of that year, Bacon

became Attorney General, a position that subsequently absorbed all his free time. Around this period, Shake-speare's output ceased. When in May 1621, as Lord Chancellor, Bacon was stripped of his office by proceedings for corruption, his leisure time returned and by October he had finished his book *History of the Reign of Henry VII.* Leonard Dean states that Bacon seasoned his narrative with the aid of documented counsels and speeches from Sir Robert Cotton's depository, and relied on well-known literary chronicles for the main structure such as Polydore Vergil's *Anglicae Historiae* (1570), Edward Hall's *Chronicle* (1550), Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1587), and John Stow's *Annals* (1580). He also informs us that:

> Henry VII … was the last reign for which documentary evidence was readily available, all later reigns depending on State Papers which were closely guarded.[9]

While the life of Henry VIII could be found in the above chronicles (particularly Stow's), one wonders how far Shake-speare's play went beyond them and made use of these secret State Papers. Shakspere would certainly have been in difficulty here but Sir Francis Bacon in his position of Solicitor General and with his contacts in court would have found far easier entry.

Shortly after 8 October 1621, Bacon sent King James the manuscript for his book *History of Henry the VII* which the king returned a little after 7 January 1622. Before the end of March it had been printed and was on sale to the public priced at six shillings.[10] Bacon's next task was a Latin translation of the revised *Advancement of Learning* as *De Augmentis Scientiarum*. It was to form the first part of his Great Instauration which he was expecting to finish by the summer of 1622. Being twice the size of the *History of Henry the VII* one might reasonably have expected it to be published before the end of 1622 but it did not appear until October 1623. It was about this time that Shake-speare's First Folio (1623) collection of 36 plays was in preparation.

According to Leonard Dean, Bacon's method of writing histories shares certain features with the craft of a dramatist:

> … he is like his Italian counterparts. For Machiavelli whatever is instructive is contemporary, and Patrizzi is concerned only with such details as how to narrate two or more groups of actions that take place at the same time.[11] … Bacon explains events almost wholly by an interpretation of personal motives, and neglects social and economic causes.[12]

This emphasis on character is the essence of drama and appears to liberate Bacon from the charge that his sensibility was too limited to

have penned the Shake-speare work.

5.4 *Shakespeare's* King Henry VIII

Meanwhile, Prince Charles, later to become Charles I, had been pressing Sir Francis Bacon for a history of Henry VIII. On 10 February 1622, the King authorised the Paper Office Keeper, Sir Thomas Wilson, to provide Sir Francis Bacon, who had been denied access to library resources by his sentence for corruption, with any papers he might require to research the project.[13] Eleven days later Bacon wrote to the Marquis of Buckingham (who was in Spain with Prince Charles visiting Bacon's exiled friend Sir Tobie Matthew):

> I beseech your Lordship of your nobleness vouchsafe to present my most humble duty to his Highness, who I hope ere long will make me leave King Henry the Eighth and set me on work in relation to his Highness's heroical adventures.

It seems Bacon had the time but not the inclination for a history of Henry VIII. Towards the beginning of July 1623, Bacon wrote to his friend Sir Tobie Matthew:

> Since you say the prince hath not forgot his commandment touching my History of Henry 8th, I may not forget my duty. But I find Sir Robert Cotton, who poured forth what he had in my other work, somewhat dainty in his materials in this.

Then once Prince Charles had returned from Spain, Bacon sent a copy of his *De Augmentis Scientiarum* with a different excuse for not beginning the requested history:

> For Henry the Eighth, to deal truly with your Highness, I did so despair of my health this summer as I was glad to choose some such work as I might compass within days; so far was I from entering into a work of length.

In the end, Prince Charles was sent a mere two pages of an outline of the history[14] which Dr Rawley published in 1629 in *Certain Miscellany works of the Right Hon. Francis Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Albans.*[15] Evidently, Bacon was avoiding the project.

As we have seen, in 1610, in his *Beginning of the History of Great Britain* (§5.3), Sir Francis Bacon was still interested in writing about Henry VIII. From 1622 onwards, despite the Prince's repeated requests and King James making available the necessary research materials, he attempted to avoid doing so. Was it because the history had already been completed in the Shake-speare play in 1613 nine years earlier? In 1621, why did Bacon choose to compose a book on Henry VII? Was it because he was the only monarch Shake-speare had omitted in the period 1377-

1547? If Bacon and Shake-speare were different men then it is remarkable how each managed to avoid duplicating the other's projects. However, if Bacon was writing under the pseudonym of Shake-speare it suddenly makes sense. By 1623, his total output would have already spanned the period 1377-1603 and he would not have wished to revisit old ground, especially with other parts of his Great Instauration incomplete.

5.5 *Bacon's Histories*

Here we explore the thesis that just as there were to be scientific Histories or data to which Bacon's inductive method could be applied, it is possible that the Shake-speare work was intended by Bacon to contain the ethical and political Histories which otherwise would not have been published. These would form the third part of his Great Instauration.

> It may also be asked … whether I speak of natural philosophy [science] only, or whether I mean that the other sciences, logic, ethics, and politics, should be carried on by this method. Now I certainly mean what I have said to be understood of them all; and as the common logic, which governs by the syllogism, extends not only to natural but to all sciences; so does mine also, which proceeds by induction, embrace everything. For I form a history and tables of discovery for anger, fear, shame, and the like; for matters political…[16]

Bacon also confirmed the utility of a civil or moral philosophy remarking that it would:

> … exhibit the movements and perturbations, the virtues and vices, which took place no less in intellectual than civil matters; and that from the observation of these the best system of government might be derived and established.[17] … the best provision and material for this treatise is to be gained from the wiser sort of historians … from the entire body of history as often as such a person enters upon the stage; for a character so worked into the narrative gives a better idea of the man, than any formal criticism and review can;[18]

In the *Advancement of Learning* (1605), having discussed the "description of good" Bacon reaches a section entitled the Culture of the Mind, and quotes Aristotle:

> Therefore we must inquire not only to what kind virtue belongs, but also how it may be obtained.[19]

There are diseases of the mind, wrong ways of thinking that impede the path to virtue, for which Bacon recommends a medicine:

> And if it be said that the cure of men's minds belong to sacred Divinity, it is most true: but yet Moral Philosophy may be preferred unto her as a wise servant and a humble housemaid.[20]

The data for this moral philosophy regarding the various impediments of the mind — for example, a tendency to contradict rather than please — was readily obtainable:

> … because both history, poesy, and daily experience are as goodly fields where these observations grow …[21] I find strange, as before, that Aristotle should have written divers volumes of Ethics, and never handled the affections, which is the principal subject thereof … I find some particular writings of an elegant nature touching some of the affections; as of anger, of comfort upon adverse accidents, of tenderness of countenance, and others. But the poets and writers are the best doctors of this knowledge; where we may find painted forth with great life, how affections are kindled and incited; and how pacified and restrained; and how again contained from act and further degree; how they disclose themselves, how they work, how they vary, how they gather and fortify, how they are inwrapped one within another, and how they do fight and encounter one with another, and other the like particularities: amongst the which this last is of special use in moral and civil matters; how (I say) to set affection against affection, and to master one by another … upon which foundation is erected the excellent use of praemium and proena[a], whereby civil states consist … For as in government of states it is sometimes necessary to bridle one faction with another, so it is in the government within.[22]
>
> *Key : (a) rewards and punishment*

Leonard Dean observes that:

> Bacon believed that the chief functions of history are to provide the materials for a realistic treatment of psychology and ethics, and to give instruction by means of example and analysis in practical politics.[23]

He further summarises Bacon's scheme as an:

> approach to the good life through the realistic analysis of human nature by historians[24]

First we examine a possible example in Shake-speare of one of Bacon's ethical Histories and follow it with possible examples of his political Histories.

There is an incident from *Henry IV, Part 2*, involving Prince Hal (later Henry V) that reflects Bacon's view that history should provide instruction in the moral good. The source is *The Governor*[25] (1531) by Sir Thomas Elyot, a book intended to demonstrate the education that a gentleman required in order to obtain a position in court. It has been described as "the earliest treatise on moral philosophy in English" propounding monarchical theories and advertising Elyot's view that "the same qualities that make a good king make a good man".[26] Elyot relates how one of Prince Hal's favoured servants was arraigned at the King's

Bench for felony and an incensed prince stormed into the court and ordered his release. The Lord Chief Justice at the time was Sir William Gascoigne, a Reader of Gray's Inn, whose reputation rested on his rigorous impartiality and his steadfast endeavour to preserve the independence of the Bench from the Crown. Chief Justice Gascoigne was unmoved and advised that Prince Hal must either let the law take its course or obtain a royal pardon from the King. The Prince would not be persuaded and attempted to escort his servant away whereupon Gascoigne commanded him to leave both the prisoner and the court. Prince Hal, now even more enraged, confronted Gascoigne and caused so much alarm that some believed he would slay the judge. However, Sir William simply admonished the Prince:

> Sir, remembre your selfe; I kepe here the place of the king, your soueraigne lorde and father, to whom ye owe double obedience, wherfore, eftsones in his name, I charge you desiste of your wilfulnes and unlaufull entreprise, and from hensforth gyue good example to those whiche hereafter shall be your propre subjectes. And nowe for your contempt and disobedience, go you to the prisone of the kynges benche, where unto I committe you; and remayne ye there prisoner untill the pleasure of the kyng, your father, be further knowen.

With that, the Prince lay down his sword and allowed himself to be taken away. When the King heard of the matter he was so pleased with Gascoigne that he looked up to the heavens shouting:

> … howe moche am I, aboue all other men, bounde to your infinite goodnes; specially for that ye have gyuen me a juge, who feareth nat to ministre justice, and also a sonne who can suffre semblably and obey justice?

The first reference to this event in *Henry IV, Part 2* occurs when Sir John Falstaff's page notices the Chief Justice approaching:

> *Page.* Here comes the Nobleman that committed the Prince for striking[a] him, about Bardolfe.
>
> (1597-8 *Henry IV, Part 2,* Act 1, Scene 3)
>
> *Key : (a) engaging (not necessarily hitting)*

Bardolfe, a servant to Sir John Falstaff, is a man who hopes to prosper when Prince Hal becomes King. Later, when King Henry IV dies, Prince Hal assumes the throne and has the following conversation with the Chief Justice:

> *Prince.* … How might a Prince of my great hopes forget
> So great Indignities you laid upon me?
> What? Rate? Rebuke and roughly send to Prison
> Th'immediate Heire of England? …
> *Chief Justice.* I then did use the Person of your Father:

The Image of his power, lay then in me
Whiles I was busie for the Commonwealthe
Your Highnesse pleased to forget my place,
The Majesty, and power of Law, and Justice,
The Image of the King, whom I presented,
And Strooke[a] me in my very Seate of Judgement
Whereon (as an Offender to your Father)
I gave bold way to my Authority
And did commit you …
(1597-8 *Henry IV, Part 2,* Act 5, Scene 2)
Key: (a) engaged

The relevant passage from *The Governor* is quoted verbatim in Stow's *Annals* (1592) so it is unclear which work served as Shake-speare's source. Nevertheless, Shake-speare seems to have been drawn to Elyot's moral that:

> Wherefore I conclude, that nothing is more honourable or to be desired in a Prince, or noble man, than placability, as contrarwise nothing is to be detestable, or to be feared in such a one as wrath or cruel malignity.[27]

Shake-speare demonstrates the Prince's lack of wrath by his encouraging the Chief Justice to continue in office, that is "Beare the Balance and the Sword", and by his discussion of how he would wish his own son to behave if the incident were repeated:

Prince. You are right Justice, and you weigh this well:
Therefore still Beare the Balance and the Sword …
… So shall I live to speak my Fathers words:
Happy am I, that have a man so bold,
That dares do Justice, on my proper Sonne,
And no lesse happy, having such a sonne,
That would deliver up his Greatnesse so,
Into the hands of Justice …
(1597-8 *Henry IV, Part 2,* Act 5, Scene 2)

In the *Wisdom of the Ancients*, Francis Bacon might have had Prince Hal in mind when discussing the application of philosophy to human affairs:

> … and applying her powers of persuasion and eloquence to insinuate into men's minds the love of virtue and equity of peace, teaches the people to assemble and unite and take upon them the yoke of the laws and submit to authority, and forget their ungoverned appetites, in listening and conforming to precepts and discipline.[28]

Returning to the play, the Prince then proposes the Chief Justice as one of the "Limbes of Noble Counsaile" in the High Court of Parliament. However, according to Sir Dunbar Plunket Barton:

> … history does not confirm this part of the legend. It appears that soon

> after Henry V's accession Gascoigne either resigned or was superseded.[29]

So here we find Shake-speare manipulating the facts to execute the moral of the tale and in doing so we recall Bacon's view that the aim of history should be to exhibit "virtues and vices" so that "from the observation of these the best system of government might be derived and established". Who better to receive these moral lessons than Inns of Court audiences who as law students trained into the nobility were to be the future rulers of England.

There is evidence that Shake-speare actually sourced *The Governor* for other plays:

> Elyot is the likeliest source for the main plot of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, though the story in question was also available elsewhere. There are strong echoes or apparent echoes of the first two chapters of *The Governor* in *Henry V* and *Troilus and Cressida*.[30]

According to Starnes, Elyot's book gives us:

> the nature of majesty and of the virtues which a king should possess [31]

In other words:

> … the chapters on government are strongly related to the discussions of training in knowledge, manners and virtue[32]

This clearly echoes Bacon's use for a moral philosophy and, as A. L. Rowse has commented:

> Shakespeare's concern with the importance of unity and good government ... is unique with him.[33]

This clearly echoes Bacon's use for a moral philosophy.

In *Shakespeare and Rennaissance Politics*, Hadfield addresses an issue which will serve as our basis for examining possible examples of Bacon's political Histories in Shake-speare:

> Writers became fascinated after 1591 by the themes of kingship, authority, and the acquisition of and retention of power … the aim was to explain how 'vice', 'flattery' and 'ambition' had come to supercede the traditional values of 'wisdom', 'service' and *respublica*.[34]

Other writers apart from Shake-speare had worked on this theme, for example, Christopher Marlowe in *Edward II* (1592) and Sir John Haywood in *The First Part of the Life and Raigne of Henrie IIII* (1599). However, there are two characteristics that distinguish Shake-speare from these other writers. The first is the number of different political systems explored:

> No other contemporary dramatist explored the meaning and significance of such a wide variety of political and social systems, or established such a carefully nuanced relationship between examining alternative constitutions

in their own right, and reading them in terms of English or British politics.[35]

For example, *Coriolanus*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *Othello* refer to the constitutional issues of republican Rome and Venice; *Hamlet* portrays an elective monarchy; and *Macbeth* deals with the problems of re-establishing a legitimate government after the reign of a bloody usurper. We recall Bacon's statement above in regard to his Great Instauration project "For I form a history and tables of discovery for anger, fear, shame, and the like; for matters *political*". By surveying such a wide range of political systems, Shake-speare's goal seems to be the same completeness that Bacon intended for his political Histories. In other words, the inductive method could only be effectively applied in the sphere of political thought when a complete survey of political data had been conducted. Why Shakspere the player would express such a profound interest in political systems is a mystery for there is no evidence that links him to any kind of political activity or philosophy.

The second characteristic is as follows:

> It would not be stretching a point to describe a number of Shake-speare's plays as 'Tacitean' … Tacitus was regarded throughout Europe as the most dispassionate of historians, whose work combined moral insight into the behaviour of political actors with an assessment of their value as governors.[36]

Hadfield recognizes this quality in both Shake-speare and Bacon's work:

> His [Shake-speare's] works appear to be indebted to the numerous attempts made in that decade [1590s] to study history, politics and society in the relatively detached and relatively objective manner pioneered by thinkers such as Lispius, Montaigne, Livy and Tacitus, a well as their English disciples such as Francis Bacon and Sir John Haywood.[37]

There is evidence in his *Advancement of Learning* that Bacon had studied Tacitus in great detail:

> Of all histories I think Tacitus simply the best; Livy is very good; Thucydides above any of the writers of Greek matters;[38]

and the *Advancement of Learning* contains many quotations in Latin from Tacitus.

However, Hart allows a further point of connection between Shake-speare and Bacon's historical agenda:

> Shake-speare outdoes every important dramatist of his time in the number and variety of allusions made to the divine right of the reigning monarch.[39]

For example, in *Pericles* we find:

> *Pericles*. ... King's are earth's gods; in vice their law's their will;
> And if Jove stray, who dares say Jove doth ill?

(1608-9 *Pericles*, Act 1, Scene 1)

Bacon, who believed in an absolute monarchy, was content to subscribe to this view in his description of the trial of the Earl of Essex:

> For God hath imprinted such a majesty in the face of a prince that no private man dare approach the person of his sovereign with a traitorous intent.[40]

A few months after *Pericles,* King James reiterated the God-like status of princes (that is, kings) in a speech at Whitehall:

> The State of Monarchie is the supremest thing upon earth: For kings are not only God's Lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself they are called Gods.[41]

5.6 *Noted Weed*

In the context of Bacon's Great Instauration project, the comment that Bacon makes in his first will (1621) takes on a special interest:

> I have hated all cruelty and hardness of heart: I have (though in a despised weed) procured the good of all men. If any have been mine enemies, I thought not of them; …[42]

In Elizabethan England, one meaning of "weed" was "garment" as was the sense in *Much Ado About Nothing*:

> *Don Pedro* … let us hence and put on other weeds …
> (1598-9 *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act 5, Scene 3)

However, there is an alternative meaning in *King Henry VIII* where Shake-speare implies the derogatory sense of "base person". The Bishop of Winchester is speaking with Sir Thomas Lovell about Thomas Cromwell:

> *Gardiner.* … He's a rank weed, Sir Thomas, And we must root him out.
> (1613 *King Henry VIII*, Act 5, Scene 1)

In what sense is Bacon using "weed"? We can get a notion of what Bacon meant by 'good of all men' from his *Dedicatory to An Advertisement Touching a Holy War* written just one year after this will:

> Now having in the work of my Instauration had in contemplation the general good of men in their very being, and the dowries of nature; and in my work of Laws, the general good of men likewise in society, and the dowries of government …[43]

So Bacon appears to be using "good" to mean "benefit". Bacon's will was written during his prosecution for corruption, at which time he fell ill and entertained no hope of recovery. With most of Parliament set against him, "weed" might be interpreted as his "earthly body", and "despised weed" as a self-deprecatory remark, especially being followed by "If any have been mine enemies". So line 2 could mean "even though I am hated I still act for the benefit of others". However, could Bacon's

'despised weed' have been referring to a base person instead? Let us now bring forward Shake-speare's Sonnet 76:

> Why write I still all one, ever the same,
> And keep invention in a noted weed,
> That every word doth almost tell my name,
> Showing their birth and where they did proceed?

Again, there is the possibility of a double entendre. The "noted weed" or clothes has often been interpreted as the sonnet form that Shake-speare dressed his ideas in but perhaps this also has the meaning of 'base person'. "That every word doth tell my name" then becomes a revelation of concealment. One has to say that without the device of *double entendre* (which Shake-speare frequently used), Sonnet 76 appears rather dry and pointless, and it is difficult to believe that a mind as sharp as Shake-speare's could not have seen the alternative interpretation here outlined. Equally, a mind as sharp as Bacon's must also have realized the double-entendre in his "despised weed" remark. It remains an unresolved curiosity.

5.7 *Construction*

If histories give the path to goodness by informing a moral philosophy then Bacon, at least through his authorship of Shake-speare's history plays, might have believed he had "procured the good of all men" by writing them. After all, Bacon has the following to say on the relationship between plays and moral philosophy:

> And though in modern states play-acting is esteemed but as a toy, except when it is too satirical and biting; yet among the ancients it was used as a means of educating men's minds to virtue. Nay, it has been regarded by learned men and great philosophers as a kind of musician's bow by which men's minds may be played upon. And certainly it is most true, and one of the great secrets of nature, that the minds of men are more open to impressions and affections when many are gathered together than when they are alone.[44]

As for Shakspere of Stratford, the "despised weed", he might have provided a convenient veil for Bacon, whose ascent to high office would be left unimpeded by the difficulties that his identification as a dramatist might have attracted, not least being seen as a manipulator of "men's minds". From his position of advantage, Bacon could then lobby government to provide organisational backing for his new institutions of learning.

Some doubt has been expressed about the view that known dramatists were prohibited from rising to high office. The Editor of the *Illustrated*

London News made the following observation on the 6 December 1856:

> So far was the vocation of dramatist for pecuniary profit from being attended with dishonour or fraught with detriment to a writer's professional prospects, that Sackville, the Lord Treasurer under the reigns of Elizabeth and James, was a confessed dramatist.

While this might appear to cast doubt on Bacon's motive for concealment we have already seen testimony to the contrary and should remind ourselves that the real point is how Bacon perceived the risk. As the Earl of Surrey declared in the play *Sir Thomas More*:

> *Earl of Surrey*: Poets were ever thought unfit for state.
> (*Sir Thomas More*, Act 3, Scene2)

In addition, Bacon evidently felt that there was more to lose than a position in government; he wanted his place in history:

> so after my death I may yet perhaps, through the kindling of this new light in the darkness of philosophy, be the means of making this age famous to posterity[45]

So important was Bacon's goal to him that he might have been unwilling to take any kind of risk in jeopardizing it. Also, it is clear that the benefit that his work would give to others ranked higher in his priorities than personal approbation:

> "I have heard his lordship often say" writes Rawley in the Address which precedes the *Sylva Sylvarum* "that if he should have served the glory of his own name, he had better not to have published this Natural History; but that he resolved to prefer the good of men, and that which might secure it, before anything that might have relation to himself."[46]

Unfortunately, although Sir Francis Bacon rose to become Lord Chancellor, he failed in his lifetime to realise the interest in his Great Instauration that he had hoped for. However, in 1660, 34 years after Bacon's death, Charles II lent his name and backing to the "Royal Society of London, for Improving of Natural Knowledge" regularly meeting to read papers and share experimental findings. It was acknowledged that Sir Francis Bacon had been the inspiration.

Chapter 6. Gray's Inn Revels 1594-5

6.1 *Preliminary*

The Gray's Inn revels of 1594-5 stand as an important cornerstone in the case for Francis Bacon because a contemporary account, the *Gesta Grayorum*, has been left to us which appears to have been written by Bacon himself. This is significant because the revels gave the first known performance of Shake-speare's *Comedy of Errors*, and from the evidence of the *Gesta Grayorum*, it appears that *Love's Labour's Lost* was also intended but cancelled.

We first argue the case for the insularity of the Inns of Court (§6.2) highlighting the difficulty that a non-member dramatist (such as Shakspere, assuming his authorship) would have encountered getting his plays performed there. We examine the evidence that not only was Bacon very likely the organizer of the 1594-5 revels (§6.3), but that he continued to organize masques for the nobility using players from Grays Inn. The theme of the revels is then outlined (§6.4) before we consider a possible origin of the name Shake-speare in relation to the revels and Francis Bacon (§6.5).

The *Comedy of Errors* (§6.6) contains a plot point that seems to parallel an incident that had occurred involving an Inns of Court personality only two years earlier. There are also legal phrases that would have interested Inns of Court members, the play's staging seems suited for the environment, and there is the absence of a record of payment to a dramatist, all suggesting that the author was an Inns of Court member. We examine the notion that the Lord Chamberlaine's Men were not the only company performing Shake-speare plays and that Francis Bacon had control over this other company. It appears that the theme of the revels was one of conflict and reconciliation (§6.7) and this increases the likelihood that the *Comedy of Errors* was composed with this theme in mind. This is reinforced by the many references to sorcery both in the play and the revels as described in the *Gesta Grayorum* (§6.8).

After examining the evidence that Francis Bacon composed speeches for the revels (§6.9), we note the many correspondences between *Love's Labour's Lost* and the revels proceedings that suggest that it was intended for performance but was abandoned (§6.10). Based on the theme of conflict between study and pleasure, the play is centred around the French Court of Navarre and involves an academy. Bacon had an interest in academies as exemplified by his *New Alantis* and there

is also direct evidence that he knew Antonio Perez upon whom one of the play's characters is based.

6.2 *Closed Society*

As we have seen, after Oxford and Cambridge, the four Innes of Court – Gray's Inn, Inner Temple, Middle Temple, and Lincoln's Inn – were collectively known as the Third University. There "the sonnes of the best or better sort of Gentlemen of all the Shires"[1] studied the "Municipal law of England." Dating from 1556, Gray's Inn, once the "Inne or Lodging of the ancient and Noble Barons the Lords Gray [of Wilton] and … situate in the manor of Pirpoole in Holborne", was the largest of the four Inns of Court and was the one attended by Francis Bacon.

Traditionally, revels were held over Christmas where dancing and feasting were complemented by plays and masques. As we shall see, the evidence suggests that during the early years of Shake-speare's output, they were always amateur productions. On 12 January 1561, *Gorboduc*, written by Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, was presented before the Queen at Whitehall and was acted by other members of the Inner Temple. George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmershe of Gray's Inn were responsible for writing *Jocasta* five years later and in *Elizabethan Literature*, in his discussion of pre-Shakespearean drama, John Mackinnon Robertson states that neither of these plays:

> … got beyond the subsidized stage of the universities, the Inns of Court, and the Court. The populace would have none of them. So with Robert Wilmot's tragedy of *Tancred and Gismunda*, played before the Queen at the Inner Temple in 1568 …

On 16 January 1588, Gray's Inn supplied 26 actors for a performance of *Catiline* before Lord Burghley,[2] a play referred to in *The Pension Book of Gray's Inn 1559-1669* which reveals that on 23 January 1588, "F. Bacon" was one of 12 present at the Pension — the Gray's Inn committee meeting — when:

> … there was allowed out of the stocke of the house towards the charge of the comedy or shew set forth by the gentlemen of this house this last Christmas xx marks[a] …[3]
>
> *Key : (a) £13.33*

Occasionally the Gray's Inn players performed before the Queen at Whitehall. The Court Revels Account records for 26 December 1587, 6 January 1588, and 18 February 1588:

> vij[a] playes besides feattes of Activitie and other shewes by the Childeren of Poles[b] her Majesties owne servants & the gentlemen of Grayes In[4]
>
> *Key: (a) seven, (b) St. Paul's*

Unfortunately, on this occasion only "her Majesties owne servants" seem to have received payment.

It appears not to have been in the interests of the law students to bring in professional actors and writers, and especially not for the Christmas revels which were used as part of the students' education into the nobility. In his commentary on the *Gesta Grayorum*, a contemporary account of the Gray's Inn revels 1594-5, Desmond Bland expands on this point:

> … the revels were also intended as a training ground in 'all the manners that are learned by nobility' … Dancing, music, declamation, acting, the etiquette of a formal precession, on foot or on horseback, the proper ordering of a banquet, the exchange of courtesies in speech or in writing, all these are part of the elaborate make believe.[5]

Professional players were unwelcome at the other two Universities, Oxford and Cambridge, at this time. In fact, the authorities were so determined to defend the University stage from professional companies that on 29 June 1593, after liaising with Oxford, Cambridge University managed to induce the Privy Council to proclaim "that no plaies or interludes of common plaiers be used or sette forth" within five miles of either University town. However, in Oxford, the companies were protected by the city authorities and in the end the University resorted to bribes. Between 1587 and 1604, the Vice Chancellor's account records that companies patronised by the Earl of Leicester, the Queen, Lord Morley, and the Lord Admiral, were actually paid by the University Vice Chancellor to stay away and any Master, Bachelor, or Scholar found attending any such performance was sent to prison.[6]

As far as writing drama is concerned, before Shake-speare's time, there is only one known instance of an outsider's contribution, and this was only a minor one. The *Inner Temple Yearbook (2000/2001)* shows that there was an offering from the playwright Arthur Broke (or Brooke), who wrote some dramatic interludes for the Inner Temple Christmas revels of 18 December 1561 without remuneration. Broke was granted honorary membership of the Inn though it took a meeting of the Inner Temple Parliament to award it, who belatedly record on 4 February 1562 that:

> Arthur Broke shall have special permission without payment in consideration of certain plays and shows at Christmas last set forth by him.

Prior to 1613, during Shake-speare's productive period, there is no known instance of the external writing of a play or masque. On 15 February 1613, towards the end of his output, a joint Masque of the

Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn was written by George Chapman and presented at Court but even then he resided at Gray's Inn despite not being an Inn member.[7] Apart from this case, all the plays were written by Inns of Court members, and since many of the leading dramatists were educated there, one can imagine no shortage of willing pens ready to practice their art. So when Shake-speare's *Comedy of Errors* received its first known performance at the Gray's Inn Revels of 1594-5, it would have been natural for this to have been written and performed by Inns of Court members.

6.3 *Bacon the Organiser*

For the legal year 1594, the *The Pension Book of Gray's Inn 1569–1669*, records that Francis Bacon was elected one of the Treasurers, a post which he held until 26 November 1594:

> Mr Pooley paid to Mr Bacon one of the treasurers of this house by the hands of Mr Lany the some[a] of xxix[li] xvii[s] xi[d] in full discharge of his accompt of his office of Treasurershippe.[8]
>
> *Key: (a) sum of £29.88*

One of his duties would have been to oversee the financing of the Christmas revels for 1594–5. There is also ample evidence that Bacon continued to organise performances for Gray's Inn. William Henry Smith was the first to recognize the significance of an undated letter, most probably to the first Lord Burghley, and so before autumn 1598, in which Francis Bacon writes (Figure 6, transcript in Appendix C):

> I am sorry the joint masque from the four Inns of Court faileth; wherein I conceive there is no other ground of that event but impossibility … [and] there are a dozen gentlemen of Gray's Inn that … will be ready to furnish a masque; wishing it were in their powers to perform it according to their minds.[9]

In the banqueting house at Whitehall on Saturday 20 February 1613, a masque written by Inner Temple member and playwright Francis Beaumont, organised jointly by Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple, was presented before King James with the following dedication:

> On Tuesday it came to Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple's turn to come with their Mask, whereof Sir Francis Bacon was the chief contriver[10]

Unfortunately, the King was too tired to concentrate so Bacon postponed it until the Saturday. The following year, on Twelfth Night, 6 January 1614, the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn presented a Masque of Flowers at the same venue on the occasion of the marriage between the Earl of Somerset and Lady Frances, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk.

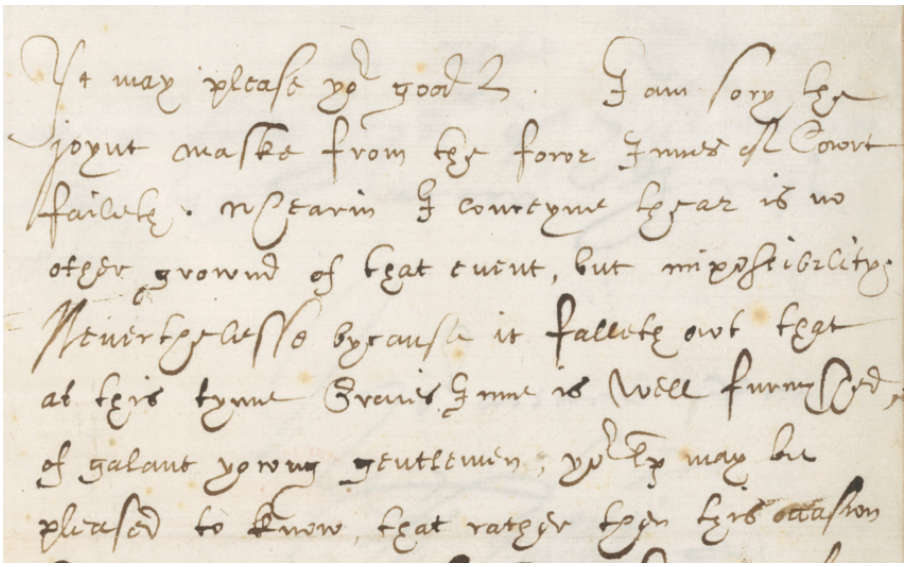


Figure 6. "I am sory the joynt maske from the four Inns of Court faileth," letter from Francis Bacon to Lord Burghley (before autumn 1598)

Again Sir Francis Bacon receives credit:

> … having beene the principall, and in effect the only person that did both encourage and warrant the Gentlemen to shew their good affection towards so noble a Conjunction in a time of such magnificence …[11]

So the evidence shows that not only did the Inns of Court write and perform their own plays but Francis Bacon was regularly their producer. The question is: Why was he so interested? If Bacon was Shake-speare, taking control of the productions would have ensured that his plays together with their moral messages reached their intended noble audience. In other words, it could all have been part of publicising the moral philosophy component of his Great Instauration project to "procure the good of all men".

6.4 *Revels 1594-5*

In the early 1590s, the plague had closed the theatres and other places of congregation, so the 1594–95 revels at Gray's Inn were the first for several years. As mentioned, a detailed account of the proceedings comes down to us in the *Gesta Grayorum*, first published in 1688. This 68-page pamphlet identifies no author, but James Spedding (who believed Shakspere was Shake-speare), the nineteenth century editor of 14 volumes of the letters and work of Sir Francis Bacon, has no doubt:

> … Bacon's name does not appear upon the face of the narrative; and … his connexion with it, though sufficiently obvious, has never so far as I

know been pointed out or suspected …[12]

The Gray's Inn Christmas revels of 1594–95 were centred round the affairs of a mock government to be "performed by witty Inventions" which, as we have seen, were intended to serve as an education in the affairs of government for the law students. On 12 December 1594, Mr Henry Helmes of Norfolk was elected as Prince of Purpoole, Lord of Misrule, to "govern our State for a time," officially over the 12 days of Christmas but actually until Shrovetide (i.e. three days before the start of Lent, 6 February). He was assigned his own Privy Council, Officers of State, Gentlemen-Pensioners (personal attendants), and a Guard with Captain for his defence. He also had his own coat of arms consisting of three helmets, a recurring theme of the revels.

6.5 *Shake-speare Name*

Eight days later, on St. Thomas' Eve, following a grand procession, the Prince took his place on the throne wearing:

> … a Sacred Imperial Diadem, safely guarded by the Helmet of the great Goddess Pallas … all environed with the Ribband of Loyalty, having a Pendant of the most heroical Order of Knighthood of the Helmet …[13]

At this point, we fall upon a possible origin of the name Shake-speare. Pallas Athena or Minerva, as she was called by Homer in the Iliad, was the Goddess of Wisdom, Reason, and Purity, and the tenth Muse. The name Pallas or 'spear shaker' derives from 'pallein', to shake, and when Hephaestus struck Zeus on the head with a hammer, a helmeted Pallas Athena emerged from the wound brandishing a shield and belligerently shaking a spear. According to the *Iliad*, Pallas borrowed a helmet from Hades (or Pluto) to effect invisibility:

> Pallas Minerva took the whip and reins,
> and drove straight at Mars. He was in the act of stripping huge
> Periphas, son of Ochesius and bravest of the Aetolians. Bloody Mars
> was stripping him of his armour, and Minerva donned the helmet of
> Hades, that he might not see her;[14]

In his essay Of Delays, Bacon is evidently aware of the utility of Plutos' helmet:

> For the helmet of Pluto, which maketh the politique man go invisible, is secrecy in the counsel and celerity in the execution.[15]

He even mentions the notion in his *Promus* wastebook (see §8.1):

> Plutoes Helmett; secrecy Invisibility[16]

If an intellectual had wished to conceive a mask name for 'invisibility and wisdom' then Pallas would have been ideal and 'Shake-speare' would then signify the wise, invisible, spear-shaker Pallas Athena. In

Ben Jonson's eulogy to Shake-speare in the First Folio (1623), he appears to hint at this origin of the name:

> In his well turned, and true filed lines:
> In each of which he seems to shake a lance,
> As brandish't at the eyes of Ignorance …[17]

We have already seen in §4.5 with Valerius Terminus and Hermes Stella that it was not beyond Bacon to conceive pseudonyms.

When Sir Francis Bacon died in 1626, a book of 32 eulogies, *Manes Verulamiani*,[18] was compiled with entries from distinguished scholars. The anonymous Eulogy V is addressed "To the Memory and Merits of the Right Honourable Lord Francis, Lord Verulam and Viscount St. Albans":

> … no inhabitant of Earth was master of greater intellectual gifts; nor does any survivor so skilfully unite Themis and Pallas.

Themis, the Goddess of Justice, Sound Counsel, and Order, seems entirely appropriate considering Bacon rose to be Lord Chancellor. In Eulogy IX, the unidentified R.C. and T.C. enthuse:

> … The very nerve of genius, the marrow of persuasion, the golden stream of eloquence the precious gem of concealed literature, the noble Bacon (ah! the relentless warp of the three sisters) has fallen by the fates. O how am I in verse like mine to commemorate you, sublime Bacon! and those glorious memorials of all the ages composed by your genius and by Minerva.

Here Bacon is referred to as "the precious gem of concealed literature" whose compositions are claimed to be the product of *two* people: Francis Bacon and Minerva (Pallas Athena) from which the name Shake-speare derives. The "three sisters", who are related here to "the fates", bring to mind the three witches in *Macbeth*:

> *All.* The Weird Sisters, hand in hand …
> (1606 *Macbeth*, Act 1, Scene 3)

The reference to Minerva was also echoed by Thomas Randolph of Trinity College in Eulogy XXXII:

> When he [Bacon] perceived that the arts were held by no roots, and like seed scattered on the surface of the soil were withering away, he taught the Pegasean[a] arts to grow, as grew the spear of Quirinus swiftly into a laurel tree … The ardour of his noble heart could bear no longer that you divine Minerva, should be despised. His godlike pen restored your wonted honour and, as another Apollo, dispelled the clouds that hid you.
> *Key: (a) figuratively, pertaining to poetry*

In Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, after Romulus, son of Mars, has been deified as Quirinus[19] his spear becomes transformed into a tree:

> No less astounded than Romulus, when he saw his spear, that had once

> grown on the Palatine Hill, suddenly put out leaves, and stand there, not with its point driven in, but with fresh roots: now not a weapon but a tough willow-tree, giving unexpected shade to those who wondered at it.

It is possible that having composed the pseudonym Shake-speare, Bacon learnt of the phonetically similar Shakspere in the theatre world (the "noted weed") and capitalising on the opportunity to effect concealment, borrowed the name William so that Shakspere could act as a consenting mask. If this is what happened, then it must have occurred at least as early as 1593 (before the Gray's Inn revels) when the name William Shakespeare first appeared on the *Venus and Adonis* quarto. This would also explain why Shakspere's name had changed to Shakespeare when he is recorded as receiving payment for performing before the Queen at Whitehall on Innocents Day 1594 (see §2.3, Figure 2).

6.6 *The Comedy of Errors*

According to the *Gesta Grayorum*, at 9pm on the night of 28 December 1594 (Innocents Day) the invited 'Ambassador' of the Inner Temple and his retinue together with "a great Presence of Lords, ladies and worshipful Personages" took their places ready to enjoy the entertainment of the revels. However, the crowds were so great that "there was no convenient room for those that were actors" and "no Opportunity to effect that which was intended." The Ambassador left disappointed. Nevertheless, after some dancing, "a Comedy of Errors (like to Plautus his Menechmus) was played by the Players" and because of these events the evening was thereafter referred to as the "Night of Errors". Whoever, these players were, Shakspere was not one of them for, according to the Chamber accounts of 15 March 1595, he and the Lord Chamberlain's Men were performing for the Queen at Greenwich on Innocents Day (see §2.3, Figure 2) and according to E.K. Chambers:

> … the Court performances were always at night, beginning about 10pm and ending at about 1am.[20]

So Shakspere would have had difficulty being at Grays Inn that evening.

Shake-speare obviously held Plautus in high regard:

> *Polon.* Seneca cannot be too heavy, nor Plautus too light, for the law of Writ and the Liberty. These are the onely men.
> (1600-01 *Hamlet*, Act 2, Scene 2)

while in the *Advancement of Learning* (1605), Sir Francis Bacon quotes liberally from both of these authors. In fact, he betrays his familiarity with the comedies of Plautus (or Terence) in his discussion on virtue:

> … and on the other side, the Cyrenaics and Epicureans, who placed it

> [felicity] in pleasure, and made virtue, (as it is used in some comedies of errors, wherein the mistress and the maid change habits) to be but as a servant, without which pleasure cannot be served and attended[21]

With only 1920 printed lines (the next longest being *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* with 2300 lines) the *Comedy of Errors* is the shortest of the Shake-speare plays in the canon. Based mainly on two plays, the *Menaechmus* and *Amphitruo*, by the third century Roman dramatist Plautus, the *Comedy of Errors* is a classical five-act structure farce lacking in the lyricism and romantic intrigue that would have appealed to a popular Elizabethan audience. It does not appear to have been intended for the theatre and there is no record of it having appeared in one prior to its first publication in the First Folio (1623). However, the Revels Accounts for 1604 record that it was performed before the King at Court by Shakspere's company the King's Men:

> On Innocents Night Errors by Shaxberd – perf[d] by the K's [King's] players[22]

We note that the attribution "Shaxberd" does nothing to distinguish between Shakspere the actor and Shake-speare the author.

There are several circumstances that suggest that the play was designed to entertain the Inns of Court law students. They would have been well read in Plautus and the Oxford Shakespeare editor, Charles Whitworth, concludes:

> … if Shakespeare was composing with such an audience particularly in mind … the tight, classical structure as well as the Plautine plot material must have virtually suggested themselves.[23]

There also is the inside knowledge of Gray's Inn affairs. When Antipholus of Syracuse and his servant Dromio arrive in Ephesus, they are unaware that they both have twins with identical names living there. Mistaken identity causes Angelo, the goldsmith, to give a gold chain to Antipholus of Syracuse, twin of Antipholus of Ephesus. When Angelo later accosts Antipholus of Ephesus for payment he naturally has no knowledge of it and his protests are met with his arrest. The goldsmith's perception of a stolen gold chain and a subsequent arrest do not appear in the Plautine version. In *The Law Journal* (1927), the Rt. Hon. Sir Dunbar Plunket Barton, a Judge of the High Court of Justice in Ireland and a Bencher at Gray's Inn, refers to an incident that occurred concerning Sir Roger Manswood (1525–1592), who was Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer and a member of the Inner Temple:

> He was the central figure of a sensational proceeding which occupied the attention of the Star Chamber in the years 1591 and 1592. Hearing that his son had disposed of a certain gold chain to a goldsmith named

> Underwood, he sent for the goldsmith and terrified him into handing over the chain, which he put into his pocket and refused to give back. The goldsmith complained to the Star Chamber, with the result that the episode made a noise in Westminster Hall, of which the *Comedy of Errors* is supposed to have contained an echo.[24]

Sir Dunbar goes on to reveal the existence of a letter in the Public Record Office, dated 17 January 1591, from the Privy Council censuring the Lord Chief Baron's conduct and instructing him to return the chain to Underwood. The *Dictionary of National Biography* concludes the story, informing us that Manwood was:

> … arraigned before the Privy Council in April 1592, refused to recognise its jurisdiction in a contemptuous letter … was thereby confined in his own house in Great St. Bartholomew's by order of the council, and only regained his liberty by apologising for the obnoxious letter, and making humble submission (14 May).

Since members of the Inner Temple had been invited to see the play at the revels of 1594, this reference to one of their members would have seemed meaningful.

There are also many legal phrases in the play that would have been appropriate to an Inns of Court audience. Antipholus and his servant Dromio, both of Syracuse, exchange a joke about 'fine and recovery', a process that permits the uninhibited disposal of property inherited on the condition that it is kept in the family:

> *Dromio of S.* There's no time for a man to recover his
> haire, that growes bald by nature.
> *Antipholus of S.* May he not doe it by fine and recovery?
> *Dromio of S.* Yes, to pay a fine for a perewig, and
> recover the lost haire of another man.
> (1594 *Comedy of Errors*, Act 2, Scene 2)

Dromio of Syracuse then responds to Adriana's enquiry as to the whereabouts of his master:

> *Dromio of S.* … he's in Tartar[a] limbo, worse than hell:
> A devil in an everlasting garment hath him;
> One whose hard heart is button'd up with steele;
> A Fiend, a Fairie, pitiless and ruffe;
> A Wolfe; nay worse, a fellow all in buffe[b];
> A back-friend[c], a shoulder-clapper[d], one that countermands
> The passages and alleys, creekes, and narrow lands:
> A hound that runs Counter[e], and yet draws dry-foot well[f];
> One that before the Judgment carries poor soules to hell.
> *Adriana.* Why, man, what is the matter?
> *Dromio of S.* I doe not know the matter; hee is rested on the case[g].

Adriana. What is he arrested? tell me at whose suite?
Dromio of S. I know not at whose suite he is arrested well;
but is in a suit of buffe which rested him, that can I tell …
Adriana. … this I wonder at:
Thus he, unknowne to me should be in debt.
Tell me, was he arrested on a bond[h]?
Dromio of S. Not on a bond, but on a stronger thing: A chaine, a chaine …
(1594 *Comedy of Errors*, Act 4, Scene 2)
Key : (a) 'Tartarus' was the infernal mythological prison, (b) protective garment in ox-leather, (c) false friend, (d) officer, (e) follows wrong scent in hunt, pun on 'Counter', a London prison, (f) tracks quarry from scent of footprints, (g) legal phrase for an unclassified crime, (h) document signed as a promise to pay a debt.

According to Lord Campbell, the Victorian Lord Chancellor:

> Here we have a most circumstantial and graphic account of an English arrest on *mesne process*[a], in an action *on the case,* for the price of a gold chain, by a sheriff's officer, or bum-bailiff, in his buff costume, and carrying his prisoner to a sponginghouse …[25]
> *Key: (a) before judgment*

Finally, the staging of the play is unique for a Shake-speare play, requiring three fixed locations at the back of the stage, which from left to right are the Courtesan's house, the house of Antipholus, and the Priory. The Roman stage used a similar arcade setting with houses or *domus* and this arrangement would have been appropriate for a play based on work by the Roman Plautus. More significantly, it was a common stage plan for an Inns of Court play: *Gorboduc*, produced at the Inner Temple at 1561, required two entrance ways and a throne; in 1566, *Jocasta* was played at Gray's Inn with a central palace doorway flanked by two side doors; and *The Misfortunes of Arthur* at Gray's Inn in 1587 had the houses of Mordred and Arthur, and a third entrance for the cloister of nuns.[26]

Curiously, there is no mention in the *Gesta Grayorum* of the author of the *Comedy of Errors* even though it lists the names of some 80 Grays Inn members who played the Officers and Attendants of the Prince. Neither is there a record in the *Pension Book of Gray's Inn* of anyone (actor or dramatist) being paid for it while an entry on 11 February 1595 informs us that the sum of 100 marks was to be paid to "the gentlemen [of Gray's Inn] for their sports and shewes this Shrovetyde at the court before the Queens Majestie" (see §6.11). So Gray's Inn had a company of actors in existence at the time of the Gray's Inn revels, payments to

them were recorded in the Pension Book, and if the dramatist received no fee then he was most probably an Inns of Court member. Whoever he was, he would have required a sound command of Latin for neither of these two Plautine plays had been printed in English by the end of 1594.[27]

We now return to the revels proceedings, in particular, the Inner Temple Ambassador's disappointment of 28 December at being unable to see the show which:

> … gave occasion to the Lawyers of the Prince's Council, the next Night, after Revels, to read a commission of *oyer* and *terminer*[a], directed to certain Noblemen and Lords of His Highnesses's Council, and others, that they should enquire or cause Enquiry to be made of some great Disorders and Abuses lately done and committed within His Highnesses's Dominions of Purpoole, especially by Sorceries or Inchantments; and namely of a great Witchcraft used the Night before
>
> *Key : (a) special order to justices to 'hear and conclude', a procedure used when time was scarce.*

On the 30 December, the sorcerer was brought before the Court where, amongst the accusations facing him were ones that he:

> … caused the Stage to be built, and Scaffolds [galleries] to be reared to the top of the House to increase Expectation. Also how he had caused divers Ladies and Gentlewomen, and others of good Condition, to be invited to our Sports; also our dearest Friend, the State of Templaria to be disgraced, and disappointed of their kind Entertainment, deserved and intended. Also he cause Throngs and Tumults, Crowds and Outrages, to disturb our whole Proceedings. And Lastly, that he had foisted a Company of base and common Fellows, to make up our disorders with a Play of Errors and Confusions …

The prisoner was pardoned. The description of "a Company of base and common Fellows" suggests a company of professional actors but, as we have seen, there are several reasons why this should only be taken as a comic description of the Gray's Inn players: we know that Gray's Inn had their own company of actors at the time and the company had acted plays performed in 1588 (*Cataline* and *The Misfortunes of Arthur*); there is no previous record of Gray's Inn hiring a professional company for the revels; there is no record in the *Gray's Inn Pension Book* of a payment to a professional company for *The Comedy of Errors*; and there is documentary evidence that the Lord Chamberlaine's Men were entertaining at Whitehall that evening (§2.3, Figure 2). If the Lord Chamberlaine's Men *had* been the "Company of base and common fellows" then this courtroom skit might have been construed as a public insult.

6.7 *Reconciliation*

For 3 January, with Shake-speare's patron, the Earl of Southampton, among the many nobles in attendance, the *Gesta Grayorum* describes a masque of reconciliation, most likely performed by the law students, for the benefit of the Templarians:

> At the side of the Hall behind a curtain was erected an Altar to the Goddess of Amity … Nymphs and Fairies with Instruments of Musick … made very pleasant melody with Viols and Voices, and sang Hymns and Praises to her Deity …

In turn, pairs of friends, arm in arm, came forward and offered incense to the goddess: Theseus and Perithous; Achilles and Patroclus; Pilades and Orestes; Scipio and Lelius; and finally, representing the two Inns of Court, Graius and Templarius who were pronounced to be "true and perfect Friends":

> Thus was this Shew ended, which was devised to that End, that those that were present might understand, that the Unkindnesse which was growing betwixt the Templarians and us, by reason of the former Night of Errors, and the uncivil behaviour wherewith they were entertained … was now clean rooted out and forgotten …

In the *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the pair Theseus and Pirithous are reunited, as are Achilles and Patroclus for *Troilus and Cressida*. Each pair occurs as brothers in arms from Greek mythology and both the originator of this masque and Shake-speare made use of them.

One wonders if the Night of Errors had been contrived in line with a theme of 'conflict and reconciliation' for the revels. The accusations against the sorcerer would then reveal what had actually been intended. If not, then the disorder on the 28 December and the policy of writing scripts in response to fortuitous events would have demonstrated poor preparation. For example, three legal documents (the Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminus*, the Indictment, and the Prisoner's Petition) would have had to have been compiled in one day on 29 December and rehearsed before the mock Court sat that evening. By way of illustration, Rule 18 of the Order of the Knights of the Helmet given on 3 January reads:

> That no Knight of this Order shall take upon him the person of a malcontent … [as by] saying that his Highness's Sports were well sorted with a play of Errors; and such like pretty speeches of jest, to the end that he may more safely utter his malice.

Either this was written after the 28 December, together with the mock Court and the Masque of Amity, in response to the 'Night of Errors', in which case any planned entertainment must have been abandoned in

favour of hastily prepared scripts; or it was conceived before the 28 December in which case the disturbance and its effects were planned. John Leslie Hotson's *Mr. W.H.* furnishes us with a clue as to the reality:

> Three years later [1597-8] this identical programme of disorder and lovers' quarrel with the indignant departure of invited allies [Lincoln's Inn] is reported [by Sir Benjamin Rudyerd] from the Kingdom of Love at the Middle Temple under Richard, Prince d'amour [prince elected over Christmas]: Upon Thursday night [20 January] the Lincolnians intended to see the Prince's Court [at the Middle Temple], and so did all the town which bred such disorder that the Prince could not receive them according to their worthiness, nor his own desire. Upon this Milorsius Stradilax [Prince's Clerk of the Council] practiced factiously against the Prince, and earnestly stirred up enmity betwixt him and the Lincolnians. [Two days later] the Lincolnians were entertained with a banquet by our Prince, and our league was renewed.[28]

In this light, the most likely interpretation is that the disorders and their consequences were preconceived and that the *Comedy of Errors* was either written to contribute to the theme of 'confusion' or the theme was designed around it.

Gray's Inn would not have been the only establishment to exclude outsiders. The 1597-8 Middle Temple Christmas revels had two plays presented as part of the mock reign of Le Prince d'Amour on 28 December and 2 January[29] and from the *Middle Temple Records* for 25 November 1597, we search in vain for evidence of a budget for hiring professional actors or a commissioned play:

> The feast of Christmas shall be kept solemnly, not grandly; commons shall be continued for next term. A cartload of coals and 40 shillings for the mistrels are allowed to those who remain.[30]

6.8 *Sorcerors and Witches*

There are several correspondences between the *Gesta Grayorum* and the *Comedy of Errors* that merit consideration.[31] The *Gesta Grayorum* quips that:

> Lucy Negro, Abbess of Clerkenwell, holdeth the Nunnery of Clerkenwell, with the land and privileges thereunto belonging, of the Prince of Purpoole by Night-service in Cauda, and to find a Choir of Nuns, with burning lamp, to chant Placebo [I will please] to the Gentlemen of the Prince's Privy Chamber … [32]

The prostitute Lucy Morgan entertained clients at Clerkenwell and 'burning' was an Elizabethan reference to venereal disease with 'light' or 'lamp' meaning an immoral woman.[33] (Incidentally, if one wanted a candidate for the "dark lady" of the Sonnets then Lucy Negro would

seem a reasonable proposition.) We now compare with the *Comedy of Errors*:

> *Dromio of S.* … Marry, sir, she's the Kitchin wench, & all grease, and I know not what use to put her to, but to make a Lampe of her, and run from her by her owne light.
> (1594 *Comedy of Errors*, Act 3, Scene 2)
> *Dromio of S.* … ergo, light wenches will burne, come not neer her.
> (1594 *Comedy of Errors*, Act 4, Scene 3)

In the final scene of the *Comedy of Errors*, the Abbess appears and Adriana informs her that her husband Antipholus of Ephesus, who is being kept in the Abbey, is "distracted". In response, the Abbesse refers to "unlawful love":

> *Abbesse.* Hath he not lost much wealth by wrack of sea,
> Buried some deere friend, hath not else his eye
> Stray'd his affection in unlawfull love,
> A sinne prevailing much in youthfull men,
> Who give their eyes the libertie of gazing.
> Which of these sorrowes is he subject to?
> (1594 *Comedy of Errors*, Act 5, Scene 1)

The *Gesta Grayorum* also mentions sorcery:

> … and namely of a great Witchcraft used the Night before whereby there were great … Errors, Confusions … being against a Sorcerer or Conjuror that was supposed to be the Cause of that confused Inconvenience … The Prince gave leave to the Master of the Requests, that he should read the Petition; wherein was a Disclosure of all the Knavery and Juggling of the Attorney and Solicitor … and to be wrought and compassed by Means of a poor harmless Wretch [conjuror]… [34]

Just as the mock court believed that the confusion was caused by a conjuror, so Antipholus of Syracuse believes that Ephesus is populated by "dark-working sorcerors" that can alter the mind:

> *Antipholus of S.* …They say this town is full of cosenage[a]:
> As nimble Juglers that deceive the eie,
> Darke working Sorcerors that change the minde:
> Soule-killing Witches, that deforme the bodie:
> (1594 *Comedy of Errors*, Act 1, Scene 2)
> *Key: (a) cheating*

Sorcery is a recurring theme:

> *Adriana.* His incivility confirmes no lesse:
> Good Doctor Pinch, you are a conjuror;
> Establish him in his true sence again …
> (1594 *Comedy of Errors*, Act 4, Scene 4)
> *Antipholus of E.* …They brought one Pinch, a hungry leane-faced Villaine; …

A thred-bare Jugler and a Fortune-teller,
A needy-hollow-ey'd-sharp-looking-wretch; …
(1594 *Comedy of Errors*, Act 5, Scene 1)

The coincidence of terms between the account of the mock court in the *Gesta Grayorum* and the *Comedy of Errors* is striking with 'conjuror', 'sorceror', 'witchcraft', 'juggling', and 'wretch' all being mentioned. These common references lend weight to the view that the *Comedy of Errors* was carefully integrated into the revels.

It appears that Francis Bacon was unwilling to rule out the possibility of sorcery:

> Neither am I of opinion, in this history of marvels, that superstitious narrations of sorceries, witchcrafts, dreams, divinations, and the like, where there is an assurance and clear evidence of the fact, be altogether excluded. For it is not yet known in what cases and how far effects attributed to superstition do participate of natural causes …[35]

6.9 *Privy Counsellors' Speeches*

We now examine the evidence that Francis Bacon wrote speeches that appeared in the revels. The *Gesta Grayorum* takes us to the evening of the 3 January, when the King at Arms reads the Articles of the Order of the Helmet, after which the Prince's six Privy Counsellors read speeches at a banquet. They are all written in the same style with the second counsellor, who advises the study of philosophy, imploring the prince to:

> … bend the excellency of your spirits to the searching out, inventing, and discovering of all whatsoever is hid and secret in the world; that your Excellency be not as a lamp that shineth to others and yet seeth not itself, but as the Eye of the World, that both carrieth and useth light …

In his Advancement of Learning (1605), Bacon quotes Proverbs 20:27:

> The spirit of man is as the lamp of God, wherewith He searcheth the inwardness of all secrets.[36]

This same counsellor also relates a view that Alexander the Great expressed to Aristotle:

> … Alexander the Great wrote to Aristotle, upon the publishing of the *Physics*, that he esteemed more of excellent men in knowledge than in empire.

It is a point that Bacon included in his *Advancement of Learning* (1605):

> Alexander … in his letter to Aristotle, after he had set forth his books of nature … gave him to understand that himself esteemed it more to excel other men in learning and knowledge than in power and empire.[37]

The fifth counsellor's speech advises virtue and a gracious government:

> … define the jurisdiction of your courts, repress all suits and vexations,

all causeless delays and fraudulent shifts and devices, and reform all such abuses of right and justice;

In Bacon's essay On Judicature we find:

> The attendance of courts is subject to four bad instruments. First, certain persons that are sowers of suits; which make the court swell, and the country pine. The second sort is of those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction … The third sort … [involve] persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of court …[38]

The third counsellor who advises "Eternization and Fame by Buildings and Foundations" teaches us that:

> Constantine the Great was wont to call with envy the Emperor Trajan, "wallflower", because his name was upon so many buildings;

Again we turn to Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* (1605):

> For Trajan erected many famous monuments and buildings; insomuch as Constantine the Great in emulation was wont to call him *Parietaria*, wall-flower, because his name was upon so many walls: …[39]

This counsellor's speech also returns to the theme of the 'helmet':

> … because I am warranted here by your own Wisdom, who have made the First Fruits of Your Actions of State, to institute the honourable Order of the Helmet :

It is easy to understand Bacon's fascination with Pallas, the helmeted spear-shaker. In the *Wisdom of the Ancients* (1609), Bacon writes:

> … for Nature is described under the person of Minerva, on account of the wisdom of her works … [40]

As we have already discovered, Bacon was committed to the program of investigating Nature so the name Shake-speare would have aptly represented the moral and political components of his work.

6.10 *Love's Labour's Lost*

There are parallels between *Love's Labour's Lost* and the *Gesta Grayorum* account of the Gray's Inn revels 1594-5, some of which have been discussed by Nigel Cockburn,[41] that suggest that it was intended for performance on one of the Grand Nights that was cancelled. The *Gesta Grayorum* reports that:

> On the next Morning [7 January] His Highnesse took his Journey towards Russia, with the Ambassador, and there he remained until Candlemas [2 February]; at which time … his Excellency returned home again; in which the Purpose of the Gentlemen was much disappointed by the Readers and Ancients of the House; by reason of the Term [c. 23 January] : so that very good Inventions, which were to be performed in publick at his Entertainment into the House again, and two grand Nights

> which were intended at his Triumphal Return, wherewith his reign had been conceitedly, were by the aforesaid Readers and Governors made frustrate, for the Want of Room in the Hall, the Scaffolds [theatre galleries] being taken away, and forbidden to be built up again (as would have been necessary for the good Discharge of such a Matter) thought convenient.[42]

Love's Labour's Lost was possibly inspired by Christopher Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris* (1593) which refers to the French court at Navarre that many Elizabethan courtiers visited. In 1578, the Protestant Henri Bourbon was King of Navarre, an independent province in South-West France near the Spanish border, while the Catholic Henry III was King of France. In 1589, Henri III died and, much to the chagrin of the Catholic League, the Protestant Henri Bourbon claimed the throne of France as Henry IV. The religious wars were reignited, with the Duc de Biron (1562-1602) and the Duc de Longueville (d.1595) supporting Henri, and the leader of the Catholic League, the Duc de Mayenne (1554-1611), opposing him. By 1590, Henri had the upper hand, however, it took his renunciation of the Protestant faith three years later to ascend to the throne unopposed. In a copy of the fourth book of Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth* (1615), which Camden had apparently passed to Sir Francis Bacon for criticism, there are notes written in Bacon's hand. Camden had asserted that the Duke de Mayenne held the title 'Lieutenant-General of the Crown of France' but Bacon demonstrates his superior knowledge, correcting it to 'Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of France'.[43]

Around 1576, in imitation of the mid-fifteenth century rulers of Florence, a Plato-style Academy was set up at the Court of France, serving as a debating society for philosophy and the arts. One of its members was the celebrated poet-intellectual Pierre de Ronsard, leader of the *Pléiade* poetry movement, who was held in such high esteem at Court that he was given his own throne next to the King. Following the French King, Henri of Navarre organised his own Academy placing philology, music, poetry and drama amongst its interests.[44] A fictional account *L'Academie française* (1577) was published by Pierre de la Primaudaye, followed by an English translation in 1586, in which four young French courtiers from Anjou discuss political and moral topics upon their withdrawal from society to study.

Love's Labour's Lost opens with a speech by Ferdinand, King of Navarre, who announces that:

> *King* … Navar shall be the wonder of the world,
> Our Court shall be a little Achademe,

Still and contemplative in living Art.
You three, Berowne, Dumaine and Longavill,
Have sworne for three yeeres terme to live with me:
My fellow Schollers, and to keepe those statutes
That are recorded in this scedule heere.
(1593-5, *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 1, Scene 1)

As James Wilmot first surmised, Shake-speare has rearranged the facts of history, transforming Henri of Navarre into Ferdinand, while for his Academy, the Duc de Biron is Berowne, the Duc de Longueville becomes Longaville, and Henri's nemesis the Duc de Mayenne is transformed into his ally Dumaine. None of these were known members of Henri's Academy, least of all the Duc de Mayenne. For the sake of their new institution, they swear on oath to study and fast for three years and "not to see a woman in that term."

Returning to the *Gesta Grayorum*, on 3 January, one of the Articles of the Orders read out by the King at Arms advises the reading of the above-mentioned *L'Academie française* or *The French Academy*:

> Every Knight of this Order shall endeavour to add Conference and Experience by Reading ; and therefore shall not only peruse and read Guizo, the French Academy, Galiatto the Courtier, Plutarch, the Arcadia, and the Neoterical writers, from time to time; but also frequent the Theatre and such like places of experience.[45]

The theme of *Love's Labour's Lost* is the conflict between study and pleasure as Berowne confirms:

Berowne. O, these are barren taskes, too hard to keepe,
Not to see Ladies, study, fast, not sleepe.
(1593-5 *Love's labour's Lost*, Act 1, Scene 1)

This is also the theme of the speeches by the six Counsellors at the Gray's Inn revels, speeches that, according to the evidence (§6.9), were written by Francis Bacon. In the sixth counsellor's speech to the Prince *Persuading Pastimes and Sports,* he comments on the speeches of the first three Counsellors who advise the exercise of war, the study of philosophy, and fame:

> … I assure your Excellency, their lessons were so cumbersome, as if they would make you a King in a play; who when one would think he standeth in great Majesty and Felicity, he is troubled to say his part. What! Nothing but Tasks, nothing but Working-days? No Feasting, no Musick, no Dancing, no Triumphs, no Comedies, no Love, no Ladies

In *Love Labour's Lost*, there *is* a King in a play, and it is not long before Berowne informs him of the temptation to renounce his oath:

Berowne … This Article, my Liedge, your selfe must breake,
For well you know here comes in Embassie

The French Kings daughter with your selfe to speak:
A Maide of grace and compleate majestie,
About surrender up of Aquitaine
To her decrepit, sicke, and bed-rid Father.
(1593-5 *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 1, Scene 1)

There are other characters in the play who are associated with the Court of Navarre, the following connection being first pointed out by Delia Bacon. In April 1578, Marguerite de Valois, sister of Henri III, and estranged wife of Henri of Navarre, visited the Court of Navarre along with her mother, Catherine de Medici, and ladies-in-waiting on a goodwill mission. With her, came the hope of settling a dispute over her dowry contract involving land in Aquitaine. Shake-speare changes her relationship to Henry III from sister to daughter, that to Henri of Navarre from wife to lover and leaves the mother behind. Since her father Henri III was "decrepit, sicke, and bed-rid" in 1589, he also transports her visit forward some 11 years. Twice modified, Shake-speare's Princess of France arrives with Lord Boyet and three ladies-in-waiting, Rosaline, Maria and Katherine. The King takes interest in the Princess, and Dumaine, Longaville, and Berowne fall for Katherine, Maria, and Rosaline, respectively. Towards the end of the play, Marcadé, a messenger informs the Princess of her father's death. She leaves in haste with her entourage but not without promising to return after a year to marry Ferdinand providing he completes an "antisocial" task:

Princess … this shall you do for me:
Your oath I will not trust: but go with speed
To some forlorne and naked Hermitage,
Remote from all pleasures of the world:
There stay until the twelve Celestiall Signes
Have brought about their annuall reckoning.
(1593-5 *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 5, Scene 2)

This reference to the signs of the zodiac echoes the *Gesta Grayorum*:

> For his Highness's Crest, the glorious Planet Sol, coursing through the twelve signs of the Zodiack, on a Celestial Globe … his Government for the twelve Days of Christmas was resembled to the Sun's passing the twelve Signs … [46]

There is a further connection to the Gray's Inn revels of 1594-5, one that suggests the play was purposely written for law students. Commenting on the ladies' departure:

Berowne. Our woing doth not end like an old Play:
Jack hath not Gill: these Ladies courtesie
Might well have made our sport a comedie.
King. Come, sir, it wants a twelvemonth and a day,

And then, 'twill end.
Berowne. That's too long for a play.
(1593-5 *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 5, Scene 2)

In fact, "twelvemonth and a day", was the duration of the legal academic year both in England and in parts of Europe and seems to be spoken out of context unless intended for a law student's ear. Shortly after, the play ends with a song but none of the love relationships involving the Academy members are resolved, leaving them, and by identification the audience, under threat of abandonment by the ladies unless they complete a "twelve month and a day" of solitude and study. The discomfort of the ending might well have served as a lesson to the law students to take their studies seriously.

As a sub-plot, the rustic Costard and Don Adriano de Armado, a Spanish braggart, compete for the attention of the tongue-tied Jaquenetta, a dairymaid. In fact, of all the possible matches, only Armado succeeds in achieving his end. Armado appears to have been modelled on Antonio Perez who was Secretary of State for Spain, at least until he elected to abscond to France with state secrets in 1591, eventually finding sanctuary with Henri's sister Catherine in Navarre. There he became acquainted with the newly crowned Henry IV who, when Perez later visited England in 1593, sent a message of gratitude to Anthony Bacon, Francis's brother, for his hospitality towards him. Francis Bacon also knew him and in 1594 he wrote to his brother:

> I hope by this time Antonio Perez hath seen the Queen dance …[47]

Also on 13 December 1594:

> I have written a few words to Sir Anthony Perez … I did doubt [fear] I should not see him these two or three days …[48]

In the summer of 1594, Perez published a book *Relaciones* under the name Raphael Peregrino. According to Martin Hume, a writer on Spanish Literature:

> No one can read Perez's many published letters, and the famous *Relaciones* written whilst he was in England, without identifying numerous affected turns of speech with those put into the mouth of Don Adriano Armado; and the description given of Don Adriano by the King of Navarre, in the play, tallies exactly with the word-portraits remaining to us of Antonio Perez drawn from his own writings and those of his contemporaries.[49]

To one of Anthony's agents, Perez was "too odd, as it were"[50] and his extroversion was eventually too much for Anthony Bacon. Perez left England in late Spring 1596, but not before offending the Earl of Essex, after which we find Anthony triumphantly reporting to Francis "At last

he is gone." In a speech by Holofernes the pedant, as well as the "too odd as it were" comment, there appears to be a pun on 'Peregrino' in describing Armado:

> *Pedant.* … his gate[a] majesticall, and his generall behaviour vaine ridiculous and thrasonical[b]. He is too picked, too spruce, too affected, too odde, as it were, too peregrinate[c], as I may call it.
> (1593-5 *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 5, Scene 1)
> *Key : (a) gait; (b) bragging; (c) air of one who has travelled abroad*

There is some evidence that the play was written just before the end of 1594, which would have been just in time for the Gray's Inn revels. We recall that the messenger had informed the princess of her father's death. His name Marcadé (pronounced Marcaday) might have been borrowed from *The Cobbler's Prophecy* by Robert Wilson which was entered in the Stationers Register on 8 June 1594 and reached print the same year (although perhaps performed at an earlier date at Court).[51] In Wilson's play, Ralph the Cobbler receives a visit from the messenger god Mercury who imbues him with the power of prophecy and is thereafter referred to by Ralph as "Markedie". In the closing speech of *Love's Labour's Lost* there is a reference to Mercury:

> *Armado.* The words of Mercury are harsh after the songs of Apollo.
> (1593-5 *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 5, Scene 2)

There is a letter in Bacon's hand to Thomas Phillips from 1592 that demonstrates Bacon's use of the notion of Mercury as a messenger:

> Your Mercury has returned; whose return alarmed as upon some great matter, which I fear he will not satisfy. News of his coming came before his own letter …[52]

With Armado's line, one wonders if we are witnessing Francis Bacon reliving the pain of his own father's death on 20 February 1579. Marguerite's real father, Henry II, had died many years before in 1559 so the play does not reflect history. However, Marguerite, who appears as the Princess in the play, was still at the Court of Navarre when Bacon received *his* bad news. This stands as a possible autobiographical allusion to Bacon in a Shake-speare play.

Continuing with our dating evidence, in July 1593, Henry IV, King of Navarre, took up Catholicism to pacify those opposed to him. Queen Elizabeth would not have viewed this sympathetically, but when an attempt was made on his life towards the end of 1594 he enjoyed an improved relationship with the Queen.[53] The Queen's disposition towards Henry would certainly have affected the authorities' view on whether or not *Love's Labour's Lost* was suitable for performance, and together with the facts on Perez, an intended performance sometime

after the end of 1594 seems credible.

With intimate details about the historical Henri of Navarre in the play, Shake-speare reveals a close acquaintance with the facts:

> *Rosaline.* Madam came nothing else along with that?
> *Princess.* Nothing but this: yes as much love in Rime,
> As would be cram'd up in a sheet of paper
> Writ on both sides the leafe, margent[a] and all,
> That he was faine[b] to seal on Cupid's name.
> (1593-5 *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 5, Scene 1)
> *Key: (a) margin, (b) forced*

In other words, by filling up all the available space on the sheet with love poetry, Henry was forced to apply his wax seal on some of it (Cupid's name). In fact, Henri covered the entire sheet, both sides, including the margins with his love messages and had a special seal where the horizontal bar of the 'H' consisted of love knots.[54]

There is a reference in the play to an event involving Henri III's sister Marguerite that did not become public until she published her *Memoires* in 1628. This suggests that the author of *Love's Labour's Lost* was privy to information that would only have been available to those close to Navarre's court. It is suggested in *Love's Labour's Lost* when Katherine, one of the princess's ladies, discusses her sister's death (and also reflects the scene in *Hamlet* when the prince discovers Ophelia's funeral cortege):

> *Rosaline.* That was the way to make his godhead wax[a],
> For he hath been five thousand yeeres a boy.
> *Katherine.* Ay, and a shrewd unhappy gallowes[b] too.
> *Rosaline.* You'll nere[c] be friends with him: a kild your sister.
> *Katherine.* He made her melancholy, sad and heavy;
> And so she died.
> (1593-5 *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 5, Scene 2)
> *Key: (a) penis grow, (b) deserving to be hanged, (c) never*

In 1577, after a tour of Flanders, Hélène de Tounon, daughter of Marguerite's principal lady-in-waiting, died at Liège in tragic circumstances. While staying in Flanders with her sister, Hélène fell in love with a young nobleman, the Marquis of Verembon. Unfortunately, she had to return to Paris to live with her mother, but when she learnt of Marguerite's planned visit to Flanders, she gratefully accompanied her retinue in order to be reunited with her love again. Unfortunately, in Namur, Verembon treated her with disdain, and as Marguerite's party left for Liège, Hélène was grief stricken. Several days later, she died from "spasms of the heart." Meanwhile, the Marquis of Verembon,

having reconsidered his position, set off for Liège to reconcile himself with Hélène. There he unwittingly met her funeral procession and casually enquired whose it was. Receiving the news, he fell from his horse.[55]

All of these facts could easily have become known to Francis Bacon who met some of Henri of Navarre's courtiers at Poitiers in the autumn of 1577. Also, his brother Anthony spent some time at the Court of Navarre in the summer of 1584 with Henri and his sister Catherine de Bourbon (after whom Katherine, one of the ladies in waiting could be named) and became well acquainted with Navarre's Counsellors.

No doubt influenced by his French experience, Francis Bacon had more than a passing interest in Academies. In *New Atlantis* (1627), a fictional work about an imaginary island, he writes:

> There reigned in this island, about nine hundred years ago, a King … his name was Salamona: and we esteem him as the lawgiver of our nation … Ye shall understand that … amongst the excellent acts of that king, one above all hath the preeminence. It was the erection and institution of an Order or Society which we call "Saloman's House"; the noblest foundation (as we think) that ever was upon the earth … and therefore he instituting that House for the finding out of the true nature of all things …[56]

As well as the thematic conflict between study and pleasure, there are several other aspects of *Love's Labour's Lost* that connect it to the Gray's Inn revels 1594-5. At both Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple, members sat at table in a 'mess' or group of four. Commenting on the table rules of Gray's Inn in 1630, Sir William Dugdale reports:

> … the gentlemen in the hall at dinner and supper times should be messed as they fit in order, and no parts to be served but at the end of a table; whereas then, sometimes four fitting together …[57]

Shake-speare seems to have known this fact, and likely only referred to it because it resonated with his audience:

> *Berowne.* That you three fooles lackt mee foole, to make up the mess
> (1593-5 *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 4, Scene 3)

The term is also used after the episode where the King and his three friends attend the ladies disguised as Russians:

> *Princess.* … We have had pastimes here, and pleasant game,
> A messe of Russians left us but of late.
> (1593-5 *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 5, Scene 2)

Before they arrive, the Princess's attendant, Boyet, who has overheard their talk, informs the Princess that the King is on the way:

> *Princess.* But what, but what, come they to visit us?
> *Boyet.* They do, they do, and are apparel'd thus,

Like Muscovites, or Russians, as I gesse.
Their purpose is to parlee, to court, and dance,
And every one his Love-seat[a] will advance.
Unto his severall Mistresse: which they'll know
By favours[b] severall which they did bestow.
(1593-5 *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 5, Scene 2)
Key: (a) suit, (b) token worn as a mark of identity or friendship

In the same scene, the Princess and her ladies construct a plan to be masked and exchange favours (i.e. coloured tags) so that the men choose the wrong lady. We then find the stage direction:

Enter Blackamoors[a] *with music ..*
Key: (a) Black-moores, a very dark-skinned person

after which the four Academy members appear in disguise. In parallel with this, on the Twelfth-day at night (6 January 1595) at the Gray's Inn Revels, six Knights of the Helmet appeared with three prisoners:

> The Knights gave the Prince to understand, that as they were returning from their Adventures out of Russia, wherein they aided the Emperor of Russia against the Tartars, they surprized these three persons …[58]

Following some dancing and the sounding of trumpets:

> … the King at Arms came in before the Prince, and told His Honour, that there was arrived an Ambassador from the mighty Emperor of Russia and Muscovy …

The Ambassador read a speech praising the Knights of the Helmet who had saved the country from danger after having:

… surprized another Army of Ne-gro-Tartars …

in other words, "Blackamores".

Also, on the 2 February — which the *Gesta* account curiously gives as 1 February — the Prince who had 'gone' to Russia with the Russian Ambassador, 'returned' on the Thames with a grand procession of 15 barges. Queen Elizabeth, being at Greenwich where the procession would pass by, had expected the Prince to land there and "do his homage." However, a letter was delivered in which the Prince excused himself:

> … I found my Desire was greater than the Ability of my Body, which by length of my journey, and my Sickness at Sea, is so weakened, as it were very dangerous for me to adventure it.[59]

In *Love's Labour's Lost*, the Princess and her ladies reveal that they knew of the King's Russian disguise:

Princess. Amaz'd, my Lord? Why looks your Highnes sadde?
Rosaline. Helpe hold his browes, hee'l sound[a]: why looke you pale?
Seasicke, I thinke, comming from Muscovie.
(1593-4 *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 5, Scene 2)

Key: (a) swoon

This joke would only have made sense with the *Love's Labour's Lost* audience if the play had been designed for performance shortly after the Prince of Purpoole had 'returned' from Russia on 2 February when the letter of excuse declaring his "Sickness at Sea" was read out. As the *Gesta Grayorum* reports, the cancelled "Inventions" *were* intended to follow the Prince's return.

An unregistered quarto publication appeared in 1598 claiming that the play was "presented before her Hignes (sic) this last Christmas." There are two mentions of Christmas in the text that hint that its performance was intended for the festivities:

> *Berowne.* At Christmas I no more desire a rose
> Than wish a snow in May's new-fangled shows[a]
> (1593-5 *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 1, Scene 1)
> *Key: (a) spring flowers*
> *Princess.* Pardon me, sir, this Jewell did she weare,
> And Lord Berowne (I thanke him) is my deare,
> What? Will you have me, or your Pearle again?
> *Berowne.* Neither of either; I remit[a] both twaine.
> I see the tricke[b] on't: Heere was a consent[c],
> Knowing aforehand of our merriment,
> To dash[d] it like a Christmas Comedie.
> (1593-5 *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 5, Scene 2)
> *Key : (a) surrender; (b) practical joke; (c) agreement; (d) spoil*

Shake-speare's conflict of study and pleasure, his King in a play, Muscovites, Blackamoors, sea sickness, the French Academy, 'twelvemonth and a day', twelve celestial signs, and the 'mess' would all have found recognition if *Love's Labour's Lost* had been performed, as they had all either been mentioned during the revels or were familiar to the law students before the Prince learnt on 2 February that two Grand nights had been cancelled. One of these nights could have been for *Love's Labour's Lost* which would have embraced these allusions.

There are two entries from Francis Bacon's *Promus* wastebook (see §8.1) that appear in the play.

— *Moonshine* —

> *Rosa*. O vaine peticioner, beg a greater matter,
> Thou now requests but Moonshine in the water.
> (1593-5 *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 5, Scene 2)
> For the moonshine in the water
> (*Promus*, folio 96 recto)

— *Sword of lead* —

> *Berowne* … Wounds like a leaden sword

(1593-5 *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 5, Scene 2)
Plumbeo iugulare gladio (A tame argument
(*Promus*, folio 98, recto)
Key : slaughter with a leaden sword

We know that Bacon previously had a minor hand in writing at least one Elizabethan play. In *The Misfortunes of Arthur (Uther Pendragon's Son)* by Thomas Hughes, performed before the Queen at Greenwich on 28 February 1588, each act had an argument, a dumb show and a chorus. Francis Bacon is recorded as one of three Grays Inn members who contrived the dumb shows and additional speeches.[60]

On 30 July 1992, The London *Evening Standard* ran an article presenting evidence that Sir Francis Bacon was indeed a playwright. An Elizabethan manuscript page, consisting of 57 lines of handwritten dialogue, had been discovered in the binding of another book where it had been used as 'binder's waste'. Thought to date from the 1590s, the piece had formal similarities to Shake-speare's *Henry IV*, *Part 1*, with lines such as "a man that lodged in our house/Last night that hath three hundred markes in gold". The manuscript had been presented for sale at Sotheby's and so Maureen Ward-Gandy had been called in, a professional consultant in forensic documents with a speciality in the historical research of handwriting. In her 20-page report, she compared the handwriting with that of 30 well-known Elizabethan scholars and statesmen, concluding that "the shapes of the letters and style of writing in the manuscript point to the writing being that of Bacon". Nevertheless, the manuscript failed to attract its asking price.

6.11 *Shrovetide*

The *Gesta Grayorum* now takes us to the final part of the proceedings when on Shrove Tuesday, the Prince of Purpoole went to Court with his retinue to entertain the Queen:

> And the things that were performed before Her Majesty, were rather to discharge our own Promise, than to satisfie the Expectation of others … the Sports therefore consisted of a masque and some Speeches …

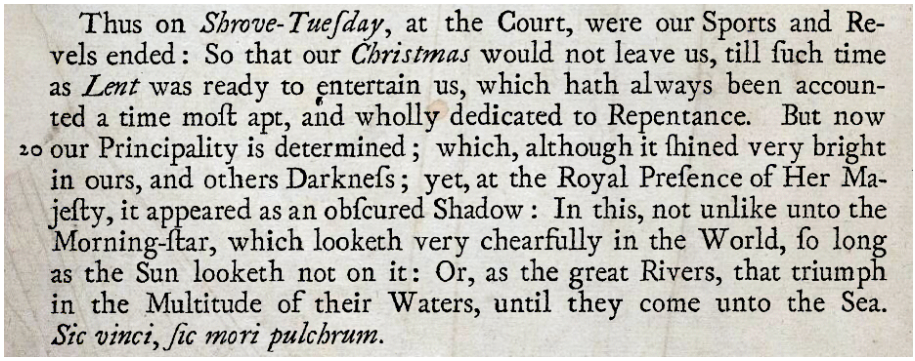
In fact, they performed The Masque of Proteus, a "controversy between certain adventurous knights and the sea-god Proteus"[61] which was later attributed elsewhere to Francis Davison. The actors were all Gray's Inn members and the absence of an entry in the court Chamber accounts suggests it was not the Queen who funded the proceedings.[62] In fact, a Pension at Gray's Inn on 11 February decided:

> Mr. William Mills shalbe intreatyd to delyver unto Mr. Willm Johnson & Mr. Edward Morrys the some of one hyndred marks[a] to be layd out &

bestowyd upon the gentlemen for their sports and shewes this Shrovetyde at the court before the Queens Majestie… [63]

Key: (a) £66.67

Although Francis Bacon was absent, he was one of nine who attended the Pension on 8 May to decide how much each member of Gray's Inn would contribute towards the cost of the show. The account in the *Gesta Grayorum*[64] finally brings the Revels to an end (Figure 7):



Thus on *Shrove-Tueſday*, at the Court, were our Sports and Revels ended: So that our *Chriſtmas* would not leave us, till ſuch time as *Lent* was ready to entertain us, which hath always been accounted a time moſt apt, and wholly dedicated to Repentance. But now our Principality is determined; which, although it ſhined very bright in ours, and others Darkneſs; yet, at the Royal Preſence of Her Majeſty, it appeared as an obſcured Shadow: In this, not unlike unto the Morning-ſtar, which looketh very chearfully in the World, ſo long as the Sun looketh not on it: Or, as the great Rivers, that triumph in the Multitude of their Waters, until they come unto the Sea. *Sic vinci, ſic mori pulchrum.*

Figure 7. The 'greater lessens the smaller' figure from the *Gesta Grayorum, The History Of the High and Mighty Prince Henry* (1688)
Key : (a) *Sic vinci, sic mori pulchrum*, to be conquered is a beautiful death

This passage provides striking evidence as to the identity of the *Gesta Grayorum* author because the idea that the 'greater lessens the smaller' is a notion that the *Gesta* author, Bacon, and Shake-speare all made use of. In fact, the *Merchant of Venice* not only uses the same theme but also the same three examples to illustrate it: a subject obscured by royalty; a small light overpowered by that of a heavenly body; and a river diluted on reaching the sea.

Ner. When the moone shone we did not see the candle
Por. So doth the greater glory dim the lesse,
A substitute shines brightly as a King,
Untill a King be by, and then his state
Empties it selfe, as doth an inland brooke
Into the maine of waters: musique hark. *Musicke.*
(1594-97 *The Merchant of Venice*, Act 5, Scene 1)

In *A Brief Discourse touching the Happy Union of the Kingdom of England and Scotland* (1603), Francis Bacon makes use of two of these examples:

The second condition [of perfect mixture] is that the greater draws the less. So we see when two lights do meet, the greater doth darken and drown the less. And when a small river runs into a greater, it loseth both the name and stream.[65]

Shake-speare also used a modified version in *Romeo and Juliet* around the time of the Gray's Inn revels:

> *Romeo*. But soft! What light through yonder window breaks
> … The brightness of her cheek would shame those stars
> As daylight doth a lamp …
> (1594-5 *Romeo and Juliet*, Act 2, Scene 2)

whereas Bacon repeated its use in his essay Of Deformity:

> … the stars of natural inclination are sometimes obscured by the sun of discipline and virtue[66]

If the *Gesta Grayorum* was circulated at all (and there is no evidence that it was), it must have been available only to Inns of Court members.

6.12 *Summary*

Bacon produced masques for the Inns of Court and as Deputy Treasurer was most likely the main organiser of the Gray's Inn Revels. This promotes him as the most likely author of their account in the *Gesta Grayorum*, a view shared by the Bacon expert James Spedding and supported by a 'greater lessens the smaller' figure, which also appears in a tract on the Union by Bacon and in Shake-speare's *Merchant of Venice*. Both of these appeared after the events described by the *Gesta Grayorum*.

The *Comedy of Errors* contains legal terminology, an Inns of Court setting, and inside knowledge of Inns of Court affairs to which a member would have more natural access than a non-member. There is no example during Shake-speare's active period of an Inns of Court play being provided by an 'outsider' and *The Pension Book of Gray's Inn* records no payment to any dramatist or actor for the play.

Love's Labour's Lost has many connections with the revels that point to the notion that it was intended for performance after 2 February but was cancelled. Francis Bacon had first-hand experience of the French Court and its history and had an interest in academies, the theme of the play. He was also acquainted with Antonio Perez upon whom Don Adriano de Armado, the Spanish Braggart, was almost certainly based. Themes that occur in the *Comedy of Errors* (such as sorcery and confusion) and the unperformed *Love's Labour's Lost* (such as academies and Muscovites) suggest that these plays were carefully integrated into the revels program and almost hint at Shake-speare's participation in the planning.

There are strong parallels between Francis Bacon's work and the Privy Councillors' speeches in the revels. He is known to have had a hand in writing 'dumb shows' for *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1588) and

there is the article from the London *Evening Standard* that supports the view that he wrote a play. It is not clear who devised the 'masque of reconciliation' for the revels, but the pairs Theseus and Pirithous, and Achilles and Patroclus, also appear in Shake-speare's *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Troilus and Cressida*. We also have several eulogies that liken Francis Bacon to Pallas Athena — a reasonable origin of the Shake-speare name considering Jonson's testimony in the First Folio — and one eulogy appears to associate Bacon with the play *Macbeth*.

As for William Shakspere, it is thought that he had a cousin, Thomas Greene, who became a Bencher of the Middle Temple.[67] We also know from the Chambers Accounts that the *Comedy of Errors* by "Shaxberd" received a performance at court on Innocents Night 1604 by the King's Men[68] of which Shakspere was a member. These circumstances have led some commentators to assume that the company must also have played it at the Gray's Inn Revels of 1594-5. It is an assumption that strains the known facts for it requires a rejection of the evidence from the Chambers Account that the Lord Chamberlaine's Men (later the King's Men) were instead entertaining at Court on Innocents Night (see Figure 2) with an attendant claim that the date had been erroneously recorded by the court clerk. An alternative explanation, and one that pays more respect to the records, is that the *Comedy of Errors* originated from an Inns of Court member and was later passed on to the King's Men for performance before the King.

When we stand Shakspere and Bacon side by side and compare their known connections to the *Comedy of Errors* and *Love's Labour's Lost* we find little to recommend Shakspere while the abundance of evidence for Francis Bacon is striking.

PART 3: INDIRECT EVIDENCE

Chapter 7. The Hall–Marston Satires

7.1 *Preliminary*

In *Is It Shakespeare?*[1] Walter Begley was the first to suggest that, between them, Joseph Hall and John Marston identify the author of Shake-speare's *Venus and Adonis* to be Francis Bacon. In fact, dating from 1597-8, it is the earliest allusion to Bacon being Shake-speare.

In 1597 and 1598, Joseph Hall (1574-1656), then a young fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, published his *Virgidemiarum* [latin: bundle of rods], six books of verse satires. The first volume containing Books 1–3, the so-called 'toothless satires', was entered in the Stationers Register on 31 March 1597, and mainly targets institutions and customs, although the celebrated poet Edmund Spenser does not escape ridicule for producing "worm-eaten stories of old time." In fact, the reuse or plagiarism of classical works to produce new ones, is a recurring theme of Hall's work. The second volume, Books 4–6, the 'biting satires', was entered in the Stationers Register on 30 March 1598, and uses pseudonyms to identify and attack literary contemporaries who Hall judged to be guilty of this misdemeanour. Among the recipients is a character named Labeo, who is criticised for inferior literature and who, as we shall see, has associations with the author Shake-speare.

John Marston (1575-1634), was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, and was a member of the Middle Temple, residing at the Inn Chambers until 1605. His first publication, *The Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image And Certaine Satyres*,[2] consists of two separate works and was entered in the Stationers Register on 27 May 1598, appearing after Hall's *Virgidemiarum*. The *Metamorphosis* is an erotic poem in the style of Shake-speare's *Venus and Adonis*,[3] a work that had already offended Hall's sensibility. In *Reactio*, a poem from his *Certaine Satyres*, Marston defends those attacked by Hall, and in *The Authour in prayse of his precedent Poem,* Marston must have intended the following lines for his nemesis:

> Ile snarle at those, which doe the world beguile
> With masked showes. Ye changing *Proteans*[a] list[b],
> And tremble at a barking Satyrist.
> *Key : (a) capable of changing form, (b) listen*

7.2 *Hall's Labeo*

Labeo first makes his entrance in Hall's *Virgidemiarum*, Book 2, Satire 1:

> For shame write better Labeo, or write none

Or better write, or Labeo write alone.
Nay, call the Cynick but a wittie fool,
Thence to objure[a] his handsome drinking bole:
Because the thirstie swaine[b] with hollow hand
Conveyed the streame to wet his dry weasand[c] …
Key : (a) renounce, (b) country person — see below , (c) throat

Labeo's historical parallel is unclear. There is Marcus Antistius Labeo (54BC–10AD), who was a leading figure in Roman jurisprudence. However, in the context of Hall's distaste for the plagiarism of classical work, he is more likely to be Attius Labeo who was satirised by the Roman knight Persius in the mid-first century A.D. for his dubious Latin translation of the *Iliad* (and there is evidence that Hall had read Persius[4]). We know that the Cynic philosophers despised wealth and status and, according to the Greek author Laertius, Diogenes the Cynic (c.400–350BC) was committed to the renunciation of possessions. One item he *did* retain was a drinking bowl, that is, until he saw a boy drinking from the public fountain with cupped hands at which point he discarded it. In the context of Hall's attack on plagiarism, "Labeo write better" might well be advising Labeo not to draw on classical work. It also seems that Labeo is identified with "the Cynic", perhaps as a philosopher, but more likely as one who renounces his property. In *Henry VI, Part 1*, Shake-speare presents a 'swaine' as a country person:

Talbot … Be quite degraded, like a Hedge-borne Swaine,
That doth presume to boast of Gentle blood.
(1591-2 *Henry VI, Part 1*, Act 4, Scene 1)

In Satire 3.10-12 of Book 1, Hall uses the term in this sense when discussing Marlowe's *Tamberlaine*, an upstart of humble origins:[5]

On crowned kings that Fortune hath low brought
Or some upreared, high-aspiring swain
As it might be the Turkish Tamberlaine.

So a reasonable interpretation is that "Labeo write alone" and "…the thirstie swaine … Conveyed the streame to wet his dry weasand" mean that there is a rustic who is profiting from Labeo's work. Hall continues:

… And each man writes: Ther's so much labour lost.
That's good, that's great: Nay much is seldome well,
Of what is bad, a little's a great deale.
Better is more: but best is nought at all.
Lesse is the next, and lesser criminall.
Little and good, is greatest good save one,
Then Labeo, or write little, or write none.

It is an impenetrable web of comparisons. We cannot be sure whether or not the first line is referring to Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*

(1593-5) but the second cannot be *All's Well That Ends Well* (1603-5) which appeared at least six years later, unless the historians have miscalculated its date. It is at least evident that Hall was not impressed with Labeo's literary efforts. In Book IV, Satire 1, Labeo reappears in greater detail:

> Labeo is whip't, and laughs me in the face.
> Why? For I smite and hide the galled[a] place,
> Gird[b] but[c] the Cynick's helmet on his head,
> Care he for Talus[d] or his flayle of lead?
> Long as the craftie Cuttle[e] lieth sure
> In the black Cloud of his thick vomiture;
> Who list[f] complaine of wronged faith or fame
> When he may shift it to anothers name?
> *Key : (a) inflamed, (b) encircled, (c) by, (d) mythological Greek: a brass giant who guarded Crete from intruders and used a flail of lead to obtain the truth, (e) the cuttle fish secretes black liquid when threatened, (f) listens to.*

Apparently, Labeo the Cynick, who Hall characterises as a plagiarist of the classics, is a concealed writer who is unaffected by criticism when he "may shift it to anothers name." The Cynick knows he can remain concealed as he "lieth sure, In the black Cloud of his thick vomiture". Labeo's sanctuary refers to the helmet of Diogenes the Cynic, who when hit upon the head, asked for a helmet in compensation[6] and it also brings to mind Pallas Athena's (Shake-speare's) helmet of invisibility. In Book VI, Satire 1, Joseph Hall tentatively connects Labeo to *Venus and Adonis*:

> Tho Labeo reaches right: (who can deny?)
> The true straynes of Heroicke Poesie:
> For he can tell how fury reft his sense
> And Phoebus fild him with intelligence,
> He can implore the heathen deities
> To guide his bold and busie enterprise;

Phoebus or Apollo the Sun god appears in Ovid's *Amores* from which the following two Latin lines on the title page of *Venus and Adonis* are extracted:

> Vilia miretur vulgus; mihi flavus Apollo
> Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua.[7]
> *Key : Let the masses gaze at vulgarity: let golden-haired Apollo,*
> *Offer me a brimming cup of Castalian waters.*

In the ancient world, just above Delphi, at the foot of Mount Parnassus and before the Sacred Way leading to the sanctuary of Apollo, there was a spring sacred to the Muses. Many poets drank the Castalian water

hoping to acquire fire and fury for their poetry. So at this point we have a loose connection between Labeo and *Venus and Adonis*. However, we need more information.

7.3 *Marston's Labeo*

Having written *The Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image* based on *Venus and Adonis*, Marston must have felt a need to defend his source. He places Labeo in a piece entitled *The Authour in prayse of his precedent Poem,* which binds together the two parts of Marston's newly published collection, *The Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image And Certaine Satyres*:

> So Labeo did complain his love was stone,
> Obdurate, flinty, so relentless none;
> Yet Lynceus knows that in the end of this
> He wrought as strange a metamorphosis.

Labeo's complaint reflects two lines from Shake-speare's *Venus and Adonis*:

> Art thou obdurate, flinty hard as steel –
> Nay, more than flint, for stone at rain relenteth.

The "metamorphosis" appears to be a direct reference to a stanza at the end of *Venus and Adonis* where the slain youth transforms into a flower:

> By this, the boy that by her side lay kill'd
> Was melted like a vapour from her sight,
> And in his blood that on the ground lay spill'd,
> A purple flower sprung up, chequer'd with white;

This reference was likely Marston's intention, however, a second glance reveals that the choice of Lynceus, who does *not* appear in *Venus and Adonis*, has an interesting connotation. Lynceus, grandson of Perseus, and an Argonaut, was only a minor character in Greek mythology. Gifted with exceptional vision, his only action of note appears to have been his participation, along with about 30 others, in the hunt for the Calydonian boar, a monster sent by the vengeful goddess Artemis to ravage Calydon. In *Venus and Adonis*, the boy is gored to death by a boar in a hunt and, interestingly, a boar features on Francis Bacon's coat of arms — Sir Philip Sidney and the Earl of Oxford also had one. Did Marston intend Lynceus to be Joseph Hall, the boar hunter and Labeo's assailant? Is Labeo the same man as Francis Bacon who is associated with a boar? And what are we to make of "Lynceus knows that in the end of this, He (Labeo) wrought as strange a metamorphosis (as the one in *Venus and Adonis*)?" Did Hall, the boar hunter, know that Labeo had become someone else?

.7.4 *Reactio*

Satire IV of *Certaine Satyres* was entitled *Reactio*, and here Martson deals in detail with Hall's attacks. *Reactio* cites *A Mirror for Magistrates*, a collection of about 100 Renaissance moralistic narrative poems by a small group of writers published in 1559 on the theme of notable sinners suffering divine retribution. The collection initiated the 'mirror' poetry genre referred to in line 1 of *Reactio* (below), such as Michael Drayton's *The Legend of Piers Gaveston* (1594), the idea being that in these 'mirrors' the sinner would be able to see his own shortcomings. In Book I of the *Virgidemiarum*, Hall satirises poems from this collection, and although Shake-speare's *The Rape of Lucrece* takes Ovid's *Fasti* as its main source, it also draws from a 'mirror' poem, Daniel's *The Complaint of Rosamond* (1592), and even qualifies as a 'mirror' itself in highlighting the consequences of rape. One could argue that *Venus and Adonis* could also be classified as a 'mirror' piece given that Adonis's lust is met with retribution in the form of his death in the boar hunt.

In *Venus and Adonis*, we find the use of "honor's wracke":

> Her face doth reek and smoke, her blood doth boil,
> And careless lust stirs up a desperate courage;
> Planting oblivion, beating reason back,
> Forgetting shame's pure blush and honor's wracke.

It also appears in *Reactio* as "antient honors wrack":

> Fond Censurer! Why should those mirrors seeme
> So vile to thee? which better judgements deeme
> Exquisite then, and in our polish'd times
> May run for sencefull tollerable lines.
> What, not *mediocria firma* from thy spight?
> But must thy envious hungry fangs needs light
> On Magistrates mirrour? must thou needs detract
> And strive to worke his antient honors wrack?
> What, shall not Rosamond, or Gaveston,
> Ope their sweet lips without detraction?

The "fangs" mentioned here in *Reactio* also appear in Venus's premonition of Adonis being killed by the boar at the end of the poem:

> That if I love thee, I thy death should fear:
> And more than so, presenteth to mine eye
> The picture of an angry-chafing boar,
> Under whose sharp fangs on his back doth lie
> An image like thyself, all stain'd with gore;

Francis Bacon's family motto was *mediocria firma* or "moderate things endure" which is clearly visible on his coat of arms. Does this mean that

Bacon, or Labeo, was the object of Hall's "spight" who was striving to work "his antient honors wrack", a reference to *Venus and Adonis*?

We have already seen (§6.5) the eulogy to Francis Bacon in *Manes Verulamiani* by the anonymous R.C. and T.C.:

> Muses pour forth your perennial waters in lamentations, and let Apollo shed tears (plentiful as the water) which even the Castalian stream contains;

It bears a striking resemblance to the lines on the title page of *Venus and Adonis*. If Bacon had not been a poet, one wonders why he is associated with the stream at Delphi that fortified them.

7.5 *A summary*

We now have possession of the following facts. In the *Virgidemiarum,* we can identify a reasonable association between Labeo the Cynick — Hall's main target — and Shake-speare's *Venus and Adonis*. With far less certainty, we can claim a connection between Labeo and *Love's Labour's Lost*. Joseph Hall claims that Labeo the Cynic is a "fool" to have given up "his handsome drinking bole" to a "swaine" who nourishes himself from it. However, in doing so, Labeo has become immune from criticism because he "shifts it to another's name", presumably the same low-ranking "swaine".

In Marston's *The Authour in prayse of his precedent Poem* there is a strong connection between Labeo and *Venus and Adonis*. Marston also introduces Lynceus, a boar hunter who, since a boar features on Francis Bacon's coat of arms, might represent Hall the Bacon hunter. The piece suggests that Lynceus (Hall) knows of a metamorphosis other than the one in *Venus and Adonis*, perhaps one that has transformed Labeo into another person. Labeo does not appear in *Reactio*, however, in the course of Marston's defence of 'mirror' poetry, we find good allusions to *Venus and Adonis* around Bacon's family motto.

So it is a reasonable interpretation that between them, Hall and Marston intended Labeo the Cynic to be Francis Bacon, who had renounced his possessions (particularly, *Venus and Adonis*) to a man of humble origins ("thirsty swaine") who was both profiting from the work ("wet his dry weasand") and acting as a mask ("shift it to anothers name"). This could only have been Shakspere.

In 1599, in light of the Hall–Marston controversy, the Archbishop of Winchester and the Bishop of London banned satires and epigrams, confiscating all copies of the *Virgidemiae* and publically burning the works of Marston.

7.6 *A postscript*

There is an intriguing postscript to this discussion. When Francis Bacon lived at Gorehambury, his closest inn was the Hartshorn on Holywell Hill, St. Albans, now known as the White Hart Hotel. In 1985, a 20ft long illustration of a poem, which the mural expert Dr Clive Rouse dated at around 1600, was discovered hidden on the wall of the ground floor room of the inn, bringing an excited Rouse to announce that he knew of no better Elizabethan wall painting "outside the great houses like Hampton Court."[8] The painting depicted the end of the boar hunt in *Venus and Adonis*.

Chapter 8. Verbal Parallels

8.1 *Preliminary*

In the nineteenth century, a waste book entitled the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* was discovered. The *Promus* was constructed from loose single sheets folded in two, upon which were 1,655 hand-written metaphors, aphorisms, proverbs, salutations, and other miscellany. Although some entries appear original, many have been drawn from the Latin and Greek writers Seneca, Horace, Virgil, Ovid; the Latin and Greek proverbs of the Dutchman Desiderius Erasmus (c.1466-1536); John Heywood's *Proverbes* (1562); Marcel de Montaigne's *Essays* (1575); and various other French, Spanish, and Italian sources. The waste book, which now resides in the British Library,[1] apart from a section at the end, was subsequently declared by Sir Edward Maunde–Thompson to be in Sir Francis Bacon's hand, an assertion that has never been challenged, and in fact, Bacon's signature appears on folio 115 verso.

In 1883, the industrious Constance Potts unravelled the waste book's Elizabethan handwriting and printed a complete transcription, later improved by British Library officials and published as an Appendix in *Bacon is Shakespeare* (1910) by the enthusiastic Baconian Sir Edwin Durning–Lawrence. Mrs Potts found that of the 203 English proverbs in the waste book, most of them could be discovered in the earlier *Proverbes*. More remarkably, she discovered that many of the ideas also appear in the First Folio (1623) collection of 36 Shake-speare plays (§8.4). Only two folios of the waste book were dated: the 3rd sheet as 5 Dec 1594, and the 32nd sheet (17th from the end) as 27 Jan 1595 (that is, 1596).

Even without the correspondences between the *Promus* and the work of Shake-speare, a remarkable number of similarities exist between Shake-speare and the published work of Francis Bacon (§8.3). Those who are determined to defend Shakspere's authorship claim are quick to dismiss linguistic parallels as commonplace. This might be true for some of them but not for all, and the great number of verbal parallels that can be established between the ideas of Shake-speare and Bacon should not be dismissed lightly. Unfortunately, our failure to uncover any letter or manuscript written by the Stratford man has left Shakspere with no parallels at all. It is an alarming deficiency for an authorship candidate, the importance of which the critics are urgent to diminish.

8.2 *Possible Conclusions*

Listed below are similar views and figures that occur between the work of Shake-speare and Bacon, and we divide the correspondences into two categories: (a) Bacon's published work; and (b) the then unpublished *Promus*. In each case, only four possible sensible explanations are worth consideration: (i) natural coincidence; (ii) Bacon borrowed from Shake-speare; (iii) Shake-speare borrowed from Bacon; (iv) they were the same man.

(i) *Natural coincidence*

The extracts from Bacon's published works in §8.3 exhibit a similarity of thought and exposition to Shake-speare, and in each case one must estimate the probability that two different writers, for whom there is no evidence of an acquaintance, could concur so closely. In §8.4, each *Promus* extract, usually consisting of a single proverb or phrase, must stand against the charge of being commonplace, and so the wisest course is to select examples of relative obscurity.

(ii) *Bacon borrowed from Shake-speare*

It will be evident to anyone who studies Bacon's work, that he delights in revealing the source of an opinion that does not originate in his own mind. Statements such as:

> … as is well observed by Cicero, men in exercising their faculties, if they be not well advised, do exercise their faults and get ill habits as well as good …[2]

underpin his style. For Bacon, references lend his work authority, and on occasions, so profuse is his use of them, one wonders if it is more a demonstration of erudition than intellectual integrity. If Bacon sourced Shake-speare for his published work, he must have done so infrequently, for no work by Bacon has yet been found in which the name Shake-speare is mentioned.

He certainly knew of Shake-speare's *Richard II* (see §4.4), and in 1909, a collection of plays in quarto dated 1599–1619 were found wrapped up in brown paper behind some bookshelves at the new Gorhambury house. Eight of them were by Shake-speare.[3] They are thought to have been transferred from the old Gorhambury house where Bacon had lived when the new one was built in 1777, and the view of the Verulam family that they were in Sir Francis Bacon's possession rests on the estimation that no succeeding tenant of the property would have had an interest in acquiring them. Francis Bacon certainly had the

background to appreciate the quality of the Shake-speare work and so why he omitted to exhibit any awareness of his contemporary is a mystery. One is reminded of the absence of any credit given by the author of the *Gesta Grayorum* to any dramatist for *The Comedy of Errors* (§6.6).

In relation to the *Promus* entries, an estimated 14 of the Shake-speare plays had been written by the end of 1596, however, no Shake-speare play had yet been published. So to borrow from Shake-speare, Bacon either had to take notes at a performance with quill and ink horn or obtain a rare manuscript copy. In either case, the *Promus* entries would be grouped by play, but they are not. So, chronologically, the *Promus* entries are better placed than Bacon's published work to relieve him of the suspicion of plagiarism.

(iii) *Shake-speare borrowed from Bacon*

Apart from 10 short essays published in 1597, Bacon's first publication of any note, *The Advancement of Learning*, did not appear until 1605 by which time an estimated 27 of the Shake-speare plays had already been written. As for access to the unpublished *Promus*, we would need to assume that Bacon and Shake-speare as different men were acquainted (for which there is no evidence), and that Bacon allowed Shake-speare to devour the fruits of his own industry.

8.3 *Published Work Parallels*

In the following parallels, all the Shake-speare quotations appear in their First Folio form.

— *Method in madness* —

> *Polonius.* Though this be madnesse,
> Yet there is Method in't : will you walke
> Out the ayre my Lord?
> (1600-01 *Hamlet* Act 2, Scene 2)
>
> … annon prorsus eos dare operam ut cum ratione quadam et prudential insanirent, clamaret?
> (1620 Francis Bacon, Preface, *Novum Organon,* in Latin)
>
> *Key : ... would he not cry out they were only taking pains to show a kind of method and discretion in their madness?*

— *Burning embers and love* —

> *Cleopatra* … Or shall I show the Cynders of my spirits
> Through th'Ashes of my chance : …
> (1606-7 *Anthony and Cleopatra*, Act 5, Scene 2)
>
> I hope I am rather embers than dead ashes, having the heat of good

affections under the ashes of my fortune.
(Notes for interview with King James[4])

— *Tides and fortune* —

Brutus. … There is a Tide in the affayres of men,
Which taken at the Flood, leades on to Fortune …
And we must take the current when it serves
Or loose our Ventures.
(1599 *Julius Caesar*, Act 4, Scene 3)

I set down reputation because of the peremptory tides and currents it hath; which if they be not taken in their due time, are seldom recovered
(1605 *Advancement of Learning*[5])

— *Aristotle's view on the young* —

Hector. Paris and Troilus, you have both said well,
And on the cause and question now in hand
Have glozed, but superficially: not much
Unlike young men, whom Aristotle thought
Unfit to hear moral philosophy:
The reasons you allege do more conduce
To the hot passion of distemper'd blood …
(1602-3 *Troilus and Cressida*, Act 2, Scene 2)

Is not the opinion of Aristotle very wise and worthy to be regarded, "that young men are no fit auditors of moral philosophy", because the boiling heat of their affections is not yet settled, nor tempered with time and experience?
(1623 *De Augmentis*, Book VII[6])

In fact, what Aristotle actually said was:

> Hence a young man is not a proper hearer of lectures on political science; … and further since he tends to follow his passions his study will be vain and unprofitable …[7]

The decision to use a metaphorical coincidence between heat and passion is Bacon's and, as William Henry Smith first realized, so is the decision to describe 'political science' as 'moral philosophy'. We find that Shake-speare has also adopted these.

— *Chasing, then after it again* —

Valeria. … I saw him run after a gilden Butterfly; & when he caught it he let it go againe, and after it againe, and over and over he comes, and up againe : catch'd it again...
(1608 *Coriolanus*, Act 1, Scene 3)

As time passed by, Bacon felt that the Queen had no intention of promoting him and he expressed his frustration:

> For to be, as I have told you, a child following a bird, which when he is nearest flieth away and lighteth a little before; and then the child after it again; and so on ad infinitum.... (Letter to Fulke Greville[8])

— Art and Nature distinct —

There is a view expressed by Bacon in the *Descriptio Globi Intellectualis* which ran counter to the contemporary view that Art and Nature had distinct forms and that Art added to whatever Nature produced. Bacon decided that Art, an act of human creation, was instead a part of Nature's design.

> … it is the fashion to talk as if art were something different from nature, so that things artificial should be separated from things natural, as differing totally in kind ...and not only that, but another and more subtle error finds its way into men's minds; that of looking upon art merely as a kind of supplement to nature … Whereas men ought on the contrary to have a settled conviction, that things artificial differ from things natural, not in form or essence, but only in the efficient; that man has in truth no power over nature except that of motion — the power, I say of putting natural bodies together or separating them — the rest is done by nature working within.
>
> (*Descriptio Globi Intellectualis*[9])
>
> All man can do to achieve results is to bring natural bodies together and take them apart; Nature does the rest internally.
>
> (1620 *The New Organon*[10])

This unconventional notion is also expounded in Shake-speare's *A Winter's Tale,* the first known performance of which was on 15 May 1611 at the Globe Theatre, attended by Dr Simon Forman and recorded in his *Book of Plaies*.

> *Polixenes*. … Yet Nature is made better by no meane,
> But Nature makes that meane: so over that Art,
> (Which you say addes to Nature) is an Art
> That Nature makes: …
> … This is an Art
> Which does mend Nature: change it rather, but
> The Art itselfe, is Nature.
> (1609-10, *A Winter's Tale*, Act 4, Scene 4)

— Flowers and Gardens —

In 1625, Sir Francis Bacon's On Gardens appeared for the first time in *The Essays*. The following passage, edited down from some 60 lines, can be compared with *The Winter's Tale* where the playwright displays a similar knowledge. Italics have been added to Bacon's essay to indicate those flowers that are also mentioned in the Shake-speare text. The most interesting aspect is that both Bacon and Shake-speare elect to classify the flowers according to their date.

> I do hold it in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year, in which, severally, things of beauty may

be then in season. … and the latter part of November … sweet *marjoram*, warm set. There followeth, for the latter part of January and February … *primroses* … For March, there come *violets*, especially the single blue, which are the earliest; the yellow *daffodil* … In April follow the double white *violet*, the wallflower, the stock-gillyflower, the cowslip, *flower-de-luces*, and *lilies* of all natures … the pale *daffodil* … In May and June … the French *marigold* ...*lavender* in flowers, … In July come *gillyflowers* of all varieties **…** *Roses, damask* and red, are fast flowers of their smells; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness … but those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three; that is, burnet, wild thyme, and water-*mints* … (1625 *Of Gardens*[11])

In *The Winter's Tale*, Perdita is distributing flowers appropriate to the age of the recipient.

Polixenes. Then make you Garden rich in Gilly'vors,
And do not call them bastards.
Perdita. … Here's flowers for you:
Hot lavender, Mints, Savory, Marjorum,
The Mary-gold, that goes to bed with the Sun,
And with him rises weeping: These are flowres
Of middle summer …
(1609-10 *The Winter's Tale*, Act 4, Scene 4)

A few lines later, Perdita offers Camilla some "Flowres o'th Spring":

Perdita. … Daffadils,
That come before the Swallow dares, and take
The windes of March with beauty …

In fact, Bacon has the yellow daffodil in March and the pale daffodil for April:

Perdita. … Violets (dim,
But sweeter than the lids of Inno's eyes,
Or Cytherex's breath) pale Prime-roses,
… Lillies of all kinds,
(The Flowre-de-Luce being one.) …

Some time later, Autolicus enters singing …

Autolicus. Lawne as white as driven Snow,
Cypresse Blacke as ere was Crow,
Cloves as sweete as Damaske Roses …

— *A contrived silence induces trust* —

The second [maxim] is to keep a discreet temper and mediocrity both in liberty of speech and in secrecy; in most cases using liberty, but secrecy when the occasion requires it. For liberty of speech invites and provokes a similar liberty in others; and so brings much to a man's knowledge; but

secrecy induceth trust, so that men like to deposit their secrets there, as in their own bosom.
(1623 *De Augmentis Scientarium*[12])
Cressida. … Sweet bid me hold my tongue,
For in this rapture I shall surely speake
The thing I shall repent : see, see, your silence,
Cunning in dumbnesse, from my weaknesse drawes
My soule of counsell. Stop my mouth.
(1602-3 *Troilus and Cressida*, Act 3, Scene 2)

— *Print of goodness* —

… let it be out of the fountain and spring-head … that, living or dying, the print of the goodness of King James may be in my heart …
(1624 Letter to King James[13])
Miranda. Abhorred Slave
Which any print of goodnesse wilt not take,
Being capable of all ill: …
(1610-11 *The Tempest*, Act 1, Scene 2)

— *Packhorse as a drudge* —

Cockburn[14] observes that the *Oxford English Dictionary* gives the following Shake-speare occurrence as the earliest use of "packhorse" to mean "drudge":

Richard. I was a packhorse in his great affairs.
(1592-3 *Richard III*, Act 1, Scene 3)

Did Francis Bacon borrow this from *Richard III*?

I have laboured like a packhorse in your business, and as I think, I have driven in a nail.
(c.1614 Letter to John Murray of His Majesty's Bedchamber[15])

— *Frets of the firmament* —

Shake-speare is clearly discussing the stars when he refers to "this Majesticall Roofe" which is "fretted with golden fire".

Hamlet. …this most excellent Canopy the Aire, look you, this brave ore-hanging, this Majesticall Roofe, fretted with golden fire: …
(1600-01 *Hamlet*, Act 2, Scene 2)

If [God] … had been of an human disposition, he would have cast the stars into some pleasant and beautiful works and orders, like the frets in the roofs of houses.
(1605 *Advancement of Learning*[16])

8.4 *Promus Parallels*

The following *Promus* entries are a small sample of the many correspondences that have been discovered (there are others in Appendix B). They all occur before 1597, the year the first Shake-speare play was

published. In those cases where a source earlier than the *Promus* has been discovered, it is included.

— *Galen and Paracelsus* —

Parolles. So I say both of Galen and Paracelsus.
(1603-5 *All's Well That Ends Well*, Act 2, Scene 3)
Galens compositions not Paracelsus separations
(*Promus*, folio 84 verso)

— *Falsehood and volubility* —

Hercules. He will lye sir, with such volubility, that you would think truth were a foole.
(1603-5 *All's Well That Ends Well*, Act 4, Scene 3)

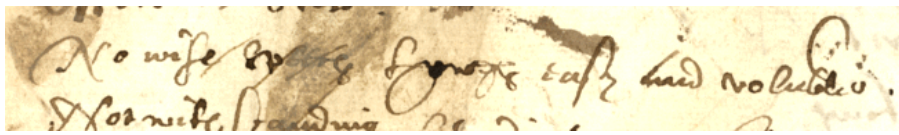


Figure 8. "No wise speech thowgh easy and voluble," *Promus*, folio 85 recto

— *Fool's bolt* —

Orleance. You are the better at Proverbs, by how much a Fooles Bolt is soone shot.
(1599 *Henry V*, Act 3, Scene 7)
A fooles bolt is soone shott
(*Promus*, folio 85 recto)
A fooles bolt is soone shott
(John Heywood, *Proverbes*, Part 1, Chap xi)
Sottes bolt is sone shote
(Hendyng, *Proverbs* – 1320)

— *Glistering gold* —

The following rhyme, which appears to have been sourced from Chaucer, is of interest for its form. The "glitters" in the present day "All that glitters is not gold" is represented both by Bacon and Shake-speare as "glisters" but not so in other versions. Here the speech is by Morocco:

All that glisters is not gold,
Often have you heard that told;
Many a man his life hath sold,
But my outside to behold;
(1596-7 *Merchant of Venice*, Act 2, Scene 7)

Figure 9. "All is not gold that glisters," *Promus*, folio 92 recto

But all things which shineth as the gold,
Ne is no gold, as I have herd it told
(c.1400, Geoffrey Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, The Chanones Yemannes Tale, 16430)
Gold all is not that doth golden seem
(1580 Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*)
All is not gold that glisteneth
(1617 Thomas Middleton, *A Fair Quarrel*)

— Fortune and fools —

Jacque. … Call me not foole, till heaven hath sent me fortune …
(1599-1600 *As You Like It*, Act 2, Scene 7)
God sendeth fortune to fooles
(*Promus*, folio 92 verso)

— Good wine —

Traditionally, a bush of ivy was hung up to advertise the sale of wine.

Rosalind. … If it be true, that good wine needs no bush, 'tis true that a good play needes no Epilogues.
(1599-1600 *As You Like It*, Act 5, Scene 4)
Good wyne needes no bush
(*Promus*, folio 93 recto)
Vino vendib'ili hed'era non opus est
(Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella - 1 AD)

— Seat of power —

Lieutenant. Sir, I beseech you, think you he'll carry Rome?
Aufidius. All places yields to him ere he sits downe …
(1608 *Coriolanus*, Act 4, Scene 7)
Romanus sedendo vincit[a]
(*Promus*, folio 94 recto)
Key : (a) The Roman conquers by sitting down

— Spinning wheels —

The next example is unusual in that two entries from the same folio contribute to the same speech.

Launce. Then may I set the world on wheeles, when she can spin for her living.
(1589-93 *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act 3, Scene 1)
Now toe on her distaff[a] then she can spynne
The world runs on wheeles
(*Promus,* folio 96 verso)
Key : (a) weaving device

— Penelope's robe —

In a work by Ovid (43BC), when Ullyses went away to battle, his wife Penelope's advisors, thinking he would never return, urged her to marry

again. However, Penelope declared she would only comply when she had finished her robe. This she made by day and pulled out during the night so that she would never finish it.

> *Val*. You would be another Penelope: yet they say, all the yearne spun in Ulisses absence did but fill Ithica full of moths …
> (1608 *Coriolanus*, Act 1, Scene 3)
> Penelopes webb
> (*Promus*, folio 99 verso)

— *Charon's ferry* —

In Greek mythology, Charon was a winged demon who ferried the dead across the river Acheron. Those who could not afford to pay an obulus (coin) had to walk on the banks of the Styx for 100 years.

> *Troilus*. No, Pandarus: I stalke about her doore,
> Like a strange soul upon the Stigian banks
> Staying for waftage. O be thou my Charon,
> And give me swift transportance to those fields
> Where I may wallow in the Lilly-beds
> Proposed for the deserver …
> (1602-3 *Troilus and Cressida*, Act 3, Scene 2)
> Charons fares
> (*Promus*, folio 100 verso)

— *Nail for a nail* —

> *Aufidius* … One fire drives out one fire; one Naile, one Naile;
> (1608 *Coriolanus*, Act 4, Scene 6)
> *Protheus*. I will.
> Even as one heate another heate expels,
> Or as one naile, by strength drives out another.
> (1589-93 *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act 2, Scene 4)
> Clavum clauo pellerea
> (*Promus*, folio 101 verso)
> *Key : With one nail to drive out a nail*

— *Sufferance and might* —

Again, with a slight modification, two entries from the same folio of the *Promus* also appear in the same Shake-speare speech, namely one given by Mistress Quickly:

> *Host*. O, that right should o'rcome might. Wel of sufferance, comes ease.
> (1597-8 *Henry IV, Part 2*, Act 5, Scene 4)

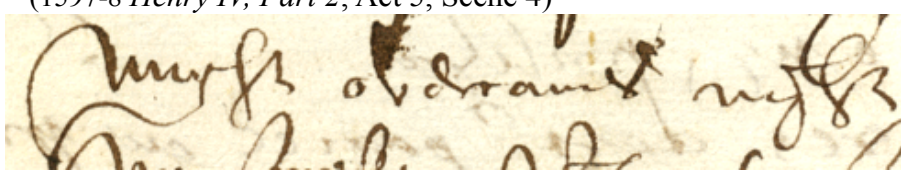


Figure 10. "Might overcomes right," *Promus*, folio 103 recto

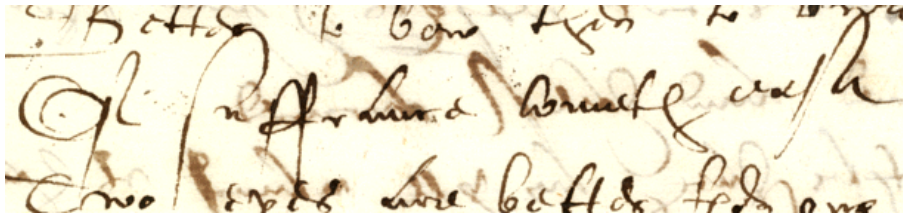


Figure 11. “Of sufferance cometh ease,” *Promus*, folio 103 recto

— *Irreversible action* —

The following proverb appears in *The Nichomachen Ethics of Aristotle*, Book 6, Chap 2 (1879) and is attributed to Agathon 5BC.

> *Lady.* To bed, to bed: there’s knocking at the gate: Come, come, come, come, give me your hand: What’s done cannot be undone. To bed, to bed, to bed.
> (1606 *Macbeth*, Act 5, Scene 1)

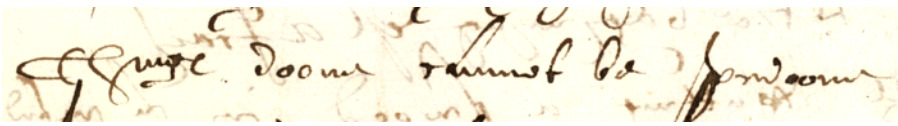


Figure 12. “Things done cannot be undone,” *Promus*, folio 103 recto

— *Ends well* —

> 1603-5 All’s Well That Ends Well, title
> (*Gesta Romanorum*, Tale lxvii — latin collection of tales and anecdotes 13th century)

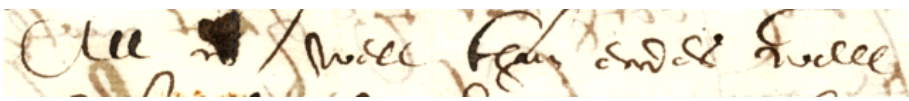


Figure 13. “All is well that endes well,” *Promus*, folio 103 recto

— *Moderation in love* —

> *Frier* … Therefore Love moderately, long love doth so,
> (1594-5 *Romeo and Juliet*, Act 2, Scene 6)
> Love me lytell love me long
> (*Promus*, folio 103 recto)
> Love me litle, love me long
> (John Heywood, *Proverbes*, Part ii, Chap ii)

Finally, the four examples from Shake-speare that follow can be found on folio 112 recto of the *Promus* written in Francis Bacon’s hand (see Figure 14).

— Cold death —

In order to avoid a marriage to Count Paris, Friar Lawrence gives Juliet

a potion that simulates death.

> *Friar* … Each part deprived of supple government,
> Shall stiff and starke, and cold appeare like death,
> … and then awake, as from a pleasant sleepe.
> (1594-5 *Romeo and Juliet*, Act 4, Scene 1)

— *Gold and albada* —

In Spanish, "alba" means "dawn" and "albada" was serenading music played at the break of day. Shake-speare has several references to "Albada; golden sleepe."

> *Steward*. Good dawning to thee Friend, art of this house?
> (1605-8 *King Lear*, Act 2, Scene 2)
> *Father Capulet* … good Father, 'tis day
> *Play Musicke*
> (1594-5 *Romeo and Juliet*, Act 4, Scene 4)
> *Friar.* … there, golden sleepe doth raigne;
> (1594-5 *Romeo and Juliet*, Act 2, Scene 3)

— *Wings and time* —

> *Juliet* … For thou wilt lie upon the wings of night
> (1594-5 *Romeo and Juliet*, Act 3, Scene 2)

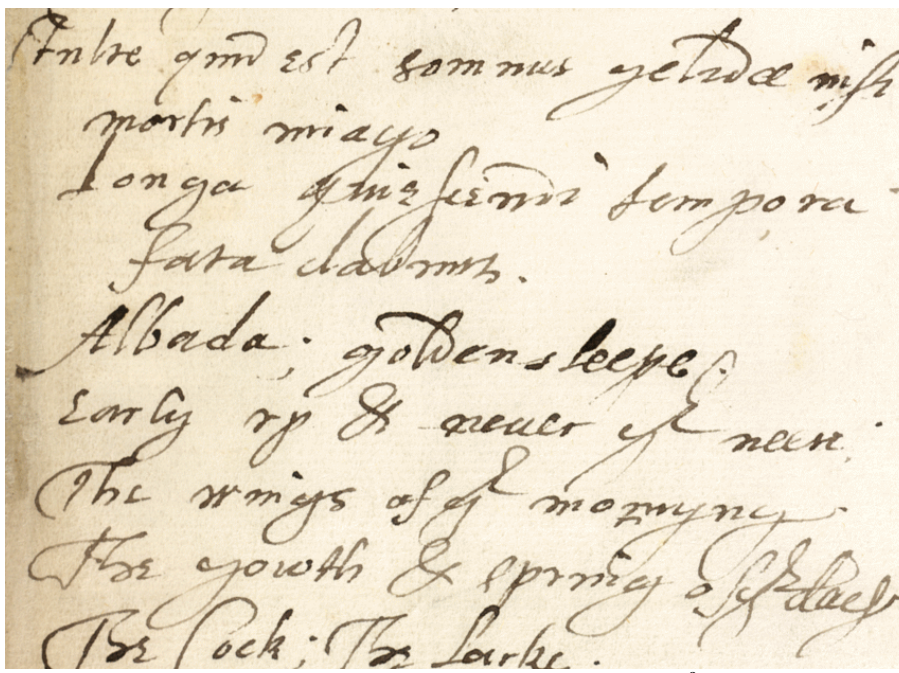


Figure 14. "(1) Stulte quid est somnus gelidae nisi mortis imago[a], (2) Albada; golden sleepe, (3) The wings of ye mornyng, (4) The youth & spring of the day," *Promus*, folio 112 recto. *Key: (a) Sleep is the image of cold death*

— *Spring of day* —

> As Flawes congealed in the Spring of day.
> (1597-8 *Henry IV, Part 2*, Act 4, Scene 4)

Further parallels can be found in Appendix B.

8.5 *The "dis-" Prefix*

In *Shakespeare* by Ivor Brown, the author remarks:

> Shakespeare had many fancies and preferences. I know of no other writer so fond of the prefix "dis" or so well able to use it with beautiful effect.[17]

Interestingly, Bacon also had this unusual penchant and we shall now examine examples of its use in the work of both Shake-speare and Bacon. Our first list shows occurrences in eight Shake-speare plays and we give the word, play, act, scene, and name of speaker.

disseat, *Macbeth*, Act 5, Scene 3, Macbeth
discandy, *Anthony and Cleopatra*, Act 4, Scene 12, Mark Anthony
disgorge, *As You Like It*, Act 2, Scene 7, Duke Senior
disannual, *Comedy of Errors*, Act 1, Scene 1, Duke Solinus
disedged, *Cymbeline*, Act 3, Scene 4, Imogen
dispraising, *Cymbeline*, Act 5, Scene 5, Iachimo
dismask'd, *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 5, Scene 2, Boyet
dissever, *King John*, Act 2, Scene 1, Bastard
disvalued, *Measure for Measure*, Act 5, Scene 1, Angelo

As we shall see, the last two examples also appear in the following list of Bacon's usage, where the work and page number refers to *Francis Bacon The Major Works*.[18] Our survey covers the *Advancement of Learning* and the *Essays* (total 135,000 words).

dissevered, *Advancement of Learning*, p.200
disvalued, *Advancement of Learning*, p.278
disesteeming, *Advancement of Learning*, p.133
disincorporate, *Advancement of Learning*, p.293
disinherited, Of Parents and Children, p.352
disavow, Of Envy, p. 356
dispeople, Of Vicissitude of Things, p. 451
displanted, Of Plantations, Of Plantations, p. 407
disadvantageable, Of Expense, p. 396

The two major dramatists of the era were Christopher Marlowe and Ben Jonson. An examination of several works of the former: *Massacre at Paris*, *Edward II*, *Tamburlaine Part 1*, *Dr Faustus*, and *The Jew of Malta* (total 85,000 words), reveals 'dissever' and 'disgordge' which both appear in the Shake-speare list but there is nothing else striking. Ben Jonson's *Timber or Discoveries made upon Men and Matter*, *Volpone*, *Epicoene*, and several poems (total 98,000 words) provide

‘disaffection’, ‘disinherit’ (Bacon), ‘disfavour’, ‘dispraised’ (Shake-speare), ‘discommended’, and ‘disfurnish’ (also used by Thomas Nashe in *Pierce Penilesse*) but in the domain of our search neither Marlowe nor Jonson produce anything as arresting as Bacon’s ‘disesteeming’, ‘disadvantageable’, and ‘dispeople’ or Shake-speare’s ‘discandy’, ‘disannual’, and ‘dismask’d’. This is good evidence that both Shake-speare and Francis Bacon made innovative use of the ‘dis-’ prefix, and that there is a stylistic similarity.

Chapter 9: Possible Bacon Allusions

9.1 *Preliminary*

Here we shall present some interesting occurrences of Bacon's name in the Shake-speare work. There is no intention to associate Bacon with esoteric theories, only to represent him as one who might have had the humour and imagination to leave his signature. The reader must decide for himself how likely it is that the examples that follow were intentionally placed there.

There is evidence that Shake-speare inserted topical references in his work and used a simple puzzle in the process. In the Introduction to the 1923 Cambridge edition of *Love's Labour's Lost,* an argument is given for the character Moth representing Thomas Nashe. Consider the following passage:

> *Armado*. How canst thou part sadness and melancholy, my tender Juvenal?
> *Moth.* By a familiar demonstration of my working, my tough signior.
> *Armado*. Why tough signior? Why tough signior?
> *Moth*. Why tender Juvenal? Why tender Juvenal?
> (1594 *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 1, Scene 2)

Not only does 'Juvenal' remind us here of Greene's *Groatsworth* reference to Nashe but Francis Meres refers to him as 'sweet Tom' and 'Young (juvenile) Juvenal' in his *Wit's Treasurie* (1596) so it seems to have been a popular description of him. We also note that 'nesh' or 'nash' meant 'soft, delicate, pitiful, tender' at that time. In Act 5, Scene 1, Costard calls Moth 'thou halfpenny purse of wit, thou pigeon-egg of discretion'. This seems to be a reference to the Nashe-Harvey controversy, an account of which may be found in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, Vol. 5 (1910) by R. B. McKerrow. Nashe had already published *Pierce [purse] Penilesse* (1592) by this time containing an attack on Richard Harvey after Harvey's abuse of him in *Theological Discourse of the Lamb of God* (1590). In response, his brother Gabriel Harvey's invective in *Pierce's Supererogation* (1593) labels Thomas Nashe 'a young man of the greenest springe, as beardless in judgement as in face, and as Peniless in wit as in purse' with the suggestion that he might next 'publish Nashe's *Penniworth of Discretion*'. And the coded reference to Nashe? Shake-speare has made Moth an anagram of Thom!

The notion that Sir Francis Bacon was involved in concealment ciphers has some basis in fact. When Bacon went to France with Sir Amias Paulet in 1576, one of his tasks was to assist Paulet in sending encoded intelligence back to England.

It was in France that Francis had his first experience of ciphers and

> cryptography … In this field, he was lucky to strike up an early relationship with the grand master of intelligence ciphers, Thomas Phelippes, a servant of Sir Francis Walsingham, who had been placed with the embassy [of Paulet] to give it the benefit of his skills in languages and ciphering.[1]

An acrostic was a common method of placing code in text. Dating back at least to the fourth century, an acrostic can use the initial, middle or final letters of each line to form a message. As O. B. Hardison, director of The Folger Shakespeare Library, commented in 1979:

> Much medieval verse had acrostic and other patterns. As I recall, a good deal of Irish classicizing verse of the sixth to eighth centuries illustrates this tendency. I ran across some of it in the Patrologia Latina several years ago. It's mostly in Latin, with frequent use of Greek, and it's entirely written by monks…. David Dumville had an article in the Journal of Theological Studies some years back identifying an acrostic in the Book of Cerne [820–840AD]…

Ben Jonson himself used one in his own work, for example, the Arguments in his plays *Volpone* and *The Alchemist*. Then there was Sir John Salusbury (1566–1612), educated at the Middle Temple, who wrote an acrostic poem in admiration of Dorothy Halsall and (with less admiration) her husband Cutbert. Disregarding the last line and reading upwards, the first letter of each line gives CUTBERT, the first letter after each in-line comma reveals DOROTHY (imagining a comma after "will" in line 5), and the letter before each comma produces HALSALL (taking the 's' instead of the 'e' from "distresse" in line 4). The two capitals in the last line are John Salusbury's initials (since I and J were the same letter in Elizabethan times).

> Tormented heart in thrall, Yea thrall to love,
> Respecting will, Heart-breaking gaine doth grow,
> Ever DOLOBELIA, Time will so prove,
> Binding distresse, O gem wilt thou allowe,
> This fortune my will Repose-lesse of ease,
> Unless thou LEDA, Over-spread my heart,
> Cutting all my ruth, dayne Disdaine to cease,
> I yield to fate, and welcome endless Smart.[2]

We shall now examine apparent references to Sir Francis Bacon in the Shake-speare work, some interpretative, some using known concealment methods of the times.

9.2 *Henry VIII*

There are aspects of Shake-speare's *King Henry VIII* relating to Cardinal Wolsey's forfeiture of the Great Seal, that correspond to Sir Francis Bacon's loss of office. We first examine the facts of the matter as given by Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1587) and George Cavendish's *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey* (1553) and then compare them with the play in order to decide how far Shake-speare has departed from them.

In 1509, Henry married Katherine of Aragon, daughter of the king of Spain, and widow of his late brother Arthur who had died six years earlier. It appeared to be a marriage of financial advantage for Henry, and had been sanctioned by the Pope on the understanding that no "carnal copulation" had occurred between Arthur and Katherine. Over a period of 16 years, Katherine bore Henry several children but only Mary survived into adulthood. Then in 1527, Henry fell for Anne Boleyn, one of Katherine's ladies-in-waiting. Overcome with passion, the King moved to have his earlier marriage annulled. To effect this, Henry "confessed" that Arthur and Katherine *had* consummated their marriage which meant that the marriage had originally been sanctioned on false grounds. His Lord Chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey, who had been entrusted with petitioning the Pope for a divorce, instead contriving to dissuade Henry from marrying Anne Boleyn:

> … the cardinall required the pope by letters and secret messengers, that in anie wise he should defer the judgement of the divorce, till he might frame the kings mind to his purpose … but that the same came to the kings knowledge, who took so high displeasure … that he determined to abase his degree.[3]

Wolsey's fate was sealed. The nobles of the realm assembled a list of 34 provable offences against Wolsey, he appeared in Parliament, and subsequently went to trial on a charge of praemunire. On 17 November 1529, the King sent the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to collect the Great Seal and instruct Wolsey to provide an inventory of his possessions. The cardinal lost everything, his house, gold plate, even his best suits.

These are the events of history and while Wolsey's opposition to Anne Boleyn is portrayed as the reason for his demise Shakespeare provides a different emphasis. The discovery of Wolsey's secret letters to the Pope is retained:

> *Suffolk*. The Cardinal's Letters to the Pope miscarried,
> And came to th'eye o' th' King, wherein was read
> How that Cardinall did entreat his Holinesse

To stay the Judgement o' th' Divorce; for if
It did take place, 'I do', (quoth he) 'perceive
My King is tangled in affection to
A Creature of the Queenes, Lady Anne Bullen'.
(1613 *King Henry VIII*, Act 3, Scene 2)

However there is an addition: Cardinal Wolsey has inadvertently enclosed an inventory of all his wealth with the papers that are delivered to the king.

King Henry. (aside) What piles of wealth hath he accumulated
To his owne portion? And what expense by th' houre
Seemes to flow from him? How, i' th' name of Thrift
Does he rake this together? …
(1613 *King Henry VIII*, Act 3, Scene 2)

The Oxford Shakespeare[4] suggests that Shake-speare borrowed this from an earlier incident involving Thomas Ruthall, who was Bishop of Durham and one of the King's Privy councillors. Holinshed[5] informs us that in 1508, Ruthall had written two books which he had bound in vellum to the same dimensions and colour. One had been commissioned by the King while the other gave an inventory of the revenues that Ruthall had improperly extracted from the people amounting to a thousand pounds. Unwisely, he kept these identical books in the same place. When the King instructed Wolsey to collect his book from the bishop, a servant handed Wolsey the wrong one. Later, on discovering that the King now knew about the vast wealth he had accumulated, Ruthall committed suicide.

Returning to the play, the King is now informed that Wolsey is behaving strangely.

King Henry. It may well be
There is a mutiny in's mind. This morning
Papers of State he sent me, to peruse
As I required; and wot you what I found
There (on my Conscience put unwittingly)
Forsooth an Inventory, thus importing
The severall parcels of his Plate, his Treasure,
Rich Stuffes, and Ornaments of Household, which
I find at such a proud Rate, that it out-speakes
Possession of a Subject.
(1613 *King Henry VIII,* Act 3, Scene 2)

In other words, it is more than one of his subjects could be expected to possess. When the King presents Wolsey with the inventory that he received in his papers, the cardinal privately reveals his intent:

Cardinal Wolsey. … This paper has undone me: Tis th' Account

> Of all that world of Wealth I have drawne together
> For mine owne ends, (Indeed to gain the Popedom,
> And fee my Friends in Rome) …
> (1613 *King Henry VIII*, Act 3, Scene 2)

A few lines later, Wolsey loses the Great Seal with the stage direction:

> Enter to Cardinal Wolsey the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earl of Surrey, and the Lord Chamberlaine.

In the play, it is clearly Wolsey's accumulated wealth that has finalised his downfall — "This paper has undone me" — and there is no mention of either the 34 provable offences or the writ of praemunire against him. While the cardinal, alone on the stage, reveals that his treasure was intended to finance his religious aspirations, Henry only remarks that he is offended by the level of Wolsey's wealth enquiring "How i' th' name of thrift, Does he rake this together?" In fact, Henry's motive for relieving Wolsey of the Great Seal parallels that of James I with Sir Francis Bacon, namely, the illegal acquisition of wealth (§4.6). However, this is not the only point of connection between Wolsey's enacted demise and Bacon's. Holinshed clearly states that:

> And further, the seventeenth of November the king sent the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolke to the cardinal's place at Westminster … that he should surrender up the great seale into their hands …[6]

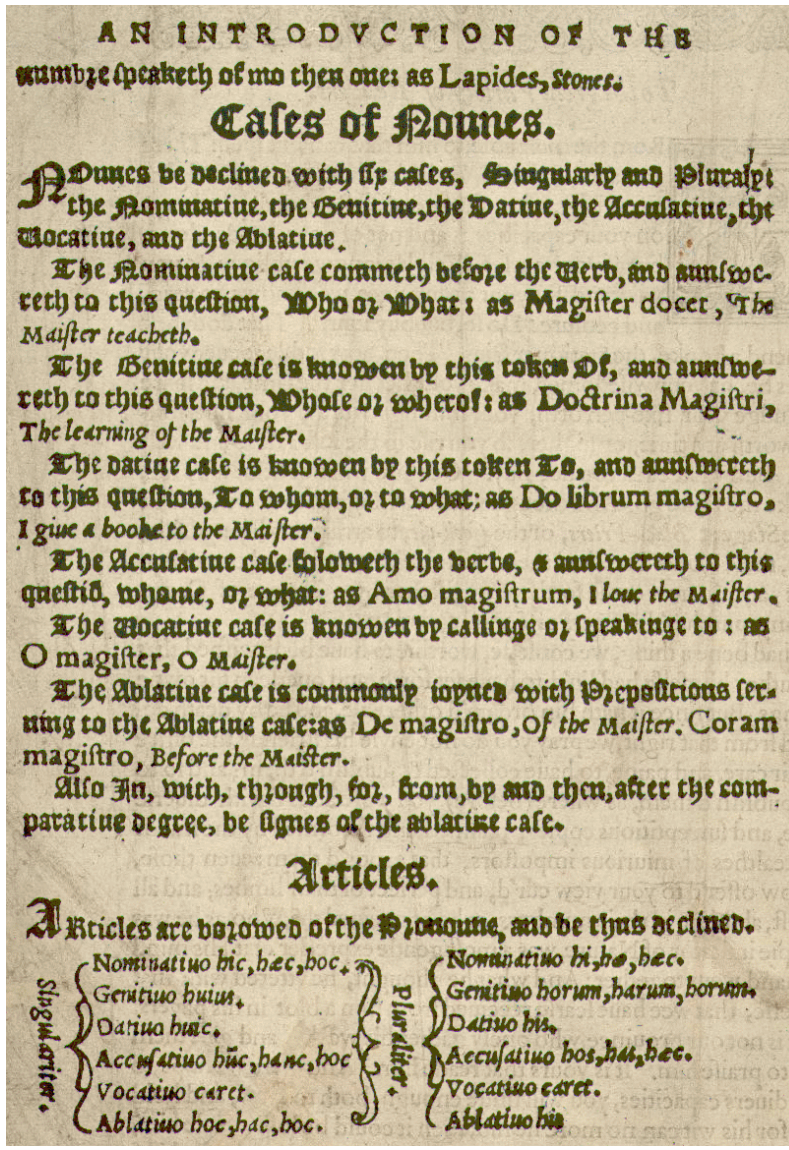
As we have already seen, in *King Henry VIII*, Shake-speare makes use of these two noblemen but adds two more to accompany them: the Lord Chamberlaine and the Earl of Surrey. Why would he choose to embellish history in this way? In Bacon's case, King James:

> … commissioned the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlaine, and the Earl of Arundel, to receive and take charge of it [the seal] …[7]

In 1621, at the time of Bacon's fall, the Lord Treasurer was Lionel Cranfield; the Lord Steward was Ludovic Stuart, the 1st Earl of Richmond; William Herbert, the 3rd Earl of Pembroke was the Lord Chamberlaine; and Thomas Howard was the 2nd Earl of Arundel and Surrey. This means that two of the four men who collected the Great Seal from Bacon, the Lord Chamberlaine and the Earl of Surrey (Arundel), also collect it from Wolsey in Shakespeare's *King Henry VIII* contrary to the best historical accounts. These lines seem to have been written after Bacon's fall in 1621 which would certainly rule out Shakspere as their author having died five years earlier.

9.3 *Merry Wives of Windsor*

At the bottom left of the first page of the first play *The Tempest* in the



AN INTRODVCTION OF THE

numbre speaketh of mo then one: as Lapides, *stones.*

Cases of Nounes.

NOunes be declined with six cases, Singularly and Plurally: the Nominatiue, the Genitiue, the Datiue, the Accusatiue, the Uocatiue, and the Ablatiue.

The Nominatiue case commeth before the Uerb, and answereth to this question, Who or What: as Magister docet, *The Maister teacheth.*

The Genitiue case is knowen by this token Of, and answereth to this question, Whose or whereof: as Doctrina Magistri, *The learning of the Maister.*

The datiue case is knowen by this token To, and answereth to this question, To whom, or to what: as Do librum magistro, *I giue a booke to the Maister.*

The Accusatiue case followeth the verbe, & answereth to this question, whome, or what: as Amo magistrum, *I loue the Maister.*

The Uocatiue case is knowen by callinge or speakinge to: as O magister, O *Maister.*

The Ablatiue case is commonly ioyned with Prepositions seruing to the Ablatiue case: as De magistro, *Of the Maister.* Coram magistro, *Before the Maister.*

Also In, with, thrOugh, for, from, by and then, after the comparatiue degree, be signes of the ablatiue case.

Articles.

ARticles are borowed of the Pronoune, and be thus declined.

	Singulariter.	Pluraliter.
Nominatiuo	hic, hæc, hoc.	hi, hæ, hæc.
Genitiuo	huius.	horum, harum, horum.
Datiuo	huic.	his.
Accusatiuo	hũc, hanc, hoc	hos, has, hæc.
Uocatiuo	caret.	caret.
Ablatiuo	hoc, hac, hoc.	his

Figure 15. Source for the Latin lesson in *Merry Wives of Windsor* (Act 4, Scene 1), William Lily's *A Shorte Introduction to Grammar* (1534)

First Folio, there is the acrostic "hog hang'd" beginning at the last line of Gonzalos speech on the initial 'h', running up, and then returning to the 'h' and moving to the right. This message also materialises in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* in the so-called 'Latin lesson'. With the uneducated Mistress Quickly in attendance, Mistress Page has brought her son William to the schoolmaster Sir Hugh Evans for instruction in Latin:

Evans. … What is (*Lapis*) William?
Will. A Stone.
Evans. And what is a Stone (William?)
Will. A Peeble.
Evans. No; it is *Lapis*: I pray you remember in your praine.
Will. *Lapis*.
Evans. That is a good William: what is he (William) that do's lend Articles.
Will. Articles are borrowed of the Pronoune; and be thus declined.
Singulariter nominativo hic hac hoc.
(1597 *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act 4, Scene 1)

This is a reference to William Lily's *A Shorte Introduction to Grammar* from 1567 (Figure 15), with a slight modification:

Evans. *Nominitivo hig, hag, hog* : pray you marke: *genitivo huius* : Well, what is your *Accusative-case*?
Will. *Accusativo hinc*.
Evans. I pray you have your remembrance (childe) *Accusativo hing, hang, hog*.
Quickly. Hang-hog is latten for Bacon, I warrant you.
(1597 *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act 4, Scene1)

In fact, William has "*hic hac hoc*" correct but Evans incorrectly gives both "*hig, hag, hog*" and the "*Accusativo hing, hang, hog*" when "*Accusativo huc, hanc, hoc"* would have obtained full marks.It appears to be an error purposely contrived to deliver the punchline "Hang-hog is latten for Bacon" Now consider the following apophethegm from Dr William Rawley's *Rescuscitatio* (1671) concerning Francis Bacon's father who was once a Judge:

> Sir Nicholas Bacon, being appointed a Judge for the Northern Circuit, and having brought his Trials that came before him to such a pass, as the passing of Sentence on the Malefactors, he was by one of the Malefactors mightily importuned for to save his life, which when nothing he said did avail, he at length desired his mercy on the account of kindred: 'Prethee,' said my Lord Judge, 'how came that in?' 'Why if it please you my Lord, your name is Bacon, and mine is Hog, and in all Ages Hog and Bacon have been so near kindred, that they are not to be separated.' 'I but,' replied the Judge Bacon, 'you and I cannot be kindred, except you be hanged; for Hog is not Bacon until it be well hanged.'[8]

The Arden Shakespeare concludes that Sir Hugh Evans' word-play would have been unsuitable for an audience and that the scene was:

> … absent from the earlier versions of the play and irrelevent to the development of the action …[9]

In other words, it was inserted later for the First Folio but if not to enhance the play then why? Was it was a message intended for

posterity? Bacon certainly thought that poetry would survive for the benefit of later ages:

> The monuments of wit survive the monuments of power; the verses of poets endure without a syllable lost, while states and empires pass many periods.[10]

9.4. *Sonnets Dedication*

In the summer of 2004, the author found arguments for Bacon's name being in three dedications prefacing the Shake-speare work: one from the Sonnets (1609), and two from the First Folio (1623).

The *Sonnets* dedication invites interpretation (Figure 16) and even Stratfordians have seen it as a puzzle. Most of the attention has been focused on the identity of M^{r}. W.H., however, it is my view that this is irrelevant and that the best method of attack is to look for a simple acrostic device. (Strictly speaking, if the last letters of words are used instead of the first, the device is called a 'telestich', although the general term 'acrostic' is still valid.)

The first feature of this puzzle that merits attention is that the points between words resemble those of a Roman inscription. The original Latin alphabet had 21 letters as follows:

A B C D E F Z H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X

Around 250BC the Z was replaced with a G to leave:

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X

This would have been the 21-letter alphabet used by Julius Caesar (c.100–44BC) for his Caesar Cipher when he sent encoded messages to his battlefield generals, most notably Cicero. Suetonius, in his *Lifes of the Caesars LVI* from the 2nd century AD, describes Julius Caesar's simple cipher:

> There are also letters of his to Cicero, as well as to his intimates on private affairs, and in the latter, if he had anything confidential to say, he wrote it in cipher, that is, by so changing the order of the letters of the alphabet, that not a word could be made out. If anyone wishes to decipher these, and get at their meaning, he must substitute the fourth letter of the alphabet, namely D, for A, and so with the others.[11]

In other words, the letters in the coded message are shifted +3 in the alphabet to obtain the real message. Plutarch's *Life of Julius Caesar* supports the account given by Suetonius:

> And it is thought that he was the first who contrived means for communicating with friends by cipher, when either press of business, or the large extent of the city, left him no time for a personal conference about matters that required dispatch.

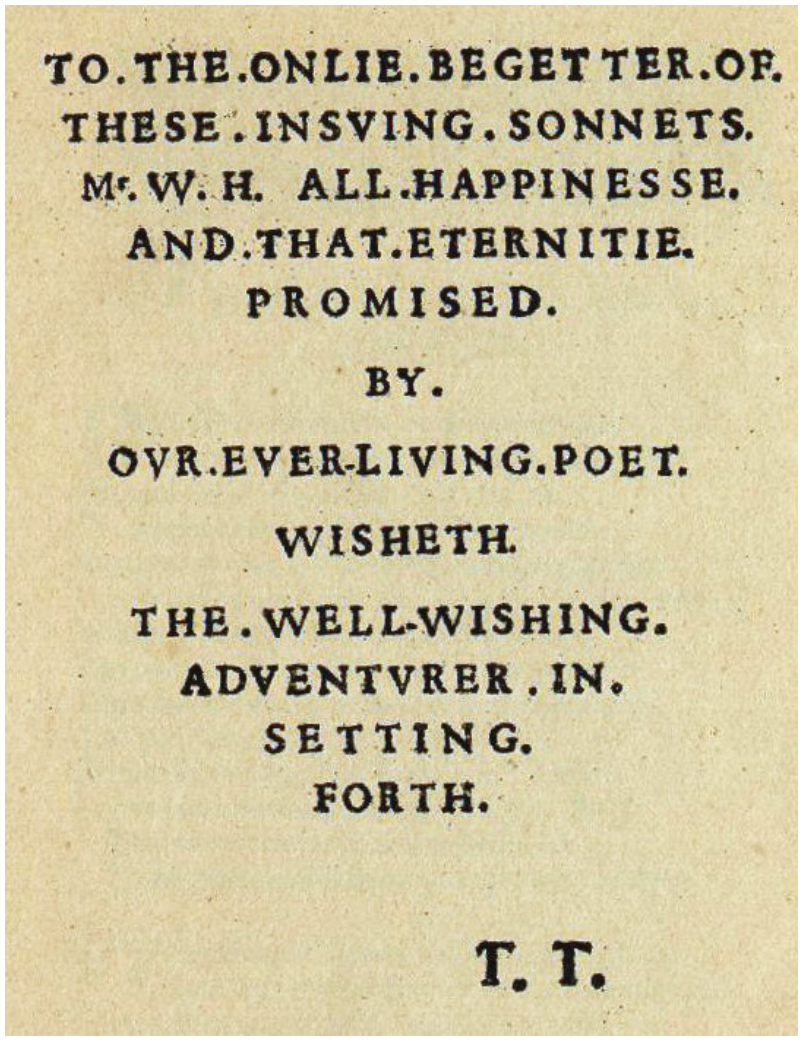


Figure 16. Substitution cipher acrostic puzzle containing Bacon's name and his current business, T.T. dedication, *Shake-speare's Sonnets* (1609)

It is possible that Bacon knew of this practice for in his *Character of Julius Caesar* he informs us that:

> For his own person he had a due respect: as one that would sit in his tent during great battles and manage everything by messages.[12]

After the invasion of Greece in the first century BC the letters Y and Z were added, and in Elizabethan times J, U, and W were introduced. The Tudors used I and J as well as U and V interchangeably, while W was interpreted as being two U or two V. Penn Leary, a trial lawyer from Omaha, produced the name BACON in the *Sonnets* dedication from the following words:

OF.THESE.ENSUING.SONNETS.M^{r}.

If one selects the last letter of each word FEGSR and takes the word 'FORTH' (fourth) in the dedication as a shift indicator then displacing each letter four places backwards reveals BACON. Unfortunately, Leary could make no further progress with the puzzle and had overlooked the circumstance that the first part of the three-part solution already seemed to be in place.

We suggest here that the first part, which includes the first four words, are to be taken at face value. So the first two parts of the solution read:

TO THE ONLIE BEGETTER BACON …

where BEGETTER means 'originator'. For the third part of the solution, consistent with Leary's method, we suggest taking the final letter of each of the remaining 23 entries but this time without applying a shift. Here, an entry consists of a letter or string of letters bounded at each end by points, noting that the hyphens in 'EVER-LIVING' and "WELL-WISHING' resemble points. So, for example, the entries EVER and LIVING are considered to be separate and contribute R and G. Starting with .W., this yields the letter string:

WHLEDTEDYRRGTHELGRNGHTT

The printer was Thomas Thorpe and the last two T appear to represent his name but they are bounded by points so must contribute to the solution. We now partition this string as follows:

WHLE/DTED/YR/RG/THE/LGR/NGHTT

and take this as an invitation to insert vowels for sense. A fair attempt would be:

WHILE/DATED/YEAR/REG/THE/LEGER/NIGHTT

According to *Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary* (1913), the now-obsolete LEGER (also 'leiger' or 'lieger') was "a minister or ambassador resident at a court or seat of government". For example, in modern times, the US Leger to the UK would live in London where the government of the UK resides. The term appears in Shake-speare's

Measure for Measure:

> *Isa.* … Lord Angelo hauing affaires to heauen
> Intends you for his swift Ambassador,
> Where you shall be an everlasting Leiger;
> (1604 *Measure for Measure*, Act 3, Scene 1)

as well as in Sir Francis Bacon's letter to his friend Toby Matthew in the summer of 1609:

> … on the other side it is written to me from the leiger at Paris …[13]

The term 'ADVENTURER' in the *Sonnets* dedication refers to one who took on a shareholding risk and it appears in the Second Virginia Charter of 23 May 1609, a document that lists the shareholders and governing members of the new Virginia Colony:

> Now, forasmuch as divers and sundry of our loving Subjects, as well Adventurers, as Planters, of the said first Colony, which have already engaged themselves in furthering the Business of the said Colony and Plantation … whether they go in their Persons to be Planters there in the said Plantation, or whether they do not, but adventure their monies, goods, or Chattles … and that they and their Successors shall be known, called, and incorporated by the Name of The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London, for the first Colony in Virginia.

The book of *Shake-speare's Sonnets* was recorded in the Stationers Register on 20 May 1609, thereby investing copyright with the stationer and declaring the intention to publish (and works were usually printed within a year of entry.) These two events, the *Sonnets* registration and the publication of the Second Virginia Charter, occurred three days apart so the most significant adventuring at the time of registering the *Sonnets* was investment in the Virginia colony. Sir Francis Bacon, who was already advising King James on plantations in Virginia, was named on the charter as one of about 50 Council members charged with governing the colony (and as Solicitor General, he must have been a prime mover). The most interesting point, however, is that the government resided not in Virginia but in London where Sir Francis Bacon and most of the other members lived:

> Therefore we Do ORDAIN, establish and confirm, that there shall be perpetually one COUNCIL here resident, according to the Tenour of our former Letters-Patents; Which Council shall have a Seal for the better Government and Administration of the said Plantation, besides the legal Seal of the Company or Corporation, as in our former Letters-Patents is also expressed.

Since Sir Francis Bacon was an ambassador for the Virginia Colony and was resident in London, the seat of the Virginia government, this would

have made him a Leger knight. So, taking REG to mean REGISTERS, the third part of our message becomes:

WHILE DATED YEAR REGISTERS THE LEGER KNIGHT

Our interpretation shall be that the year (1609) together with the date (20 May) of registration of the *Sonnets* virtually coincides with the occasion when the knight, Sir Francis Bacon, became a Leger. So we claim here that the complete message runs as follows:

> TO THE ONLIE BEGETTER BACON WHILE DATED YEAR REGISTERS THE LEGER KNIGHT

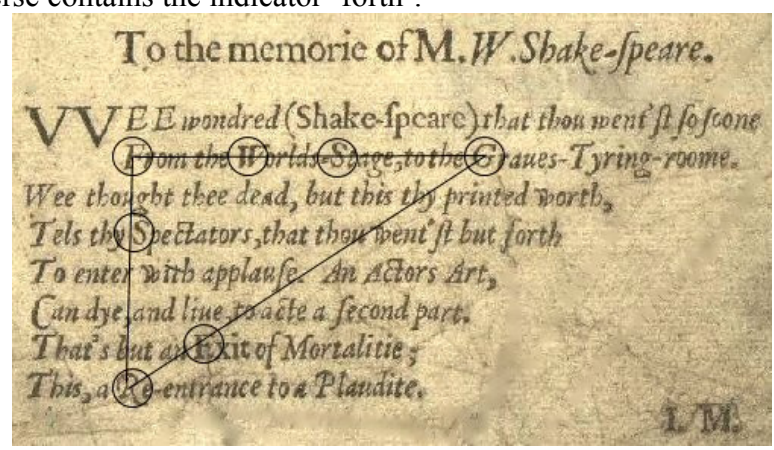
9.5. *First Folio I.M. Dedication*

One of the dedications at the front of the First Folio 'To the memorie of M. *W. Shake-speare*.' is signed I.M. which some commentators have speculated to be James Mabbe (Figure 17).

The verse itself appears cryptic and is reminiscent of an observation by Bacon in his *Advancement of Learning*:

> As we see in Augustus Caesar, (who was rather diverse from his uncle, than inferior in virtue) how when he died, he desired his friends about him to give him a PLAUDITE, as if he were conscient to himself that he had played his part well upon the stage.[14]

The piece has two characteristics in common with the *Sonnets* dedication: it is signed by initials instead of a full name; and one line of the verse contains the indicator 'forth'.


To the memorie of M. W. Shake-ſpeare.

VVEE wondred (Shake-ſpeare) that thou went'ſt ſo ſoone
From the Worlds-Stage, to the Graues-Tyring-roome.
Wee thought thee dead, but this thy printed worth,
Tels thy Spectators, that thou went'ſt but forth
To enter with applauſe. An Actors Art,
Can dye, and liue to acte a ſecond part.
That's but an Exit of Mortalitie;
This, a Re-entrance to a Plaudite.

I. M.

Figure 17. Geometrical substitution cipher puzzle, 'To the memorie of M. *W. Shake-speare*', dedication by I.M., *Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories & Tragedies* (1623)

Apart from the last, the lines decrease in length and if it *is* a puzzle this almost suggests a geometrical solution. In fact, close inspection reveals that the capitals FWSG in the second line of the verse, S in the fourth line, E in the seventh line, and R in the bottom line can be connected by a triangle with the oblique line almost angled in sympathy with the right-hand side of the dedication. This creates the set WSFEGSR (the A in "An" in line 5, which is almost in line, anyway appears as a different font). The first two letters could be William Shake-speare while FEGSR make clear the reason for the 'forth' indicator because following the cipher shift of the *Sonnets* dedication, they are the letters that produce the name BACON. If one 'wen'st but forth' in applying the cipher shift then it is BACON who will 'enter with applause' and receive the 'Plaudite'.

9.6. *Jonson's First Dedication*

Ben Jonson has two tributes in the First Folio, the second of which has already been discussed. His first tribute (Figure 18) sits on the left page opposite the grotesque image of Shake-speare (§2.4, Figure 4). (Incidentally, it is customary for biographers of Shakspere to use the so-called Chandos portrait for his image but there is actually no evidence that this is him.)

As noticed by William Henry Smith in his book *Bacon and Shakespeare* from 1857, the tribute shares an idea that also appears on a portrait miniature of Francis Bacon painted in Paris by Nicholas Hilliard, England's leading miniaturist, for his eighteenth birthday. The Latin inscription around the face reads *si tabula daretur digna animum mallem*, that is, "if the face as painted is deemed worthy, yet I prefer the mind."

The second observation is that it also shares a feature of the *Sonnets* and I.M. puzzles in that the signature at the foot of the piece appears in initials, in this case B.I. One might expect that the very first dedication would identify its author explicitly so the choice of initials is curious. These reasons raise the suspicion that we are dealing with a concealment cipher and the unwarranted punctuation after "Nature", "O", "brasse" and "All" hints at the use of punctuation indicators.

One example of this type of concealment dates from Cromwell's time, less than 20 years after the publication of the First Folio. Sir John Trevanion was imprisoned in Colchester Castle ready to meet his execution for extending his sympathy to the Royalists. Despite being under constant guard and his correspondence closely scrutinised, his

friends still managed to get a message through to him. The message he received ran as follows:

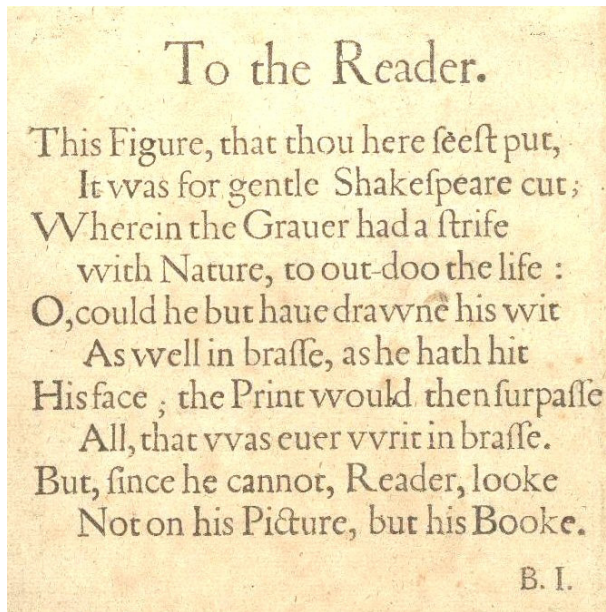
Worthie Sir John:- Hope, that is the beste comfort of the afflicted, cannot much, I fear me, help you now. That I would saye to you, is this only: if ever I may be able to requite that I do owe you, stand upon asking me: 'Tis not much I can do: but what I can do, bee you verie sure I wille. I knowe that, if dethe comes, if ordinary men fear it, it for a high honour, to have such a rewarde of your loyalty. Pray yet that you may be spared this soe bitter, cup. I fear not that you will grudge any sufferings; onlie if bie submission you can turn them away, 'tis the part of a wise man. Tell me, as if you can, to do for you anythinge that you can wolde have done. The general goes back on Wednesday. Restinge your servant to command.

R.T.[15]

The message seems perfectly innocent until one takes the third character after each punctuation mark to reveal:

Panel at east end of chapel slides

That evening, while alone at prayer in the chapel, Sir John made his escape.



To the Reader.

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

B. I.

Figure 18. Punctuation puzzle containing Bacon's name, 'To the Reader', dedication by Ben Jonson, *Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories & Tragedies* (1623)

In *Elementary Cryptanalysis: A Study of Ciphers and Their Solutions* we learn that the use of punctuation marks to conceal a message is a known practice:

> Significant letters may be concealed in an infinite variety of ways. The key, as here, may be their positions in words, or in the text as a whole. It may be their distance from one another, expressed in letters or in inches, or their distance to the left or right of certain other letters (indicators) or of punctuation marks (indicators); and this distance need not be constant or regular.[16]

Returning to the Shake-speare tribute, let us now highlight the first letter of every word that is followed by a punctuation mark, there being 16 altogether which we arrange as follows: FfRRBBbbAccONPIP. We note that 13 of the 16 appear in FRBACON. The remaining IPP, if they were intended to mean anything at all, could be interpretated as Latin for *in propria persona* (in person). So our hidden message could read:

FR BACON IN PERSON

However, there is a more interesting interpretation. Perhaps the "Figure" referred to is not the Shake-speare face on the opposite page but the comma that immediately follows the words "Figure" and "put":

This Figure, that thou here seest put,

thereby drawing attention to the commas in the text. If we now repeat the above selection procedure using only commas the following letters arise: FpNObABcRP which we rearrange as FRbAcONpPB to give

> FRbAcON [Francis Bacon] pP [*per procurationem*, by delegation to] B [Benjamin]

This appears more credible considering it is Ben Jonson's tribute and the use of B to represent 'Ben' is justified given that his name appears as B.I. This would then suggest that Ben Jonson was employed by Sir Francis Bacon to oversee the production of the Shake-speare First Folio. Cockburn informs us that:

> 3 May 1619, the Court of the Stationers Company had before it for consideration a letter of the Lord Chamberlaine, whereupon it was ordered that in future no plays belonging to the King's Men should be printed without their consent.[17]

Since the King's men owned the rights to many of the Shake-speare plays, it is clear why Heminge and Condell had to be involved in the project and why Ben Jonson, who had worked with them, was chosen by Bacon as negotiator. Let us select 10 letters at random corresponding to

the 10 locations of the beginnings of words located by commas. The probability of obtaining the 7-letter set FRBACON (in any order) plus any three letters can be calculated to be 1 in 3928, too small to be accidental.

To obtain data, the first pages of *Titus Andronicus* and *Much Ado About Nothing* were examined in the First Folio and the first letter of every word recorded, there being a total of 1106 words.

Letter	**Probability**
A	0.1130
B	0.0515
C	0.0371
D	0.0199
E	0.0208
F	0.0479
G	0.0163
H	0.0940
I	0.0823
K	0.0108
L	0.0307
M	0.0552
N	0.0362
O	0.0389
P	0.0280
R	0.0289
S	0.0533
T	0.1275
V	0.0120
W	0.0615
Y	0.0262

No results were recorded for the letters Q, X and Z, and with I equal to J and U equal to V in the Elizabethan alphabet there were 21 letters in the survey. The relative frequency (probability) was calculated from the frequency of occurrence of a letter divided by the total frequency 1106 and the results are shown in the table. We now carry this over to Ben Jonson's First Folio dedication and calculate the probability of obtaining the 7-letter set FRBACON (in any order) plus any three of the 21 letters, distributed amongst the 10 possible locations flagged by commas. In respect of these locations, the probability of obtaining one such arrangement of the 7-letter set FRBACON plus any three of the 21 letters arises from the product of probabilities for the letters taken from the above table:

$$0.0479\times0.0289\times0.0515\times0.1130\times0.0371\times0.0389\times0.0361\times1\times1\times1$$

where, in consideration of one of the three other locations, the multiplication by one represents certainty in obtaining any of the 21 letters. We now multiply by the number of ways the 10 locations can be arranged amongst themselves, that is, $10! = 3628800$. However, the order of the three other locations is unimportant so we must divide by the number of ways these can be arranged amongst themselves, that is, $3! = 6$. This calculation gives the probability of obtaining the set FRBACON plus any three letters, in any order, as 0.000255 or 1 in 3928.

Epilogue

We cannot conclude without mention of an item that has previously been seen as the main argument in the case for Francis Bacon, namely, the Northumberland Manuscript. Damaged by a fire at Northumberland House in March 1780, it is heavily soiled, but it appears to be a contents sheet for a list of items that an Elizabethan scrivener either intended to copy or had already copied. The contents list includes speeches and articles that have been attributed to Francis Bacon, a letter from Sir Philip Sydney, and two Shake-speare plays, namely, *Richard II* and *Richard III*. Surrounding the list is a forest of scribbles in which the names of William Shakespeare and Francis Bacon appear several times together with references to Anthony Bacon, the *Rape of Lucrece* and *Love's Labour's Lost*. While this is intriguing, the manuscript would need to be scientifically dated to be certain that it is contemporary and even then it is difficult to see what advantage it brings to the case for Bacon. For example, as different men Bacon and Shake-speare could simply have employed the same scrivener. For this reason, we shall not admit it as evidence here.

So after many definite connections, possible allusions, and pure coincidences we finally reach the end of our journey. One point should be clear by now: apart from his name being on the work, there is very little evidence connecting William Shakspere to the authorship of the Shake-speare canon. Contemporary doubts were raised as to whether he could have attracted noble patronage, and whether he could have written the plays (even charging him with plagiarism) and there are lines in *The Tempest* that he seemed unavailable to originate. This difficulty has often been explained away with the suggestion that he collaborated with others but this *ad hoc* hypothesis is rendered superfluous if we can identify another authorship candidate who is better placed to account for the facts. Shakspere's chief difficulty, though, is that plays such as the *Comedy of Errors* and *Love's Labour's Lost* appear designed for performance at the Inns of Court which had a policy at the time of excluding outsiders. The plays were written and acted by Inns of Court members, not only because it was a good education for the students but because they did not need anyone else.

The non-esoteric Baconian Theory presented here makes the following claims. Sir Francis Bacon, had a clear motive for remaining concealed. With his aim of putting into practice his new inductive method by opening institutes dedicated to the experimental method, he

realised that he needed a position of authority to have any chance of success. He could not have obtained this with a reputation as a dramatist, then seen as a lower-class profession, because it would mark him out as having too much fantasy for high office, or at least, that is how he assessed the risk. However, neither could he abandon writing drama because it was part of his Great Instauration, being intended to convey his moral philosophy and political histories to the future rulers of England at the Inns of Court and at Whitehall. So to avoid identification, he employed scriveners to copy his work and this is why no original manuscripts survive (as far as we know). While Bacon's *De Augmentis Scientiarum* (1623) sets out his philosophy of nature, the Shake-speare plays reveal his moral philosophy and provide a wide survey of political systems (political histories). He published *Shake-speare's Sonnets* in 1609 and, with the assistance of Ben Jonson, the First Folio collection of plays in 1623, perhaps with his name left in the dedications (see §9). In fact, we have seen several examples of changes made to the plays for the First Folio edition, ones that do nothing to serve the narrative, their only apparent function being to hint at their author.

Our theory maintains that Bacon's pseudonym, Shake-speare derives from the Goddess of Wisdom, Pallas (or Minerva) the spear shaker. We can only conjecture how Bacon was led to William Shakspere, the "despised weed" and actor with the similar surname, who could take the credit for the work and ensure Bacon was not discovered. Shakspere's fellow players in the Lord Chamberlaine's Men must have been suspicious but with the money that the Shake-speare plays made from full theatres they must have elected silence ahead of poverty. Certainly their profession was ideal for helping then maintain the pretence. The Shake-speare work was not as popular and certainly not as celebrated as it is in our present age so the advantage in divulging Bacon's secret (and there were people who must have known) would not have been as great as it is today. In other words, we should not overestimate the difficulty involved in keeping the secret.

But why did Bacon take his secret to the grave? Surely, there was no point maintaining the deception after his death and a letter revealing all could have been left with the executors of his will. Perhaps Bacon feared that the attitude to dramatists would prevail for many years after he had gone and that, if his Great Instauration was to have any chance of success, then his reputation had to be kept intact. However, I think it more likely that he was simply disinterested in personal fame having a greater interest in "procuring the good of all men".

Appendix A. Will of Shakspere

According to the Shakspere historian Samuel Schoenbaum:

> During the winter of 1616, Shakespeare summoned his lawyer Francis Collins, who a decade earlier had drawn up the indentures for the Stratford tithes transaction, to execute his last will and testament. Apparently this event took place in January, for when Collins was called upon to revise the document some weeks later, he (or his clerk) inadvertently wrote January instead of March, copying the word from the earlier draft. Revisions were necessitated by the marriage of [his daughter] Judith.... The lawyer came on 25 March. A new first page was required, and numerous substitutions and additions in the second and third pages, although it is impossible to say how many changes were made in March and how many currente calamo, in January. Collins never got round to having a fair copy of the will made, probably because of haste occasioned by the seriousness of the testator's condition, though this attorney had a way of allowing much-corrected draft wills to stand[1]

Words which were lined-out in the original will but which are still legible are indicated by [brackets]. Words which were added interlinearly are indicated by *italic text.* The word "Item" is given in bold text to aid reading and is not so written in the document.

> In the name of god Amen I William Shackspeare, of Stratford upon Avon in the countrie of Warr., gent., in perfect health and memorie, God be praysed, doe make and ordayne this my last will and testament in manner and forme followeing, that ys to saye, ffirst, I comend my soule into the hands of God my Creator, hoping and assuredlie beleeving, through thonelie merites, of Jesus Christe my Saviour, to be made partaker of lyfe everlastinge, and my bodye to the earth whereof yt ys made. **Item**, I gyve and bequeath unto my [sonne and] daughter Judyth one hundred and fyftie poundes of lawfull English money, to be paid unto her in the manner and forme foloweng, that ys to saye, one hundred poundes *in discharge of her marriage porcion* within one yeare after my deceas, with consideracion after the rate of twoe shillings in the pound for soe long tyme as the same shalbe unpaied unto her after my deceas, and the fyftie poundes residwe thereof upon her surrendring *of,* or gyving of such sufficient securitie as the overseers of this my will shall like of, to surrender or graunte all her estate and right that shall discend or come unto her after my deceas, or *that shee* nowe hath, of, in, or to, one copiehold

tenemente, with thappurtenaunces, lyeing and being in Stratford upon Avon aforesaied in the saied countrye of Warr., being parcell or holden of the mannour of Rowington, unto my daughter Susanna Hall and her heires for ever. **Item**, I gyve and bequeath unto my saied daughter Judith one hundred and fyftie poundes more, if shee or anie issue of her bodie by lyvinge att thend of three yeares next ensueing the daie of the date of this my will, during which tyme my executours are to paie her consideracion from my deceas according to the rate aforesaied; and if she dye within the saied tearme without issue of her bodye, then my will us, and I doe gyve and bequeath one hundred poundes thereof to my neece Elizabeth Hall, and the fiftie poundes to be sett fourth by my executours during the lief of my sister Johane Harte, and the use and proffitt thereof cominge shalbe payed to my saied sister Jone, and after her deceas the saied l.li.12 shall remaine amongst the children of my saied sister, equallie to be divided amongst them; but if my saied daughter Judith be lyving att thend of the saied three yeares, or anie yssue of her bodye, then my will ys, and soe I devise and bequeath the saied hundred and fyftie poundes to be sett our *by my executours and overseers* for the best benefitt of her and her issue, and the *stock* not *to be* paied unto her soe long as she shalbe marryed and covert baron [by my executours and overseers]; but my will ys, that she shall have the consideracion yearelie paied unto her during her lief, and, after her ceceas, the saied stocke and consideracion to be paied to her children, if she have anie, and if not, to her executours or assignes, she lyving the saied terme after my deceas. Provided that yf suche husbond as she shall att thend of the saied three years be marryed unto, or att anie after, doe sufficientlie assure unto her and thissue of her bodie landes awnswereable to the porcion by this my will gyven unto her, and to be adjudged soe by my executours and overseers, then my will ys, that the said cl.li.13 shalbe paied to such husbond as shall make such assurance, to his owne use. **Item**, I gyve and bequeath unto my saied sister Jone xx.li. and all my wearing apparrell, to be paied and delivered within one yeare after my deceas; and I doe will and devise unto her *the house* with thappurtenaunces in Stratford, wherein she dwelleth, for her naturall lief, under the yearlie rent of xij.d. **Item**, I gyve and bequeath unto her three sonnes, William Harte, ---- Hart, and Michaell Harte, fyve pounds a peece, to be paied within one yeare

after my deceas [to be sett out for her within one yeare after my deceas by my executours, with thadvise and direccions of my overseers, for her best frofitt, untill her mariage, and then the same with the increase thereof to be paied unto her]. **Item**, I gyve and bequeath unto [her] *the saied Elizabeth Hall,* all my plate, *except my brod silver and gilt bole,* that I now have att the date of this my will. **Item**, I gyve and bequeath unto the poore of Stratford aforesaied tenn poundes; to Mr. Thomas Combe my sword; to Thomas Russell esquier fyve poundes; and to Frauncis Collins, of the borough of Warr. in the countie of Warr. gentleman, thirteene poundes, sixe shillinges, and eight pence, to be paied within one yeare after my deceas. **Item**, I gyve and bequeath to [Mr. Richard Tyler thelder] *Hamlett Sadler* xxvj.8. viij.d. to buy him a ringe; to *William Raynoldes gent., xxvj.8. viij.d. to buy him a ringe;* to my dogson William Walker xx8. in gold; to Anthonye Nashe gent. xxvj.8. viij.d. [in gold]; *and to my fellowes John Hemynges, Richard Brubage, and Henry Cundell, xxvj.8. viij.d. a peece to buy them ringes,* **Item**, I gyve, will, bequeath, and devise, unto my daughter Susanna Hall, *for better enabling of her to performe this my will, and towards the performans thereof,* all that capitall messuage or tenemente with thappurtenaunces, *in Stratford aforesaid,* called the New Place, wherein I nowe dwell, and two messuages or tenementes with thappurtenaunces, scituat, lyeing, and being in Henley streete, within the borough of Stratford aforesaied; and all my barnes, stables, orchardes, gardens, landes, tenementes, and hereditamentes, whatsoever, scituat, lyeing, and being, or to be had, receyved, perceyved, or taken, within the townes, hamletes, villages, fieldes, and groundes, of Stratford upon Avon, Oldstratford, Bushopton, and Welcombe, or in anie of them in the saied countie of Warr. And alsoe all that messuage or tenemente with thappurtenaunces, wherein one John Robinson dwelleth, scituat, lyeing and being, in the Balckfriers in London, nere the Wardrobe; and all my other landes, tenementes, and hereditamentes whatsoever, To have and to hold all and singuler the saied premisses, with theire appurtenaunces, unto the saied Susanna Hall, for and during the terme of her naturall lief, and after her deceas, to the first sonne of her bodie lawfullie yssueing, and to the heires males of the bodie of the saied first sonne lawfullie yssueinge; and for defalt of such issue, to the second sonne of her bodie, lawfullie issueing, and to the heires males of

the bodie of the saied second sonne lawfullie yssueinge; and for defalt of such heires, to the third sonne of the bodie of the saied Susanna lawfullie yssueing, and of the heires males of the bodie of the saied third sonne lawfullie yssueing; and for defalt of such issue, the same soe to be and remaine to the ffourth [sonne], ffyfth, sixte, and seaventh sonnes of her bodie lawfullie issueing, one after another, and to the heires males of the bodies of the bodies of the saied fourth, fifth, sixte, and seaventh sonnes lawfullie yssueing, in such manner as yt ys before lymitted to be and remaine to the first, second, and third sonns of her bodie, and to theire heires males; and for defalt of such issue, the said premisses to be and remaine to my sayed neece Hall, and the heires males of her bodie lawfullie yssueinge; and for defalt of such issue, to my daughter Judith, and the heires males of her bodie lawfullie issueinge; and for defalt of such issue, to the right heires of me the saied William Shackspeare for ever. ***Item****, I gyve unto my wief my second best bed with the furniture,* **Item**, I gyve and bequeath to my saied daughter Judith my broad silver gilt bole. All the rest of my goodes, chattel, leases, plate, jewels, and household stuffe whatsoever, after my dettes and legasies paied, and my funerall expenses dischardged, I give, devise, and bequeath to my sonne in lawe, John Hall gent., and my daughter Susanna, his wief, whom I ordaine and make executours of this my last will and testament. And I doe intreat and appoint *the saied* Thomas Russell esquier and Frauncis Collins gent. to be overseers hereof, and doe revoke all former wills, and publishe this to be my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my [seale] *hand,* the daie and yeare first abovewritten.

Appendix B. Further Parallels

Further to §8, we now present more correspondences between the work of Shake-speare and Francis Bacon.

— *True to thyself* —

> *Polonius*. … to thine owne selfe be true:
> And it must follow, as the Night the Day,
> canst not then be false to any man.
> (1600-01 *Hamlet,* Act 1, Scene 3)
> … and be so true to thyself, as thou be not false to others;
> (1625 Of Wisdom for a Man's Self[1])

— *Bridle and suppress* —

Salisbury. … Joyne we together for the publike good,
In what we can, to bridle and suppresse
The pride of Suffolke and the Cardinall, …
(1590-1 *Henry VI, Part 2*, Act 1, Scene 1)

… seeing those predominant affections of fear and hope suppress and bridle all the rest …
(1623 *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, Book VII[2])

— *Quenched coal* —

To quench the coal which in his liver glows.
(1594 *Rape of Lucrece*, Stanza 7)

… and my heart, through thy grace, hath been an unquenched coal upon thy altar.
(10 April 1621, Prayer, Lord Bacon's first will[3])

— *Starving horse* —

In the following example, there is a consistency in the spelling of "growes" between Shake-speare and Bacon but neither of them with Heywood's *Proverbes*.

Hamlet. Sir, I lacke Advancement.
Rosen. How can that be, when you have the voyce of the King himselfe, for your Succession in Denmarke?
Hamlet. I, but while the grasse growes, the Proverbe is something musty.
(1600-01 *Hamlet*, Act 3, Scene 2)

While the grass growes the horse starveth
(*Promu*s, folio 96, recto)

While the grasse groweth the horse starveth.
(John Heywood, *Proverbes*, Part 1, Chap xi)

— *Heaven and Sun* —

Kent. Good King, that must approve the common saw,
Thou out of Heavens benediction com'st
To the warme Sun.
(1605-8 *King Lear*, Act 2, Scene 2)

Owt of Gods blessing into the warme sune
(*Promus*, folio 96 verso)

Out of Gods blessing into the warme Sunne
(John Heywood, *Proverbes*, Part 2, Chap. V)

— *Happy man* —

Fal. Now my Masters, happy man be his dole,[a] say I:
(1596-7 *Henry IV, Part 1*, Act 2, Scene 2) *Key: (a) fate*

Happy man happy dole
(*Promus*, folio 103 recto)

Happy man, happy dole

(John Heywood, *Proverbes*, Part 1, Chap iii)

— *Feast and a fray* —

Falstaff. Well, to the latter end of a Fray, and the beginning of a Feast, fits a dull fighter, and a keene Guest.
(1596-7 *Henry IV, Part 1*, Act 4, Scene 2)
Better comyng to the ending of a feast then to the begynyng of a fray
(*Promus*, folio 103 verso)
To th'end of a shot[a] and beginning of a fray
(John Heywood, *Proverbes*, Part ii, Chap vii)
Key: (a) reckoning at an ale house

— *Amazons song* —

Post. Tell him (quoth she)
My mourning Weedes are done,
And I am readie to put Armour on.
King. Belike she mindes to play the Amazon.
(1590-92 *Henry VI, Part 3*, Act 4, Scene 1)
Amazonum cantile[n]a; The Amazons song (Delicate persons.
(*Promus*, folio 100 verso)

— *Plain set gem* —

Morocco. … O sinfull thought, never so rich a Jem
Was set in worse than gold! …
(1596-7 *The Merchant of Venice*, Act 2, Scene 7)
Virtue like a rych geme best plaine sett
(*Promus*, folio 84 recto)

— *Seldom cometh the better* —

2. Citizen. Ill newes byrlady, seldome comes he better:
(1592-3 *Richard III*, Act 2 Scene 3)
Seeldome cometh the better
(*Promus*, folio 92 recto)

— *Young thorn* —

Edward. … What? Can so young a Thorne begin to pricke? …
(1590-2 *Henry VI, Part 3*, Act 5, Scene 5)
A thorn is gentle when it is yong.
(*Promus*, folio 93 verso)

— *Stumble at the threshold* —

Richard. The Gates made fast?
Brother, I like not this,
For many men that stumble at the Threshold,
Are well fore-told, that danger lurkes within.
(1590-92 *Henry VI, Part 3*, Act 4, Scene 7)
To stumble at the threshold
(*Promus*, folio 99 recto)

— Chameleon and Proteus —

What is notable in the next example is the coincidence in the *Promus* of the two ideas Chameleon and Proteus, related to a change of appearance, that also appear together in *Henry VI, Part 3*. Proteus was a Greek god who could predict the future for anyone who could restrain him but would change form to avoid capture. Bacon notes their connection with the currents in the Euripus Strait near Greece which reverse direction several times each day.

> *Richard*… I can adde Colours to the Camelion,
> Change shapes with Proteus, for advantages …
> (1590-93 *Henry VI, Part 3*, Act 3, Scene 2)
> Chameleon, Proteus, Euripus
> (*Promus*, folio 100 recto)

— Ripe mulberries —

> *Volumnia* … Which often thus correcting thy stout heart,
> Now humble as the ripest Mulberry.
> (1608 *Coriolanus*, Act 3, Scene 2)
> Riper then a mulbery
> (*Promus*, folio 101 verso)

— Let loosers speak —

> *Titus*. … Then give me leave, for loosers will have leave,
> To ease their stomackes with their bitter tongues
> (1590-91 *Titus Andronicus*, Act 3, Scene 1)
> Allwaies let leasers have their woordes
> (*Promus*, folio 103 verso)

— Ill wind —

> *Pistol*. Not the ill winde which blowes none to good.
> (1590-91 *Henry IV, Part 2*, Act 5, Scene 3)
> An yll wynd that bloweth no man to good.
> (*Promus*, folio 92 verso)
> An ill winde that bloweth no man to good
> (John Heywood, *Proverbes*, Part 2, Chap ix)

— Patience or nothing —

> *Iago*. How poore are they that have not Patience?
> (1603-04 *Othello*, Act 2, Scene 3)
> Qui n'a patience n'a rien
> (*Promus*, folio 131 recto)
> *Key : Whoever has no patience has nothing*

The collection given here is only a small part of the many parallels that have been noted and others can be found in *The Bacon Shakespeare Question.*[5]

Appendix C. Transcription of Plates

Figure 2

Her majesties service … To Willm Kempe Willm Shakespeare Richarde Burbage servants to the Lord Chamberlayne upon the councells warr^{t} [warrant] dated at Whitehall xv^{to} [15th] Martij [March] 1594 [1595] for twoe severall comedies or Interludes shewed by them before her ma^{tie} [majestie] in xpmas tyme laste paste viz upon S^{t} Stephens daye & Innocents daye xiij^{L} vj^{s} viij^{d} [£13 6s 8d] and by waye of her ma^{tes} [majesties] Rewarde vj^{L} xiij^{s} iiij^{d} [£6 13s 4d] in all xx^{L} [£20] Thomas Grene … upon the counsells warrant dated at Grenwich 20th

Figure 4

Mr Davis

Briefely I comend my selfe to your love and to the well useing of my name as in repressinge and answering for mee if there bee any bitinge or nibblinge at it in that place in impressing a good conceite and opinion of mee chiefely in the kinge in whose favor I make my selfe comfortable assurance as otherwise in that Courte and not onely soe but generally to performe to mee all the good offices which the vivacity of your witt can suggest to your mynde to be performed to one in whose affection you have so greate sympathy and in whose fortune you have so greate intereste so desiring you to be good to concealed poets I bidd you farewell Continuing Yours

Fra Bacon

(Bacon to John Davies, folio 174 verso, State Letters, MS Harley 4761, British Library, not in Bacon's handwriting)

Figure 6

It may please your good L. I am sory the joynt maske from the four Inns of Court faileth wherein I conceyve thear is no other ground of that event but impossibility. Neverthelesse bycause it falleth out that at this tyme Graies Inn is well furnyshed of galant young gentlemen, your L. may be pleased to know that rather than this occasion shall passe without some demonstration of affection from the Inns of Court, thear are a dozen gentlemen of Graies Inn that out of the honour which they bear to your L. and my L. Chamberlayne, to whom at theyr last maske they were so much bounden, will be ready to furnish a maske wyshing it were in their powers to performe it according to their mynds And so for the present I humbly take my leave resting

Your Ls very hmbly and much bounden fr. Bacon

(Bacon to Lord Burleigh, folio 13, Burghley Papers, MS Lansdowne 107, British Library, in Bacon's handwriting)

Appendix D: Bacon's Verse

In 1625, Sir Francis Bacon published *Translation of Certaine Psalms into English Verse* the only verses that can with certainty be attributed to him. In the dedication to Mr George Herbert, he describes the collection as "this poor exercise of my sickness" referring to a period in 1624 when he was ill and 18 months from his end.[1] The inclusion of these poems is intended as evidence against the charge that Bacon was only capable of prose writing. As we shall see, some of the figures of speech are also to be found in the Shakespeare work.

James Spedding, the Victorian editor of Bacon's *Works* noted the opening of the 137th psalm:[2]

> By the waters of Babylon we sat down, and wept when we remembered Sion. As for our harps, we hanged them up upon the trees that are therein. For they that led us away captive required of us a song, and melody in our heaviness…

and thought that Bacon's rendering of it was an improvement:

> When as we sate, 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 hearts to yield.
> But soon we found we fail'd our account:
> For when our minds did 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
> As for our harps, since sorrow struck them dumb,
> We hang'd them on the willow trees were near …

Then there is Psalm 90 "We spend our years as a tale that is told" which Bacon reforms into:

> As a tale told, which sometimes men attend
> And sometimes not, our life steals to an end

However, the most striking example is Psalm 104 which we reproduce in full below followed by Sir Francis Bacon's complete interpretation. The notes, for which credit is due to Nigel Cockburn, who privately published *The Bacon Shakespeare Question*, show many interesting correspondences with Shake-speare's work.

Psalm 104

Bless the Lord, O my soul!
O Lord my God, thou art very great!
Thou art clothed with honour and majesty,
who coverest thyself with light as a garment,
who hast stretched out the heavens like a tent,
who hast laid the beams of thy chambers on the waters,
who makest the clouds thy chariot,
who ridest on the wings of the wind,
who makest the winds thy messengers,
fire and flame thy ministers.
Thou didst set the earth on its foundations,
so that it should never be shaken.
Thou didst cover it with the deep as with a garment;
the waters stood above the mountains.
At thy rebuke they fled;
at the sound of thy thunder they took to flight.
The mountains rose, the valleys sank down
to the place which thou didst appoint for them.
Thou didst set a bound which they should not pass,
so that they might not again cover the earth.
Thou makest springs gush forth in the valleys;
they flow between the hills,
they give drink to every beast of the field;
the wild asses quench their thirst.
By them the birds of the air have their habitation;
they sing among the branches.
From thy lofty abode thou waterest the mountains;
thy earth is satisfied with the fruit of thy work.
Thou dost cause the grass to grow for the cattle,
and plants for man to cultivate,
that he may bring forth food from the earth,
and wine to gladden the heart of man,
oil to make his face shine,
and bread to strengthen man's heart.
The trees of the Lord are watered abundantly,
the cedars of Lebanon which he planted.
In them the birds build their nests;
the stork has her home in the fir trees.
The high mountains are for the wild goats;
the rocks are a refuge for the badgers.
Thou hast made the moon to mark the seasons;
the sun knows its time for setting.
Thou makest darkness, and it is night,

when all the beasts of the forest creep forth,
The young lions roar for their prey,
seeking their food from God.
When the sun rises, they get them away
and lie down in their dens.
Man goes forth to his work
and to his labour until the evening.
O Lord, how manifold are thy works!
In wisdom hast thou made them all;
the earth is full of thy creatures.
Yonder is the sea, great and wide,
which teems with things innumerable,
living things both small and great.
There go the ships,
and Leviathan which thou didst form to sport in it.
These all look to thee,
to give them their food in due season,
When thou givest to them, they gather it up;
when thou openest thy hand,
they are filled with good things.
When thou hidest thy face, they are dismayed;
when thou takest away thy breath, they die
and return to their dust.
When thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created;
and thou renewest the face of the ground.
May the glory of the Lord endure for ever,
may the Lord rejoice in his works,
who looks on the earth and it trembles,
who touches the mountains and they smoke!
I will sing to the Lord as long as I live;
I will sing praise to my God while I have being.
May my meditation be pleasing to him,
For I rejoice in the Lord.
Let sinners be consumed from the earth,
and let the wicked be no more!
Bless the Lord, O my soul!
Praise the Lord!

Bacon's Version

Father and King of pow'rs, both high and low,
Whose sounding fame all creatures serve to blow;
My soul shall with the rest strike up thy praise,
And carol of thy works and wondrous ways.

But who can blaze thy beauties,[a] Lord, aright?
They turn the brittle beams[b] of mortal sight.
Upon thy head thou wear'st a glorious crown,[c]
All set with virtues, polish'd with renown:
Thence round about a silver veil doth fall
Of crystal light, mother of colours all.
The compass heaven, smooth without grain or fold,
All set with spangs of glitt'ring stars[d] untold,
And strip'd with golden beams of power unpent,
Is raised up for a removing tent.
Vaulted and arched[e] are his chamber beams
Upon the seas, the waters and the streams:
The cloud as chariots swift do scour the sky;
The stormy winds upon their wings do fly.
His angel spirits are, that wait his will,
As flames of fire his anger they fulfil.
In the beginning with a mighty hand,
He made the earth by counterpoise to stand;
Never to move, but to be fixed still;
Yet hath no pillars but his sacred will.[f]
This earth, as with a veil, once covered was,
The waters over-flowed all the mass:
But upon his rebuke away they fled,
And then the hills began to shew their head;
The vales their hollow bosoms open'd plain,
The streams ran trembling[g] down the vales again:
And that the earth no more might drowned be,
He set the sea his bounds of liberty;
And thou his waves resound, and beat the shore,
Yet it is bridled by his holy lore.
Then did the rivers seek their proper places,
And found their heads, their issues,and their races;
The springs do feed the rivers all the way,
And so the tribute to the sea repay:
Running along through many a pleasant field,
Much fruitlessness unto the earth they yield:
That know the beasts and cattle feeding by,
Which for to slake their thirsts do thither hie.
Nay desert grounds the streams do not forsake,
But through the unknown ways their journey take:
The asses wild, that hide in wilderness,
Do thither come, their thirst for to refresh.
The shady trees along their banks do spring,

In which the birds do build, and sit, and sing;
Stroking the gentle air with pleasant notes,
Plaining or chirping through their warbling throats.
The higher grounds where waters cannot rise,
By rain and dews are water'd from the skies;
Causing the earth put forth the grass for the beasts,
And garden herbs, serv'd at the greatest feasts;
And bread, that is all viands' firmament,
And gives a firm and solid nourishment;
And wine, man's spirits for to recreate;
And oil, his face for to exhilarate.
The sappy cedars, tall like stately tow'rs,[h]
High-flying birds do harbour in their bow'rs:
The holy storks, that are the travelers,
Choose for to dwell and build within the firs;
The climbing goats hang on steep mountain's side;
The digging conies in the rocks do bide.
The moon, so constant in inconstancy,[i]
Doth rule the monthly seasons orderly;
The sun, eye of the world,[j] doth know his race,
And when to shew, and when to hide his face.
Thou makest darkness, that it may be night,
When as the savage beasts, that fly the light,
(As conscious of man's hatred) leave their den,
And range abroad,[k] secur'd from sight of men.
Then do the forests ring of lions roaring,
That ask their meat of God, their strength restoring;
But when the day appears, they back do fly,
And in their dens again do lurking lie.
Then man goes forth to labour in the field,
Whereby his grounds more rich increase may yield.
O Lord, thy providence sufficeth all;
Thy goodness, not restrained, but general
Over thy creatures: the whole earth doth flow
With thy great largeness pour'd forth here below.
Nor is it earth alone exalts thy name,
But seas and streams likewise do spread the same.
The rolling seas unto the lot doth fall
Of beasts innumerable, great and small;
There do the stately ships plough up the floods,[l]
The great navies look like walking woods;
The fishes there far voyages do make,
To divers shores their journey they do take,
There hast thou set the great Leviathan,

That makes the seas to seeth like boiling pan.[m]
All these do ask of thee their meat to live,
Which in due season thou to them dost give.
Ope thou thy hand, and then they have good fare;
Shut thou thy hand, and then they troubled are.
All life and spirit from thy breath proceed,
Thy word doth all things generate and feed.
If thou withdraw'st it, then they cease to be,
and straight return to dust and vanity;
But when thy breath thou dost send forth again,
Then all things do renew and spring amain;
So that the earth, but lately desolate,
Doth now return unto the former state.
The glorious majesty of God above
Shall ever reign in mercy and in love:
God shall rejoice all his fair works to see,
For as they come from him all perfect be.
The earth shall quake, if aught his wrath provoke;[n]
Let him but touch the mountains, they shall smoke.
As long as life doth last I hymns will sing,
With cheerful voice, to the eternal King;
As long as I have being, I will praise
The works of God, and all his wondrous ways.
I know that he my words will not despise,
Thanksgiving is to him a sacrifice.
But as for sinners, they shall be destroy'd
From all the earth; their places shall be void.[o]
Let all his works praise him with one accord;
O praise the Lord, my soul; praise ye the Lord!

Key: (a) "in the blazon of sweet beauty's best", Sonnet 106*; (b) "the brittle beams of mortal sight",* Richard II*, 4.1.287; (c) "Be round impaled with a glorious crown",* 3 Henry VI*, 3.2.171 (d) "What stars do spangle heaven with such beauty",* The Taming of the Shrew*, 4.5.31; (e) "Hath nature given them eyes/ To see this vaulted arch [Heaven]",* Cymbeline*, 1.7.33; (f) "Their sacred wills be done",* The Winter's Tale*, 3.3.7; (g) "That Tiber trembled underneath her banks",* Julius Caesar*, 1.1.45; (h) "and when from a stately cedar shall be lopped branches",* Cymbeline*, 5.4.140-1; (i) "the inconstant moon",* Romeo and Juliet*, 2.2.109; (j) "Sometime too hot the eye of heaven shines",* Sonnet 18*; (k) "That when the searching eye of Heaven is hid,/ Behind the globe, that lights the lower world,/ Then thieves and robbers range abroad unseen",* Richard II*, 3.2.37-40; (l) "'Tis thou that rigg'st the bark and plough'st the foam",* Timon of Athens*, 5.1.49; (m) "A dateless lively heat, still to endure/ And grew a seeting bath"* Sonnet 153*; (n) "provoke thy wrath",* 1 Henry VI*, 2.3.69; (o) "I'll get me to a place more void",* Julius Caesar*, 2.4.37*

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35. Bacon, Francis, Advancement of Learning (1605), *Francis Bacon The Major Works* (Oxford University Press: 2002), p.177
36. Ibid., p.124
37. Ibid., p.159
38. Bacon, Francis, "Of Judicature", in Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral (1625), *Francis Bacon The Major Works* (Oxford University Press: 2002), p.448
39. Bacon, Francis, Advancement of Learning (1605), *Francis Bacon The Major Works* (Oxford University Press: 2002), p.156
40. Spedding 6.736; Bacon, Francis, *De Sapienta Veterum* (1609); translated as *Wisdom of the Ancients* (1619)
41. Cockburn, N.B., *The Bacon Shakespeare Question* (private publication: 1998), p.129
42. *Gesta Grayorum, The History Of the High and Mighty Prince Henry* (1688), Malone Society (Oxford University Press: 1914), p.53. Originally printed in London by W. Canning
43. Spedding 6.355; we also note several parallels between Menenius's fable of the belly in Coriolanus (1.1.95-153) and the version attributed to Adrian IV by Camden under 'Wise Speeches', see Brockbank, Philip, (Ed.), *Coriolanus* (The Arden Shakespeare: 2003), p.24
44. Cockburn, N.B., *The Bacon Shakespeare Question* (private

publication: 1998), pp.131-2. According to an undated letter from a Court of France Academy member, Agrippa D'Aubignèe (1552-1630), it contained the following people : " …Duplecis, Dubartas, Constant, the President Ravignan, La Nagerie, Ville Roche and Pelisson …"

45. *Gesta Grayorum, The History Of the High and Mighty Prince Henry* (1688), Malone Society (Oxford University Press: 1914), p.29. Originally printed in London by W. Canning
46. Ibid., p.10
47. Spedding 8.353
48. Spedding 8.324
49. Hume, Martin, *Spanish Influence on English Literature* (Eveleigh Nash, London: 1905), p.270
50. See Ref. 41
51. Woudhuysen, H.R., (Ed.), *Love's Labour's Lost*, The Arden Shakespeare, (Thomas Nelson: 1998), p.65
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4. Cockburn, N.B., *The Bacon Shakespeare Question* (private publication: 1998), p.187
5. Ibid., p.188
6. Ibid., p.191
7. Ovid, *Amores*, Liber 1, XV, lines 35-36
8. Michell, John, *Who Wrote Shakespeare?* (Thames & Hudson: 1996), p.125

Chapter 8: Verbal Parallels

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3. The Gorhambury Shake-speare quartos were : *Romeo and Juliet* (1599), *Richard III* (1602), *Hamlet* (1605), *King Lear* (1608), *Titus Andronicus* (1611), *King John* (1611), *King Henry IV* (1613), and *Richard II* (1615).
4. Spedding 14.351
5. Spedding 3.469
6. Spedding 5.26
7. Ross, W.D. (translator), *Aristotle: Nichomachean Ethics*, Book 1, iii (Clarendon Press: 1908); also the translation 'political science' is given by Griffith, Tom (Ed.), *Aristotle: The Nichomachean Ethics* (Wordsworth Editions: 1996), p.5
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9. Spedding 5.506
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13. Spedding 14.519
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4. Halio, Jay L., (Ed.), *King Henry VIII*, The Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford University Press: 1999), p.153
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6. Ibid., p.909
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8. Spedding 7.185; Rawley, Dr William, *Rescuscitatio*, 3rd edition (1671), Apophthegm 36
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Appendix B: Further Parallels

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Appendix D: Bacon's Verse

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