THE SECRET, HIDDEN, AND OBSCURED, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FRANCIS BACON AND THE JAGGARDS, PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS OF HIS *ESSAYS* AND THE FIRST FOLIO OF THE SHAKESPEARE WORKS.

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Francis Bacon, *Essaies* (London: printed for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling in Fleete streete at the hand and Starre neere Temple barre, 1606).

Francis Bacon, *The Essaies* (London: printed [by William Jaggard] for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling at the Hand and Starre betweene the two Temple Gates, 1613).

In 1618 John Jaggard successfully petitioned Francis Bacon on behalf of the poor stationers.

Thou stand'st as if some mystery thou didst!

Give me a deep-crowned bowl, that I may sing
In raising him the wisdom of my king.

[Ben Jonson ode entitled 'Lord Bacon's Birthday' (22 January 1621)]

for myself, my age, my fortune, yea my Genius, to which I have hitherto done but scant justice, calls me now to retire from the stage of civil action and betake myself to letters, and to the instruction of the actors themselves, and the service of posterity.

[Letter from Francis Bacon to Count Gondomar dated 6 June 1621]

Leaue thee alone, for the comparison
Of all, that insolent Greece, *or haughtie* Rome
sent forth, or since did from their ashes come.

[Ben Jonson 'To the memory of my beloued, The Avthor Mr. William Shakespeare']

[*Shakespeares Comedies Histories, & Tragedies* (London printed by Isaac Jaggard, and Ed. Blount, 1623/*Printed at the Charges of W. Jaggard, and Ed. Blount, I. Smithweeke, and W. Aspley*, 1623)]

Francis Bacon, *The Essaies* (London: printed by I. D. for Elizabeth Iaggard, at the hand and Starre neere the middle Temple-gate, 1624).

He, [Bacon] who hath fill'd up all numbers; and perform'd that in our tongue, which may be compar'd, or preferr'd, either to insolent *Greece*, or haughty *Rome*.

[Ben Jonson, *Timber or Discoveries* (London: printed 1641), pp. 37-8)]

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1.

FRANCIS BACON AND THE JAGGARDS

That the discretion anciently observed…of publishing part, and reserving part to a private succession, and of publishing in a manner whereby it shall not be to the capacity nor taste of all, but shall as it were single and adopt his reader, is not to be laid aside, both for the avoiding of abuse in the excluded, and the strengthening of affection in the admitted.

[Francis Bacon, *Valerius Terminus of the Interpretation of Nature*: *With the Annotations of Hermes Stella* (Spedding, *Works*, III, p. 248)]

Another diversity of Method...that is, Enigmatical and Disclosed. The pretence whereof is to remove the vulgar capacities from being admitted to the secrets of knowledges, and to reserved them to selected auditors, or wits of such sharpness as can pierce the veil.

[Francis Bacon, *Advancement of Learning* (Spedding, *Works*, III, pp. 404-5)]

In the closed and secretive world of sixteenth and early seventeenth century printing and publishing virtually nothing is known about the private and personal lives of the early printers and publishers. It is still even the case with William Jaggard despite the fact that he and his son Isaac Jaggard were responsible for printing and producing the most famous and most important secular publication in the history of world literature. For several centuries information about William Jaggard and other members of the Jaggard family proved to be out of reach for even the most diligent student and equally presented very real challenges for scholars and researchers wishing to know the most basic biographical facts about the man instrumental in the publication of the First Folio. In an address at the Stationers' Hall London Captain William Jaggard (a descendant of the Elizabethan printer and publisher William Jaggard) and author of the *Shakespeare Bibliography*: *A Dictionary of Every Known Issue of the Writings of our National Poet and of Recorded Opinion Thereon in the English Language* succinctly summed up the curious and systematic silence surrounding his ancestor:

In all Great Britain we have not yet recognised that he ever existed. True, there is an expensive monument at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury to Heminge and Condell, but not a word about this Stationer who made them famous. The "Dictionary of National Biography" and every other everyday dictionary and cyclopaedia is equally eloquent in its silent ignorance of this pioneer-founder of our proud body of our English literature.[1]

Something similar is observed in the standard *A Printer of Shakespeare The Book and Times of William Jaggard* by Edwin Eliott Willoughby issued nearly ninety years since in the opening statement in the preface to the only full-length work on William Jaggard which gathered up the few biographical facts available about him and other members of the Jaggard family:

One of the ironies of Shakespearean study is the fact that, although the lives of most of the important critics who have emended or explained the words which the journeymen of William Jaggard put into type have been fully treated, no life of this printer of Shakespeare has ever been written. No account of him is given in that great roll of prominent Englishmen, *The*

Dictionary of National Biography, nor in the great reference book, *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, although both of these works contain a biography of his fellow stationer, Edward Blount, who evidently entered into the venture of the publication of the First Folio of Shakespeare after Jaggard had made all the arrangements and had printed at least one third of the volume.[2]

Willoughby described the lack of a life or serious study of Jaggard as one of the ironies of Shakespearean studies. Irony is not the right word. The lack of a life or study and the absence to the present day of even the most basic biographical facts and the virtually non-existent information about his private and professional relationships and personal circle of friends, along with the want of letters and private papers, is not some casualty of time, or one of those so-called coincidences so beloved of Stratfordian scholars. The true reason for this intentional obscurity and one still practiced by high authority to the present day will soon become only all too apparent.

The ordinary reader in wishing to obtain an overview of the life of William Jaggard is naturally unlikely to seek out a ninety year old relatively inaccessible text rather they are more likely with complete confidence to seek out the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* published under the trusted auspices of Oxford University Press (2004-21). Unlike the editor of its Victorian predecessor the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Sir Sidney Lee, Chairman of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, biographer of Shakspere of Stratford, and editor of the Shakespeare First Folio, who incredibly chose not to include an account of the life of William Jaggard, the ordinary reader will be more than pleased to find that their modern counterparts had decided to include a brief biography of the printer of the most famous secular publication in all English literature. They will also doubtless be further reassured to find that the entry for William Jaggard is written by Professor Stanley Wells, a Director of the Shakespeare Institute of the University of Birmingham, Vice-Chairman of the Royal Shakespeare Theatre, Honorary President of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, and joint editor of the *Oxford Works of Shakespeare*. The brief entry amounting to a single page cites as its principal source Willoughby's still standard *A Printer of Shakespeare the Books and Times of William Jaggard*. For reasons best known to himself Sir Stanley Wells finds no room to mention Bacon and consequently the not insignificant fact that William, and in particular his brother John Jaggard, were responsible for printing and publishing several editions of Bacon's *Essays*, the first published book by the most famous philosopher and writer of the era, a figure whose name moreover-perfectly understood by Sir Stanley Wells-will be forever attached to the authorship of the Shakespeare works.[3] It is this entry in the *ODNB* that the university academics and the ordinary schoolmen as well other interested students will consult in the years and decades ahead when wishing to obtain full accurate and important information about William Jaggard printer of the Shakespeare First Folio.

It should also be pointed out that four hundred years after the publication of Bacon's *Essays* and the Shakespeare First Folio there is still no entry in the *ODNB* for the co-printer of the First Folio, Isaac Jaggard (son of William), and John Jaggard, or his wife, Elizabeth Jaggard, the most important publishers of several editions of Bacon's *Essays* in the early Jacobean era.

The secrecy surrounding Bacon and his relationship with William Jaggard and other members of the Jaggard family has also been systematically suppressed by his editors and biographers, beginning with his first editor and biographer Dr William Rawley. The Church of England clergymen Dr William Rawley knew the truth and secrets of Bacon's concealed life and writings including his authorship of the Shakespeare poems and plays. From at least 1616 onwards Dr Rawley lived with Bacon at York House and

Gorhambury for the last decade of Bacon's known life until his supposed death in 1626. From this time Dr Rawley was already chaplain and '*Amanuensis*, or dayly instrument' to Bacon assisting him, as he tells us, 'in the composing, of his *Works*, for many years together; Especially, in his writing Time; I conceived, that no Man, could pretend a better Interest, or Claim, to the ordering of them, after his Death, then my self.'[4] He was a witness to Bacon's last will and entrusted with a large number of his manuscripts.[5] In the months following Bacon's supposed death to the world Dr Rawley compiled and issued a commemorative work in his honour entitled *Memoriae honoratissimi Domini Francisci, Baronis de Verulumio, vice-comitis* S*ancti Albani sacrum*, otherwise known as *Manes Verulamiani*. This rare volume containing thirty-two Latin verses in praise of Bacon and an introduction by Dr Rawley (32+1=33 Bacon in simple cipher) portrays Bacon as a secret supreme poet and dramatist-writer of comedies and tragedies, under the pseudonym, Shakespeare. As revealing as these truly remarkable verses already are, in his address to the reader, Dr Rawley, plainly states 'very many poems, and the best too, I withhold from publication'.[6] Beyond the *Manes Verulamiani* he continued to edit, translate and issue numerous editions of Bacon's works culminating in the *Resuscitatio, or, Bringing into Public Light Several Pieces, of the Works, Civil, Historical, Philosophical, & Theological, Hitherto Sleeping* to which he prefixed the first English *Life* of Bacon. In his address to the reader Dr Rawley plainly says that in the biography of Lord Bacon he has deliberately and systematically withheld secret information about his life and private and personal relationships 'in regard, of the Distance, of the time, since his *Lordships* Dayes; whereby, I shall not tread too near, upon the *Heels* of *Truth*; Or of the Passages, and Persons; then concerned'.[7] One of Bacon's secret relationships that Dr Rawley remained absolutely silent about was his relationship with the Jaggards with whom Bacon was having dealings with at the time Dr Rawley, his private chaplain and secretary, was living with his Rosicrucian Grand Master, and assisting him together with Ben Jonson in organizing and preparing the Shakespeare First Folio for its passage through the Jaggards' printing presses.

The silence continued down the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through to the seven-volume three thousand page standard *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon* by James Spedding and nor does the name of William and John Jaggard appear in the index of its accompanying seven volumes of *The Works of Francis Bacon* which included Spedding reproducing the first 1597 edition of the *Essays*, the second 1612 edition and the third and final1625 edition. The first life of Bacon by Dr Rawley was first published in 1657 and the first of the fourteen volume edition of the *Life and Works of Bacon* by Spedding was first published in 1857. If the null (a superfluous letter or number in a cipher) is dropped from 1657 and 1857 it leaves 157 Fra Rosicrosse in simple cipher and both the *Resuscitatio* housing the first *Life* of Bacon and the Spedding fourteen volume edition of the *Life and Works of Bacon* are replete with Baconian-Rosicrucian ciphers.

Just prior to the dawn of a New Millennium a new biography entitled *The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* by Professor Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, which immediately established itself as the most important and exhaustive account of its illustrious subject since Spedding, was published to wide critical acclaim. Based on archival and other primary sources the very impressive 637 page work, the most exhaustive single volume orthodox account of the *Life* of Bacon ever written, also examines and discusses more than forty of Bacon's works and writings, including his *Essays*, but it does not even once refer to William and John Jaggard.[8] The same is true of the most recent full-length biography *Francis Bacon The Double-Edged Life of the Philosopher and Statesman* by Professor Robert P. Ellis published across the Atlantic in the United States of America in 2015, wherein he extensively discusses Bacon's *Essays* but again makes no mention

of William and John Jaggard, the printers and publishers of Bacon's *Essays* and the First Folio of the Shakespeare Works.[9]

The printers and publishers William and John Jaggard were sons of John Jaggard, a London barber-surgeon and his wife Bridget. The place and precise date of the births of William and John remain unknown and nothing is known of their early upbringing and education. It is believed that John Jaggard the elder of the two brothers was born *c*.1567 and William around a year later in 1568. They spent their young years growing up in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate just beyond the city walls situated a couple of miles from where Bacon grew up at York House on the Strand whose intertwined destinies would decades later result in the setting forth of the Shakespeare First Folio, the greatest literary work in the English language.

On 20 August 1584 William was apprenticed for eight years to the distinguished printer Henry Denham, a former apprentice of the printer and publisher Richard Tottell (*c*. 1528-1593), who was known to Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon, and whose son William Tottell, had a long and close relationship with Francis Bacon, and served under him as one of his six Clerks of Chancery. His brother John Jaggard was apprenticed to Richard Tottell on 19 October 1584 for a term of about seven years. The late 1580s most likely marked the first contact or nascent beginning of the embryonic secret and hidden relationship between Bacon and the Jaggards when they were still serving their apprenticeships with Henry Denham and Richard Tottell both of who Bacon, during the period of the 1580s and 1590s, was privately and professionally in regular contact.

The prominent and wealthy printer and publisher Richard Tottell (*c*.1528-93) was admitted to the Stationers' Company in January 1552. From the outset of his career in London, he was associated with a well-connected group of important and influential lawyers and law-printers and as a result of these connections on 12 April 1553 he was granted the exclusive right to print for seven years all 'almaner bokes of oure temporall lawe called the Common lawe', a valuable patent and monopoly for printing law books he exploited to the full.[10] Towards the end of the reign of Edward VI, Tottell set up his business at the Hand and Star in Fleet Street between the Temple gates close to the Inns of Court full of lawyers and students who frequented his shop. On the accession of Mary his law monopoly was renewed by the new administration for a further seven years. Naturally his business flourished and evidence of his increasing wealth is found by his gifts to the Stationers' Company to which he is recorded 'as giving usually more than most of the members of the brotherhood.'[11] When the Stationers' Company was formally incorporated in 1557 his name appeared sixty-seventh 'on the list of brethren' in its charter.[12] When Elizabeth came to the throne in November 1558 she immediately knighted and appointed Sir William Cecil as her Principal Secretary of State and soon after in the December his brother-in-law Sir Nicholas Bacon to the highest legal office in the kingdom as Lord Keeper and *de facto* Lord Chancellor of England. A few weeks after their appointments on 12 January 1559 Tottell's law patent was renewed, this time with the support of Cecil and Bacon, for the rest of his life.

It was around this time that Tottell married Joan, the daughter of Richard Grafton who had been the king's printer during the reign of Edward VI. Their union produced a son named William born in 1560 who would later took up the law and later became one of the six clerks in chancery under Lord Chancellor Francis Bacon, who was himself born a few months later on 22 January 1561. In the following year Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon entered his two sons Nicholas and Nathaniel Bacon at Gray's Inn in December 1562 (where both became an ancient in 1576) and in 1565 his other son Edward Bacon (who also became an ancient in 1576), all three of whom doubtless patronised Richard Tottell's shop for their law books and other legal treatises. His son William Tottell

entered Middle Temple in 1576 together with Richard Grafton the younger with the Lord Keeper entering his son Francis Bacon on 20 June 1576 at Gray's Inn. It was most likely from this time and certainly after Bacon returned from France following the death of Sir Nicholas Bacon and admission to Gray's Inn in Trinity Term 1579, that the personal and professional relationship between Francis Bacon and William Tottell flourished during their many years they spent together spent at the Inns of Court.

The prominence and importance of Richard Tottell in the Stationers' Company was confirmed in his election as Master in 1578 a position to which he was re-elected in 1584. It was in this year that John Jaggard began his seven year apprenticeship under Tottell with his brother William Jaggard commenced his apprenticeship around the same time under John Denham at the sign of the Star in Paternoster-row. Denham was himself a former apprenticeship of Richard Tottell with whom he still enjoyed a close personal and professional relationship. With his monopoly on law books and business premises at the sign of the Hand and Star close to the Inns of Court, Richard Tottell serviced the needs of the young lawyers with the books required for their legal training among them the resident and rising star of Gray's Inn Francis Bacon whom during the seven years the Jaggards served their apprenticeships would on countless occasions have visited the premises of Richard Tottell for books and other legal stationery.

The hidden and obscured relationship between Bacon and several generations of the Tottell family remained hidden for more than three centuries and still remains relatively unknown to the rest of the world to the present day on account there is no notice given of it by his modern biographers, including the most recent by Jardine and Stewart in *The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (1998) and Professor Ellis in *Francis Bacon the Double-Edged Life of the Philosopher and Statesman* (2105).

In 1943 Alan Keen announced in his prospectus *The Private Manuscript Library of Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, and of his Law-clerk and Servant William Tottel being the astonishing history of forty-seven Commonplace and other written books preserved in an old country house originally owned by Tottel* that he had discovered a collection of seventeenth-century manuscript commonplace books which contained manuscript and printed copies of Bacon's speeches, letters, and works. They had been found along with other miscellaneous manuscripts and printed items at Shardeloes near Amersham, an estate acquired by William Tottell in 1595 later inherited by his grandson William Drake. Keen claimed they were compiled for Bacon during the latter part of his life by his servant William Tottell and formed part of the private library of Bacon, and that he made good use of them, reading them attentively often placing his mark of a trefoil in the margin.

The story of the eventual discovery of the collection began in 1924 when a 'selection of books from an old country library' was sold at a London action where an unnamed experienced palaeographer purchased a small manuscript volume called '*A Book of Titles*', which he was satisfied was Bacon's original entry book containing copies of the original Royal Warrants and sixty-three docquets (a legal document) drawn and issued by Bacon. This manuscript was later purchased by Henry Clay Folger and is now held in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington.[13] This single purchase lead the palaeographer to identify the source of the 'old library' at Shardeloes, the home of the Tyrwhitt-Drake family near Amersham in Buckinghamshire, descendants of William Tottell.[14] On tracking down the library at Shardeloes the palaeographer discovered the collection of forty-seven seventeenth century manuscript commonplace books. The earliest dated volume is inscribed 'Liber Willmi Tothill An^{o} Dni 1590 Reg: Eliz 32^{o}' bearing Tottell's autograph signature on the fly-leaf. It consists of a year book of legal notes compiled by Tottell in 1590 on cases from the reign of Richard II and according

to Keen 'the hand of Bacon appears in the volume.'[15] Alan Keen sold the forty-seven volume Shardeloes collection to C.K. Ogden and with seven more volumes added all fifty-four volumes of 'The Bacon-Tottel Collection' (Ogden MS7) are now housed at the University College of London.

In manuscript book 5 of the collection from the library at Shardeloes which contains a treatise '*Reasons for Precedence of Doctors before Sergeantes* (at Law)' and extracts from Latin authors 'extensively marked with the Bacon monogram', on its cover seen under ultra-violet light or by the application of a reagent is '*Honorificab*', a truncated version of the long word in *Love's Labour's Lost*.[16] A version of the long word is also scribbled on the cover of Bacon's collection of manuscripts, otherwise known as the Northumberland Manuscript, that originally held his Shakespeare plays *Richard II and Richard III*.[17]

A manuscript volume originally housed at the old library at Shardeloes purchased by Keen in 1935 is also of a good deal of interest. Keen believed it originally belonged to the Elizabethan publisher John Harrison, the Elder:

> It was John Harrison who put forth Shakespeare's 'first heir of mine invention' *Venus and Adonis*. The first leaf of this little book of mine has John Harrison's signature 'John Haryson' and beneath it a note *Mr. Blunt dwels in Pauls Churchyard at the syne of the Black Bears*, a reference to the famous publisher Edward Blount and man of letters, who in company with Jaggard issued the First Folio of Shakespeare's *Comedies Histories and Tragedies* in 1623. On the same leaf was scribbled a hasty memorandum 'in reference to a certain *my lord*' who was apparently '*in great fear of his life*'. Had I then known the significance of entries within the volume from *Sharlowes*, the identification of *my lord* with Francis Bacon would have been proved![18]

The owner of these manuscripts William Tottell, variously described as Bacon's law-clerk, one of his Six Clerks in Chancery, his servant and private secretary, and Steward of Bacon's manors and estates, was on a number of occasions called upon to borrow his master money.[19] A list of Bacon's household accounts reveal that on 7 July 1618 he secured a loan of £200 from two of his Six Clerks, one of whom was William Tottell,[20] and another loan by Tottell to Bacon is recorded in volume 11 of the 'Tottell-Bacon' collection.[21] The two of them had been lifelong and intimate friends and Tottell had served his Rosicrucian master Bacon for many years leading up to his death through the time when the Shakespeare First Folio (dedicated to Grand Master of England William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke) was being guided by Bacon and those acting on his behalf through the printing presses of William Jaggard, whose brother John Jaggard, had been apprentice for seven years to his father, Richard Tottell. His son William Tottell, who served Bacon for years or even decades, as well as William and John Jaggard, moved in Rosicrucian-Freemasonic circles and were likely members of the secret Brotherhood directed by Bacon, who they knew to be the secret poet and dramatist Shakespeare.

In the years leading up to his supposed death Bacon made two wills. The first is dated 10 April 1621, with his second and last known will dated 19 December 1625, witnessed in the presence of, among others, his first editor and biographer Dr William Rawley. In both wills Bacon named the Gray's Inn lawyer and Speaker of the House of Commons Sir Thomas Crew one of his executors, and in his last, appointed him one of the trustees of all his land and tenements in Hertfordshire.[22]Bacon died to the world on 9 April 1626 and his trusted servant, secretary, and steward of his estates William Tottell who knew his master was the secret poet and dramatist Shakespeare died in 1627. The overseers of his will were the brothers Sir Randall Crew and Sir Thomas Crew, the same executor

and trustee of Bacon's last will,[23] the two of them bound together in life and death, and in perpetuity, to all future posterity.

The legal formalities surrounding the debt [£500] owed by Bacon's estate to William Tottell was overseen by Tottell's executors, his grandson William Drake and his father-in-law Sir John Denham.[24] Judge Sir John Denham (1559-1639) appointed Baron of the Exchequer in 1617 was the father of the poet and dramatist Sir John Denham (1614/5-1669). The younger Denham led an extraordinary life. A secret royal agent entrusted with nine of Charles I`s ciphers Denham appears in royalist documents under several different pseudonyms. A spy in the employ of John Thurloe head of the English Secret Service under Cromwell referred to Denham as 'the state's poet'. Denham was a close friend of Philip Herbert, fifth Earl of Pembroke with whom he often stayed at Wilton. His father was Philip Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke whom together with his brother William, third Earl of Pembroke then Grand Master of England, were the incomparable 'Paire of Brethren' to whom Bacon dedicated the 1623 First Folio of the Shakespeare Works printed by William and Isaac Jaggard:

WILLIAM Earl of *Pembroke* was chosen *Grand Master* [1618]; and being approved by the King, he appointed *Inigo Jones* his *Deputy* Grand Master.
…*Grand Master* PEMBROKE demitted, A. D. 1630.[25]

To the sleepy temporal world Bacon supposedly died on 9 April 1626 at Highgate the London residence of his close friend the Earl of Arundel to whom he addressed his last letter who was afterwards appointed Grand Master of England in 1632:

THOMAS HOWARD Earl of Arundel…then succeeded [the Earl of] *Danby* at the Head of the Fraternity [with Inigo Jones appointed Deputy Grand Master]…[26]

Following the appointment of Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford as the Grand Master of England (his ancestor Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford was Bacon's political patron whose son and heir John, Lord Russell married his aunt Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell, sister of Lady Anne Cooke Bacon) Rosicrucian Inigo Jones was again appointed Grand Master of England. Bacon's lifelong friend and Rosicrucian Brother Inigo Jones died in 1652 and following the restoration he was succeeded as Grand Master of England in 1660 by Bacon's kinsman Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans (1605-84), who appointed Sir John Denham, his Deputy Grand Master, who was also soon after elected one of the first Fellows of the Baconian-Rosicrucian Royal Society.

the *Lodges*…approv'd their choice of
HENRY JERMYN Earl of St. *Albans* as their *Grand Master*, who appointed Sir JOHN DENHAM his *Deputy Grand Master*….this *Grand Master* held a *General* Assembly and *Feast* on St. JOHN's Day *27 Dec*. 1663…[27]

In his brilliant full-length biography of *Henry Jermyn Spymaster and Architect of the British Empire*, its author Anthony Adolph, who suggests Bacon might have been his early mentor, states that Jermyn chose his title partly in honour of his kinsman and hero Bacon, who he worshipped until his dying day:

Before he left Colombes, Charles had signified his renewed confidence in Jermyn by granting him an earldom. Jermyn chose the title of the Earl of St Albans.
Jermyn chose this partly in memory of his kinsman Francis Bacon, who had been Viscount St Albans…[28]

As William and John Jaggard were about to embark on their careers as printers and publishers of Bacon's *Essays* culminating in William Jaggard printing the Shakespeare First Folio (considered by some as the greatest Rosicrucian-Freemasonic book in the world) these were the secret Rosicrucian-Freemasonic circles they found themselves immersed in, at whose head stood its Grand Master, Francis Bacon-Shakespeare.

2.

From 1586 the health of Richard Tottell had begun to deteriorate and on 11 January he entered his last book in the Stationers' Register. Two years later in 1588 he retired to Wiston in Pembrokeshire and was formally discharged from the Stationers' Company the following year. The business was carried on in his name until the time of his death partly under the supervision of his son William Tottell who continued to act as a dealer for his ailing father. Following his seven year apprenticeship under his master Richard Tottell on 7 August 1591 John Jaggard was formally sworn and admitted a freeman of the Stationers' Company 'who hath served his yeres as reported by John Wolf who hath the report from young Master [William] Tottell dealer for his father.'[29] A few months later at the end of his apprenticeship under Henry Denham his younger brother William Jaggard was made a freeman of the Worshipful Company of Stationers on 6 December 1591. At some time between December 1591 and April 1593 William Jaggard set up his first shop located at the east end of the Churchyard of St. Dunstan's in the West, Fleet Street. Nearby was Richard Tottell's place of business at the sign of the Hand and Star, where his brother John Jaggard was employed, located on the north side of Fleet Street within Temple Bar, conveniently close to the Inns of Court and the law courts.[30] During the lifelong generational relationship between Bacon and Richard and William Tottell an equally obscured parallel private and professional association between Bacon and Richard Tottell's apprentice John Jaggard and his brother William also developed. On the death of Richard Tottell in the summer or autumn of 1593 his common law patent officially passed to Charles Yetsweirt on 24 March 1594 for the printing of law books:

> He entered into some agreement with the heirs of Tottell and with John Jaggard and Yetsweirt, giving the Hand and Star as their business address. What actually happened, we may be quite certain, was that Yetsweirt, who had no printing experience and was still engrossed no doubt in his official and professional duties, entrusted John Jaggard with the conduct of the shop while he managed in a general way the outside business.[31]

In *Shakespeare and the Tudor Jaggards* Captain William Jaggard observes that in John Jaggard's shop 'we may be sure Sir Francis Bacon was a regular buyer',[32] which as it was during the period Bacon was creating and building up the law library at Gray's Inn and that he was himself a devourer of law books, it is probably no exaggeration to say he virtually lived in the place!

With his business prospering on 26 August 1594 at the parish church of St Bride's William Jaggard married Jane Uriane, and their son Isaac was baptised in the same church on 19 April 1595, who afterwards assisted his father in printing the Shakespeare First Folio. The earliest surviving publication issued by William Jaggard is a pamphlet by John Dove entitled *A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse* the 3 of November 1594 printed by Peter Short for William Jaggard to be sold at his shop in Fleet Street in Saint Dunstan's Churchyard.[33] The pamphlet was not registered and he entered his first work in the Stationers' Register on 4 March 1595 *The Book of Secrets* by German theologian and philosopher Albertus Magnus.[34] In 1595 Jaggard also published his first book of

verse *Hunnies Recreations* by William Hunnis (whom Bacon had known since he was a child whose *A Hyve full of Hunnye* is dedicated to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester) printed for him by Peter Short.[35] On the 25 April 1595 Charles Yetsweirt died however the business continued in the name of his widow Jane Yetsweirt run on a day to day basis by John Jaggard,[36] one regularly patronised by Bacon. Two years later on 5 June 1597 at the Church of Saint Dunstan's in the West John Jaggard married Elizabeth Mabbe (who afterwards as we shall see printed an edition of Bacon's *Essays*) and in the same year William Jaggard took on as an apprentice Thomas Cotes who later printed for Bacon *Certain Considerations touching the better pacification, and edification of the church of England*,[37] and after succeeding to the Jaggard family business printed the Second Folio of the Shakespeare Works.[38]

In the mid-1590s a number of Bacon's essays were already circulating in manuscript and he intervened with the Stationers' Company to prevent an unauthorized edition. On 24 January 1597 Richard Serger entered into the Stationers' Register 'a book entitled ESSAYES of M.F.B. *with the prayers of his Sovereigne*'.[39] In order to prevent its publication Bacon took immediate action and on 5 February a new entry appeared in the Stationers' Register assigning the right to publish to Humfrey Hooper 'Entered for his copie under th[e] [h]andes of Master FRAUNCIS BACON…A booke intituled *Essaies, Religious meditations, Places of Perswasion and Disswasion* by master FRAUNCIS BACON'.[40] At first glance the choice of the relatively obscure publisher Humfrey Hooper to publish (the name of the printer does not appear on the title page) the first edition of Bacon's *Essays* appears something of a strange one. Perhaps it might have something to do with Humfrey Hooper being apprenticed to Richard Tottell to whom John Jaggard was also apprenticed.[41] Whatever the reason the unauthorized entry by Serger was cancelled by order of the whole Stationers' Court on 7 February and within a week from this date Bacon's own authorized edition was on sale.[42] He dedicated it:

To M. Anthony Bacon *his deare Brother*.

Louing and beloued Brother, I doe nowe like some that haue an Orcharde il neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to preuent stealing These fragments of my conceites were going to print; To labour the staie of them had bin troublesome, and subiect to interpretation; to let them passe had beene to adve[n]ture the wrong they mought receiue by vntrue Coppies, or by some garnishment, which it mought please any that should set them forth to bestow them. Therefore I helde it best discreation to publishe them my selfe as they passed long agoe from my pen, without any further disgrace, then the weaknesse of the Author. And as I did euer hold, there mought be as great a vanitie in retiring and withdrawing mens conceites (except they bee of some nature) from the world, as in obtruding them: So in these particulars I haue played my selfe the Inquisitor, and find nothing to my vnderstanding in them contrarie or infectious to the state of Religion, or manners, but rather (as I suppose) medicinable. Only I disliked now to put them out because they will be like the late new halfe-pence, which though the Siluer were good, yet the peeces were small. But since they would not stay with their Master, but would needes trauaile abroade, I haue preferred them to you that are next my selfe, Dedicating them, such as they are to our loue, in the depth whereof (I assure you) I sometimes wish your infirmities translated uppon my selfe, that her Maiestie mought haue the seruice of so actiue and able a mind, & I mought be with excuse confined to these contemplations & studies for which I am fittest, so commende I you to the preseruation of the diuine Maiestie. From my Chamber at Graies Inne, this 30. Ianaurie. 1597.

Your entire and Louing brother.
Fran. Bacon.[43]

The following day on the 8th of February its dedicatee Anthony Bacon presented his patron (and Bacon's royal brother) Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex with a copy of his brother's *Essays* for hidden reasons and in coded words, the meaning and import of which, its recipient would understand and appreciate:

My singular good Lord,

I am bold, and yet out of a most entire and dutiful love wherein my german brother and myself stand infinitely bound unto your Lordship, to present unto you the first sight and taste of such fruit as my brother was constrained to gather, as he professeth himself, before they were ripe, to prevent stealing; and withal most humble to beseech your Lordship, that as my brother in token of a mutual firm brotherly affection hath bestowed by dedication the property of them upon myself, so your Lordship, to whose disposition and commandment I have entirely and inviolably vowed my poor self, and whatever appertaineth unto me, either in possession or right,-that your Lordship, I say, in your noble and singular kindness towards us both, will vouchsafe first to give me leave to transfer my interest unto your Lordship, then humbly to crave your honourable acceptance and most worthy protection. And so I must humbly take my leave.[44]

A manuscript copy-perhaps the one used for its printed edition-of the *Essays* once formed part of Bacon's collection of manuscripts known as The Northumberland MSS. An entry for the *Essays* is found on its outer-cover just above the entries for the two Shakespeare plays *Richard II* and *Richard III* which also once formed part of the MSS. On the outside cover of the MSS there are various words and sentences scribbled all across it. Above to the left of the entry for the *Essays* and *Richard II* and *Richard III* appears the word *Honorificabiletudine* a contracted version of which is present in the 'Bacon-Tottell' commonplace books and another form of it *Honorificabilitidinitatibus* appears in Bacon's other Shakespeare play *Love's Labour's Lost* (4:3:41).[45] It will also be recalled that one of the other 'Bacon-Tottell' manuscript volumes appears to have been originally owned by the publisher John Harrison, the elder.[46] The first edition of the Shakespeare narrative poem *Venus and Adonis* was printed & published by Richard Field who transferred its copyright over to John Harrison and a second edition printed by Field and published by John Harrison appeared the following year in 1594.[47] The second Shakespeare narrative poem *The Rape of Lucrece* was entered on the Stationers' Register on 9 May 1594 and printed the same year again by Field for John Harrison, the elder.[48] On the outer-cover of The Northumberland MSS appears the line '*revealing day through every crany peepes*' to which is added '*and see Shak*'. This is line 1086 of *The Rape of Lucrece* save the word *spies* is used in the printed edition instead of *peepes*.[49] The name of Baco, Bacon, Francis Bacon and the name or pseudonym of Shakespeare/ William Shakespeare are scribbled on the outer-cover on more than a dozen occasions. Written directly above the entry for the Shakespeare play '*Rychard the Second*' is the line '*By Mr. ffrauncis William Shakespeare*' and further down the page the word '*Your*' is twice written across the name '*William Shakespeare*' so that it reads '*Your William Shakespeare*'.[50] Above the entry for '*Rychard the Second*' is the entry '*Essaies by the same author*' and in the top left-hand corner appears the entry '*Anthony Comfort and consorte*' the dedicatee of the first edition of Bacon's *Essays* published by Humfrey Hooper in 1597.[51] No part of the Northumberland manuscript was written any later than January 1597 when Bacon issued the first edition of his *Essays*.[52]

It will be recalled that the name of William Shakespeare had not appeared on any of his plays printed before 1598. The first quarto edition of *The Tragedie of King Richard the Second* was entered on the Stationers' Register on 29 August 1597 and published

without the name of an author in the same year.[53] A second quarto edition of the play *The Tragedie of King Richard the Second* was published in 1598 this time with '*By William Shake-speare*' printed on the title page.[54] *The Tragedy of King Richard the Third* was entered on the Stationers' Register on 20 October 1597 and the first quarto of the play was published sometime shortly after in the same year without the name of an author on its title page.[55] A second quarto edition of the play *The Tragedy Of King Richard the third* appeared in 1598 this time with '*By William Shake-speare*' printed on the title page.[56] Earlier in the same year the first quarto edition to appear with the name William Shakespeare on the title page *A Pleasant Conceited Comedie Called, Loues labors lost…Newly corrected and augmented by W. Shakespere*,[57] had been published and no doubt sat on the book stalls close to copies of Bacon's *Essays* to which I have no doubt he would have raised a little smile to himself.

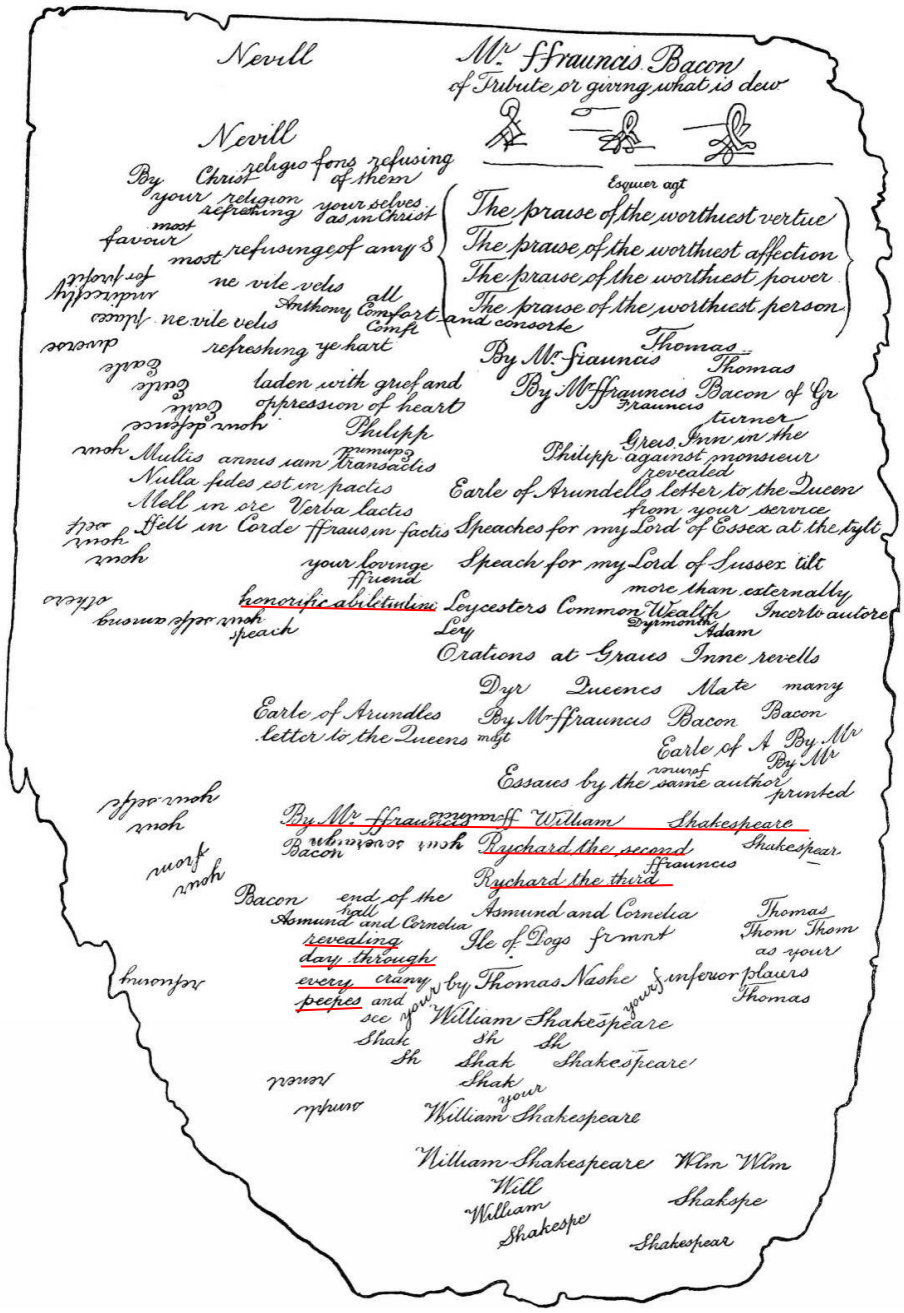


Fig. 1 Modern Script Rendering of Bacon's Northumberland MSS

A second edition of Bacon's *Essays* with a different woodcut on its title page was also printed for Humfrey Hooper in 1597.[58] A collation of the two 1597 editions by Jackson records many substantive variants and indicates that the second edition was set from a corrected copy of the first.[59] The changes suggest that corrections in the second edition were corrected by reference to an 'authoritative manuscript' or by Bacon himself writes Kiernan,[60] quite possibly from the manuscript copy of the *Essays* originally held in the Northumberland MSS or one closely related to it. A third edition of the *Essays* set from a copy of the second with different woodcuts on its title page was published by Hooper in 1598, the earliest edition to contain an English translation of *Meditationes Sacrae*.[61]

During 1598 William Jaggard was involved in the planning and publishing of the first edition of the mysterious and controversial work *The Passionate Pilgrim* a collection of twenty poems ascribed to William Shakespeare, even though only a quarter of them are (according to how it is presented by orthodox scholars) are known or believed to have been written by him. The first edition survives only in part of one copy published in late 1598 or early 1599. The fragments of it are now held in the Folger Shakespeare Library Washington, in the United States of America. A second edition followed in 1599 with the title page *The Passionate Pilgrime By W. Shakespeare* (London: printed for William Jaggard and are to be sold by W. Leake, at the Greyhound in Paules Churchyard, 1599). It begins with versions of two Shakespeare Sonnets (138/144) that later appeared in the 1609 edition of the *Shakespeare Sonnets* and three sonnets from *Love's Labour's Lost* (4/3/57-70; 4/2/106-19; 4/3/99-118). Several of the remaining poems in the collection have been attributed to other poets. Two (nos. 8 & 20) appeared in Richard Barnfield's *Poems in Divers humors* (1598); and another (no. 11) first appeared in the same year in Bartholomew Griffin's *Fidessa*; no.19 consists of the first four stanzas of Marlowe's (a mask for Bacon) 'Come live with me and be my love' and the first stanza of 'Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd', attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh (believed by some to have been written by Bacon).[62]

Before sending the manuscript to the bookseller Thomas Judson, William Jaggard entered into an agreement with William Leake the owner of the copyright of *Venus and Adonis* to sell part of *The Passionate Pilgrim* in his shop at the Greyhound in St Paul's Churchyard. Leake had purchased the rights of *Venus and Adonis* from John Harrison in 1596 and published six editions of the first Shakespeare narrative poem from 1599 to 1602.[63] It may well be that Jaggard (acting on his own initiative or under instruction) hoped that lovers of the first Shakespeare poem *Venus and Adonis* would also purchase a copy of *Passionate Pilgrim* sat next to is on the bookshelves in Leake's shop. Four of the poems in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, known as the 'Venus and Adonis Sonnets' (4, 6, 9, & 11) 'provide erotic vignettes of the central figures in Shakespeare's hugely popular poem', write its Arden editors, adding '*PP* 4, 6, and 9 are the strongest contenders for Shakespeare's own authorship, and have been claimed as early, possibly even juvenile, work by him (Hobday).'[64] Roe also pointed out that while 'some of the sonnets speak directly of Venus and Adonis, other do in an oblique way'.[65] These Venus and Adonis Sonnets may have created the impression in the mind of the Elizabethan patron/reader that they were also written by Shakespeare and at least one other poem in the *Pilgrim* collection echoes the second Shakespeare narrative poem *The Rape of Lucrece*.[66] One of the others poems (no.18) recalls *Titus Andronicus* and Sidney Lee points out that nos. 4 & 6 'read like glosses on the passage in Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* (Ind. Sc. 2, II. 52-3)'.[67] The extensive links of this play to the Bacon family has recently been tellingly revealed in 'An unrecognised Francis Bacon Manuscript written in the hand of the Bacon Family scribe Petruccio Ubaldini, the model for Petruccio in *The Taming of The Shrew*, whose father in the play is Antonio, and where two of his household

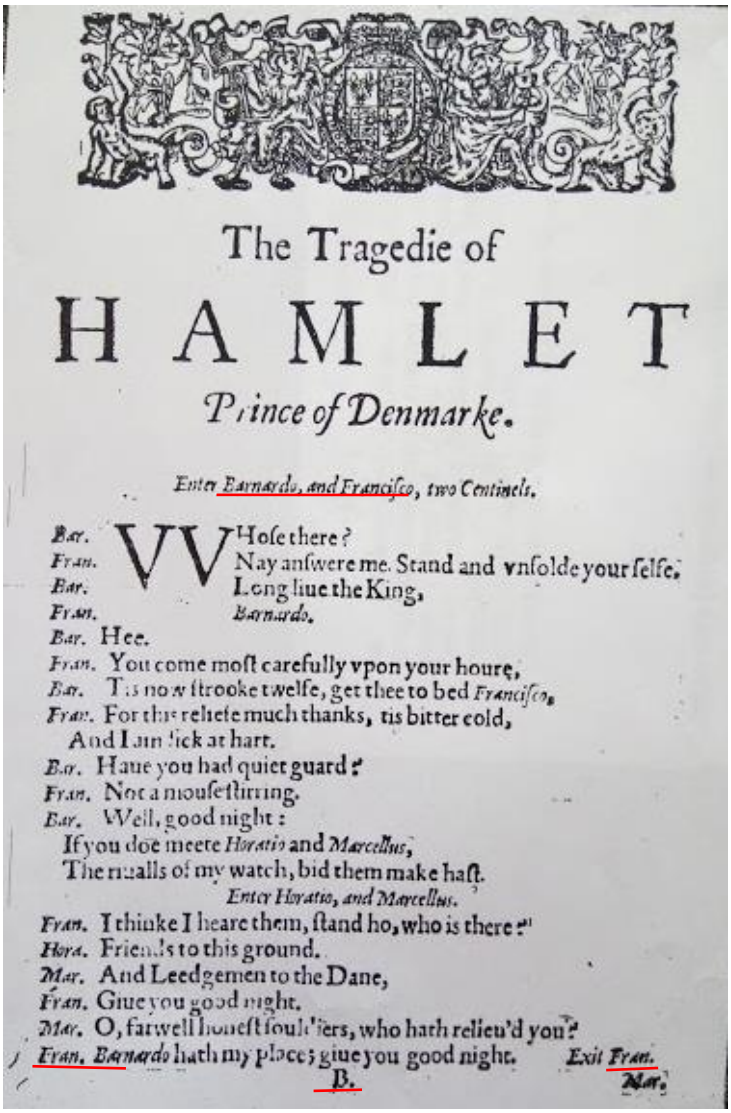
servants are named Nicholas and Nathaniel, the Christian names of Anthony, Nicholas and Nathaniel Bacon.'[68] But the Shakespeare play that *The Passionate Pilgrim* 'most conspicuously invoked', write the Arden editors, is *Romeo and Juliet* 'Whoever wrote *PP* 14 seems to have done so with the deliberate aim of adding a lyrical gloss to the situation of Romeo at the close of the balcony scene.'[69] In Jaggard's *Passionate Pilgrim*, writes Bednarz, 'Shakespeare is Romeo, the passionate pilgrim'.[70] The whole anthology 'whatever artistic coherence it possesses comes from its network of formal, thematic, and verbal analogues secured by its four primary Shakespeare intertexts: the unpublished *Sonnets*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Venus and Adonis*, and *Romeo and Juliet*. All but one of Jaggard's poems fit three metrical patterns that Shakespeare prominently employed-sonnet, sixain, and tetrameter'.[71] One of the elements that holds the Jaggard volume together is, observes Professor Cheney, 'the first person voice' used in 'fifteen of the twenty poems' which encourages readers 'to identify *The Passionate Pilgrim* with "W. Shakespeare"'[72]

Up to the present day the other poems of unknown authorship generally considered by scholars and critics to be inferior, which has served to discourage any attempt to assign them to Shakespeare, the eleven poems have now however been included in the Oxford edition of *William Shakespeare The Complete Works*. Its joint editors Professor Stanley Wells and Professor Gary Taylor state in their brief preface to *The Passionate Pilgrim* 'We print below the poems of unknown authorship since the attribution to Shakespeare has not been disproved.'[73] And *The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works* includes all 20 of the poems printed in *The Passionate Pilgrim*.[74] The origin of these poems observes Professor Burrow, are still a 'mystery', one possibility is a 'manuscript which had once belonged to Shakespeare came into Jaggard's hands.'[75] It is entirely likely a manuscript or various manuscripts originating from Bacon were passed to William Jaggard for *The Passionate Pilgrim* and perhaps all 20 poems have the same provenance and progenitor.

With *The Passionate Pilgrim* published at the turn of the seventeenth century William Jaggard was busy running his shop in St Dunstan's Churchyard and in 1602 he rented from the printer and publisher James Roberts and his wife Alice Charlwood the right to print playbills for the Earl of Worcester's Men.[76] In 1598 James Roberts had entered on the Stationers' Register *The Merchant of Venice* and transferred his rights to the play in 1600 to Thomas Hayes who combined to print and publish its first quarto in the same year.[77] *The Merchant of Venice* partly reflects the experience of Bacon being arrested in September 1598 for the non-payment of a £300 bond owed to a money-lender named Sympson, who attempted to have Bacon thrown in the Fleet.[78] In the play, writes Simon Miles, the personal circumstances of Bacon is reflected in the character of Bassanio, and as Christina Waldman points out at some length, Bacon's legal persona is depicted in Dr Bellario,[79] with his beloved brother Anthony Bacon, who continually paid of his debts, the model for its titular character Antonio, the Merchant of Venice.

In 1600 James Roberts also printed for Edward White the second quarto of *The most lamentable Romaine Tragedie of Titus Andronicus. As it hath sundry times beene playde by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembrooke, the Earle of Darbie, the Earle of Sussex, and the Lord Chamberlaine theyr Seruants*.[80] Following the accession of James I, according to James Anderson in *The New Book of Constitutions of the Antient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons*, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke was sworn as Grand Warden to Grand Master of England Inigo Jones.[81] The Earl of Pembroke later sat in Solomon's Chair as the Grand Master of England when William Jaggard printed the Shakespeare First Folio, which was dedicated by Bacon to Pembroke and his brother Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery.

On 26 July 1602 James Roberts entered into the Stationers' Register The Revenge of Hamlet Prince of Denmark as it was lately acted by the Lord Chamberlain's Men. The first quarto of *Hamlet* (approximately 2,200 lines) was printed by Valentine Simmes for Nicholas Ling and John Trundell followed by a second much revised and enlarged edition (approximately 3,800 lines) printed by James Roberts for Ling in 1604-5.[82] The tragedy *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* shadows some of the most explosive secrets of the Elizabethan reign in which the not so Virgin Queen Elizabeth (Queen Gertrude) was secretly married to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (King Claudius) with whom she had a concealed royal son Francis Bacon Tudor, Prince of Wales (Prince Hamlet), a play about a disinherited royal prince and the exhaustion of the Tudor dynasty.[83] Above the first page in the 1604/5 edition of *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* is a woodcut bearing in the middle of it the Tudor arms beneath which are the opening lines of the text between Francisco and Barnardo which possess the Christian name of Bacon and the initials of Francis Bacon, with the names of *Francisco* and *Barn*ardo containing an anagram of Francis Bacon. It is also worth noting that at the bottom of the page is the contraction 'Fran' and beneath it a capital signature B another pointer to the name of its author Francis Bacon, a contraction Bacon used in his dedication to his brother Anthony in his 1597 *Essays* (see above).



The Tragedie of

HAMLET

Prince of Denmarke.

Enter Barnardo, and Francisco, two Centinels.

Bar. VVHose there?
Fran. Nay answere me. Stand and vnfolde your selfe.
Bar. Long liue the King,
Fran. *Barnardo.*
Bar. Hee.
Fran. You come most carefully vpon your houre,
Bar. 'Tis now strooke twelfe, get thee to bed *Francisco.*
Fran. For this reliefe much thanks, 'tis bitter cold,
And I am sick at hart.
Bar. Haue you had quiet guard?
Fran. Not a mouse stirring.
Bar. Well, good night:
If you doe meete *Horatio* and *Marcellus,*
The riualls of my watch, bid them make hast.
Enter Horatio, and Marcellus.
Fran. I thinke I heare them, stand ho, who is there?
Hora. Friends to this ground.
Mar. And Leedgemen to the Dane,
Fran. Giue you good night.
Mar. O, farwell honest soul'iers, who hath relieu'd you?
Fran. *Barnardo* hath my place; giue you good night. *Exit Fran.*
B. *Mar.*

Fig. 2 *The Tragedie of Hamlet*, 1604-5 Quarto, First Page

In 1604 the year James Robert printed the second quarto of *Hamlet* William Jaggard began sharing an office with Roberts and from1604 to 1606 books bearing the imprint of Jaggard and Roberts were issued from his press:[84]

> That William Jaggard should have been able to attain the ambition of every stationer in London to conduct a printing office of his own is somewhat surprising. Despite the indications of Jaggard's increasing prosperity, we could hardly have expected him to be in a position to pay in cash the value of the printing house in Barbican.[85]

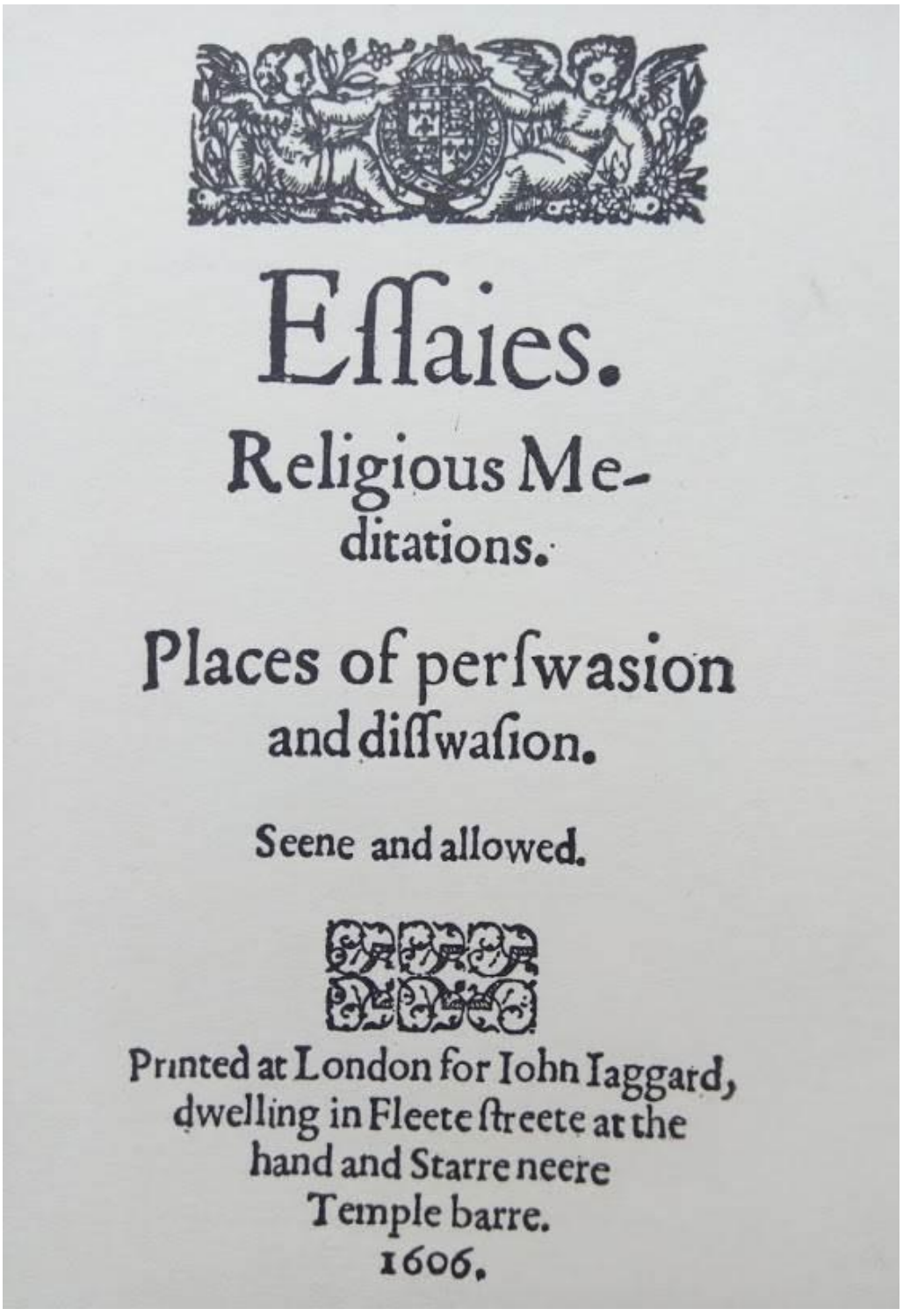
For Willoughby the explanation came with the lucrative royal commission to print the commandments for use in churches and chapels throughout England and Ireland. On 26 May 1604 King James issued a royal warrant to all the archbishops and bishops of the realms of England and Ireland instructing them 'to give order that in every Church and chapel a Table of the Ten Commandments may be set up by Wllm Jaggard his deputies or assignes at the charge of the parish and that the said Jaggard nor his deputies take above XVd. sterling for every of the said tables.'[86] Willoughby was of the opinion that it was useless to speculate how Jaggard became the recipient of such royal favour but the present writer is respectfully inclined to disagree with him. In this very year Bacon was in very high standing with the king. Only months previously Bacon had composed an important political work close to the heart of the freshly crowned monarch *A Briefe Discovrse, Touching the Happie Vnion of the Kingdomes of England and Scotland. Dedicated in Private to his Maiestie*.[87] He followed it in 1604 with *Certain Articles or Considerations Touching the Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland Collected and Dispersed for his Majesty's better Service*[88] and *Certaine Considerations touching the better pacification and Edification of the Church of England*: *Dedicated to his most Excellent Maiestie*.[89] On 18 August 1604 a grateful James I appointed Bacon his King's Counsel and Bacon may well have been instrumental in requesting that the king grant the very lucrative royal commission to William Jaggard allowing him to purchase the very expensive printing house at the Barbican.

About this time Jaggard returned to his native parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate to set up his new bookshop situated on the corner of Aldersgate and the Barbican close to the residence of the Spanish Ambassador Count de Gondomar,[90] with whom Bacon had an extraordinary relationship and visited regularly over the best part of a decade.[91] During the years 1605 and 1606 Jaggard and Roberts occupied the same printing house in the Barbican and books bearing their imprints were issued from the same press,[92] and in 1606 Willoughby says William Jaggard printed for his brother John Jaggard the 1606 edition of Bacon's *Essays*.[93] It is not known in what circumstances and precisely at what date the copyright of Bacon's *Essays* passed to John Jaggard but as Bacon had been in close and regular contact one way or another with William and John Jaggard for many years if not decades the arrangement for the transfer of copyright from Hooper to Jaggard was most likely conducted behind closed doors at Bacon's private residence:

> It is not impossible that John Jaggard held the right of publishing Bacon's *Essays* from their author. His shop was quite close Bacon's house, his old master's son was a steward of Bacon, and in 1618, as we shall see, Bacon interested himself in a petition which John Jaggard presented partly on the behalf of the poor stationers of London and partly on behalf of himself.[94]

The extremely rare 1606 Jaggard edition of Bacon's *Essays* is a paginary reprint of the 1598 Hooper edition published without the name of any printer on its title page. In keeping with the 1604/5 edition of *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* (or *The Tragedy of Francis Bacon, Prince of Wales*) printed by James Roberts who was sharing

the same premises with William Jaggard, bearing a woodcut with the Tudor arms in its centre, similarly, on the title page of the 1606 John Jaggard's edition of Bacon's *Essays* there also appears a woodcut with two cupids with Tudor arms in its centre.[95]



Essaies.

Religious Meditations.

Places of perſwasion and diſſwaſion.

Seene and allowed.

Printed at London for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling in Fleete ſtreete at the hand and Starre neere Temple barre.
1606.

Fig. 3 John Jaggard's edition of Bacon's *Essays* 1606

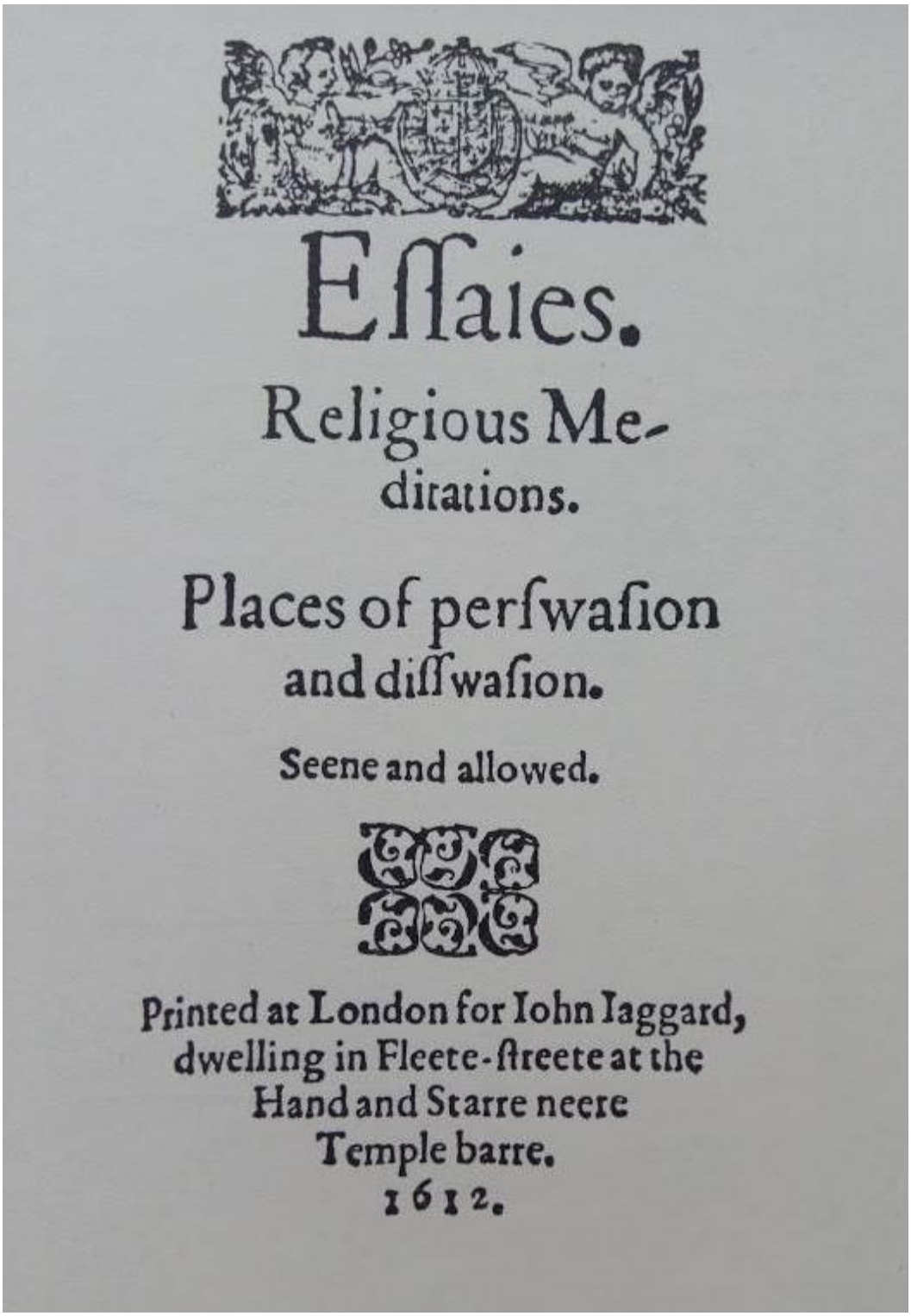
In the same year John Jaggard published his 1606 edition of Bacon's *Essays* (most probably after personally acquiring the publishing rights from Bacon himself) James Roberts, who had the year before printed Bacon's *Hamlet*, made his final entry in the Hall Book of the Stationers' Company on 10 July 1606. Not long after in 1607 or 1608 William Jaggard bought Roberts out of the business and took complete control of the printing house in the Barbican.[96] He invested heavily in the business replacing the old worn out founts used by Roberts and began printing and publishing books of a much higher quality.[97] On 5 December 1608 Jaggard entered on the Stationers' Register *Troia Britanica, or Great Britaines Troy* attributed to Thomas Heywood a narrative poem of seventeen cantos which Jaggard printed and published early in 1609. From this publication Jaggard included nine poems in the third edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* he printed and published in 1612. An action to which Heywood objected in his *Apology for Actors* in an epistle at the end of the book addressed to its printer Nicholas Okes in which he heavily criticised Jaggard for numerous printing errors in *Troia Britanica*. He then adds 'I must necessarily insert a manifest injury done me in that work by taking the two epistles of Paris to Helen, and Helen to Paris, and printing them in a lesse volume under the name of another, which may have put the world in opinion I might steale them from him, and hee, to doe himselfe right, hath since published them in his owne name: but, as I must acknowledge my lines not worthy his patronage under whom he hath publisht them, so the author, I know much offended with M. Jaggard (that altogether unknowne to him) presumed to make bold with his name.'[98] In response to the criticism Jaggard cancelled the title page of the 1612 edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* bearing the name 'W. Shakespere', [99] and replaced it with one that omitted it.[100] Whether any complaint was actually received from 'Shakespeare' has never been verified; or, alternatively it might have all been some kind of contrived controversy or publicity stunt, or perhaps something altogether different was going on, which is now impossible to determine.[101] In the same year his brother John Jaggard published his 1612 edition of Bacon's *Essays* again printed with a woodcut with two cupids with Tudor arms in its centre on its title page,[102] from his business address in Fleet Street within walking distance of Bacon's quarters at Gray's Inn.

At this juncture the rights to Bacon's essays took on a legal complication which was to have implications for the next thirty years. In the summer of 1612 Bacon prepared a new 241 page edition of his *Essays* in which nine of the original ten printed by Hooper and Jaggard were revised and enlarged with twenty-nine new essays added. The edition was entered into the Stationers' Register as a new work and without any transfer on 12 October 1612 to William Hall and John Beale:

12mo Octobris

William Hall
John Beale

Entered for their Copy under the handes of my Lord Bysshop of LONDON and Th[e] wardens A booke called *The essayes of Sir* FRAUNCIS BACON knight the kinges Solicitour generall...vjd.[103]



Essaies.

Religious Me-
ditations.

Places of perſwaſion
and diſſwaſion.

Seene and allowed.

Printed at London for Iohn Iaggard,
dwelling in Fleete-ſtreete at the
Hand and Starre neere
Temple barre.
1612.

Fig. 4 John Jaggard's edition of Bacon's *Essays* 1612 [Pt. 1]

An edition with the title *The Essaies Of Sr Francis Bacon Knight, the Kings Solliciter Generall* was printed by John Beale soon after in 1612. Originally Bacon intended to dedicate the work to Prince Henry. A manuscript copy of the dedication '*To the most high & excellent Prince Henry, Prince of Wales, D*: *of Cornwall and Earle of Chester*'

reposes in the British Library (BL MS Additional (Sloane) 4259 FO.155) but as a result of the death of the Prince on 6 November it was instead dedicated to his brother-in-law:

TO MY LO*VING BROTHER*,
S[r] IOHN Constable Knight.

My Last Essaies I dedicated to my deare brother Master Anthony Bacon, *who is with God. Looking amongst my papers this vacation, I found others of the same Nature*: *which if I my selfe shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the World will not*; *by the often printing of the former. Missing my Brother, I found you next*; *in respect of bond both of neare alliance, and of straight friendship and societie, and particularly of communication in studies*. *Wherein I must acknowledge my selfe beholding to you*. *For as my businesse found rest in my contemplations*; *so my contemplations euer found rest in your louing conference and iudgement*. *So wishing you all good, I remaine*

Your louing brother
and friend,
FRA. BACON.[104]

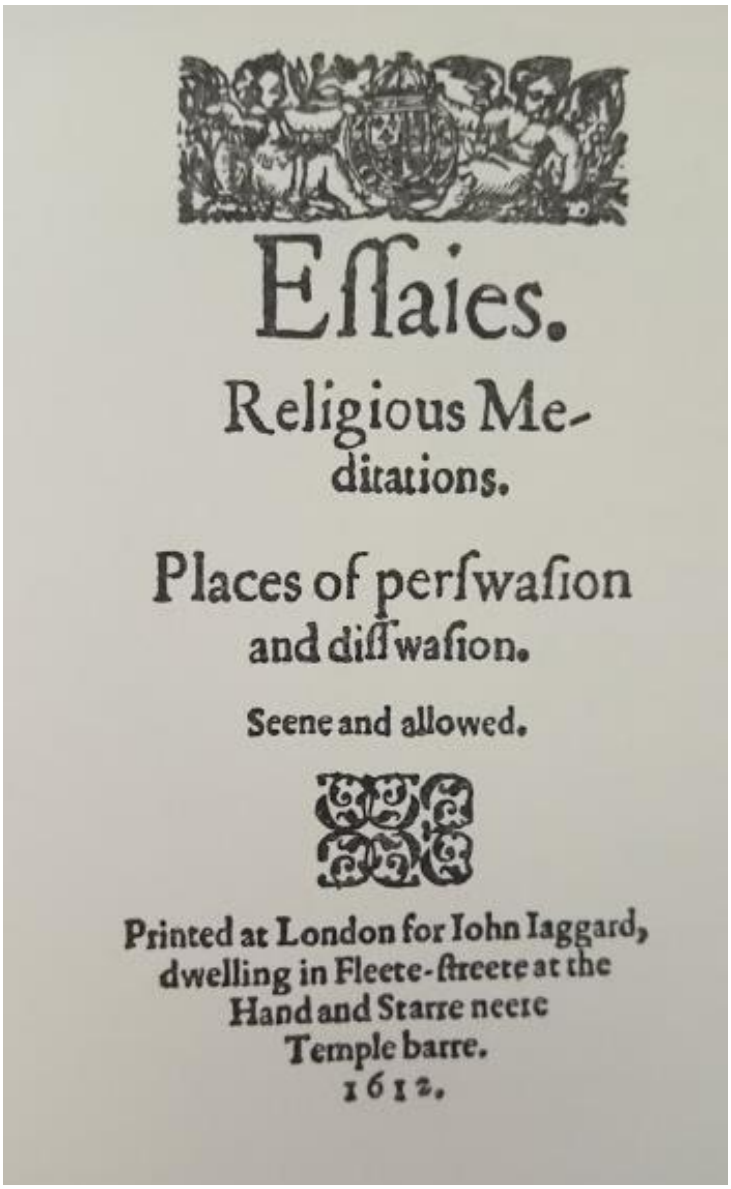
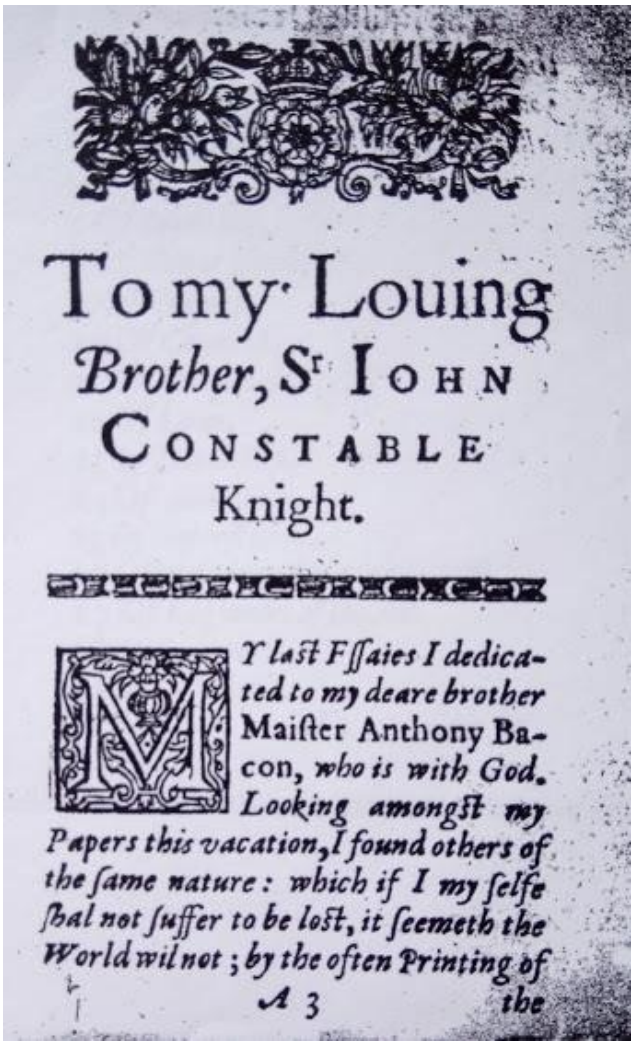

Essaies.
Religious Meditations.
Places of perſwaſion and diſſwaſion.
Seene and allowed.
Printed at London for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling in Fleete-ſtreete at the Hand and Starre neere Temple barre.
1612.

Fig. 5 John Jaggard's edition of Bacon's *Essays* 1612 [2 pts]

In immediate response to the Beale edition John Jaggard published a second 1612 edition of Bacon's *Essays* with the same worded title page as his first edition with its woodcut bearing two cupids with Tudor arms in its centre.[105]The second edition is made up of the sheets of the first 1612 edition together with a resetting of the new essays of the Beale edition presented as 'The second part of ESSAIES'. The second Jaggard issue adds everything from the Beale edition however it does not have the revised form of the original ten essays.[106] It seems Jaggard had acted on his prior rights to the ten essays obtained from both Hooper and Bacon and with no record of any transfer of copyright, he further appropriated the new Beale essays into the second part of his 1612 edition.

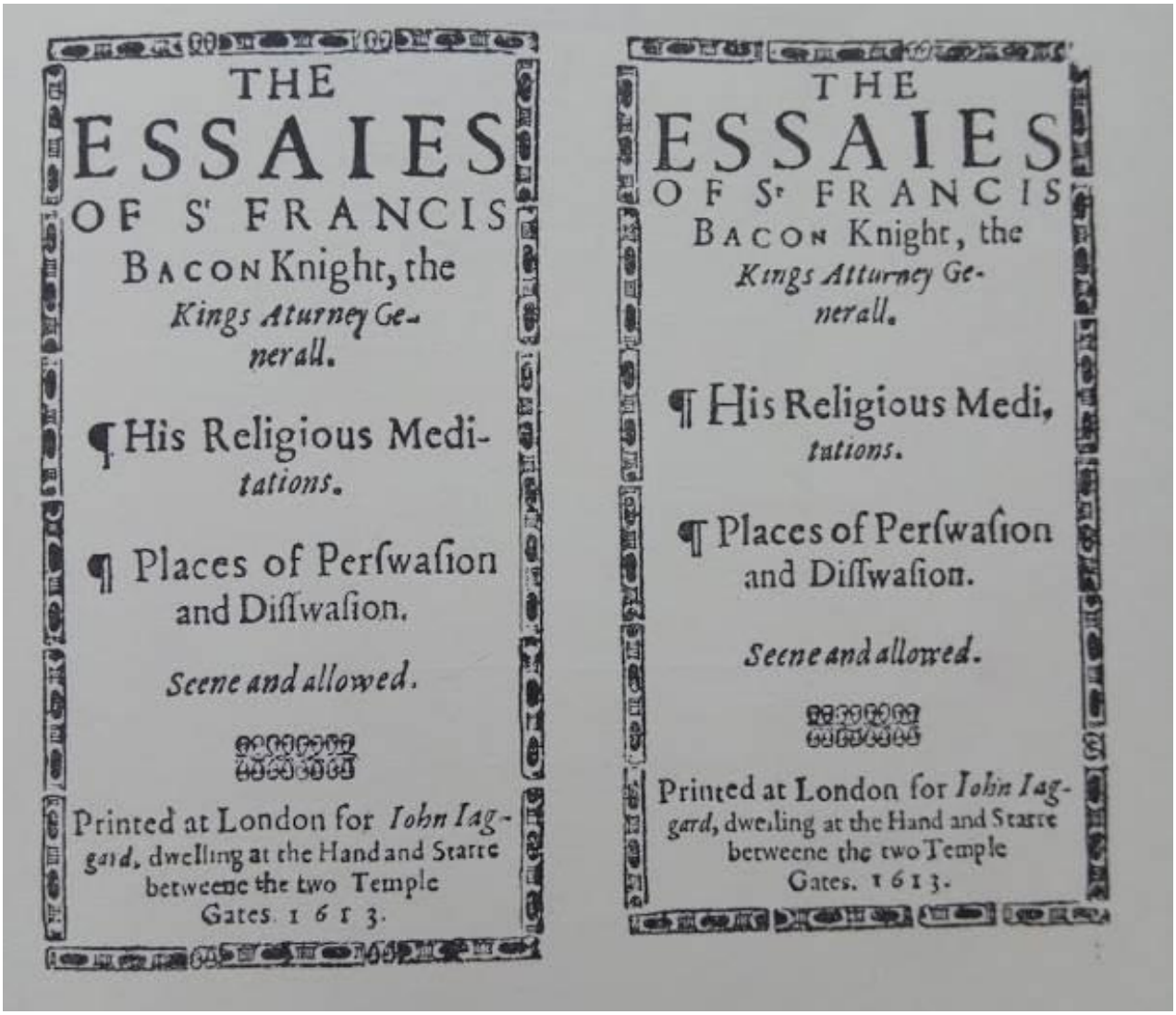
Three editions of the *Essays* all according to their title pages printed for John Jaggard appeared in 1613. The three editions are readily distinguished by the different spelling of the word 'Attorney' on their respective title pages '*Atturny*', '*Aturney*', '*Atturney*.' The first and undisputed of the editions printed by William Jaggard was published by his brother John with the title page *The Essaies of Sr Francis Bacon Knight, the Kings Atturny Generall. His Religious Meditations. Places of Perswasion and Disswasion*. On the top of dedication page appears a woodcut with a Tudor rose at its centre above which sits a crown.[107] It uses the Beale edition as a copy-text for the first thirty-eight essays and the Jaggard [Part I] 1612 edition for the thirty-ninth essay 'Of Honour and reputation' as well as for the *Meditationes Sacrae* and *Colours of good and evil*.[108]


To my· Louing
Brother, Sr IOHN
CONSTABLE
Knight.

MY laſt Eſſaies I dedica-
ted to my deare brother
Maiſter Anthony Ba-
con, who is with God.
Looking amongſt my
Papers this vacation, I found others of
the ſame nature: which if I my ſelfe
ſhal not ſuffer to be loſt, it ſeemeth the
World wil not; by the often Printing of
A 3 the

Fig. 6 John Jaggard's edition of Bacon's *Essays* 1613 first page with Tudor rose and crown emblem

The reason for the unusual occurrence of three editions in the same year and that they are all made to appear virtually identical has been the subject of some debate. With the exception of the Edinburgh piracy there was no further edition of the *Essays* until 1624. Before 1613 and after 1624 the *Essays* were published at reasonably regular intervals and this has led several scholars to argue that while the first of these was undoubtedly printed by William Jaggard for his brother John, the second and third in the series were printed by John Beale.


THE
ESSAIES
OF Sr FRANCIS
BACON Knight, the
Kings Aturney Ge-
nerall.

¶ His Religious Medi-
tations.

¶ Places of Perſwaſion
and Diſſwaſion.

Seene and allowed.

Printed at London for *Iohn Iag-*
gard, dwelling at the Hand and Starre
betweene the two Temple
Gates. 1 6 1 3.

THE
ESSAIES
OF Sr FRANCIS
BACON Knight, the
Kings Atturney Ge-
nerall.

¶ His Religious Medi,
tations.

¶ Places of Perſwaſion
and Diſſwaſion.

Seene and allowed.

Printed at London for *Iohn Iag-*
gard, dwelling at the Hand and Starre
betweene the two Temple
Gates. 1 6 1 3.

Fig. 7 The John Jaggard [Beale] editions of Bacon's *Essays* 1613

That the second and third editions were surreptitiously printed by Beale and made up to appear like the John Jaggard edition was explored by W. A. Jackson in his article 'Counterfeit Printing In Jacobean Times'. He argues that when William Hall and Beale entered for their copy Bacon's essays in 1612 it was entered without transfer 'therefore, it is probable that Jaggard, by threat or purchase or both, induced Beale to cede him all his claims to the newly published essays and that Beale, perhaps irritated by the legal, but none-the-less harsh, appropriation of his copy evened the score by surreptitiously reprinting Jaggard's book.'[109] In response to Jackson's article Dunkin after concurring the second and third editions were certainly printed by Beale and accepting the date of

publication at face value observed 'If the demand for the book was great enough to justify two counterfeit editions, one would have expected Jaggard to get out another genuine edition himself.'[110] He submitted that the 'right to print one or more editions' was 'indeed, 'frequently' reserved to the loser in a copyright arbitration' and suggested Jaggard and Beale may have reached some kind of agreement regarding the rights to the *Essays* and such agreement could well explain why Jaggard did not use his brother to print the second and third 1613 editions.[111]A year later R. W. Gibson in his standard and indispensable *Francis Bacon A Bibliography of his Works and of Baconiana to the year 1750* quietly suggested 'It is probable that these editions were printed in different years, though all before 1624.'[112]

A detailed examination by Professor Kiernan of the distinctive ornamental initials and their relative condition in other works of the period printed by Beale demonstrated not only that they were issued from his press but also allowed him to confidently date the two '1613' editions,[113] to around *c*.1615-1618 for the first Beale edition and *c*.1615-24 for the second:

> Given the established pattern of the intervals between printings of the earlier editions of the *Essays*, the publication of STC 1144 probably occurred sometime toward the middle of the period of 1615-24 though evidence for proof of this conjecture is lacking. At any rate, it is clear that Beale's 1613 title-pages were intended to conceal post-1613 reprintings of Jaggard's edition.[114]

What is curious is this could hardly have escaped the notice of John Jaggard yet no complaint legal or otherwise is known to have been made by him, and whatever the circumstances it is not impossible there was some kind of private arrangement between the two of them for reasons best known to themselves and now lost to history, which might otherwise account for the falsely-dated second and third editions.

Around the middle of this period John Jaggard was in regular contact with Bacon who no doubt took a close interest in the nature of the printing of his own *Essays* and most likely Bacon and Jaggard had a number of private conversations about them at either his place of business or Bacon's official residence at York House. In 1618 Jaggard also petitioned Lord Chancellor Bacon and Chief Justice Sir Henry Montague regarding a dispute on behalf of the poor stationers of London:

> In 1618 evidently, he [John Jaggard] assumed the leadership of the poorer stationers against the Master, Wardens and Assistants of the Company, whom he accused of giving privileges to the English stock-part of the group of copyrights which had reverted to the Company-to strangers and men of other companies instead of to the poor of their own Company to whom it belonged. John Jaggard petitioned the Chief Justice, Sir Henry Montague, and the Lord Chancellor, Francis Bacon, asking for their intervention in this matter. John Jaggard's petition was successful. On the 10th of May 1618 both Montague and Bacon endorsed the petition ordering the officials of the Company to obey their own regulations, and five days later Bacon wrote from York House to reinforce his endorsement.[115]

During 1618 with the petition on behalf of the poor stationers and the printing of Bacon's *Essays,* it appears that Bacon and the Jaggards were in close contact, much of it behind the scenes, with William also printing a series of Shakespeare quartos, an event which still beguiles and mystifies Shakespeare scholarship to the present day.

Towards the end of 1618 or in early 1619 William Jaggard began printing ten Shakespearean plays for his friend the publisher Thomas Pavier. He owned the rights to some previously printed Shakespeare plays *Henry V, 2 Henry VI, 3 Henry IV* and *Titus*

Andronicus but apparently he had made no attempt to reprint any of them until entering into his secret agreement with William Jaggard.

The ten plays were published in nine quartos beginning with *2 Henry VI* and *3 Henry VI* issued in a single quarto as *The Whole Contention betweene the two Famous Houses, Lancaster and Yorke* 'Printed at London, for T. P.',[116] followed by *Pericles* 'Printed for *T. P.* 1619',[117] printed with continuous signatures. These two quartos were followed by *A Yorkshire Tragedie* ascribed on its title page to 'W. Shakespeare' and '(Printed for *T. P.* 1619)'.[118] The play had previously been entered on the Stationers' Register by Pavier as 'A booke Called A Yorkshire Tragedy Written by Wylliam Shakespere',[119] and soon after printed by R. B. for Pavier later the same year. Above the first page of the 1608 quarto stands Bacon's AA Headpiece.[120] It was later published in the Shakespeare Third Folio. Its authorship is disputed and it usually designated as part of what is described as the Shakespeare *Apocrypha*. The 1619 quarto of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* printed for Pavier (originally printed by Thomas Creede for Arthur Johnson in 1602) carries the false imprint '(Printed for *Arthur Johnson*, 1619)' on its title page.[121] Not only did some of the Pavier Quartos bear false imprints a number of them are also falsely dated. The first quarto of *The Merchant of Venice* was printed in 1600 by James Roberts for Thomas Heyes,[122] and with a similar looking title page the 1619 Pavier/Jaggard edition colophon reads '(Printed by J. Roberts, 1600)'. Above the first page of the 1619 Pavier/ Jaggard edition appears a woodcut with Tudor arms in its centre. Over the Tudor arms rests a crown with a female and male either side reaching up for it and to the far left and right are depicted two children, which serves as a cryptographic ideogram, representing Queen Elizabeth and her secret husband Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and their two royal children Francis Tudor Bacon and Robert Tudor Devereux, second Earl of Essex.[123]

Fig. 8 *Merchant of Venice* first page Tudor emblem

Two of the other title pages of the Pavier/Jaggard quartos are also falsely dated 1600. The play *Sir John Oldcastle* was first entered on the Stationers' Register on 11 August 1600 by Pavier as 'The first parte of the history of the life of Sir John Oldcastell lord Cobham',[124] and shortly after set forth anonymously as *The first part Of the true and honorable historie, of the life of Sir John Old-castle, the good Lord Cobham* printed by Valentine Simmes for Pavier to be sold at his shop at the sign of the Cat and Parrots.[125] The similarly looking 1619 falsely dated Pavier/Jaggard edition carries an attribution to William Shakespeare with the false imprint 'printed for T. P. 1600'.[126] The Shakespeare comedy *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was first entered on the Stationers' Register on 8 October 1600 by Thomas Fisher,[127] and printed for Fisher later the same year to be sold at his shop at the sign of the White Horse in Fleet Street.[128] The similar looking title page of the Pavier/Jaggard falsely dated edition is differentiated by the information in the colophon '(*Printed by Iames Roberts*, 1600)'.[129] Following the publication of the first quarto of *Henry V* in 1600, on 14 August of the same year, its copyright was transferred to Pavier, and a second quarto printed by Thomas Creede for Pavier appeared in 1602. The colophon in the falsely dated 1619 Pavier/Jaggard quarto reads 'Printed for *T. P*. 1608)'.[130] The first quarto of *King Lear* was printed for Nathaniel Butter in 1608,[131] and the falsely dated 1619 Pavier/Jaggard edition reads '(Printed for *Nathaniel Butter*, 1608)'. As with the falsely dated 1619 Jaggard printed edition of *The Merchant of Venice* across the top of the first page of this *King Lear* edition appears a woodcut with Tudor arms in its centre apparently representing Queen Elizabeth and her secret husband Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and their two concealed royal children Francis Tudor Bacon and Robert Tudor Devereux, second Earl of Essex.[132] It will be recalled that the royal Tudor arms appears in a woodcut between two cupids on the title pages of the 1606 and 1612 [Part 1& 2] John Jaggard editions of Bacon's *Essays*,[133]with a Tudor rose appearing in a woodcut over the dedication page to the 1613 edition of Bacon's *Essays* printed by William Jaggard for John Jaggard.[134]

M. VVilliam Shake-ſpeare
HIS
Hiſtory, of King Lear.
Enter Kent, Glocester, and Baſtard.

Fig. 9 *King Lear* first page Tudor emblem

These quartos with their false imprints and dates deceived Shakespeare scholars for nearly three hundred years before W. W. Greg and A. W. Pollard first discovered in the early part of the twentieth century based upon extensive bibliographical evidence that they were in fact all printed by William Jaggard for Thomas Pavier in 1619.[135] Since then virtually all Shakespeare scholars still believe a letter from the Lord Chamberlain William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke prompted the Court of the Stationers' Company to issue an order to prevent the publication of any plays by the King's Men without their consent was directed at Pavier which forced him to forge at least some of their imprints. More recently this prevailing assumption was swept aside by Professor Massai in her important ground-breaking work *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge University Press, 2007). She believed that the actors did not oppose Pavier's publishing venture and nor did he attempt to deceive the King's Men or his fellow stationers. His change of mind, after the first three quartos *The Whole Contention* (*2* and *3 Henry VI*) and *Pericles* were issued from the Jaggard press, which resulted in the false imprints, was prompted by an attractive business proposal rather than by the Court order of May 1619, and, in fact, the Pavier Quartos represented a daring marketing strategy involving William and Isaac Jaggard, which led to the publication of the First Folio in 1623.[136]

Under the important sub-heading 'Textual Variations in the Pavier Quartos' Professor Massai states that twentieth century editors of the plays republished by Pavier in 1619 agree 'they were extensively, and in some cases, carefully edited', but as she tellingly points outs, 'editors generally focus on the play they are editing and pay little attention to the Pavier Quartos as a specific group of texts.'[137] In this long sub-section Professor Massai presents a brilliant and detailed as well as a minutely annotated analysis of the Pavier Quartos highlighting the astonishing and extensive revisions and amendments in the texts which (even though she does not herself state or bring it to the attention of her learned readers) wields a crippling and fatal blow to an illusion that has beguiled the schoolmen and virtually the rest of the world for the last four centuries:

With the exception of *3 Henry VI*, the Pavier Quartos pay special attention to speech prefixes, ranging from *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which add and emend one speech prefix respectively, to *Henry V*, *A Yorkshire Tragedy* and *Pericles*, which add and emend seven, ten and fifteen speech prefixes each....

Even more extensive are the changes to the stage directions. All Pavier Quartos except *2 Henry VI* add missing entrances and exits. This type of intervention is far from systematic, as many necessary entrances and exits are left unmarked. Also sporadic but worth noting is the addition of directions when the stage action is not immediately obvious from the dialogue…

While new stage directions are added to clarify the stage action or the dialogue, other directions signalling stage business, which, while useful to actors, may seem unnecessary for readers, are often removed…

Some changes to the stage directions do represent necessary corrections….

Similarities in the rephrasing of stage directions in eight out ten plays suggest that the printer's copies used to set the Pavier Quartos may have been annotated by a single hand. Some plays regularize syntax in long directions…

The literary quality of the light rephrasing undergone by some directions in the Pavier Quartos is also reflected in their layout and format, which make the page look less crammed…

The sustained attention paid to speech prefixes and stage directions in the Pavier Quartos often extend to the dialogue. Lines are rewritten to rectify factual mistakes, to introduce or record changes in the dramatic structure of the play, or to make sense of mangled passages in the source texts....

…there is another group of corrections which require familiarity with the fictive world of the play, and therefore, are more likely to have been introduced by an annotating reader rather than by a printing house agent….

Collectively, the corrections to the dialogue in the Pavier Quartos, along with the frequent intervention to correct or add missing speech prefixes, and the extensive rewriting, reformatting and correction of the stage directions, signal the intervention of an annotating reader. It also worth stressing that further changes in the Pavier Quartos have more to do with stylistic preferences than with the need to emend their source texts.[138]

Of course, for the alert and intelligent reader, the absolutely vital question is: just who is responsible for all the revisions and amendments in the Pavier Quartos? According to Massai 'Establishing the identity of the annotator(s) who prepared the printer's copy for the Pavier Quartos from internal evidence only is virtually impossible.'[139] However, she continues, 'some patterns in Pavier's earlier output as a publisher suggest he is at least a likely candidate', in support of which she provides some 'suggestive parallels' to the kind of editorial intervention seen in the Pavier Quartos in the form of plays that he had previously published.[140] Yet Professor Massai provides no evidence whatsoever that the amendments were actually carried out by Pavier himself and in truth she could not even convince herself he was responsible for those carried out in the quartos that bear his name 'Since Pavier is the only agent involved in both publishing ventures he should at least be regarded as a possible candidate for the role of annotator of the printer's copy underlying his quarto editions of 1619.'[141]

The very suggestion Thomas Pavier may have been responsible for these full extensive revisions and amendments, is not only extremely unlikely, it is frankly inconceivable. Thomas Pavier was not a writer who possessed the necessary 'stylistic sophistication' displayed in the revisions and amendments to these quarto texts enabling to him rewrite lines and exercise stylistic preferences. He was not a poet or seasoned dramatist and nor did he have professional or practical experience of the theatre that would have equipped him with the necessary knowledge and skills to introduce appropriate speech prefixes and introduce knowing stage-directions to clarify stage action or dialogue, or where the stage action is not immediately obvious from the dialogue. Nor to introduce or record changes in its dramatic structure and make corrections that required familiarity with the fictive world of the play. It is as clear and obvious as the day is long that some, most, if not all, of these revisions and amendments are authorial, and here lies the rub. This was the insurmountable problem facing Professor Massai one she was undoubtedly aware of and why throughout the fourteen pages of her discussion there was one word that could not be uttered, the word author. Because in this context the difference between the word annotator and the word author is all the difference in the world, simply because William Shakspere of Stratford, the supposed author of the Shakespeare poems and plays, had been dead for the last three long years; an illusion now only believed by the schoolmen, the only all too easily deceived, and the lamentably deluded.

With the Pavier Quartos now on sale in the bookshops of London the decade turned into the final eventful years of the known life of Bacon. He had now emulated his great father Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon and stood at the pinnacle of his public career as Lord Keeper and Lord Chancellor of England. In October 1620 he published part of his *Instauratio Magna* (*Great Instauration*) and was very busy making plans with his good friend Ben Jonson for a milestone birthday that was now beckoning on the horizon. His largess and grand entertainments, festivities and birthday celebrations were legendary, and all the London elite would have been in a state of great expectation and excitement awaiting an invitation to what promised to be the party of the decade.

When the day of his sixtieth birthday on 22 January 1621 arrived Bacon celebrated with a lavish banquet at his official residence York House on the Strand with a large throng of the great and the good beating a path to his door. It is not known for certain whether it was attended by King James and other members of the royal family but we

can be confident that the House of Stuart was adequately represented. Then there was the nobility from the city and the country with the Dukes and Earls in all their finery, the courtiers, and the gentlemen of the court. It was also very likely that his guest list included several members of his Rosicrucian-Freemasonry Brotherhood among them various past and future Grand Masters of England Inigo Jones, the Earl of Arundel and the current Grand Master of England William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke to whom Bacon two years later dedicated his Shakespeare First Folio. In all times his residence was a beacon for foreign ambassadors, diplomats and other dignitaries all of whom if in the kingdom at the time would have received invitations, especially his close friend and resident Spanish Ambassador Count Gondomar who lived close to the bookshop of William Jaggard, where the two of them must have spent many a happy afternoon. To celebrate the birthday of the Lord Chancellor, York House was doubtless packed with High Court Judges and Chief Justices of the Realm, and other senior law figures including his own Clerk in Chancery William Tottell, the steward of Bacon's estates, and son of his old friend the printer and bookseller Richard Tottell, under whom John Jaggard served his apprenticeship. For a great writer like Bacon the printers and publishers of the Worshipful Stationers' Company would doubtless have attended his birthday celebrations many of whom he had enjoyed long relationships going back years and even decades. Most likely among them were Thomas Pavier, the brothers William and John Jaggard, the printers and publishers of Bacon's *Essays*, Isaac Jaggard, printer with his father William, of the Shakespeare First Folio, and other members of the First Folio syndicate John Smethwicke, William Aspley and Edward Blount. Then there were the glittering array of poets and playwrights George Herbert, Thomas Randolph, and of course, the poet and playwright Ben Jonson who for his sixtieth birthday celebrations wrote an ode entitled 'Lord Bacon's Birthday', in which Jonson describes Bacon as his *King*, and about whom, he says, there is some kind of mystery surrounding him:

> 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!
> Pardon, I read it in thy face, the day
> For whose returns, and many, all these pray:
> And so do I. This is the sixtieth year
> Since Bacon, and thy lord was born, and here;
> Son to the grave wise Keeper of the Seal,
> Fame, and foundation of the English weal.
> What then his father was, that since is he,
> Now with a title more to the degree;
> England's high Chancellor: the destined heir
> In his soft cradle to his father's chair,
> Whose even thread the Fates spin round and full,
> Out of the choicest, and their whitest wool.
> 'Tis a brave cause of joy, let it be known,
> For 'twere a narrow gladness, kept thine own
> Give me a deep-crowned bowl, that I may sing
> In raising him the wisdom of my king.[142]

Five days later on 27 January, Bacon was created Viscount St Alban at Theobalds in the presence of the King, Prince Charles and the favourite the Duke of Buckingham but things were already brewing that would in the weeks and months ahead bring his world crashing down. In a politically motivated manoeuvre Bacon was impeached on trumped up charges of corruption and on 3 May harshly sentenced by the House of Lords. He was dismissed from office as Lord Chancellor and banned from holding any other public office, fined the enormous sum of £40,000, and temporarily imprisoned in the Tower. He was taken to the Tower on 31 May but was released a few days later on 2 June and taken to the house of Sir John Vaughan at Parsons Green in Fulham for some rest and recuperation. With such an unjust reversal in his fortunes and fall from grace most men would have just disintegrated and crumbled into self-pity and inertia but not this man. His determination to overcome his adversity presented in his universal mind an opportunity for the future betterment of mankind. In an astonishing letter written to his trusted inward friend the Spanish Ambassador Count Gondomar dated 6 June 1621 Bacon explicitly states that he was to devote himself to the instruction of the actors in reference to the planned for Shakespeare First Folio and the service of posterity:

Your Excellency's love towards me I have found ever warm and sincere alike in prosperity and adversity. For which I give you due thanks. But for myself, my age, my fortune, yea my Genius, to which I have hitherto done but scant justice, calls me now to retire from the stage of civil action and betake myself to letters, and to the instruction of the actors themselves, and the service of posterity.[143]

In the last five years of his recorded life Bacon wrote, revised, expanded, translated and published an enormous body of his writings and works in Latin and English. This was carried out in his literary workshop at Gorhambury with the help of his 'good pens', including the poet and dramatist Ben Jonson, who assisted Bacon in translating his essays, previously printed and published by William and John Jaggard, into Latin:

The *Latine* Translation of them [Bacon's *Essays*] were a Work performed by divers Hands; by those of Doctor *Hacket* (late Bishop of *Lichfield*) Mr. *Benjamin Johnson* (the learned and judicious Poet) and some others, whose Names I once heard from Dr. *Rawley*; but I cannot now recal them.[144]

With Ben Jonson now living at Gorhambury, Bacon was busy gathering together from various manuscripts and printed sources all of his Shakespeare plays for publication in what his known as the First Folio of the Shakespeare Works. Twenty plays had been previously published in quarto editions and another sixteen were to be published for the first time in the First Folio. Many of the twenty plays previously issued in quarto editions were variously revised, amended and expanded by Bacon with Ben working alongside him busily preparing and writing some of the prefatory material prefixed to the First Folio.

The preliminary pages of the Shakespeare First Folio consists of a verse signed by Ben Jonson facing the Droeshout portrait. The same poet and dramatist living with Bacon at Gorhambury, and a member of his Rosicrucian Brotherhood, also provides another long commendatory poem 'To the memory of my beloued, The Avthor Mr. William Shakespeare', whom Ben has known for many years to be nothing more than a pseudonym, or literary mask, for his Rosicrucian Grand Master, Lord Bacon. The learned address '*To the great Variety of Readers'*, signed by John Heminge and Henry Condell (both probably semi-illiterate and who certainly did not possess the learning

for it), was itself most likely written by Bacon alone, or jointly, with Jonson in a Folio replete with other Baconian-Rosicrucian secrets.

The First Folio was a joint venture between William Jaggard, John Smethwicke William Aspley and the publisher Edward Blount four members of a syndicate that held copyrights to previously published Shakespeare plays, with Jaggard apparently acquiring the rights to some of the plays previously owned by Pavier. It is believed by some that the actual printing of the First Folio began in 1621 and it was expected to be on the market by mid-1622 indicated by the fact it was included in the Frankfurt book fair's catalogue as one of the books printed between the marts of April 1622 and October 1622 'which includes the entry 'Playes, written by M. William Shakespeare, all in one volume, printed by Isaac Jaggard, in fol.'[145] Following Hinman it is now widely believed that the printing of the First Folio commenced in early 1622 and after some delays took nearly two years to complete during which time as many as nine compositors worked on the project.[146] With the printing very near its completion on 8 November Blount and Isaac Jaggard entered in the Stationers' Register the copyrights to the plays that had not been previously published:

M[r] Blounte Isaak Jaggard. Entred for their Copie vnder the hands of M[r] Doctor Worrall and M[r] Cole, warden, M[r] William Shakspeers Comedyes Histories, and Tragedyes soe manie of the said Copies as are not formerly entred to other men. Viz[t]. Comedyes. The Tempest. The two gentlemen of Verona. Measure for Measure. The Comedy of Errors. As you Like it. All's well that ends well. Twelft night. The winters tale. Histories. The thirde part of Henry the sixt. Henry the eight. Coriolanus. Timon of Athens. Julius Caesar. Tragedies. Mackbeth. Anthonie and Cleopatra. Cymbeline.[147]

The publication of the First Folio occurred shortly and the earliest recorded purchase of a copy of it was made by Bacon's close friend Sir Edward Dering on 5 December 1623 who actually purchased two copies and it may have been Bacon himself who sent his close secret inward friend Count Gondomar now back in Spain a copy of the First Folio which it is said contained many MS interpolations in English, with some in verse.[148]

The imprint of the First Folio claims the volume was 'Printed by Isaac Jaggard, and Ed. Blount, 1623',[149] but Blount was only a publisher and the printing of the Folio was done entirely in the printing shop of William Jaggard and his son Isaac On the last page of the First Folio appears a second colophon '*Printed at the Charges of W. Jaggard, Ed. Blount, I. Smithweeke, and W. Aspley*, 1623.'[150] Sometime before his greatest triumph saw the light of day, William Jaggard died sometime in late October or early November. His will made on 28 March 1623 proved on 17 November 1623 named his wife Jane Jaggard as executor and Thomas Pavier as one of the overseers of his substantial estate. [151] On 4 November 1623 his son Isaac Jaggard succeeded him as the printer of the city of London and while Jane Jaggard took nominal charge of the press Isaac continued to manage the actual printing and day to day running of the business.[152]

With all the prefatory matter prefixed to the First Folio carefully arranged by Bacon he very deliberately placed at the front of it the enigmatic play *The Tempest*. For various reasons virtually all Shakespeare and Baconian scholars know the play occupies a very special place in the Shakespeare canon. It has been described by Shakespeare and Baconian scholars as the most Baconian of all the plays. Its central God-like figure the scientific-philosopher Prospero is a complex dramatic portrait made in the image of his creator, the scientific-philosopher Francis Bacon, Founding Father of Modern Science and the Modern World. Through his all-knowing and all-seeing mind the scientific-philosopher Prospero controls the world and future destiny of mankind and can be seen as the commander-in-chief of the Rosicrucian Brothers who govern Salomon's House in

Bacon's *New Atlantis* (*Land of the Rosicrucians*), with Solomon's House, or Solomon's Temple, adopted as the central legend of its outer body, the Freemasonry Brotherhood. *The Tempest* described by Dr Yates as a Rosicrucian manifesto, is a condensed dramatic reflection of the discovery of the New World of North America and *New Atlantis* (*Land of the Rosicrucians*) a philosophical and scientific blueprint for what became the United States of America, whose coeval the first Rosicrucian manifesto the *Fama Fraternitatis* was first issued with their godly statement of intent-*The Universal of the Reformation of the Whole World*.

Like the play itself, the very first page of the play in the Shakespeare First Folio, is also very special, and the first letter of the first word of the text proper, conceals and reveals the identity of its secret hidden author, Francis Bacon.

In the second half of the twentieth century the American scholar Charlton Hinman subjected the printing of the First Folio to a forensic technical study in *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1963) based on an investigation of some eighty copies in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington. The monumental standard work which is never likely to be surpassed is printed over two enormous volumes totalling more than a thousand pages (in fact to be precise volume 1 is 560 pages and volume 2 507 which is curious because if we drop the null '0' from 2 507 it yields 257 Francis Bacon (100)/Fra Rosicrosse (157) in simple cipher and if the null is reinstated in the total number of pages 560+507=1067 it gives us 10067 Francis Bacon (100)/Francis (67) in simple cipher). Like most large standard works it remains largely unread from cover to cover and some of its contents remain effectively hidden and unknown to the world. Another device used in certain special publications carrying secret or important information intended for the initiated is the very deliberate device of not including the name of the person and/or the subject matter. As one might expect of a work of this calibre printed and published by Oxford Clarendon Press, the most scholarly and prestigious press in the world, *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare* possesses a very extensive and detailed thirty page Index containing hundreds of entries. There is however one name very conspicuous by its absence, namely, Francis Bacon (and/or the Baconians).

The first page of *The Tempest* exists in four different states:

The original upside-down setting of the large ornamental initial 'B' which begins the text proper was almost immediately noticed and corrected, for it is to be seen in but one copy (Folg. 24...).The incorrect signature was only later put right, since the page is mis-signed 'B' in four copies in addition to Folg. 24. And the press was thereafter stopped once again to replace the defective '*S*' of '*Actus primus*, *Scena prima*.'-for the broken letter is still to be seen in two copies (Folg. 12 and 78) which are otherwise fully corrected. Thus we have:

State I-uncorrected, as in Folg. 24;
State II-ornamental initial righted but both signature and '*Scena*' still uncorrected, as in Folg. 1, 14, 28, and 44;
State III-signature correct but '*Scena*' still defective, as in Folg. 12 and 78; and
State IV-fully corrected, as in most copies, the press having been stopped a third time simply in order to replace the defective '*S*' of '*Scena*'.

This last alteration is somewhat surprising because it is so trifling; but it doubtless reflects the special care for appearances thought necessary in the first page of the first play in the volume. (Baconians, however, will perhaps find other meanings both in the broken '*S*' and in the two 'B's that invite such particular attention in the earliest state of page A1.).[153]

In this very carefully worded method of delivery-one Bacon himself would have been proud of-Professor Hinman does not say anything else and it is not immediately clear just precisely what he actually means by his comments and his very learned academic readers (if they ever actually read it) might not have been any of the wiser concerning just what he was hinting at.

We should carefully take in the full comprehension of his final sentence on the matter: '(Baconians, however, will perhaps find other meanings both in the broken '*S*' and in the two 'B's that invite such particular attention in the earliest state of page A1)'. Interestingly, there are 33 unbracketed words in the paragraph pertaining to Baconians-I have highlighted them in bold. To clarify there is only one known copy of the First Folio with the upside down 'B' in the world and it is currently housed at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington DC, USA.

Let us first take into account the unique upside-down setting of the large ornamental 'B' and what it signifies. The barrister and Member of Parliament Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, a voluminous advocate of Bacon's authorship of the Shakespeare poems and plays, was familiar with the Baconian device of printed upside down, headpieces, engravings and ornaments and what it arcanely indicated to the initiated: 'This trick of the upside down printing of ornaments and even of engravings is continually resorted to when some revelation concerning Bacon's works is given' and more specifically 'we may be perfectly certain that we shall find some revelation concerning Bacon and Shakespeare.'[154] What is it then concerning the two 'B's that Professor Hinman chose not to spell out for us? Firstly, let us take a look at the signature B at the bottom of the page (the correct signature should be A and the signature B is only found in four other copies). The letter B is obviously the first letter of the surname Bacon and if we look across the line in the adjacent column it reads '*A cry within*' which means something that is not uttered out loud. These first two words begin with an A and C thus we have the letters BAC a self-evident contraction of BACON. Nor do have to look too far for the missing O and N. The last part of the sentence reads '*Enter Sebastian, Anthonio* & *Gonzalo*'. The O and N is found twice in the name '*Anthonio*', the Christian name of Bacon's brother, Anthony Bacon, and it will be observed that the line (omitting the ampersand '&') contains 39 letters F BACON in simple cipher. Let us now turn our attention to the defective '*S*' of '*Actus primus, Scena prima*'. What is it then Professor Hinman knows about the defective letter '*S*' that the schoolmen and virtually the rest of the sleepy Shakespeare world do not? Here the large upside down ornamental letter B serves as a clue. If the reader turns this unique page of the Shakespeare First Folio upside-down the defective '*S*' looks like an F and the letters CT of '*Actus*' that when read normally looks like a B reversed (just like the large ornament B) when looked at upside down also forms the shape of the letter B giving us the two initial letters of the name Francis Bacon. It should also be noted that the upside down B is followed by the letter A with its ornate flourish down the one side representing the letter C thus in addition to the initials F and B we have the letters F BAC a self-evident contraction of FRANCIS BACON.

THE
TEMPEST.

Actus primus, Scena prima.

A tempestuous noise of Thunder and Lightning heard: Enter a Ship-master, and a Boatswaine.

Mast. Boatswaine.

Boats. Here Master: What cheere?

Mast. Good: Speake to th' Mariners: fall to't yarely, or we run our selues a ground, bestirre, bestirre.

Exit.

Enter Mariners.

Boats. Heigh my hearts, cheerely cheerely my hearts: yare, yare: Take in the toppe-sale: Tend to th' Masters whistle: blow till thou burst thy winde, if roome enough.

Enter Alonso, Sebastian, Anthonio, Ferdinando, Gonzalo, and others.

Alon. Good Boatswaine haue care: where's the Master? Play the men.

Boats. I pray now keepe below.

Anth. Where is the Master, Boson?

Boats. Do you not heare him? You marre our labour, Keepe your Cabines: you do assist the Storme.

Gonz. Nay, good be patient.

Boats. When the Sea is hence, what cares these roarers for the name of King? To Cabine; silence: trouble vs not.

Gonz. Good, yet remember whom thou hast aboord.

Boats. None that I more loue then my selfe. You are a Counsellor, if you can command these Elements to silence, and worke the peace of the present, we will not hand a rope more, vse your authority: if you cannot, giue thankes you haue liu'd so long, and make your selfe ready in your Cabine for the mischance of the houre, if it so hap. Cheerely good hearts: out of our way I say.

Exit.

Gonz. I haue great comfort from this fellow: methinks he hath no drowning marke vpon him, his complexion is perfect Gallowes: stand fast good Fate to his hanging, make the rope of his destiny our cable, for our owne doth little aduantage: If he be not borne to be hang'd, our case is miserable.

Exeunt.

Enter Boatswaine.

Boats. Downe with the top-Mast: yare lower, lower, bring her to Try with Main-course. A plague——— Enter Sebastian, Anthonio, & Gonzalo.

Page A1 in State I (Folg. 24)

Fig. 10 Page A1 in State I (Folg. 24) showing the unique upside down positioning of the ornamental 'B' on the first page of the First Folio

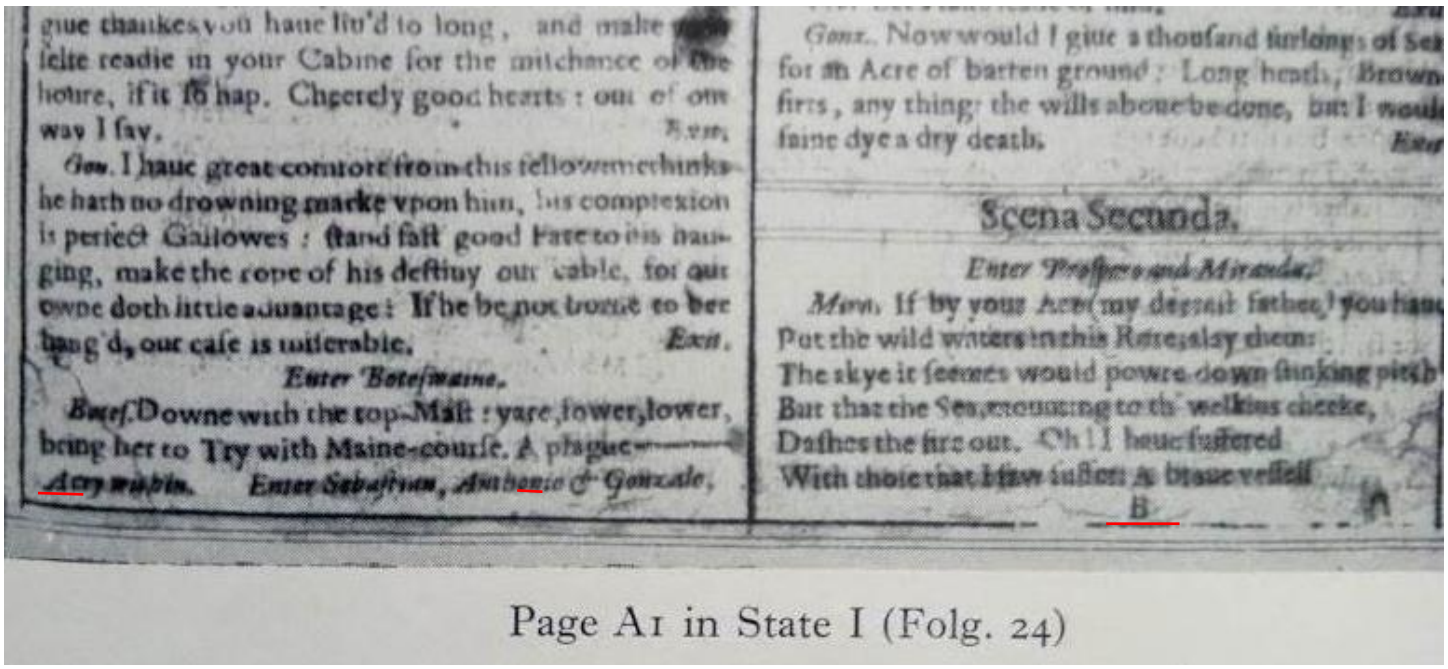


Fig.11 Page A1 in State I (Folg. 24) showing incorrect signature ‘B’ instead of ‘A’

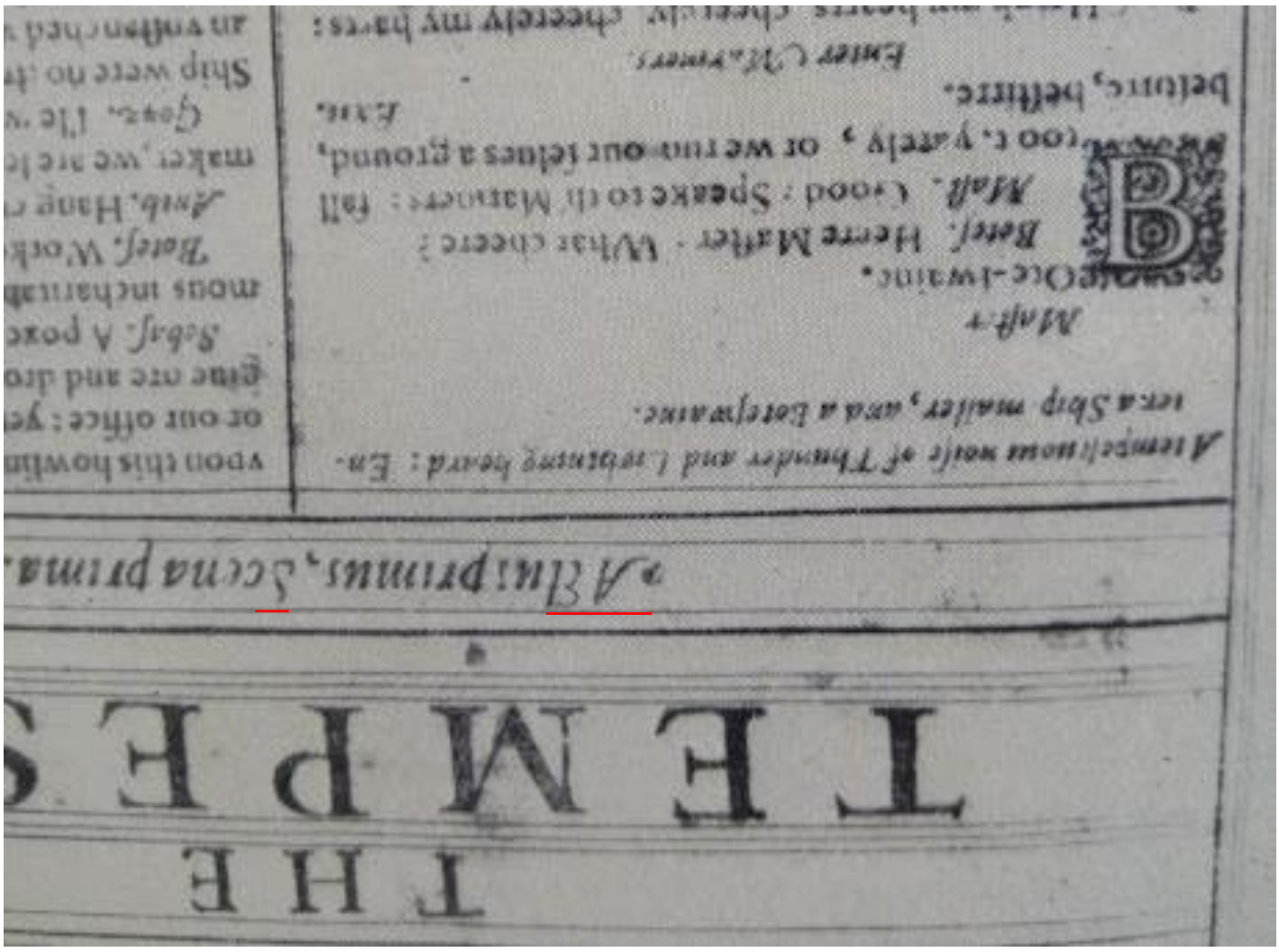


Fig. 12 Page A1 in State I (Folg. 24) showing the broken ‘S’ in ‘*Scena*’

The upside down positioning of the ornamental letter ‘B’ is unique to one copy of the folio, however the same ornamental ‘B’ appears in all other copies but the correct way round. The *piece de resistance* is to be found in this large ornamental letter which in a single instance utterly blows to smithereens the whole edifice of the Stratfordian illusion that the illiterate or semi-illiterate Shakspere of Stratford is the author of the immortal Shakespeare poems and plays-a Rosicrucian-Freemasonic *ludibrium* to end all *ludibriums* (an illusion, a part a man might play, a deception, a fiction, a comedy, farce or sublime joke),[155] played on this theatre of fools for the last four hundred years. If the large ornamental B is magnified-as shown in the facsimile-it reveals the name of Francis Bacon hidden in the decorative scroll with the name Francis across the top and Francis at the bottom and the name Bacon down the right side.[156] This explosive and decisive evidence completely demolishes the illusion that William Shakspere is responsible for the Shakespeare works, a fiction first presented to the world nearly four hundred years ago with the publication of the First Folio printed in the Jaggard printing shop by William and Isaac Jaggard in 1623.

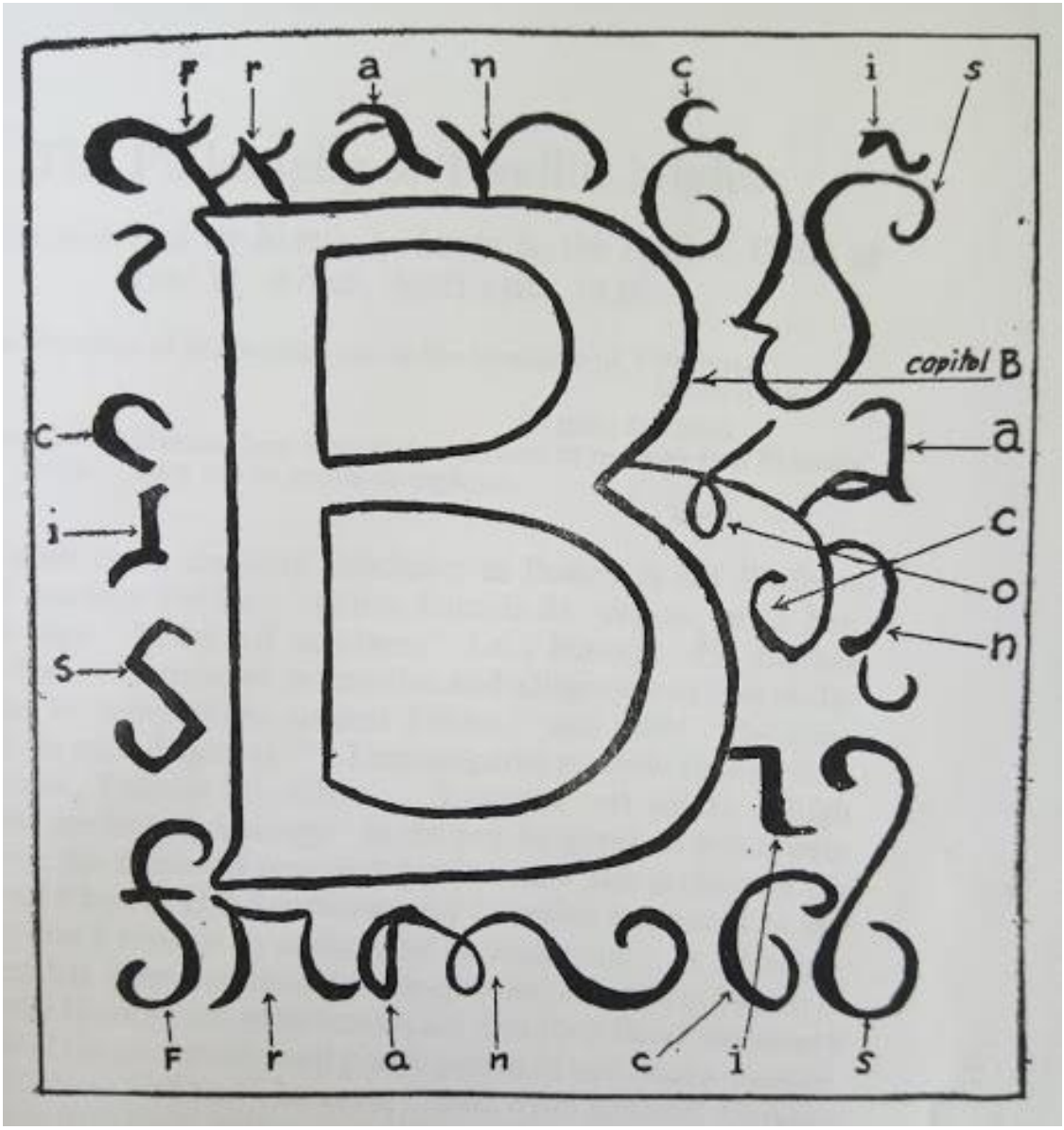


Fig. 13 The name Francis Bacon embedded within the ornamental ‘B’ on the first page of the First Folio

The two brothers William and John Jaggard were also responsible for printing and publishing a series of Bacon's *Essays* stretching over two decades and at the time of the Shakespeare First Folio John Jaggard still owned the copyright to them. John died before 9 September 1623 and in only a matter of weeks or just a few months after the publication of the First Folio (published in November or December 1623) his widow Elizabeth Jaggard soon published *The Essaies Of Sr Francis Bacon Knight, the Kings Atturney Generall. His Religious Meditations. Places of Perswasion and Disswassion. Seene and allowed* (Printed at London by I. D. for *Elizabeth Iaggard, at the hand and Starre neere the middle Temple-gate. 1624*).[157]

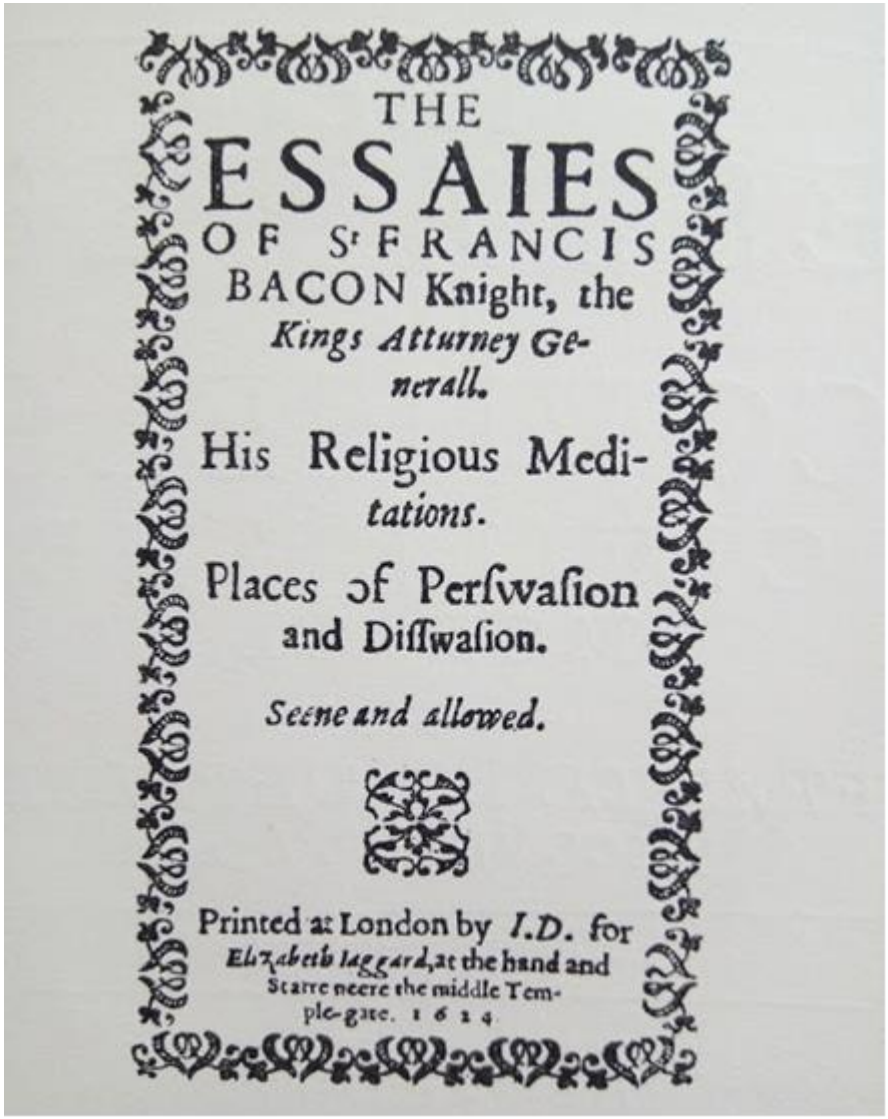

THE
ESSAIES
OF Sr FRANCIS
BACON Knight, the
Kings Atturney Ge-
nerall.
His Religious Medi-
tations.
Places of Perſwaſion
and Diſſwaſion.
Seene and allowed.
Printed at London by *I.D.* for
Elizabeth Iaggard, at the hand and
Starre neere the middle Tem-
ple-gate. 1624.

Fig. 14 Elizabeth Jaggard's edition of Bacon's *Essays* 1624

The third and final edition of Bacon's *Essays* (which Ben Jonson assisted Bacon in translating into Latin about the time he jointly edited with Bacon the First Folio) which contains 58 essays, of which twenty are new, with revised versions of the previously published essays, was entered on the Stationers' Register on 13 March 1625 to Richard Whitaker and Hannah Barret:

master Whiteacre
Hanna [h] Barrett.

Entred for their Copie under the handes of [HENRY MONTAIGNE] the lord Bishop of LONDON and master lowness warden, *The Essayes and Counsell* [*s*] *morrall and Civill* of FRANCIS lord VERULAM vi[s]count SAINT ALBON…vj^{d}.[158]

The edition was published in April as *The Essayes Or Covnsels, Civill And Morall, Of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount S^{t}. Alban. Newly enlarged*,[159] followed by a second issue which removes Whitaker's name from the title page and substitutes '*Newly written*' for '*Newly enlarged*'.[160] This change, writes Professor Kiernan, may have been prompted by the rights controversy brought to the Stationers' Court two months of the publication of the above edition by Elizabeth Jaggard with the following judgement recorded on 25 June 1625:[161]

M^{rs} Jaggard Vpon hearing of the matter betwixt Mrs Jaggard &
M^{rs} Barret Mrs Barret Concerning the printing of the lo: Veru

lams Essayes. It plainely appeared that the booke lately printed by M^{rs} Barret is M^{rs} Jaggardes proper Copie wth some alterac[i]ons and addic[i]ons therevnto. And therefore (the matter being put to the table by Consent of both pties) It is though fitt and so ordered That mrs Barret shall give vnto her the said mrs Jaggard ffiftye of the same bookes in quires. And mrs Barret is not to print yt any more wthout her Consent, onely so much as is not mrs Jaggards she may printe at her pleasure.[162]

The court determined Elizabeth Jaggard to have prior rights, apparently deriving from her deceased husband John Jaggard who had first published a series of Bacon's *Essays* from 1606, one of which was printed for him by his brother William Jaggard, who with his son Isaac Jaggard, part owned the copyright to the Shakespeare First Folio. Thus at the time of Bacon's supposed death in April 1626 the Jaggards owned the copyright to his *Essays* and his Shakespeare First Folio whose secret authorship was and is known to his Rosicrucian-Freemasonry Brotherhood to the present day, who still jealously guard over his secret life and writings, while feeding the rest of the world the ridiculous figure of William Shakspere of Stratford.

Lord, what fools these mortals be
[*A Midsummer Night's Dream* 3.2:117]

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53. Anon., *The Tragedie of King Richard the Second*. *As it hath beene publikely acted by the right Honourable the Lorde Chamberlaine his Seruants* (London: printed by Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise, 1597), Bacon's AA headpiece (a different design to the one in *Venus and Adonis*) appears over the first page of the text ($A2^{r}$).
54. William Shakespeare, *The Tragedie of King Richard the Second*. *As it hath beene*

publikely acted by the right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants. *By William Shakespeare* (London: printed by Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise 1598), Bacon's AA headpiece (different design to the 1597 edition) appears over the first page of the text ($A2^r$).

55. Anon., *The Tragedy Of King Richard the third*. *Containing, His treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence*: *the pittiefull murther of his iunnocent nephewes*: *his tyrannicall vsurpation*: *with the whole course of his detested life, and most deserued death*. *As it hath beene lately Acted by the Right honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants* (London: printed by Valentine Sims for Andrew Wise, 1597), Bacon's AA headpiece appears over the first page of the text ($A2^r$).
56. William Shakespeare, *The Tragedie Of King Richard the third*. *Conteining his treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence*: *the pitifull murther of his innocent Nephewes*: *his tyrannicall vsurpation*: *with the whole course of his detested life, and most deserued death. As it hath beene lately Acted by the Right honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants*. *By William Shake-speare* (London: printed by Thomas Creede for Andrew Wise, 1598), Bacon's AA headpiece appears over the first page of the text ($A2^r$).
57. William Shakespeare, *A Pleasant Conceited Comedie Called, Loues labors lost*. *As it was presented before her Highnes this last Christmas*. *Newly corrected and augmented by W*. *Shakespere* (London: printed by William White for Cutbert Burby, 1598).
58. Francis Bacon, *Essayes*. *Religious Meditations*. *Places of perswasion and diswassion*. *Scene and allowed* (London: printed for Humfrey Hooper, 1597), (STC 1137.5; Gibson, no. 2).
59. William A. Jackson, The *Carl H*. *Pforzheimer Library English Literature 1475-1700* (New York: Privately Printed, 1940), I, pp. xxxvii-xli; Michael Kiernan, ed., *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* ((Oxford Clarendon Press, 2000), p. lxix.
60. Michael Kiernan, ed., *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* ((Oxford Clarendon Press, 2000), p. lxix.
61. Francis Bacon, *Essaies*. *Religious Meditations*. *Places of perswasion and diswassion*. *Scene and allowed* (London: printed for Humfrey Hooper, 1598), (STC 1138; Gibson, no. 3).
62. William Shakespeare, *The Passionate Pilgrime By W*. *Shakespeare* (London: printed for William Jaggard and are to be sold by W. Leake, at the Greyhound in Paules Churchyard, 1599). For some unknown reason the first fourteen poems are followed by a second title page *Sonnets To sundry notes of Musicke* (London: printed for W. Iaggard, and are to be sold by W. Leake, at the Greyhound in Paules Churchyard, 1599).
63. William Shakespeare, *Venvs And Adonis* (London: printed by [Peter Short] for William Leake, dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Greyhound, 1599); William Shakespeare, *Venvs And Adonis* (London: printed by [Richard Bradocke] for William Leake, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Greyhound, 1599); William Shakespeare, *Venvs And Adonis* (London: printed by [Robert Raworth] for William Leake, dwelling at the signe of the Holy Ghost, in Pauls Churchyard, 1602); William Shakespeare, *Venvs And Adonis* (London: printed by [Humphrey Lownes] for William Leake, dwelling at the signe of the Holy Ghost, in Paules Church-yard, 1602). Two of his other editions of *Venus and Adonis* lack title pages STC 22359 William Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*

(London: printed by Richard Bradocke for William Leake, 1602?) and STC 22360b William Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis* (London: printed for William Leake, 1602?).

64. Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen, eds., *Shakespeare's Poems* (Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2007, 2013), pp. 82-91, at p. 87.
65. John Roe, ed., *The Poems* (Cambridge University Press, 1992, 2007), pp. 53-9, at p. 57.
66. Ibid., p. 57; Colin Burrow, ed., *William Shakespeare The Complete Sonnets and Poems* (Oxford University Press, 2002, 2008), pp. 74-82, at p. 81.
67. Sidney Lee, ed., *The Passionate Pilgrim Being A Reproduction In Facsimile Of The First Edition 1599 From The Copy In The Christie Miller Library At Britwell* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1905), p. 27.
68. A. Phoenix, 'An Unrecognised Francis Bacon Manuscript Written In The Hand Of the Bacon Family Scribe Petruccio Ubaldini, The Model For Petruccio In *The Taming of The Shrew*, Whose Father In The Play Is Antonio, And Where Two Of His Household Servants Are Named Nicholas And Nathaniel, The Christian Names of Anthony, Nicholas And Nathaniel Bacon', (2021), pp. 1-48, available online at www.sirbacon.org and www.francisbaconsociety.co.uk.
69. Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen, eds., *Shakespeare's Poems* (Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2007, 2013), pp. 82-91, pp. 86-7.
70. James P. Bednarz, '*The Passionate Pilgrim* and The Phoenix and Turtle' in *The Cambridge Companion To Shakespeare's Poetry*, ed., Patrick Cheney, (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 108-16, at p. 113.
71. Ibid., p. 113. In the same volume see also Lukas Erne, 'Print and Manuscript', pp. 54-71, at pp. 58-9.
72. Patrick Cheney, *Shakespeare, National-Poet Playwright* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 159.
73. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, eds., *William Shakespeare The Complete Works* (Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 777, 780-2. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, *et al*, eds., *William Shakespeare The Complete Works Second Edition* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 2005), pp. 805, 808-10.
74. Richard Proudfoot and Ann Thompson, et al, eds., *The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works* (The Arden Shakespeare, 1998, 2001), pp. 49, 83-7.
75. Colin Burrow, ed., *William Shakespeare The Complete Sonnets and Poems* (Oxford University Press, 2002, 2008), p. 76.
76. Edwin Eliot Willoughby, *A Printer Of Shakespeare The Books And Times of William Jaggard* (London: Philip Allan & Co. Ltd, 1934), pp. 63-5.
77. William Shakespeare, *The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice. With the extreame crueltie of Shylocke the Iewe towards the sayd Merchant, in cutting a iust pound of his flesh*: *and the obtayning of Portia by the choyse of three chests. As it hath beene diuers times acted by the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants. Written by William Shakespeare* (London: Printed by James Roberts for Thomas Heyes, and are to be sold in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Green Dragon, 1600).
78. For an account of the Sympson episode see Spedding, *Letters and Life*, II, pp. 106-8; Daphne Du Maurier, *Golden Lads A Study of Anthony Bacon, Francis and their friends* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1975), pp. 205-8; Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1998), pp. 198-9.
79. For a ground-breaking and illuminating examination and analysis of the play see

Simon Miles, 'Francis Bacon and *The Merchant of Venice*' Part I, Part 2 and Part 3 available at www.fbrt.org.uk and for a brilliant and complex reading of the play see Christina G. Waldman, (with a Foreword by Simon Miles) *Francis Bacon's Hidden Hand In Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2018), p. 8 and *passim*.

80. William Shakespeare, *The most lamentable Romaine Tragedie of Titus Andronicus. As it hath sundry times beene playde by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembrooke, the Earle of Darbie, the Earle of Sussex, and the Lord Chamberlaine theyr Seruants* (London: printed by James Roberts for Edward White and are to bee solde at his shoppe; at the little North doore of Paules, at the signe of the Gun, 1600).
81. James Anderson, *The New Book of Constitutions Of The Antient and Honourable Fraternity Of Free and Accepted Masons. Containing Their History, Charges, Regulations, &c. Collected and Digested By Order of the Grand Lodge from their old Records, faithful Traditions and Lodge-Books, For the Use of the Lodges* London: printed for Brother Caesar Ward and Richard Chandler, 1738), pp. 98-9.
82. William Shakespeare, *The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke. By William Shakespeare. Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect Coppie* (London: printed by James Roberts for Nicholas Ling and are to be sold at his shoppe vnder Saint Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet, 1604), STC 22276; William Shakespeare, *The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke. By William Shakespeare. Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect Coppie* (London: printed by James Roberts for Nicholas Ling and are to be sold at his shoppe vnder Saint Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet, 1605), STC 22276a.
83. A. Phoenix, 'The Pregnancy Portrait of Queen Elizabeth And His Secret Royal Birth Of Francis Bacon, Concealed Author Of The Shakespeare Works', (2020), pp. 1-86 And A. Phoenix, 'Francis Bacon And His Earliest Shakespeare Play *Hamlet* A Tudor Family Tragedy', (2021), pp. 1-109, see www.sirbacon.org and www.francisbaconsociety.co.uk.
84. Edwin Eliot Willoughby, *A Printer Of Shakespeare The Books And Times of William Jaggard* (London: Philip Allan & Co. Ltd, 1934), p. 66.
85. Ibid., p. 66.
86. Ibid., p. 66.
87. Francis Bacon, *A Briefe Discovrse, Touching The Happie Vnion Of The Kingdomes of England And Scotland. Dedicated In Private To His Maiestie* (London: printed for Felix Norton, and are to be sold by William Aspley, 1603).
88. Spedding, *Letters and Life*, III, pp. 218-34.
89. Francis Bacon, *Certaine Considerations touching the better pacification and Edification of the Church of England*: *Dedicated to his most Excellent Maiestie* (London: printed for Henry Tomes, 1604).
90. Edwin Eliot Willoughby, *A Printer Of Shakespeare The Books And Times of William Jaggard* (London: Philip Allan & Co. Ltd, 1934), p. 69.
91. Spedding, *Letters and Life*, V, pp. 72n3, 331, 341n1; VI, pp. 145, 146, 32-4, 345, 353, 385, 386, 387, 400; VII, *passim*; Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1998), pp. 473, 482, 484, 490-1, 492; Albert J. Loomie, '*Bacon and Gondomar*: An *Unknown Link in 1618*', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 21 (1968), pp. 1-10.
92. Edwin Eliot Willoughby, *A Printer Of Shakespeare The Books And Times of*

William Jaggard (London: Philip Allan & Co. Ltd, 1934), p. 69.

93. Ibid., p. 72. It is not certain who printed the 1606 edition of Bacon's *Essays* for John Jaggard.
94. Ibid., p. 73. See also Michael Kiernan, ed., *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* ((Oxford Clarendon Press, 2000), p. cix who states Hooper is not known to have transferred his copy to Jaggard and no transfer is recorded in the Stationers' Register and as Hooper continued to publish during this period and as far as is known made no objection to Jaggard's 1606 publication of Bacon's *Essays* some arrangement must have been reached between the parties.
95. Francis Bacon, *Essaies. Religious Meditations. Places of perswasion and diswassion. Scene and allowed* (London: printed for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling in Fleere streete at the hand and Starre neere Temple barre, 1606). It also reprints the dedication to Anthony Bacon, A2^{r}-A3^{r} (STC 1139; Gibson, no. 4).
96. Edwin Eliot Willoughby, *A Printer Of Shakespeare The Books And Times of William Jaggard* (London: Philip Allan & Co. Ltd, 1934), pp. 74-5.
97. Ibid., pp. 76-86.
98. Thomas Heywood, *An Apology For Actors* (London: printed by Nicholas Okes, 1612), last page; *An Apology For Actors. In Three Books. By Thomas Heywood* (London: printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1841), p. 62.
99. William Shakespeare, *The Passionate Pilgrime. Or Certaine Amorous Sonnets, betweene Venus and Adonis, newly corrected and augmented. By W. Shakespere. The third Edition. Where-unto is newly added two Loue-Epistles, the first from Paris to Hellen, and Hellens answer backe againe to Paris* (London: printed by W. Iaggard, 1612).
100. William Shakespeare, *The Passionate Pilgrime. Or Certaine Amorous Sonnets, betweene Venus and Adonis, newly corrected and augmented. The third Edition. Where-unto is newly added two Loue-Epistles, the first from Paris to Hellen, and Hellens answer backe againe to Paris* (London: printed by W. Iaggard, 1612).
101. A number of Baconian scholars are of the view that at least some of the works published in the name of Heywood were written by Bacon. See for example Parker Woodward, *Tudor Problems Being Essays On The Historical And Literary Claims Ciphered And Otherwise Indicated By Francis Bacon, William Rawley, Sir William Dugdale, And Others, In Certain Printed Books During The Sixteenth And Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Gay and Hancock, Ltd, 1912), p. 46 and William Smedley, 'Thomas Heywood', *Baconiana*, Vol. XIII, No. 50 (Third Series), April, 1915, pp. 57-85.
102. Francis Bacon, *Essaies. Religious Meditations. Places of perswasion and diswassion. Scene and allowed* (London: printed for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling in Fleere-streete at the Hand and Starre neere Temple barre, 1612), It also reprints the dedication to Anthony Bacon, A4^{r}-B1^{r} (STC 1139.5; Gibson, no.5). This is a paginary reprint of the 1606 edition.
103. Michael Kiernan, ed., *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* ((Oxford Clarendon Press, 2000), pp. cix-cx.
104. Spedding, *Letters and Life*, IV, pp. 340-1; Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1998), pp. 332-4; Michael Kiernan, ed., *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* ((Oxford Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 317.
104. Francis Bacon, *The Essaies Of S^{r} Francis Bacon Knight, the Kings Solliciter Generall* (London: printed by John Beale, 1612), A3^{r}-A4^{r} (STC 1141; Gibson, no. 6). The Table of Contents provides a list of forty essays but for some reason the

last two were not printed.

105. Francis Bacon, *Essaies. Religious Meditations. Places of perswasion and diswassion. Scene and allowed* (London: printed for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling in Fleere-streete at the Hand and Starre neere Temple barre, 1612), (STC 1141.5; Gibson, no. 7).
106. Michael Kiernan, ed., *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* ((Oxford Clarendon Press, 2000), pp. lxxxi-lxxxii.
107. Francis Bacon, *The Essaies of S^r^ Francis Bacon Knight, the Kings Atturny Generall. His Religious Meditations. Places of Perswasion and Disswasion. Seene and allowed* (London: printed for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling at the Hand and Starre betweene the two Temple Gates, 1613), A3^r^ (STC 1142; Gibson, no. 8).
108. Michael Kiernan, ed., *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* ((Oxford Clarendon Press, 2000), p. lxxxii.
109. William A. Jackson, 'Counterfeit Printing In Jacobean Times', *The Library*, 15 (1935), pp. 364-76, at p. 371. See also W. A. Jackson, The *Carl H. Pforzheimer Library English Literature 1475-1700* (New York: Privately Printed, 1940), I, pp. 34-6.
110. Paul S. Dunkin, 'The 1613 Editions of Bacon's *Essays*', *The Library*, 3 (1949), pp. 122-4, at p. 122.
111. Ibid., 123.
112. R. W. Gibson, *Francis Bacon A Bibliography Of His Works And Of Baconiana to the year 1750* (Oxford Scrivener Press, 1950), p. 10.
113. Francis Bacon, *The Essaies of S^r^ Francis Bacon Knight, the Kings Aturney Generall. His Religious Meditations. Places of Perswasion and Disswasion. Seene and allowed* (London: printed for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling at the Hand and Starre betweene the two Temple Gates, 1613), (STC 1143; Gibson, no. 9); Francis Bacon, *The Essaies of S^r^ Francis Bacon Knight, the Kings Atturney Generall. His Religious Meditations. Places of Perswasion and Disswasion. Seene and allowed* (London: printed for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling at the Hand and Starre betweene the two Temple Gates, 1613), (STC 1144; Gibson, no. 10).
114. Michael Kiernan, The Order And Dating Of The '1613' Editions Of Bacon's *Essays*', *The Library*, 29 (1974), pp. 449-54, at p. 454. See also Michael Kiernan, ed., *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* ((Oxford Clarendon Press, 2000), pp. lxxxiii-lxxxiv.
115. Edwin Eliot Willoughby, *A Printer Of Shakespeare The Books And Times of William Jaggard* (London: Philip Allan & Co. Ltd, 1934), p. 121.
116. William Shakespeare, *The Whole Contention betweene the two Famous Houses, Lancaster and Yorke. With the Tragicall ends of the good Duke Humfrey, Richard Duke of Yorke, and King Henrie the sixt. Diuided into two Parts: And newly corrected and enlarged. Written by William Shake-speare, Gent* (Printed at London, for T. P.).
117. William Shakespeare, *The Late, And much admired Play, Called, Pericles, Prince of Tyre. With the true Relation of the whole History, aduentures, and fortunes of the saide Prince. Written by W. Shakespeare* (Printed for T. P. 1619).
118. William Shakespeare, *A Yorkshire Tragedie. Not so New, as Lamentable and True. Written by W. Shakespeare* (Printed for *T. P*. 1619).
119. E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare A Study of Facts And Problems* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1930), I, p. 535.
120. William Shakespeare, *A Yorkshire Tragedy. Not so New as Lamentable and true Acted by his Maiesties Players at the Globe. Written by W. Shakspeare* (London:

printed by R. B. for Thomas Pauier and are to be sold at his shop on Cornhill, neere to the exchange, 1608), A2^{r}.

121. William Shakespeare, *A Most Pleasant and excellent conceited Comedy, of Sir Iohn Falstaffe, and the merry Wives of Windsor. With the swaggering vaine of ancient Pistoll, and Corporall Nym. Written by W. Shakespeare* (Printed for *Arthur Johnson*, 1619).
122. William Shakespeare, *The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice. With the extreame crueltie of Shylocke the Iewe towards the sayd Merchant, in cutting a iust pound of his flesh*: *and the obtayning of Portia by the choyse of three chests. As it hath beene diuers times acted by the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants. Written by William Shakespeare* (London: Printed by James Roberts for Thomas Heyes, and are to be sold in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Green Dragon, 1600).
123. William Shakespeare, *The excellent History of the Merchant of Venice. With the extreme cruelty of Shylocke the Iew towards the saide Merchant, in cutting a iust pound of his flesh. And the obtaining of Portia by the choyse of three caskets. Written by William Shakespeare* (Printed by J. Roberts, 1600), A2^{r}.
124. E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare A Study Of Facts And Problems* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1930), I, p. 533.
125. Anon., *The first part Of the true and honorable historie, of the life of Sir John Old-castle, the good Lord Cobham. As it hath been lately acted by the right honorable the Earle of Notingham Lord High Admirall of England his seruants* (London: printed by Valentine Simmes for Thomas Pavier, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Catte and Parrots neere the Exchange, 1600).
126. *The first part Of the true & honorable history, of the Life of Sir John Old-castle, the good Lord Cobham. As it hath been lately acted by the Right honorable the Earle of Notingham Lord High Admirall of England, his Seruants* (London printed for T.P. 1600).
127. E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare A Study Of Facts And Problems* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1930), I, p. 356.
128. William Shakespeare, *A Midsommer nights dreame. As it hath beene sundry times publickely acted, by the Right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Writen by William Shakespeare* (London: printed for Thomas Fisher, and are to be soulde at his shoppe at the Signe of the White Hart, in Fleetestreete, 1600).
129. William Shakespeare, *A Midsommer nights dreame. As it hath beene sundry times publickely acted, by the Right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Written by William Shakespeare* (*Printed by Iames Roberts*, 1600).
130. William Shakespeare, *The Chronicle History of Henry the fift, with his battell fought at AginCourt in France. Together with ancient Pistoll. As it hath bene sundry times playd by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants* (Printed for *T. P*. 1608).
131. William Shakespeare, *M. William Shak-speare*: *His True Chronicle Historie of the life and death of King Lear and his three Daughters. With the vnfortunate life of Edgar, sonne and heire to the Earle of Gloster, and his sullen and assumed humour of Tom of Bedlam*: *As it was played before the Kings Maiestie at Whitehall upon S. Stephens night in Christmas Hollidayes. By his Maiesties seruants playing vsually at the Gloabe on the Bancke-side* (London: printed for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Pide Bull neere S^{t}. Austins Gate, 1608).

132. William Shakespeare, *M. William Shake-speare, His True Chronicle History of the life and death of King Lear, and his three Daughters. With the vnfortunate life of Edgar, sonne and heire to the Earle of Glocester, and his sullen and assumed humour of Tom of Bedlam*: *As it was plaied before the Kings Maiestie at White-hall, upon S. Stephens night, in Christmas Hollidaies. By his Maiesties Seruants, playing vsually at the Globe on the Bancke-side* (Printed for *Nathaniel Butter,* 1608), A2^{r}.
133. Francis Bacon, *Essaies. Religious Meditations. Places of perswasion and diswassion. Scene and allowed* (London: printed for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling in Fleere streete at the hand and Starre neere Temple barre, 1606), title page (STC 1139; Gibson, no. 4); Francis Bacon, *Essaies. Religious Meditations. Places of perswasion and diswassion. Scene and allowed* (London: printed for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling in Fleere-streete at the Hand and Starre neere Temple barre, 1612), title page, (STC 1139.5; Gibson, no. 5); Francis Bacon, *Essaies. Religious Meditations. Places of perswasion and diswassion. Scene and allowed* (London: printed for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling in Fleere-streete at the Hand and Starre neere Temple barre, 1612), title page (STC 1141.5; Gibson, no. 7).
134. Francis Bacon, *The Essaies of S^{r} Francis Bacon Knight, the Kings Atturny Generall. His Religious Meditations. Places of Perswasion and Disswasion. Seene and allowed* (London: printed for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling at the Hand and Starre betweene the two Temple Gates, 1613), A3^{r}, (STC 1142; Gibson, no. 8), A3^{r}.
135. Alfred W. Pollard, *Shakespeare's Folios And Quartos A Study In The Bibliography Of Shakespeare's Plays 1594-1685* (Originally published in 1909: reprint New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1970), 'The Quartos of 1619', pp. 81-104.
136. Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare And The Rise of The Editor* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 106-21.
137. Ibid., p. 121.
138. Ibid., pp. 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 128, 130.
139. Ibid., p. 132.
140. Ibid., p. 133.
141. Ibid., p. 134.
142. Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1998), p. 442.
143. Spedding, *Letters and Life*, VII, p. 285n2; Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1998), p. 473.
144. Thomas Tenison, ed. *Baconiana. Or Certain Genuine Remains of Sir Francis Bacon* (London: printed by J. D. for Richard Chiswell, 1679), p. 60.
145. E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare A Study Of Facts And Problems* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1930), I, p. 138.
146. See Charlton Hinman, *The Printing And Proof-Reading Of The First Folio Of Shakespeare* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1963), *passim*.
147. E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare A Study Of Facts And Problems* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1930), I, p. 138.
148. For Gondomar's copy of the First Folio see Sidney Lee, *Shakespeares Comedies Histories, & Tragedies Containing A Census Of Extant Copies With some Account Of Their History And Condition* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1902), p. 13. For a discussion of '*The Gondomar Copy*' see Eric Rasmussen, *The Shakespeare*

Thefts In Search Of The First Folios (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 1-16. The actual existence of the Gondomar copy has been questioned by Angel-Luis Pujante, 'The Gondomar First Folio Lost, Stolen or Invented', *Critical Survey*, 29 (2017). I have not read this article.

149. *Shakespeares Comedies Histories, & Tragedies. Published according to the True Originall Copies* (London: Printed by Isaac Jaggard, and Ed. Blount, 1623).
150. Ibid., p. '993'.
151. Edwin Eliot Willoughby, *A Printer Of Shakespeare The Books And Times of William Jaggard* (London: Philip Allan & Co. Ltd, 1934), pp. 175-7.
152. Ibid., p. 177.
153. Charlton Hinman, *The Printing And Proof-Reading Of The First Folio Of Shakespeare* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1963), I, pp. 250-1.
154. Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, *Bacon is Shakespeare* (New York: The John McBride Co., 1910), p. 114.
155. The term is discussed in various contexts by Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London and New York: Routledge, 1972, 1993), pp. 31, 50, 84, 95, 104, 120, 125, 129, 140-4, 154, 161, 167-8, 177, 183, 184, 200.
156. This was first discovered by Miss Annette Covington of Cincinnati in 1931 and was reported in the now defunct local afternoon newspaper *The Cincinnati Times-Star* in Ohio on 19 March 1931 and afterwards reproduced in *The Ladies Guild of Francis St. Alban*, Vol. 33 August 1931, pp. 854-5 and by H. Seymour, 'Bacon's Cryptic Signatures in the Works of Shakespeare', *Baconiana*, Vol. XXI No. 79 (Third Series), February 1932, pp. 6-10. See also 'Notes and Notices' in *Baconiana*, Vol. XXI No. 80 (Third Series), February 1933, pp. 167-8; Editor, 'Portrait of Bacon', *Baconiana*, Vol. XXIV No. 93, April 1939, pp. 86-7. This explosive and decisive evidence has either remained unknown to the schoolmen and orthodox Shakespeare scholars or systematically suppressed by them for nigh on a century.
157. Francis Bacon, *The Essaies Of S^r^ Francis Bacon Knight, the Kings Atturney Generall. His Religious Meditations. Places of Perswasion and Disswassion. Seene and allowed* (London: printed by I. D. for Elizabeth Iaggard, at the hand and Starre neere the middle Temple-gate. 1624), (STC 1146; Gibson, no. 12).
158. Michael Kiernan, ed., *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* ((Oxford Clarendon Press, 2000), p. cx.
159. Francis Bacon, *The Essayes Or Covnsels, Civill And Morall, Of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscovnt S^t^. Alban. Newly enlarged* (London: printed by John Haviland for Hanna Barret and Richard Whitaker, and are to be sold at the signe of the kings head in Pauls Church-yard, 1625), (STC 1147; Gibson, no. 13).
160. Francis Bacon, *The Essayes Or Covnsels, Civill And Morall, Of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscovnt S^t^. Alban. Newly written* (London: printed by John Haviland for Hanna Barret, 1625), (STC 1148; Gibson, no. 14).
161. Michael Kiernan, ed., *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* ((Oxford Clarendon Press, 2000), p. cx-cxi.
162. Ibid., p. cxi.