Vol. XXIV. No. 95 Price 2/6.

BACONIANA

First Published 1886

October 1939

CONTENTS

	PAGE.
Editorial	169
Bacon-Shakespeare Anatomy	175
The Stratford Birthplace	191
Francis Bacon: Poet	199
Bacon and Donne	211
Reviews	216
Correspondence	224
Notes and Notices	229

LONDON:
Published by the BACON SOCIETY INCORPORATED at 30 Ridinghouse Street, London, W.1, and printed by The Rydal Press, Keighley.

The Bacon Society Incorporated

Please note that on and after November 7th, 1939, the registered office of the Bacon Society will be removed to

3, Farringdon Avenue,
Farringdon Street,
London, E.C.4.

Tel. CENtral 2850

The Bacon Society

(INCORPORATED).

THE objects of the Society are expressed in the Memorandum of Association to be:—

1. To encourage study of the works of Francis Bacon as philosopher, lawyer, statesman and poet; his character, genius and life; his influence on his own and succeeding times and the tendencies and results of his work.
2. To encourage study of the evidence in favour of his authorship of the plays commonly ascribed to Shakspere, and to investigate his connection with other works of the period.

Officers of the Society: *President*, Mr. Bertram G. Theobald, B.A.; *Vice-Presidents*, Lady Sydenham of Combe, The Dowager Lady Boyle, Miss A. A. Leith, Mr. Harold Bayley, and Mr. Parker Brewis. *Chairman of Council*, Mr. Valentine Smith; *Vice-Chairman*, Miss Mabel Sennett; *Hon. Treasurer*, Mr. Lewis Biddulph; *Hon. Librarian*, Mr. Percy Walters; *Auditor*, Mr. G. L. Emmerson, A.C.I.S., F.L.A.A.

The Editors of BACONIANA are: Mr. Bertram G. Theobald and Mr. Francis E. C. Habgood. All communications relating to the journal should be addressed to them at "The Four Winds," Ovingdean, Brighton.

Annual Subscription: By members who receive, without further payment, two copies of BACONIANA (the Society's quarterly Magazine) and are entitled to vote at the Annual General Meeting, one guinea; By Associates, who receive one copy, half-a-guinea per annum.

For further particulars apply to The Hon. Secretary, Mr. Valentine Smith, at the Registered Office of the Society, 30, Ridinghouse Street, London, W.1. Telephone: Central 9721.

AN APPEAL TO OUR READERS.

The unique collection of Elizabethan literature which the Society now possesses is second in importance only to the Durning-Lawrence Library acquired by the London University. This is mainly due to gifts and bequests of books made to the Society by various donors in the past. The Society appeals to those who have acquired books relating to the Bacon-Shakespeare problem and the Elizabethan-Jacobean period generally and who would be unwilling that such should be dispersed in the future or remain unappreciated. Bequests of collections, large or small, or gifts of books, especially early editions, would greatly benefit the Society and would be gratefully accepted. The librarian will give advice and assistance in the selection of any books which may be offered by prospective donors and will supply any of the books listed overleaf.

BACONIANA

VOL XXIV. NO. 95. OCTOBER, 1939

EDITORIAL

DR. W. R. MATTHEWS, Dean of St. Paul's, has been writing of "Shakespeare of Stratford" in the *English Digest*, where an article of his described as being condensed from the *Star* is reprinted. After stating William Shakespeare entered the world and left it on the Feast Day of England's Patron Saint, St. George (of which incidentally there is no evidence whatever), Dr. Matthews writes that this is a symbolical protest against all attempts to uproot our great world-poet from his native soil. He will, we hope, excuse our inability to understand either the idea this sentence is designed to express or the English in which it is written. What is a symbolical protest? How is a world- or any other kind of poet uprooted? Would not a world-poet be indigenous to any soil, including his native one? By whom is the protest made?—St. George? Or the Spirit of England? Or the ghost of Shakspere of Stratford? Or the Dean of St. Paul's?

Dr. Matthews proceeds that he has no sympathy with the Baconian theory nor with any other suggestion that Shakespeare did not write his own plays. No one has ever doubted, as far as we are aware, that Shakespeare wrote Shakespeare. The Dean intends to ridicule those who declare that Shakspere of Stratford did not write the Shakespeare plays.

He would appear himself quite oblivious of the facts that much of the work attributed to "Shakespeare," whoever Shakepeare was, is certainly not Shakespearean and

that several plays were published in the lifetime of Shakespeare in his name which practically unanimous critical opinion declines to recognise as his own.

We suspect that the Dean's lack of sympathy with the Baconian theory arises from his complete ignorance of the evidence which can be adduced in its support, for he writes that Baconians allege Shakespeare was indifferent to his poetry because it was not really his. The Dean cannot accept this answer. Neither, we assure him, can we. Nor do we think anyone could accept it. Nevertheless Dr. Matthews declares there is mystery about the character of Shakespeare and his indifference to the fate of his work, and candidly admits he has no completely satisfactory answer to put in the place of his imaginary Baconian reply. Of course he is not alone in this quandary. If Shakspere of Stratford were the author of the Shakespeare plays and poems there *is* no explanation of his indifference to them as investments and potential sources of glory and of gain.

However Dr. Matthews does his best. There is no explanation of Shakespeare's indifference except that at the end of his life he was indifferent. "Ripeness is all" and he had ripened before the time had come to depart. The ripening of the Shakspere of Stratford was an unusual process and anything but an edifying one if he were the Shakespeare of the world. The loan of money; the brewing of malt; petty litigation; support (providing one's personal interests are protected) of the enclosure of common lands; drinking bouts and the execution of a typical tradesman's will are hardly evidence, we should have thought, to the Dean of St. Paul's, of "ripening," but doubtless he is a greater authority than we of the standards of success of a supreme middle class English poet—a typical British bourgeois—for such is Shakespeare to Dr. Matthews.

We are assured that Shakespeare had one profound English trait—love of his native place. We think that the Stratford player very successfully dissembled his love, for in the plays and poems ascribed to him he never mentions it once. Perhaps his very silence is sufficient to assure Dr.

Matthews of Shakespeare's affection for Stratford-on-Avon. We will not therefore assail his sublime confidence by referring to St. Albans and the twenty-three references to that little town, nor those to Gray's Inn and York Place, but will content ourselves by recording that in the Dean's opinion Shakespeare came out of that social life which is more narrowly English than any other—the country town. Stratford was always his home and he never forgot it. We can only comment in Browning's words—"the less Shakespeare he."

But if Shakespeare's affection for his native place was so curiously exhibited and his ripening process unique in all the world, what should be said of the Stratfordian's patriotism? He believed that to be an Englishman was a glorious privilege—he believed that Elizabeth had brought England through danger to security. If he did so he was surely the strangest of patriots. He is thought to have come to London in the year of Sir Philip Sidney's death. He had been there just a year when Mary of Scotland was executed. He had lived through the long war with Spain and the wreck of the Armada; Drake's voyages and Raleigh's American adventures; the meteoric career of Essex and his frantic rebellion and death; the Queen's own death; the gunpowder plot; the challenge by Parliament to the royal prerogative; the rise of Puritanism; the death of Prince Henry and of Francis Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. He had been, according to Dr. Matthews, London's most popular playright, had pleased the Queen; had been the contemporary of statesmen and of the poets and dramatists of the Golden Age of England and he died and left no trace—not a letter—six signatures, two scrawled to deeds, three to his will and one to an affidavit. Not a book, not an epigram, not a poem, except perhaps doggerel for his own tomb and a boon companion's epitaph. No royal birth, no marriage, no death, no publication of a brother poet's work, no tidings of victory, nothing that was the talk of the town or that set the taverns in a roar, moved this strange patriot who came back to Stratford, who

built himself a dignified house and who obtained by paying for it a coat of arms. This tired business man is the patriot Shakespeare aeeording to the Dean of St. Paul's.

We have always been a little doubtful of the patriotism of Shakespeare, whoever he was. There is no doubt, of course, that the Bastard's brag in *King John* voieed the jingoism of the anxious times of 1595 and 1596. The rhapsody of the dying Gaunt in *Richard II* sounds a deeper note, but we think that later the Shakespeare plays betray a certain disillusion. There is Falstaff's parody of the worship of honour; there is the cynieism of the seeond *Henry IV* where "this dear, dear England" gives place to the declaration—"it was always a trick of our English nation if they have a good thing to make it too eommon" whilst the seene in which Falstaff accepts bribes to release the best recruits represented a common scandal of the time and moreover sounds a euriously modern note.

Of what single patriotie action, however, does Dr. Matthews think Shakspere of Stratford capable? Except in the plays attributed to him there is no evidence whatever that he was a patriot in any sense of the word.

We think the real Shakespeare, however, was one of the greatest lovers of England of all time. He was a patriot who stood for the rights of the Commons against the Lords and the misuse of the Royal Prerogative: who opposed the unneeessary enclosure of the eommon land: who mitigated the hardship inflicted by landlords in the exercise of their rights to evict tenants: who stoutly maintained the Commons' power to grant or refuse Supply in return for the removal of their grievances: and who never allowed either at Bar or on the Bench his personal interests to prevail over those of the State. His standards of success were not those of the middle class of his time; he did not combine in himself the supreme poet and the British bourgeois. He was not indifferent to the verdict of posterity; neither was he contented to die at ease in a

country town from which, according to Dr. Matthews, Shakespeare went forth to seek his fortune. The Dean's picture of the Shakespeare of *Hamlet*, of *King Lear* and of the rest is a cariacature. If it were true in any particular Matthew Arnold would have been justified in declaring

> Others abide our question. Thou art free.
> We ask and ask—Thou smilest and art still
> Out-topping knowledge . . .
> Thou, who didst the stars and sunbeams know,
> Didst tread on earth unguessed at—Better so.

We have devoted so much space to Dr. Matthews because we think it regrettable that writers in the popular press should be content to repeat statements which have been shown again and again to be untrue and which are now nothing more than the small change of orthodox apologists. There is no love of the countryside in Shakespeare. The plays are not full of the love of flowers and birds and wild things. The natural history is inaccurate when it is not borrowed from contemporary sources. There is no evidence of personal observation by Shakespeare of bird or beast or flower, or of any love of either, yet if he mentions the nightingale, jay or lark, these are referred to as memories of Stratford and of Warwickshire wood notes wild. There has been more than enough of folly of this kind.

Professor Catlin in his recent book *The Anglo Saxon Tradition* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. 10s. 6d. net) pays a notable tribute to Francis Bacon the deep and judicious Verulam. "He stood," writes Professor Catlin, "in that great Age of Discovery . .. descrying new horizons not geographic, and in his Magna Instauratio, his "Great Instauration," had mapped out on our small globe, the coast of the New Intellectual World. He had summoned to follow him adventurers in ideas."

He was the collaborator with Locke and his grandfather in ideas. "Not without precedent in Friar Roger Bacon, in the fourteenth century—odd coincidence of

names—Francis Bacon together with Locke, reshapes and moulds the set of the Anglo-Saxon tradition in philosophy and science, a set and character permanent, distinctive and in its effect, distinguished . . . O excellent Verulam! O great humanist "for since our principal object"—Professor Catlin quotes "is to make nature subservient to the states and wants of man it becomes us well to note and enumerate the works which have long since been in the power of man."

Professor Catlin points out that the Royal Society of King Charles II's day was a product of Bacon's genius which he foresaw and which in his vision he depicted in *The New Atlantis* of "Solomon's House."

The Anglo Saxon Tradition is a remarkable book; it is a plea for the Humanism which the author believes can alone redeem the world. The Anglo-Saxon tradition stands for personality, liberty, experiment, tolerance, democracy and public spirit against the Totalitarian Idealogies which challenge it; but it is not enough to affirm our loyalty to our own values; they must dominate the future and rescue us from that philosophy of power which means the extinction of the free spirit of man. Nowhere in recent times has the issue between the Totalitarian ideal of Dominion over Man and the ideals of Humanism been as clearly stated: it is stated not only in the faith of man in his own destiny, but the author points the way of man's escape from forces that threaten his very existence.

We have pleasure in acknowledging the permission of Mr. H. Felton to reprint his photograph of the "Birthplace" which appears in "Guide to Stratford-on-Avon," published by Messrs. Ward, Lock & Co., London, and of the loan by the latter of the block.

The photograph of the "Birthplace" in 1846 is reproduced by kind permission of Messrs. Wm. Heinemann Ltd., London, publishers of "Amazing Monument," by Ivor Brown and George Fearon. 10s. 6d. net.

BACON-SHAKESPEARE ANATOMY.

(Part III.)

By W. S. MELSOME.

BECAUSE Ecclesiastes X.i. is one of the keys to the true authorship of the Shakespeare plays we propose to spend a little more time over Bacon's explanation of it. We have seen that he was the first man to explain the 'dram of eale' passage in Hamlet's pre-ghost speech, and to tell us that it was intended to be a modified form of Ecclesiastes X.i. Not less than twenty-six days later his explanation was confirmed by the first appearance in print of "Antony and Cleopatra" and the "Winter's Tale." We have also seen that Bacon likens the faults in eminent men to little grains or little clouds in the fairest crystal, and that the author of "Richard II" likens them to ugly clouds in a fair and crystal sky; but, in "Antony and Cleopatra" the author likens Antony's faults to the spots of heaven when the night is dark.

"I must not think there are
Evils enow to darken all his goodness:
His faults in him seem like the spots of heaven,
More fiery by night's blackness; hereditary
Rather than purchased; what he cannot change
Than what he chooses" (A. & C. I.4.10); for

"It were a strange speech which spoken, or spoken oft, should reclaim a man from a vice to which he were by nature subject." (Adv. II.10.10.)

The first two lines help to explain the "dram of eale" passage in Hamlet's speech; for the Scottish "eale" and "eales" are equivalent to the English "evil" and "evils." Instead of dout (extinguish) we have "darken"; and instead of "all the noble substance" we have "all his goodness." In the next four lines we see the difference between Mowbray's reputed faults (treason and felony),

which were purchased rather than hereditary, and Anthony's faults which were hereditary rather than purchased; and evidence will be given in another place that Bacon and the author of the plays took a graver view of faults that were purchased rather than hereditary. Mowbray's faults were so grave that he was "too bad to live"; grave enough, indeed, to dout or extinguish all his noble substance; but Anthony's were not "enow to darken," much less to dout, "all his goodness"; or, as Nashe would say, "*all his good qualities*," and "*all that is commendable in him*." (Vol. II, p. 79.)

We come now to the last passage in Bacon's commentary upon this parable, in which he suggests a curious remedy in aid of the eminent man:—

"*It might therefore be no bad policy for eminent men to intermingle with their actions a few absurdities which may be discreetly committed* ("For folly that he wisely shows is fit," (T.N.III.i. 74), *to retain some liberty for themselves, and to confound the observation of little defects*" (Works I, p. 756.)

In the same chapter of the "De Augmentis" (Works I, p. 779) Bacon returns again to these absurdities, which are nothing more than the prudent and artful manifestation of virtues and an equally artful concealment of vices. The former (self-display) he takes from Tacitus who says of *Mucianus, the wisest and most active politican of his time*; "*Omnium, quae dixerat feceratque, arte quadam ostentator*" (that he had a certain art of setting forth to advantage everything he said and did). Then Bacon goes on to say, "*certainly it requires some art to prevent this conduct from becoming wearisome and contemptible*"; and this brings us to a remarkable speech of nine lines by Viola in "Twelfth Night" (III. i. 67-75), which begins with the wisdom of playing the fool where Bacon ends, and ends with Ecclesiastes X. i. where Bacon begins:—

"This fellow's wise enough to play the fool;
And to do that well craves a kind of wit:
He must observe their mood on whom he jests,
The quality of persons, and the time,

And, like the haggard, check at very feather
That comes before his eye. This is a practice
As full of labour as a wise man's art;
For folly that he wisely shows is fit;
But wise men, folly-fall'n, quite taint their wit."

In the last two lines we have two different kinds of folly: one which is fit and proper if it be wisely shown, and another kind which taints the wit or wisdom of the foolish wise man, and causes his name to yield an ill odour, and which is condemned in Ecclesiastes X.i.

The suggestion advanced by Bacon is the use of some discreet kind of folly to cover up a man's indiscreet folly; for, as he says in his "Advancement of Learning" (1605) "*there is a great advantage . . . in the artificial covering of a man's weaknesses, defects, disgraces . . . gracing them by exposition and the like*," even as Mucianus graced his virtues by setting forth to advantage everything he said and did. *Certainly it requires some art*, says Bacon, and Viola says: "This is a practice as full of labour as a wise man's art"; and it is probable, though not certain, that this "wise man's art" is that of Mucianus, the wisest man of his time; but however that may be, it is certain that the "kind of wit" in the second line of Viola's speech is the same as that "wit's own grace to grace (the follies of) a learned fool" which the author of "Love's Labour's Lost" wrote when his mind was busy with "folly, in wisdom hatch'd," and which obviously refers to Ecclesiastes X. i. And as Mucianus had the wit to grace his virtues by the use of a few absurdities, or a little tomfoolery; so, a "wit turn'd fool" must have "wit's own grace" (a ready wit) to grace his follies; and all the power of wit he must apply "to prove, by wit, worth in simplicity" (tomfoolery) (L.L.L., V. ii. 78).

When we come to the concealment of vices we shall give examples of this foolery in the plays.

"This fellow," in Viola's speech, must also have the "kind of wit" "*to obtain that curious window into hearts of which the ancients speak*," (*Life* I, p. 390), and which the author of "Love's Labour's Lost" seems to have in mind

when he writes: "Behold the window of my heart" (V. ii. 848).

"*This window (which Momus required) we shall obtain by carefully procuring good information of the particular persons with whom we have to deal . . . their moods and times*" (De. Aug. VIII. ii): "*Sola viri molles aditus et tempora noras*" (Aen., IV. 423) (You alone know his weaknesses, his moods and times).

" He must observe their mood on whom he jests,
The quality of persons, and the time." (Viola's speech.)

As to the quality of persons:—

"Great men may jest with saints: 'tis wit in them,
But in the less foul profanation." (Meas., II. ii. 127.)

In dedicating his "Praise of Folly" to Sir Thomas More, the great man Erasmus is jesting with a saint. I understand a saint to be a man who, like the sun, can look into sinks without being infected by them. Such a man was Sir Thomas More; but a simple or innocent man has no knowledge of sinks. Such a man according to Bacon was Henry VI. This was the man who predicted that Richmond, while yet a lad, should be England's King:—

"*This is the lad that shall possess quietly that that we now strive for.*" (Hist. Hen. VII, end.)

Hen. VI:

"This pretty lad will prove our country's bliss,
His looks are full of peaceful majesty,
His head by nature framed to wear a crown,
His hand to wield a sceptre, and himself
Likely in time to bless a regal throne."
(3H6, IV. 6. 70.)

Afterwards when Richmond became King, he desired Pope Julius "*to canonize King Henry the sixth for a saint; the rather, in respect of that his famous prediction of the King's own assumption to the crown.*" (Hist. Hen. VII). Julius referred the matter to his cardinals, but "*it died in the reference,*" and Bacon thought the most probable cause was that the Pope " . . . *knowing that King Henry the sixth was reputed abroad but for a simple man,*

was afraid it would but diminish the estimation of that kind of honour, if there were not a distance kept between innocents and saints." (Hist. Hen. VII, Works VI, pp. 233-4.) Turn, now, to 3H6 (I. ii. 59) and there you will find

"Trust not simple Henry."

As to "the time" in Viola's speech:—

"Dulce est desipere in loco" (well timed folly has a sweet relish). ("Praise of Folly," Eras., and Horace, Od. 4. 12.28. Translation by W. Kennet).

This is not only true of jesting time, but also in serious times. In that discourse between Menenius Agrippa and Brutus (Coriolanus, V. i. 50), Menenius thinks Cominius failed to soften the heart of Coriolanus because

" He was not taken well; he had not dined:
. . . therefore I'll watch him
Till he be dieted to my request,
And then I'll set upon him."

And Brutus replies:—

"You know the very road into his kindness, and cannot lose your way," which is a strong reminder of *Sola viri molles aditus et tempora noras*.

Certainly Menenius knew the best time to take a man in his best mood (*His times and seasons of access: Works I, p.* 584). In "Love's Labour's Lost" (V. ii. 63) it is not a question of supplication but of obedience. Rosaline would make Biron observe the times and seasons of access:

" How I would make him fawn and beg and seek
And wait the season and observe the times."

The explanation of: "And, like the haggard, check at every feather that comes before his eye," may be found in Works I (p. 584), but is too long to deal with here.

To return once more to Bacon's absurdities. Regarding ostentation he says, *Praise yourself boldly and some of it will stick; doubtless it will stick with the crowd though the wiser sort smile at it; so that the reputation procured with the number will abundantly reward the comtempt of a few. But if this self-display, whereof I am speaking, be carried with decency and discretion* ("His folly sauced with discretion"; Troilus, I. ii. 23) *it may greatly contribute to raise a man's reputation.* (*Works I, p.* 780.)

The man who sauced his folly with discretion was Ajax, an eminent man among the Greeks; and, like the "particular men" in Hamlet's pre-ghost speech, he had infinite virtues, but instead of "one defect" or "particular fault" he had many attaints to stain them:—

"There is no man hath a virtue that he hath not some glimpse of, nor any man an attaint but he carries some stain of it." (Troilus, I. ii. 24.)

This is the third time we have come upon the word "stain," and on each occasion the author of it had in mind Ecclesiastes X.i.

It comes upon the silver down of the swan, which the author of "Lucrece" brings into those four consecutive analogies, between lines 1007 and 1015, to drive in a point which is a special feature of Bacon's Ecclesiastes X.i.; namely, the difference between eminent men and ordinary men (kings and poor grooms). I say "special feature" because the parable itself says nothing about the ordinary man. We should think it strange enough that two men unknown to each other should pick out the same parable from so many verses in the Bible, and surely even more strange that they should both take note of the fact that the parable said nothing about the ordinary man, and that they should think it worth while to give him a place in their writings, and to draw the same distinction between him and the eminent man. The author of "Love's Labour's Lost," while drawing a distinction between folly in wise men and "folly in fools," actually tells us that he has Ecclesiastes X. i. in his mind; and we have seen how the author of "Lucrece" drew an inference from Bacon's explanation of the second part of Proverbs XII. 10, while writing: "Let the traitor die; For sparing justice feeds iniquity." (see BACONIANA, April 1939), but we shall return to this argument in dealing with this proverb.

In the following speech it will be seen that Bacon also makes use of four consecutive analogies to drive in his proposition that the safety of the country comes before all else:—

"*Sure I am that the treasure that cometh from you to Her*

Majesty is but as a vapour which riseth from the earth and gathereth into a cloud, and stayeth not there long, but upon the same earth it falleth again: and what if some drops of this do fall upon France and Flanders? It is like a sweet odour of honour and reputation to our nation throughout the world. ("The heavens rain odours on you"; T.N., III. i. 96). *But I will only insist upon the natural and inviolate law of preservation . . . The prints of this are everywhere to be found. The patient will ever part with some of his blood to save and clear the rest. The seafaring man will in a storm cast over some of his goods to save and assure the rest. The husbandman will afford some foot of ground for his hedge and ditch to fortify and defend the rest. Why, Mr. Speaker, the disputer will if he be wise and cunning grant somewhat that seemeth to make against him, because he will keep himself within the strength of his opinion, and the better maintain the rest."* (*Life II, p.* 86.)

"Analogy and antithesis, antithesis and analogy, these are the secrets of the Baconian force." So wrote Dr. A. E. Abbot in his preface to Pott's "Promus"; and whoever made more use of analogies and antitheses than the author of the plays?

We came upon the word "stain" again in Worcester's lecture to Hotspur who, like Ajax, had certain virtues or graces—"greatness, courage, blood"; but he too had many attaints, such as "harsh rage, defect of manners, want of government, pride, hautiness, opinion and disdain," which left behind a stain.

Whether or not this comes from Tacitus I am not sure, but certain it is that Galba's actions lost men's hearts, and left behind a stain upon the beauty of all parts besides beguiling him of commendation. He so angered the Roman soldiers that they traduced even his good actions as well as his bad:—

"Inviso semel principe, seu bene, seu male, facta premunt." (The emperor (Galba) once in ill odour, his actions whether good or bad make him traduced.) (Tac. Hist. I. 7, C. Platin, 1596, p. 440.)

And *if it come to that that the best actions of a state, and*

the most plausible (quae merito plausum vulgi mererentur,—Latin edition), and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense and traduced, that shows the envy great, as Tacitus saith, "Conflatâ magna invidiâ, seu bene, seu male, gesta premunt" (*Essay XV*) (Great discontentment once kindled against him, his actions, good or bad, make him traduced), because they are equally sour and offensive to the people.

This passage in Tacitus is probably the origin of that senseless passage in Hamlet's speech:

"Or by some habit that too much o'er-leavens
The form of plausive manners."

The want of sense, however, seems to come, not from Tacitus but from Pliny, who made a bad guess when, and if, he wrote: "As touching the nature of levain, certain it is that it proceeded from sourness" (Holland's Pliny, Vol. I, p. 566); for certain it is that levain does not proceed from sourness.

From this same book we learn that housewives used to withdraw a portion of the yeasted dough of to-day to infect the fresh dough of to-morrow's baking; and when to-morrow came, this withdrawn dough had become sour; and the sourness was thought to be caused by over-leavening; and that to over-leaven dough was to sour it; and so the author of Hamlet's speech thought he might write o'er-leavens as the equivalent of sours; just as Bacon thought he might write *"A little leaven . . . doth commonly sour the whole lump . ."* (Hist. Hen. VII); and again, *"sour the lump of all Papists in their loyalty"* (Life V., p. 162). A little leaven never yet turned anything sour; it does not turn new into sour milk, nor new wine into vinegar. When St. Paul wrote "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump" (Galatians V. 9), he did not go beyond the knowledge of the day; but Bacon had a habit of guessing the cause of things—nowhere better seen than in his "Sylva Sylvarum" and "Wisdom of the Ancient."

As Bacon rightly thought that yeast was a prime mover, because it excites action in another body (Nov. Org. II. 48); so he thought that a man, by some invidious

habit, could excite and provoke other men to discontentment and opposition and make himself traduced, which is what Galba did. Therefore to turn the passage in Hamlet's speech into sense, it would seem that we should understand it to mean: some invidious habit that, by exciting the ill will of the people, sours their minds against even his plausive or pleasing actions (*"Actiones gratas"—Latin Essay IX*), and (*"quae merito plausum vulgi mererentur,"—Latin Essay XV*), *and which ought to give greatest contentment*.

It is almost certain that the author of the passage we are speaking of had Galba in mind while writing it, as it is almost certain he had Hotspur in mind while writing "the o'ergrowth of some complexion oft breaking down the pales and forts of reason" (see BACONIANA, July 1939).

It is a common saying that if people dislike a man they will, all too often, hear nothing good of him, and the other way about:

"If they love they know not why, they hate upon
No better ground."—(*Coriol., II. ii.* 10)

Just as the author of Hamlet's speech is referring to some habit, so Bacon when he wrote *"A little leaven of new distaste doth commonly sour the whole lump of former merits"* was referring to the habit of importunity which, in part, caused the downfall of Sir William Stanley. This man had received great rewards for saving Henry's life at Bosworth Field, but such was his greed that he became a suitor for the earldom of Chester; which suit, says Bacon, *"did not only end in a denial, but in a distaste."* Further, Sir Robert Clifford had neen pouring into Henry's ear poisonous tales of Stanley's disloyalty, so that the little leaven of new distaste, in process of time, soured the whole lump of Stanley's former merits in Henry's mind: not unlike the effect of the poison that Iago poured into the ear of Othello, which also began with a distaste, and ended in the death of the person for whom the distaste was conceived:

"The Moor already changes with my poison:
Dangerous conceits are in their natures poisons,

Which at the first are scarce found to distastc,
But with a little act upon the blood,
Burn like mines of sulphur." (Oth., *III. iii*, 325.)

Again in the "Dream," the author makes the same mistake as Bacon does. Each thought that if you could eliminate the force of gravity, represented by the word "adamant" in the "Dream," similitude of substance would cause attraction, which is another bad guess, but these mistakes will be dealt with in another place.

The last line of Bacon's commentary upon Ecclesiastes X. 1. clearly shows that he intended his "few absurdities" to be used by eminent men, not so much to display their virtues, but "*to confound the observation of little defects*"; for "*a diligent concealment of defects is no less important than a prudent and artful manifestation of virtues.*" (*Works I, p.* 781.)

As to the concealment of vices the poet said well,

"*Saepe latet vitium proximitate boni*" (*Ib. p.* 781). (Vice often hides itself under the shadow of a neighbouring virtue.)

"*So hypocrisy draweth near to religion for covert and hiding itself*" . . "*and sanctuary-men, which were commonly inordinate men and malefactors, were wont to be nearest to priests and prelates and holy men; for the majesty of good things is such, as the confines of them are revered.*" (*Works VII, p.* 86.)

Richard III was an inordinate man and a malefactor, and he, too, drew near to religion for covert and hiding himself:—

"Enter Richard, aloft between two bishops."
(*R3, III, vii*, 95.)

Mayor of London:

"See, where his grace stands 'tween two clergymen!"
(*First Folio.*)

Buckingham:

"Two props of virtue for a Christian prince . . ."
". . . And see a book of prayer in his hand,
True ornaments to know a holy man."

However this foolery may have stuck with the crowd,

it seems certain that the wiser sort smiled at it. But Richard followed the advice of Machiavel:—

"*Machiavel directs men to have little regard for virtue itself, but only for the show and public reputation of it*" (*De Aug. VII, ii*), "*because the credit of virtue is a help but the use of it is cumber.*" (*Adv. II.* 23, 45.)

"Apparel vice like virtue's harbinger;
Bear a fair presence, though your heart be tainted."
(*Errors, III. ii.* 12.)

"Assume a virtue if you have it not."
(*Ham. III. iv.* 160.)

"And with a virtuous vizor hide deep vice."
(*R3, II. ii.* 31, *F.F.*)

"Make our faces vizards to our hearts, disguising what they are." (*Macb. III. ii.* 34.)

"*So as now the world may see how long since my Lord put off his vizard, and disclosed the secrets of his heart.*" (*Life II, p.* 257.)

"Others there are
Who, trimm'd in forms and visages of duty,
Keep yet their hearts attending on themselves."
(*Oth., I. i.* 39.)

"*And therefore whatsoever want a man hath, he must see that he pretend the virtue that shadoweth it; as if he be dull he must affect gravity; if a coward mildness; and so the rest.*" (*Adv., II.* 23. 32.)

As to gravity:—

"There are a sort of men whose visages
Do cream and mantle like a standing pond,
And do a wilful stillness entertain,
With purpose to be dress'd in an opinion
Of wisdom, gravity," etc. (*Merch., I. i.* 88.)

"*Stilus prudentiae silentium.*" (*De Aug. VI. iii, Antitheta*). (Silence is the style of wisdom.)

1. "O my Antonio I do know of these
That therefore only are reputed wise
For saying nothing." (*Merch., I. i.* 95.)
2. "I must be one of these same dumb wise men,
For Gratiano never lets me speak." (*Ib., I. i.* 106.)

"*Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion.*" (*Essay* 26.)

"With purpose to be dress'd in an opinion
Of wisdom." (*Merch., I. i.* 91.)

The expression "make shift" is used by Portia (*I.* 2. 97.)

"*Opinioni se venditat, qui silet.*" (*De Aug. VI. iii, Antitheta*). (He who is silent fishes for opinion.)

1. "But fish not, with this melancholy bait,
For this fool gudgeon, this opinion."
(*Merch., I. i.* 101.)

2. "Whiles others fish with craft for great opinion."
(*Troilus, IV. iv.* 106.)

"*Silence is the virtue of a fool. And therefore it was well said to a man that would not speak, 'If you are wise you are a fool; if you are a fool you are wise'.*" (*Antitheta.*)

If these silent men in the "Merchant of Venice" were wise they should speak,

"When, I am very sure,
If they should speak, would almost damn those ears,
Which, hearing them, would call their brothers fools"
(*Merch., I. i.* 97.)

"*Silentium ambit veritatem.*" (*Antitheta.*) (Silence is the candidate for truth.)

"That truth should be silent I had almost forgot."
(*A. and C., II. ii.* 109.)

I have stayed a little upon Gratiano's speech, partly because it begins with "Let me play the fool," and partly because, like Viola's speech, which begins with "This fellow's wise enough to play the fool", it has in it a savour of Bacon strong enough to strike the dullest nostril.

Now as to cowardice:—

If he sit dallying at home, nor will be awaked by any indignities out of his love-dream, but suffer every upstart groom to defy him, set him at naught, and shake him by the beard unrevenged, let him straight take orders and be a church-man, and then his patience nay pass for a virtue, but otherwise to be suspected of cowardice. (*Nashe II, p.* 86.)

As to patience and cowardice:—

"That which in mean men we intitle patience
Is pale cold cowardice in noble breasts."
(*R2, I. ii.* 33.)

As to shaking by the heard unrevenged:—

"Am I a coward?
Who calls me villain? breaks my pate across?
Plucks off my heard, and blows it in my face?"
(*Ham., II. ii.* 598.)

. . . for it cannot be
But I am pigeon-liver'd and lack gall . ."
(*Ib.*, 603.)

". . . O, vengeance!" (*Ib.*, 610.)

"There is no vice so simple hut assumes
Some mark of virtue on his outward parts:
How many cowards, whose hearts are all as false
As stairs of sand, wear yet upon their chins
The heards of Hercules and frowning Mars,
Who, inward search'd, have livers white as milk."
(*M. of V., III. ii.* 81.)

"*They that are beautiful, and they that are affected by beauty are commonly alike light.*" (*Exempla Antithetorum, De Aug., VI. iii.*)

"Look on beauty,
And you shall see 'tis purchased hy the weight;
Which therein works a miracle in nature,
Making them lightest that wear most of it."
(*M. of V., III. ii.* 88.)

And, "for that her reputation was disvalued in levity," (*Meas., V. i.* 221) "*it is at least necessary that virtue be not disvalued.*" (*Adv. II.* 23. 31.)

Bacon often writes "disvalued," Shakespeare only once.

Again, if we have some inherited defect, wherein, "Being nature's livery, or fortune's star," we are not guilty, "Since nature cannot choose his origin"; once more "*We must pretend the virtue that shadoweth it . . and so make necessity appear a virtue.*" (*De Aug., VIII. ii.*)

"Mislike me not for my complexion,
The shadow'd livery of the burnish'd sun,
To whom I am a neighbour and near bred."
(*M. of V., II, i,* 1.)

It would seem that the prince of Morocco thought that "*the majesty of good things was such as the confines of them would be revered,*" and claimed a near relationship with the sun to raise himself in Portia's estimation. His complexion, "being nature's livery," he could not help, and so makes necessity appear a virtue.

"*As to confidence, it is indeed an impudent, but yet the surest and most effectual remedy; namely, for a man to profess to depreciate and despise whatsoever he cannot obtain; after the principle of prudent merchants, whose business and custom it is to raise the price of their own commodities, and beat down the price of others.*" (*De Aug. VIII. ii.*)

"Fair Diomed, you do as chapmen do,
Dispraise the thing that you desire to buy."
(*Troilus, IV. i.* 75.)

"*It is naught, it is naught* (*says the buyer*); *but when he is gone his way he will vaunt.*" (*De Aug. VI. iii. and Prov. XX.* 14.)

"But we in silence hold this virtue well,
We'll but commend what we intend to sell."
(*Troilus, IV. i.* 77.)

"*But there is another kind of assurance more impudent than this, by which a man brazens out his own defects, and forces them upon others for excellencies, and the better to secure this end, he will feign a distrust of himself in those things wherein he really excels.*" (*De Aug. VIII. ii*).

"It is the witness still of excellency
To put a strange face on his own perfection."
(*Ado. II. iii.* 48.)

"*. . . like poets who if you except of any particular verse in their composition, will presently tell you that that single line cost them more trouble than all the rest; and then produce you another, as suspected by themselves, for your opinion, whilst, of all the number, they know it to be the best and least liable to exception.*" (*De Aug. VIII. ii.*)

"Thus wisdom wishes to appear most bright
When it doth tax itself." (*Meas. II. iv.* 78.)

We see the same kind of foolery in musicians and orators:—

"Come, Balthasar, we'll hear that song again."
"O! good my lord, tax not so bad a voice
To slander music any more than once."
". . . Note this before my notes;
There's not a note of mine that's worth the noting."
(*Ado, II. iii.* 45-57.)

Balthasar is feigning *a distrust of himself in those things wherein he really excels*, and so is Bacon when he writes, "*Though I cannot challenge to myself either invention, or judgement, or eloqution, or method, or any of those powers.*" (*Life IV, p.* 280.)

And so is Marcus Antonius when he says:

"For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth,
Action, nor utterance, nor the power."
(*J. Caesar, III. ii.* 225.)

Each man is putting "a strange face on his own perfection"; and it is equally true of all of them that "wisdom wishes to appear most bright when it doth tax itself."

Regarding the word "action" in Anthony's speech:—

"*Question was asked of Demosthenes, what was the chief part of an orator? he answered, Action: what next?—Action: what next again?—Action.*" (*Essay* 12.)

"Action is eloquence." (*Coriol., III. ii.* 76.)

"How can I grace my talk
Wanting a hand to give it action?" (*Titus, V. ii.* 17.)

"Thy niece and I, poor creatures, want our hands,
And cannot passionate our ten-fold grief
With folded arms." (*Ib., III. ii.* 5).

Similarly with the word "utterance":—

"*What variety of knowledge, what rareness of conceit, What choice of words, what grace of utterance.*" (*Life I, p.* 138.)

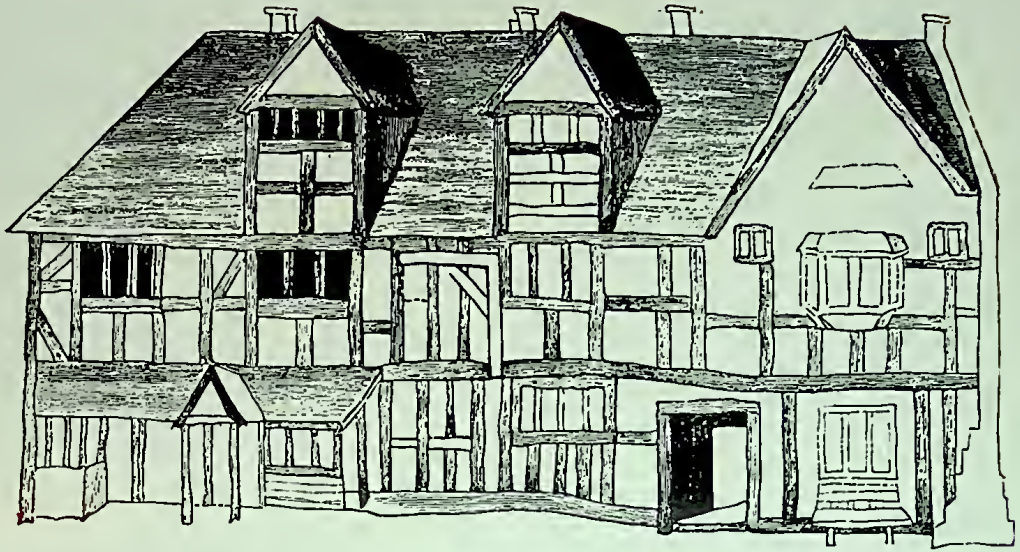
"With all the gracious utterance thou hast
Speak to his gentle hearing kind commends?"
(*R2, III. iii.* 125.)

"Nor can I utter all our bitter grief,
But floods of tears will drown my oratory,
And break my utterance." (*Titus*, *V*. *iii*. 89.)

"I have a speech of fire that fain would blaze,
But that this folly douts it." (*Ham*. *IV*. *vii*. 291.)

"This folly" is the water from Laertes' eyes, which "douts the fire" of his speech and drowns his oratory. "Douts" is printed "doubts" in the First Folio, which makes nonsense; just as "of a doubt" makes nonsense in Hamlet's pre-ghost speech (Quarto 1604). In this same quarto Laertes' speech ends with: "But that this folly drowns it."

(*To be continued*).



THE BIRTH-PLACE IN HENLEY STREET, AS IT APPEARED ABOUT THE YEAR 1762.

THE STRATFORD BIRTHPLACE.

THE property in Henley Street, Stratford-upon-Avon, which is now shown for one shilling each to about 90,000 people every year as the birthplace of William Shakespeare, has no claim whatever to this honour, except a very doubtful traditional one.

There is little doubt that William Shakspere was born in the parish of Stratford, but there is no evdence whatever to indicate in what part of the town his parents were living in the year 1564 when his baptism was registered as the son of John Shakspere.

John Shakspere, who was not a native of Stratford, makes his first appearance there in 1552 when he was fined one shilling for allowing a dunghill in Henley Street and in 1556, the year before his marriage, we find him buying a cottage there and a house in Greenhill Street. In 1575 he bought two houses, the locality of which is unknown, and it is not until 1590 that we find him the owner of two adjacent houses in Henley Street; of these the western one is now called "the Birthplace" and the eastern "the Woolshop" (although there is little to show that it was ever used as such); but as we shall see later the tradition does not date before the middle of the eighteenth century. Whether John Shakspere was living at "the Birthplace" in 1552 has never been proved and it is equally uncertain whether he was at the time a tenant of "the Woolshop," which was the property he had purchased in 1556. So far as the records go William Shakspere is just as likely to have been born in Greenhill Street as in Henley Street. Even if the two adjacent houses in Henley Street, of which John Shakspere was the owner in 1590 were those now shown as "the Birthplace" and "the Woolshop," these as freehold cannot be identified with either of the copyhold premises occupied by John Shakspere before 1575. He was occupying at the time a position of some prominence in Stratford and before he purchased the Henley Street property in 1575 he was the occupier of fourteen acres of meadow land with appurtenances at a high rent; this was called "Ingon" Meadow in "The Close Rolls." William

may thus have been born at either of the copyhold houses in Greenhill Street or in Henley Street or at "Ingon."

John Shakspere married in 1557 a wealthy woman and, as a rapidly rising citizen of Stratford, it would seem more probable that he took his wife, not to the shop where he carried on his malodorous trade and where he had been fined for accumulating its offal, but to the house he had purchased only a few months before in Greenhill Street, where there was a garden and croft and very much more attractive surroundings. The reputation of Henley Street may perhaps be guaged by the fact that it was popularly known as "Hell Lane."

The history of the two Henley Street houses is shortly this. At the time of their occupation by John Shakspere the premises consisted of two houses annexed to each other, and it is convenient to refer to the Eastern one as "the Wool Shop" and the other as "the Birthplace." The two houses appear to have been occupied as one tenement because there were interior doorways between them which must have been made before 1617, after which year the premises were always occupied by different tenants. There is no evidence that John Shakspere was actually living in either at the time he was fined. In 1555 his name was not on the Roll of the Corporation, but it is fair to assume that he kept a shop there. At his death in 1601 the Wool Shop descended to William as his father's heir at law. The inference may be drawn from the language of the latter's will that in 1616 when he died no member of his family was resident there. During his widowhood his mother might have occupied both premises or William might have let the Wool Shop in 1602 when his father died, or again he might not have let it until after his mother's death in 1608; but these are matters of conjecture only and the next allusion to the Wool Shop is in 1639 in a deed of settlement in which it is described as "being now or late in the occupation of Jane Hicocks, widow." The house may then have been an inn, but the names of houses at Stratford were so frequently altered that it is difficult to identify a tenement without better evidence than its title

THE BIRTH-PLACE IN HENLEY STREET, AS IT APPEARED IN THE YEAR 1769.

affords. So far as is known, the Wool Shop is noticed as the "Maidenhead" for the first time in 1642. The sign which is represented in the earliest drawing of the Wool Shop is attached to one of the outer timbers of the house.

We next hear of the property as "The Swan and Maidenhead" in the will of Thomas Hart in 1786, a name it retained until its absorption into the Trust.

In all the documents from 1647 to 1771 it is mentioned under the second title, "The Maidenhead," only.

It is more than a century after William Shakspere's death in 1616 before we can discover any evidence of the existence of a tradition that he was born in Henley Street. Pilgrims to Stratford made their way to the tomb, (Defoe visited it in 1720) but it was in 1759 that the two buildings were first mentioned as the house where Shakespeare was born. There is an early reference to Stratford in the "Gentleman's Magazine" of 1760 but there is no allusion to any Birthplace by the visitor and it is clear that there was, at that time, none on view. In Winter's plan of Stratford and in Green's view which was engraved in 1769 they are described as "a house in Stratford-upon-Avon in which the famous poet Shakespeare was born." It was this view which was published in anticipation of the jubilee celebration arranged by David Garrick in 1769, and it identified the building with the one named in the accounts of that remarkable celebration. Up to this time no intimation is anywhere given as to which of the two houses was considered to be the birthplace, but Boswell, who was present at the celebration, stated that among the embellishments which were displayed on that occasion there was a painting hung before the window of the room where Shakespeare was born representing the sun breaking through the clouds. The locality of the room is not particularised. Mr. R. B. Wheler, whose father was also at the jubilee, states (Wheler's *Guide to Stratford-on-Avon*, 1814, page 12) that "the stranger is shown a room over the butcher's shop in which our bard is said to have been born."

By the time of Garrick's jubilee a birthplace was thought to be necessary, and the origin of the tradition

with which the saga of modern Stratford begins can thus be traced.

The site choseu as "tbe most likely abode" was Henley Street simply because it was found to be in the same street as other property once *owned* by John Shakspere. The evidence that he ever *occupied* property there is presumptive and consists merely of the facts that he was fined for allowing offal to accumulate there, that he purchased the copyhold of a house, tbe site of which is unknown to this day, and that as late as 1597 he was occupying a bovel with another adjacent for which he paid 1s. 1d. and 6d. per annum respectively.

The tradition has a pedigree beginning one hundred and ninety-five years *after* William Shakspere's birth; he was quickly forgotten after he died, for only forty-seven years after his death the Vicar of Stratford entered in his diary a note to peruse the plays that he might not be ignorant of them. The demand for a birthplace was met by the cboice of the two tenements in Henley Street, but a great blunder appears to have been made by choosing a site which by no possibility whatever could have been the real birthplace. There appears to have been a conspiracy of silence with regard to this scheme and probably Malone, Knight and Phillipps did not desire to antagonize Stratford public opinion.

At a meeting beld at Stratford in 1847 a circular was ordered appealing for funds with which to acquire tbe Birthplace of Shakspere. One speaker moved to amend the wording by tbe insertion of the word "probable" in the description of tbe cottages as tbe Birthplace, but tbe motion was received in uproar and lost, for the reason that if the public were doubtful, money might not be forthcoming.

No part of either house as occupied in 1575 survives. Tbe walls were probably of mud with thatched roofs. This was the common type of Stratford bouse. The buildings purchased by tbe authorities in 1848 had, as we know, been used as an inn and it is mucb more probable that earlier structures had yielded to tbe changes of time, or one of

THE BIRTH-PLACE OF SHAKESPEARE AS IT APPEARED IN THE YEAR 1806.

the many fires from which Stratford suffered, than that they were the original house purchased in 1575. Wheler writes of one of these fires as occurring two years before William Shakspere's death and as sweeping away fifty-four dwelling-houses and other buildings and threatening the destruction of the whole town.

The first illustration shows the Henley Street property as it appeared in 1762 and, as will be seen, the alterations the cottages have undergone since they were erected in the first half of the sixteenth century have entirely effaced their orginal character.

The picture of the birthplace (Plate 2) as it appeared seven years later was published in Malone's *Supplement to Shakespeare's Plays* and, although it was prepared for Malone himself, it appears to be a building of an entirely different character. It was Malone who bespoke a drawing of New Place with the armorial bearings of Shakespeare above the doors and, although he was the means of exposing the Ireland forgeries, he was not apparently above conniving at a fabrication himself.

On page 188 of Samuel Ireland's *Picturesque Views on the Warwickshire Avon* (1795) is a sketch of the "Birthplace" made by Ireland in October 1792. It is the two-storey cottage with the inn adjoining with the sign of the "Swan and Maidenhead" hung from an upstairs window. There is no resemblance whatever to the building depicted in Malone's Supplement of 1780. Ireland refers to it as "the humble cottage" and there is no mention of the general appearance having been altered. Yet there is only an interval of 12 years between Malone's representation of a large detached house complete with attics and gable, and the "humble cottage" which Samuel Ireland drew and described. Had such alterations taken place the cost would probably have exceeded the value of the premises and would have taken a long time to carry out. That neither Ireland nor Wheler, who both knew Stratford so well, nor any other visitor, inhabitant or author ever mentioned the transformation is surely convincing evidence that no such alteration took place. If the "Birthplace"

had resembled Malone's illustration of 1769 those of Ireland's readers who knew Stratford or who were present at the Jubilee would have remembered the premises not as the "humble dwelling where our Swan of Avon first drew breath and left undecorated" but as one of the largest and most imposing houses in the town.

The official explanation of the fact that in 1769 the birthplace was a detached residence is that the artist was not concerned with the adjoining properties. That there *were* adjoining properties is apparent from the fact that they are shown on both sides when the next drawing of the birthplace was made and published in Wheler's *History and Antiquities of Stratford-on-Avon*. (Plate 3.) Although this volume contains a description of every public building in the town—the story of New Place is told in detail—there is no account whatever of the Birthplace. The drawing was made by R. Wheler himself and it will be seen that the principal differences between the building and that shown in Malone's "Supplement" are that there is no shed-like structure built out in front; the windows are arranged in a different way; there are no gables nor windows built out from the roof and, of course, there is in the later picture a large sign board suspended over the street, and over the door on the right is a picture representing a swan and a female in the corner.

In R. B. Wheler's *Guide to Stratford-on-Avon* published in 1814 it is stated that in the time of Shakespeare the birthplace "was doubtless considered a respectable residence; which, having been since divided now forms a public house "The Swan and Maidenhead" and a butcher's shop and these habitations have probably undergone as many internal alterations as they have had proprietors, though the ancient timber front appears to have been preserved until within these few years. . . it continued until 1806 in the possession of the Hart family, when, for the first time, this property was sold out of the family (after considerable difficulty to obtain a purchaser in consequence of the ruinous state of the house) to Mr. Thomas of Stratford who now occupies "The Swan and Maiden-

THE BIRTHPLACE 1846.

head''; which part he has newly fronted with brick, whilst the other retains its orginal appearance; but, being equally decayed will probably soon undergo a similar alteration.''

It will be noticed that Wheler only mentions internal alterations. The Wheler family had lived at Stratford for many years and R. B. Wheler's father was present at the jubilee celebrations arranged by David Garrick in 1769. Had the building undergone such a complete alteration as shown by comparison with the illustration in Malone's ''Supplement'' (Plate 2) and Wheler's own drawing engraved in his *History and Antiquities* (1806) (Plate 3), he would surely have mentioned the fact. What explanation is there of the drastic alterations and improvements which were apparently carried out between 1780 and 1790 but which left the place ''in a ruinous state and decayed'' but retaining ''its original appearance'' as Wheler describes it a few years later?

Further, it is extremely doubtful whether the birthplace was ever a three-storey building. In 1782 Moritz, writing of his travels in England, describes his visit to Stratford:— ''The River Avon is here pretty broad and a row of neat, though humble, cottages only one storey high with shingle roofs are ranged all along its banks.'' It is after noting these humble and one storey cottages that he proceeds, ''We went to see Shakespeare's house, which of all the houses at Stratford I think is now the worst and one that made least appearance.'' This impression is supposed to have been created by the impressive three-story building drawn for Malone. Malone himself published no description corresponding to his illustration and in the first biography of Shakespeare written by Rowe in 1709 there is no allusion to a birthplace at all.

It is very doubtful whether there is any information to be obtained with regard to the birthplace before Moritz's reference to it in 1782.

Plate 4 shows the birthplace as it appeared in 1847 and Plate 5 the bigger better and brighter birthplace of to-day. From 1847 to 1891 the property was administered under

the terms of a Trust Deed. It had been purchased by a Committee for £3,000 and there was a great deal of discussion as to whether the house in which Shakespere had been born had really been acquired. The first task of the purchasers was of course to repair the houses and, as will be seen, they did this in no niggardly way. The birthplace was described at the time as of "low crazy frontage with a crippled hatch, the filthy remnant of a butcher's shamble with its ghastly hook on the outside. The squalid forlornness of the rooms within conveyed together a sense of utter desolation as merged all those feelings of respect and awe which such a relic should inspire."

Finally, it is as certain to-day as it was in 1886, when Halliwell Phillips published his *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, that there is no apartment in either the Birthplace or the Wool Shop which presents exactly the same appearance as that in which it was viewed in the boyhood of the great dramatist; but unquestionably the nearest approach to the realization of such a memorial is to be found in the cellar; the cellar under the Birthplace is according to the late Sir Sidney Lee "the only part which remains as it was in Shakespeare's time."

Photo H. Felton.

THE BIRTHPLACE TO-DAY.

FRANCIS BACON: POET.

By Mabel Sennett.

Condensed from a lecture given to the Bacon Society at Prince Henry's Room, 17 Fleet Street, London, on 6th July, 1939.

THE lecturer began by citing contemporary and subsequent critics on Bacon's ability as a poet; continued by reading selected passages from Bacon's acknowledged writings to show his use of imagery and metaphor, and the rhythmic quality of his prose; and then proceeded:

When Nathaniel Holmes wrote *The Authorship of Shakespeare* (published 1866) he sent a copy of his book to James Spedding, who declared himself to be "not only unconvinced but undisturbed" by the author's arguments. In a long letter to Judge Holmes, Spedding wrote that Bacon was "one of the busiest men of his time, but who was never suspected of wasting time in writing poetry, and is not known to have written a single blank verse in his life." Again, in the same letter, "I doubt whether there are five lines together to be found in Bacon which could be mistaken for Shakespeare or five lines in Shakespeare which could be mistaken for Bacon by one who was familiar with the several styles and practised in such observation."

Without claiming any approach to the experience and practised observation of Spedding, I venture to invite readers of Baconiana to consider whether Bacon was really incapable of writing blank verse. What is blank verse? Although there are rules which govern the art of poetry, they are not rules arbitrarily laid down by any

authority, but are rather laws ascertained by study of a poet's method, as the "laws of Nature" are ascertained by observation of Nature. The great poet transcends all laws, as his thought finds utterance in rhythmic form: what he thinks good to do becomes a law for those who write after him. This is especially true of Shakespeare. Before his day the makers of poetry were trying to find the right medium for verse in English. The "quantities" of Latin and Greek verse were not easily adapted to the English language, and the less confident poets hesitated to employ new forms, or to forsake the classic measure. But the need for a new style for English verse was obvious to the student of poetry, and adventurers were setting forth.

William Webbe, in his *Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586) writes: "I know no memorable work written by any Poet in our Englishe speeche, untill twenty years past . . . yet surelye that Poetry was in small price among them, it is very manifest, and no great marvayle, for even that light of Greeke and Latine poets which they had, they much contemned, as appeareth by theyr rude versifying, which of long time was used (a barbarous use it was) wherin they converted the naturall property ot the sweete Latine verse, to be a bald kind of ryming, thinking nothing to be learnedly written in verse, which fell not out in ryme. . ." Again he says: "That there be as sharpe and quicke wittes in England as ever were among the peerlesse Grecians, or renowned Romaines, it were a note of no witte at all in me to deny. And is our speeche so course, or our phrase so harshe, that Poetry cannot therein finde a vaine wherby it may appeare like it selfe? . . As Eloquence hath founde such favoures, in the English tongne, as she frequenteth not any more gladly, so would Poetrye if there were the like welcome and entertainment gyven her by our English Poets, without question aspyre to wonderful perfection, and appeare farre more gorgeous and delectable among us." And if "the famous and learned Lawreat Masters of Englande woulde but consult one halfe howre with their heavenly Muse, what credit they might winne to their native speech. . ."

George Puttenham also, in *The Arte of English Poesie*, expresses the hope that there may be established an English rule of verse, suited to our own language: "Then as there was no art in the world till by experience found out: so if Poesie be now an art, and of all antiquitie hath bene among the Greeks and Latines, and yet were none, untill by studious persons fashioned and reduced into a method of rules and precepts, then no doubt there may be the like with us. . . If againe Art be but a certaine order of rules prescribed by reason and gathered by experience, why should not Poesie be a vulgar Art with us as wel as with the Greeks and Latines, our language admitting no fewer rules and nice diversities then theirs?"

In a letter, signed "Immerito," which is printed as an appendix to the Works of Spenser, the same problem is referred to: ". . .rough words," says the writer, "should be subdued with use. For why a God's name, may not we, as else the Greeks, have the kingdom of our own language, and measure our accents by the sounde, reserving the quantities to the verse?" And in another letter "Immerito" writes, "I am of late more in love with my English versifying than with rhyming." And he tried, though with poor success, to force the English speech into the classic form, but soon abandoned the attempt.

Nash also has something to say about the matter: "The hexameter verse I graunt to be a gentleman of an auncient house (so is many an English beggar), yet this clyme of ours he cannot thrive in; our speech is too craggy for him to set his plough in; he goes twitching and hopping in our language like a man running upon quagmiers up the hill in one syllable and down the dale in another; retaining no part of that stately smooth gate, which he vaunts himself with amongst the Greeks and Latins.

Bacon too, in *The Advancement of Learning*, writes of this search for new forms of verse: "Unto grammar belongeth, as an appendix, the consideration of the accidents of words; which are measure, sound, and elevation or accent, and the sweetness or harshness of them; whence hath issued some curious observations in rhetoric, but

chiefly poesy, as we consider it in respect of the verse and not of the argument. Wherein though men in learned tongues do tie themselves to the ancient measures, yet in modern languages it seemeth to me as free to make new measures of verses as of dances: for a dance is a measured pace, as a verse is a measured speech. In these things the sense is better judge than the art." And in another place Bacon refers to the creative genius which transcends the rules of art. (They had not then invented the modern jargon of Unconscious Mind). In the Essay *Of Beauty*, speaking of a painter who had thought it possible to "make a personage by geometrical proportions" he says, "Such personages, I thinke, would please no Body, but the painter, that made them. Not but I thinke a Painter, may make a better Face, then ever was; But he must doe it, by a kinde of felicity, (As a musician that maketh an excellent Ayre in musicke) And not by rule." So perhaps we may say that Bacon expressed himself in blank verse "by a kind of felicity," its smoothness of proportion being expressive of the poise and balance of a noble character.

We, who have grown up with the wealth of English blank verse as our heritage, find it difficult to imagine the conditions of pre-Shakespeare days, when the studious and learned wrote in Latin, or tried to shape verse in English according to the rules of the classic writers, and the less able wrote in jingling rhymes, which were good neither in Latin nor in English. "This brutish poetrie," says Webbe, "this tynkerly verse which we call rime. . . first began to be followed and maintained among the Hunnes and Gothians, and other barbarous nations . . and so at last conveyed into England, by men indeede of great wisdom and learning, but not considerate nor circumspect in that behalfe."

About the time that Webbe (1586) and Puttenham (1589) were writing, there appeared "the first notable English poem in blank verse that was also essentially a play," *Tamburlaine the Great*, by Christopher Marlowe. Marlowe was one of those who were consciously searching for a new

form of expression fitted for English speech, and he frankly rejoices in having found it. His prologue to *Tamburlaine* opens thus:

"From jigging veins of rhyming mother-wits,
And such conceits as clownage keeps in pay,
We'll lead you to the stately tent of war,
Where you shall hear the Scythian Tamburlaine
Threatening the world with high astounding terms,
And scourging kingdoms with his conquering sword."

We must try to put ourselves in the place of these adventurers in English writing who, leaving on the one hand the jigging verse and tynkerly rhymes, and on the other the rule and form of Latin and Greek verse, found the way to the loftiest expression in our native speech. The Elizabethan blank verse was a new thing; it had no rules. The great poets (or shall I say in the singular, the Great Poet?) who evolved and perfected it have given a model for all others to copy. The sense, as Bacon says, is to be the judge of its excellence—not rules of art. In general the verse is of five Iambic feet, or ten syllables, but there is no strict adherence to the number ten; the beat and rhythm of the five-fold accent is more important. At all times extra syllables are allowed, especially if they are not accented; and even some variation in the Iambic measure is permitted. We note this in Marlowe's prologue, where the words "threatening" "and conquering" must be spoken in two syllables only. On another page he has the line:

"Your soul gives essence to our wretched subjects"

introducing the unaccented final eleventh syllable. This is in common use by Shakespeare, even in his loftiest passages, for example:

"Whether tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,"

I have dwelt thus long on the art of English blank verse because I now propose to answer James Spedding's challenge, and to reveal some of Bacon's blank verse; and I hope no one will count the syllables and question the poetic correctness of those which contain eleven or even twelve

instead of ten. If Shakespeare's natural fluency found expression in that form, and Bacon also uses it, we must agree that Bacon could write blank verse. What was good enough for Shakespeare was good enough for him. I cannot, it is true, show any long poem in this form, under Bacon's name; his verse is hidden, but perhaps it may be new even to Baconian students.

'The jewel that we find we stoop and take it
Because we see it: but what we do not see
We tread upon and never think of it.''

Shakespeare's verse, written as verse, and visible as well as audible as such, we take and value because we see it; but Bacon's verses we pass by and do not recognise. He hides them not in secret manuscripts, but most openly in the fabric of his prose. For my first example I take a simple phrase from *The History of King Henry VII*:

"Despatched with all celerity into Scotland."

Here are twelve syllables, but allowable by the Shakespearean standard: with the final unaccented syllable we are already familiar, and "celerity" may be spoken in three; and it is put there to suggest speed by the necessity for swift speaking. The same word is used in the same way by Shakespeare:

"It was the swift celerity of his death."

Despatch in the one case and swiftness in the other are conveyed by the same word; so that I claim this phrase as a good line in blank verse. Again, read these two lines:

"A great observer of religious forms."
"And a true lover of the holy church."

The balance of the lines is the same; the pause comes naturally at the fifth syllable, "A great observer"—"And a true lover." The first line was written of Henry VII by Bacon, and the second of Henry V by Shakespeare! One is accounted prose, the other is verse. Verse should always be read aloud, or at least with that silent appreciation of the rhythm which Shakespeare urges upon us in Sonnet XXIII:

"O learn to read what silent love hath writ
To hear with eyes belongs to love's fine wit."

One cannot judge the rhythm by counting syllables. Compare these two lines:

"Three thousand men, ill armed, but well assured."

"Six thousand and two hundred good esquires."

The first, with its contrast between the ill armed and well assured is the more poetic in expression, but they are both correct verse; and the well assured warriors are Bacon's, while the good esquires are Shakespeare's own! Again,

"To find his title with some shows of truth."

"The law of nature and descent of blood."

You might expect to find this at the beginning of the play of *King Henry V*, where the blank verse halts somewhat to accommodate the argument; but as before, the second line is from Bacon's *Henry VII*. In another place Bacon repeats the King's claim to the throne as

"That natural title of descent in blood."

The pronuciation of "natural" as two syllables only has good Shakespearean authority. The same thought is often expressed by our two authors (if they are two!)

"He's followed both with body and with mind"

says Shakespeare.

"Both knee and heart did truly bow before him"

says Bacon, and I think Bacon has nothing to fear in the comparison.

It may be objected that I am choosing Shakespearean verses from the less inspired portions of the plays. But the Baconian phrases have all been taken from *The History of King Henry VII*, and history should be matched with history, not with the poetry of high tragedy. Bacon is writing plain prose, apparently, in *Henry VII* but on almost every page his pen betrays him into the rhythm which has become as second nature to him. In some sentences his prose needs only the alteration of one syllable to make it run easily into verse. Here are three lines, I insert one word in addition:

"His ends in calling (thus) a Parliament,
And that so speedily were chiefly three,
First to procure the crown to be entailed. . . ."

Would any of you question the authorship of that, if you found it in the play of *King Henry IV*, where there is more prosaic writing printed as verse? As, for instance:

"Cousin, on Wednesday next, our Council we will hold
At Windsor, and so inform the Lords
But come your selfe with speed to us again."

There are moments when I feel that I could say with Tobie Mathew: "Place any man of yours—even the renowned William Shakespeare—by this of mine. . ."

Let us have more of *The History of Henry VII*. Here, by reversing the order of two words—no other change—you get three lines of vigorous verse. Bacon is writing of the time when Lambert Simnell was claiming to be the King Edward V, and was so received in Dublin:

"He thought he should be able well enough
To scatter the Irish as a flight of birds
And rattle away this swarm of bees with their king."

Bacon follows Shakespeare's rule of giving swift pronunciation, with one accent, to a two-syllabled word, in order to express speed: "to scatter the Irish" must be read quickly, as if only two feet; you speak it like a flight of birds, up with a rush of wings, and away! "Rattle" is also as one sharp syllable; and all conveys the idea of the rapid dispersing of a trivial annoyance, not an attack upon a serious revolt. It is a very expressive phrase.

The *History of King Henry VII* has so many of these unconscious lines of verse, that it would not, I think, be difficult to shape it into a play, to fill the gap which exists in the Shakespeare Folio between Henry VI and Henry VIII. But I am not concerned to demonstrate the authorship of "Shakespeare," but the poetic ability of Bacon. Here are some further lines to be found in the prose work:

Was like to leave his sons of tender years
To beat down open murmer and dispute
A grave and safe opinion and advice
It was a ticklish and unsettled state
To trouble and confound the wisest king
And in this form was the law drawn and passed
But his aversion towards the house of York

Which afterwards might gather strength and motion
The king accepted of the courtesy
To feign himself a servant of the earl's
But Perkin, who was made of quicksilver
Leaving his Cornish men to the four winds
All men well famed and loved among the people
And for their persons showed no want of courage
Stroking the people with fair promises
Who finding things to sort to his desire
Encamped in person in Saint George's Fields.

This is Baconian prose. And it is not only in this work that the phrases slide into rhythm in this manner. In the *Essays* too, the author's pen runs frequently in the accustomed way. As far back as 1893 a lecture was given before the Royal Society of Literature by Dr. R. M. Theobald, in which he drew attention to the poetic style of the *Essays*. "Much of Bacon's prose can, by very slight manipulation, be turned into a metrical form, and then its poetic quality is obvious." He gives a version of the Essay *Of Adversity* with such alteration of the form of the word as will bring into verse the already poetic language of the Essay. But frequently the true verse is there without any manipulation. In the first Essay *Of Truth* we read:

"First he breathed Light upon the Face of Matter; then he breathed Light into the Face of Man; and still he breatheth and inspireth Light. . . ."

The essay in prose has ". . . the Face of Matter or Chaos . . ." and the omission of two words "or Chaos," involving no change in the sense of the phrase, gives three lines of excellent verse. Here are some further lines from the Essays; no doubt many will recognise the sources.

There is no passion in the mind of man
Faces are but a gallery of pictures
To whom you may impart Griefs, Joys, Fears, Hopes,
Redoubleth joys and cutteth griefs in halfes
Were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends
It is a shameful and unblessed thing
Therein the flatterer will uphold him most

And with a kind of magnanimity
There is no trusting to the force of Nature
In things that fall within the compass of it
Virtue is like a rich stone, best plain set
To look too long upon these turning wheels.

It is no argument to say that this is the eloquence of the Baconian style. We might have expected Bacon's style to be legal or formal; or if intrinsically poetic, why did it not go the way of the ancients and follow Greek and Latin verse? Why does Bacon so often reach his finest expression in "Shakespearean" blank verse? There was not then, as I have said, the rich storehouse of English verse with which our ears are now familiar; poets were experimenting with the Greek and Latin forms. Webbe, whom I have already quoted, says: "the most famous verse of all the rest is called Hexameter, which consisteth of six feet . . This kind of verse I have only seen to be practised in our English speech; and indeed will stand somewhat more orderly therein than any of the other kinds, until we have some toleration of words made by special rule . . . The next verse in dignity consisteth of four feet and two odd syllables. . it will not frame altogether so currently in our English as the other . . but the Sapphic I assure you, in my judgment will do very pretty . . ." These were the rhythms and these the numbers in which young courtly poets were exercising their wit. The verse of five Iambic feet, unrhymed, which we call blank verse, had hardly been invented. Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* had met with abuse as "the swelling bombast of braggart blank verse," and certainly English speech had not become accustomed to the smooth and stately flow of these numbers until Shakespeare revealed its beauties. Why then do we find it at the tip of Bacon's pen, as if he were so practised in it that it came unconsciously?

May I recall to you those well quoted lines of Ben Jonson's in which he speaks of Bacon as "he who hath filled up all numbers; and performed that in our tongue, which may be compar'd or preferr'd, either to insolent Greece or haughty Rome." This is important, not only

because of the similarity to Jonson's address to Shakespeare in the Folio, but because of the changed attitude to the poetic standards of Greece and Rome. Webbe had written, shortly before, of the "peerlesse Grecians and renowned Romans," and their verse had been the model for all scholarly makers of poetry. Now Jonson praises Bacon for that he has filled up the numbers, i.e., supplied in our tongue that which was missing, had evolved in our language the verse best fitted to it, which could be not only compared with, but preferred above the classic examples. "Peerless and renowned" they had been, but to Bacon's admirer they had become "insolent" and "haughty," no longer entitled to claim authority. Ben Jonson therefore means that Bacon was the inventor of the new verse form, and that henceforth he is the "mark or acme," the standard to which all English poetry should conform. Is it possible that this is also the thought intended in the Shakespeare ode by the reference to "small Latin and less Greek"? that it refers not to the poet's knowledge, or lack of knowledge, of those languages, but to his dependence upon classical authority in the construction of his verse? "A good poet's made as well as born" says Jonson; and Shakespeare, paying small attention to the Latin rule, and still less to the Greek, has devised such dressing of his lines, "so richly spun and woven so fit," that classic authors are "antiquated and deserted lie." It is Bacon who "hath filled up all numbers" and who is the supreme poet of all time: Bacon who, according to Spedding never wrote a single line of blank verse in his life. If the many lines which I have quoted here are not good verse my sense must be a poor judge, and "I do not know what poetical is." Nor are these lines all: there are many more jewels in the mine from which I have collected my samples.

As for Spedding's second statement, that there are not five lines together in Bacon which could be mistaken for Shakespeare, did he mean five consecutive lines? But if he meant five lines altogether, I propose a test, if you will give me your assistance. Intelligence tests have been

popular of late in the newspapers and radio, and it would be interesting to know our readers' answers to this one. Are the following lines to be found in Shakespeare's works, or in Bacon?

INTELLIGENCE TEST.

1. My tongue will tell the anger of my heart
2. In that strange fiction of the ancient poet
3. But heaven hath a hand in these events
4. And to pronounce that which they do not find
5. And then do just as they have done before
6. Loud shouts and salutations from their mouths
7. Who flocked about us as we went along
8. Heaven was made too much to bow to earth
9. In his own grace he doth exalt himself
10. Corruption of the best things is the worst
11. Turned law and justice into wormwood rapine
12. Had certain proud instructions from the king
13. Odours most fragrant when they are incensed
14. Uttering bare truth, even so as foes commend
15. But since it serves my purpose, I will venture
16. Blew down the golden eagle from the spire
17. It is a matter of small consequence
18. Great number came upon the stage at once
19. Unto the clerks and ministers of justice
20. And to the sovereign or state above them.

No prize is offered! But if you take the lowest marks you gain the greatest satisfaction: if you fail to distinguish Bacon's verse from Shakespeare's you enjoy the felicity of knowing and acclaiming FRANCIS BACON: POET.

BACON AND DONNE.

By Richard Ince.

TO ascertain the degree of intimacy between contemporary personalities is not always easy. We have to rely mainly upon letters and, even where correspondence has been preserved, it does not necessarily throw light on this problem. If often happens that some of the most intimate friendships leave behind them no epistolary evidence whatever.

Personally I have no doubt whatever that Francis Bacon and John Donne were intimate friends, but, were I pressed for direct evidence of this, I could supply but little.

Among Donne's voluminous correspondence there is no letter addressed to Francis Bacon and neither, I think, is there any direct reference to him. Were the two men intimate friends this would be surprising did we not remember that Bacon's correspondence, as we have it, is obviously incomplete and that very many of Donne's letters have perished. This, I admit, is a negative argument but should not, for that reason, be wholly disregarded.

Neither must it be forgotten that the two men moved in different circles. During the early part of James's reign, Bacon was trying hard to attain legal office under the Crown, whereas Donne was in a backwater of the aristocracy, in search of lucrative employment at Court or the approbation of a wealthy patron for his odes and elegies. Donne moreover was one of those who by circumstance and temperament have plenty of time. Many of his letters to Goodyer and other friends are about nothing at all—but written at great length. Bacon, on the other hand, never wrote a letter unless it was urgently necessary.

Nevertheless there are certain definite links between the two men which are not, I think, without significance.

Twickenham Park, the country residence of Francis

Bacon during his years of comparative seclusion at Gray's Inn, in 1607 came into the hands of Donne's intimate friends Henry Goodyer and Edward Woodward and the lease was by them transferred the following year to George, Lord Carew, in trust for Lucy, Countess of Bedford. The Countess became one of Donne's most liberal patrons and the godmother to one of his daughters. There is nothing to prove that Donne ever visited Twickenham Park during the term of Bacon's residence there though he became an honoured guest in the later years when the Countess so lavishly entertained "wit and wisdom" at Twickenham. The fact that Goodyer must have transacted business with Francis Bacon goes far to indicate that the two men were acquainted; and the intimacy between Donne and Goodyer renders it extremely unlikely that Donne and Bacon did not know one another.*

When, in the early days of his marriage, with a growing family and a dwindling income, John Donne and Ann settled in an old manor house at Mitcham in Surrey, they had wealthy and fashionable neighbours. Among these was Sir Julius Caesar, later Master of the Rolls, who was the owner of a palatial residence in the parish. There are many letters from Bacon to Sir Julius Caesar relating to legal matters and the two men doubtless met frequently. We have it on the authority of Jessopp that "his (Sir J. Caesar's) house at Mitcham was Donne's frequent resort." It would be strange indeed if at Sir Julius Caesar's house Donne never met Bacon.†

The Tobie Matthew collection of Letters was edited by Donne's eldest son. In this collection are certain unsigned, unaddressed letters and internal evidence points to these having been written to Donne in the years 1603-4 when he was a guest of his cousin, Sir Francis Wooley at Pyrford in Surrey. This house, it is interesting to note, still stands, though much altered and the summerhouse of Tudor brick is of great interest and beauty. Gosse thinks

* See Edmund Gosse, *Life and Letters of John Donne*; vol. 1. p. 210.

† Jessopp's *John Donne*, p. 51.

some of these letters were written by Donne's Lincoln's Inn friend, Christopher Brooke. In one occurs a reference to a book or manuscript of Bacon's: "When I was at Pyrford I left behind me Mr. Bacon's Discourse of matters ecclesiastical; I pray you return it by this bearer . . ."*

There is a passage in Jessopp's "John Donne" which, however, seems of greater promise than performance. He says: "The sequence of events in Donne's life between 1606 and 1610 is difficult to make out with any certainty: but we know that he was on intimate terms with Sir Francis Bacon during this period, and was frequently employed by that illustrious man to revise some of his books before they received their final correction. It was through Bacon, too, as he tells us in one of his letters, that Donne was first introduced to Lord Hay, afterwards Earl of Carlisle." I do not know what authority Jessopp had for this emphatic statement nor have I been able to trace the letter referred to. There are other references of course to Bacon's 'good pens' and although I do not doubt them at all, I sometimes wish they were more capable of verification.

Bacon's fall occurred in 1621. Donne's "Devotions" were written in 1623. In these there is a most significant passage which, to my mind, carries conviction as to the close intimacy between Bacon and Donne. Only one who stood very near to Francis Bacon and who had the necessary insight to understand one so far in advance of the generality of mankind could have written the following: "A man rises sometimes, and stands not, because he does not, or is not believed to fill his place: he may bring so much virtue, so much justice, so much integrity to the place as shall spoil the place, burden the place: his integrity may be a libel upon his predecessor, and cast an infamy upon him and a burden upon his successor, to proceed by example, and to bring the place itself to an undervalue, and the market to an uncertainty. . .†"

No more direct reference could safely be made to that saddest event in English history at that time. "Lest the

* Gosse: Vol 1, p. 126.

† Nonesuch Edition of Donne's Prose and Verse, p. 541.

wise world should look into your moan and mock you with me after I am gone."

That Donne was a member of the literary circle who met at the "Mermaid" in Bread Street we know from a piece of direct evidence. That rather tiresomely facetious gentleman, Mr. Tom Coryat, author of the "Crudities," one of the most fatiguing travel-books ever written, was a loved and tolerated butt of the humorists in that Circle. Coryat had more than his share of the Englishman's restless desire for movement. Walking and looking at antiquities became his ruling passion. He walked from Odcombe in Somerset to London. Disdaining stage coaches and all vehicular conveyance he walked from Calais to Venice. In 1611 he walked out of Europe into Asia. His head was light but his feet were even lighter and it seemed not unlikely that, Asia explored, he might float off to the Moon. However at Agra he caught a fever of which he died. On November 8th, 1616, Coryat wrote a facetious letter from Agra or, as he preferred to call it, 'the umbelick of oriental India,' addressed to some twenty-five friends in England, members of 'the Right Worshipful Fraternity of Sireniacal Gentlemen that meet the first Friday of every month, at the sign of the "Mermaid" in Bread Street in London.' Coryat had never grown up. His epistolary style bubbled with boyish effervescence. "Right Generous, Jovial and Mercurial Sireniacks," the letter began and he greeted each with a separate complimentary invocation. The fifth in the list is "Mr. John Donne, the author of two most elegant Latin books, "Pseudo-Martyr" (which was not in Latin at all) and "Ignatii Conclave:" of his abode either at the Strand or elsewhere in London." Among the other 'Mercurial Sireniacks' are mentioned Ben Jonson, Sir Robert Cotton, Christopher Brooke, Sir Richard Martin, Sir John Hoskins, George Gerard, William Hakewill and Inigo Jones. In 1615 Bacon was Attorney General and Attorneys General did not frequent taverns in that age any more than they do in this. The Law is as respectable a profession as the Church.

But it is passing strange that Tom Coryat sent no greeting to Ben Jonson's boon companion Mr. William Shakespeare! True, Shakespeare had at that time retired to occupy himself with brewing at Stratford. But Coryat had been away from England for at least four or five years and should have remembered something of those wonderful wit combats which Fuller has enshrined in legend.

To sum up, I think it may be said with confidence that there was a very close friendship between Francis Bacon and John Donne. But my personal feeling is that in this case, as in most others in this connection, 'friendship' is not quite the right word. Bacon was an immeasurably greater man than Donne: greater in learning, in affairs, in spiritual attainment and in the faculty of direct intuition and inspiration. It was only in later life that Donne struggled out of the hampering fetters of personality. And even then his development was narrow and one-sided compared with Bacon's. Men like Bacon, it must be remembered, are 'live wires.' They directly transmit the Cosmic Spirit to men. Donne was essentially a very humble man: he longed above all, for knowledge and understanding. That he came in the end to discover that true knowledge and understanding can only be attained in proportion to moral and spiritual growth, was due, I think, to Bacon. It was Francis Bacon who kindled in him the fires of aspiration.

REVIEWS.

ANGEL FROM A CLOUD. By Richard Ince. Massie; price 8*s*. 6*d*.

In his previous volume *England's High Chancellor* Mr. Ince gave an imaginative reconstruction of some important aspects of Francis Bacon's career. Here he gives a lively picture of the various characters playing their parts around the central figure of John Donne; and although he has frankly called his book a romance, it is important to realise that no violence is done to historical facts, and that only a very few minor personages are invented. Therefore the reader need not fear that he is being presented with a distorted view of history. Moreover Mr. Ince has rightly avoided any attempt to reproduce with verbal accuracy the language of Tudor times. Occasionally he has perhaps erred a little in the direction of modernising, but this is no serious fault. Wherever possible he has made use of Donne's own writings, sermons and poems; and where a little imagination is needed, as must be the case even in biography, it is used to reproduce as faithfully as the author can the thought atmosphere of those times and the interplay between the characters portrayed.

Donne was a fascinating person and a very strange mixture of apparent contradictions. As secretary to the Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Egerton, he found his gifts and his scholarship fully appreciated; but when he contracted a secret marriage with Ann More, a niece of Lady Egerton, trouble ensued and he was eventually deprived of his post. After much trouble and ill fortune he succeeded in securing the favourable attention of King James, who wished him to enter the ministry. But the wildness of Donne's youth had not then worn itself out, and he did not comply. Eventually he was appointed Reader in Divinity to the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn and finally Dean of St. Paul's, where his wonderful preaching attracted notice from all quarters.

Mr. Ince makes it clear that his hero is not an example of a common sinner turned saint, for Donne was at all times entirely sincere, and was essentially religious in the true sense of that word. He was cultured in thought and aspiration, and the wildness of his youth was in part due to this very sincerity of character and his hatred of all sham. It was sincerity again which, combined with fiery eloquence and ripe scholarship, made his sermons one of the marvels of that day. Certainly he was a very remarkable Dean for St. Paul's, and his influence on his contemporaries was strong and invigorating. Those who are interested in the Tudor period will enjoy Mr. Ince's dramatic writing and his grasp of the essential elements in his story. The book is one which holds the reader's attention. B.G.T.

THE NEW SHAKESPEARE: KING RICHARD II. Edited by John Dover Wilson. Cambridge University Press. 8*s*. 6*d*.

Richard II is in many respects one of the most interesting of the Shakespearian plays. It was the first of them to be published in that name. It was catalogued with and apparently bound up in the "Northumberland MS" among some of Francis Bacon's acknowledged work. It is the only play to which Bacon himself explicitly referred and its performance was associated with one of the most remarkable events in his career.

There are many links between the play and Bacon's *Natural History* and *Advancement of Learning* and it seems Queen Elizabeth herself suspected that he was its author.

Dr. Dover Wilson, who is responsible for the new edition, follows Sir E. K. Chambers in identifying the play with that performed on the 9th December, 1595, at the house of Sir Edward Hoby who invited Sir Robert Cecil to supper on that Tuesday night promising that "a gate for your supper shal be open and K. Richard present him selfe to your vewe." Dr. Dover Wilson considers this evidence that the play was not at that time considered objectionable by the authorities and that it was a popular drama played, as we know it was, on the authority of the Queen herself,

over forty times—a long run for an Elizabethan play. But may not the "Richard" that Cecil was invited to see have been Richard III? Neither Sir E. K. Chambers or Dr. Dover Wilson appear to have considered this possibility: if, of course, this was the case the elaborate conclusions drawn by Dr. Wilson are without validity and the problem remains—was the "Richard the Second" performed on the eve of Essex' rebellion Shakespeare's play?

Cecil himself was something of a poet, for in Lodge's *Illustrations* there is reference to "verses composed by Mr. Secretary who got Hales to frame a ditty. Mr. Secretary keepeth those things very secret. It was told Her Majesty that Mr. Secretary had some music and songs; she would needs hear them so this ditty was sung."

But when was *Richard II* written? Dr. Dover Wilson believes it to be a comparatively early play belonging to the opening stages of the second period of Shakespeare's career which began with the formation of the Lord Chamberlain's Company in 1594, but there is evidence that it was written some years before that. There are allusions which would hardly have been made in the text unless they were of topical interest. In "*Shakespeare, Oxford and Elizabethan Times*" (London; Archer 1933). Admiral Holland pointed out that in 1582 the Gregorian calendar was substituted for the Julian, ten days being taken from it and the 15th followed the 4th October. This may account for the imagery of Kings commanding even Time, of which there are instances in Act I, scene iii, lines 213-15 and lines 227-8, and in Act III, scene ii, at line 69. The line "Let not to-morrow then, ensue to-day" (Act II, scene i, 195) may also refer to the change in the calendar.

"Caterpillars of the commonwealth" (Act II, scene iii, 166) are referred to by Stephen Gosson in his *School of Abuse* (1579) and again in the anonymous *Second and Third Blast of Retreat* (1580). That "The bay trees in our country are all withered" (Act II, scene iv, 3) is mentioned by Holinshed but that "meteors frighting the fixed stars of heaven; the pale-faced moon looking bloody on the earth, and lean-looked prophets whispering fearful

change," seem to be the creations of the Shakespearean imagination. The last line may refer to *Doom; Warning all Men to Judgment*, published in 1581. What may be another topical reference occurs in Act V, scene i, 5. The Queen rests in a street leading to the Tower of London and wondcrs whether "this rebellious earth have any resting for her true king's queen."

On June 21, 1581, another Queen's resting place had been defaced and the images around it destroyed. Queen Eleanor's Cross, Cheapside, had been thus "rebelliously" treated because its removal out of the way of carriages had been forbidden. There had been an earthquake in 1580 and "rebellious earth" may be a reference to that calamity. The date, then, of the composition of *Richard II* may have been about 1583, cleven years before the date to which Dr. Dover Wilson assigns it.

It was first published anonymously in 1597. A second edition, a reprint with the name of William Shake-speare on the title page, followed in 1598; a third, with the deposition scene included, appeared in 1608 and a fourth in 1615. Its next appearance in print was in the first folio of 1623. In the latter are several minor errors which had previously been peculiar to thc Quarto of 1615 and which indicatc that the folio editors bascd their version of the play on that Quarto and not upon either of its predecessors. The folio version appears to have been specially prepared for the press subsequently to 1615. There are also some additions to the play in the folio which suggest that this final version was the work of thc great dramatist himself and, if this is so, he cannot be the Shakspere who died at Stratford in the first month (as months were then computed) of 1616. *That* Shakspere had been a permanent resident at Stratford since 1604.

The introduction to the new edition is of the greatest interest. The editor tells us that much reading had undoubtcdly gone to the making of the play. "Wide and close reading of the chronicles lics behind it, yet this is combined with indifference to historical veracity and consistency." Indecd when one considers the sources of *Richard II*, Shakespeare, whoever he was, must have been

a profound student of history. Dr. Dover Wilson points out that the view that the principal source of the play is Holinshed must be greatly qualified. The evidence eh adduces demonstates that the dramatist was indebted to Berner's Froissart, Le Beau's *La Chronicque de la Traison et Mort de Richard Deux roy Dengleterre*, Jean Créton's poem on the theme and Daniel's *Civil Wars*. Holinshed "furnishes but the plain hempen warp upon which the colourful tapestry we call *Richard II* was woven. Of that there can be no question." How does Dr. Dover Wilson escape the dilemma which he himself propounds—the old dilemma of the learning of Shakespeare? He writes "Once again, as in *King John*, we have had to face the question Was Shakespeare a profound historical scholar or merely reviser of such a scholar's play, and as before we bave been compelled to reply that the probabilities are all in favour of the second alternative." Now to begin with there is no such evidence of the existence of an older play of *Richard II* as there is of *The Troublesome Raigne of King John* and Dr. Dover Wilson begs the question whether the latter is an earlier version ot the drama which first saw the light in the Folio of 1623. *The Troublesome Raigne* was first printed anonymously in 1591; it was reprinted in 1611 with the words "written by W.Sh." on the title page and again in 1622 was distinctly ascribed to "W. Shake-speare." Francis Meres included it in his list of the Shakespeare plays in 1598 and it is to say the least arguable that in the folio of 1623 the same play appeared re-written under the title of *King John*.

Dr. Dover Wilson, however, has to face the difficulty of ascribing to Shakespeare of Stratford first-hand knowledge of *La Chronicque de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux roy Dengleterre*, Le Beau, Créton and the rest, and he avoids the difficulty by postulating an unknown "predecessor soaked in the history of England who had read the chroniclers for him and had digested what they had to say upon the downfall of Richard II into a play book ready to his revising hand. Shakespeare did not consult these autborities himself and his acquaintance with them was probably secondhand."

We remain entirely unconvinced by this argument, if such it can be called; indeed we think it is an evasion of what to the learned editor, orthodox as he must remain with regard to the question of authorship, must be a very difficult problem indeed. He finds traces of more hands than one in the play as well as several loose threads and inconsistencies. He thinks that much of the imaginary old play is retained and that Shakespeare had to huddle through the last act at a few hours' notice with the help of such scraps of the old play as he could conveniently stitch together.

We are not disposed to disagree that *Richard II* is an extremely unequal drama. There is rhyme-tagging and sheer ineptitude so dreadful that it is difficult to believe them Shakespearian; but there appears to be no sufficient reason for assigning them to a pre-Shakespearian play. Dr. Dover Wilson has not considered the traces of Michael Drayton's hand. In *England's Parnassus* (1600) the authorship of Gaunt's great speech was attributed to Drayton and there are, as Stotsenburg in his *Impartial Study of the Shakespeare Title* has pointed out, many indentities of thought and expression in this work of Shakespeare and in Drayton's poems. However, it is we think only necessary to read the "New Cambridge" edition of *Richard II* to be satisfied that this great play was not written by Shakspere of Stratford and, while this is of course the last conclusion the editor would desire his readers to adopt, it appears an absolutely inescapable one. F.E.C.H.

GENTLEMAN OF STRATFORD. By John Brophy. Collins. 8*s*. 6*d*.

According to the author, this novel has been long in consideration—ten years at least. It is regrettable that "the idea of it was allowed to become urgent in his mind and to take definite shape," for as a novel it is exceedingly dull and as a contribution to our knowledge of Shakespeare without any value whatever.

Shakspere of Stratford cannot be made the hero of a romantic novel. The facts of his life, commonplace and

prosaic as they are, cannot be fashioned into romance, and brewing, petty litigation and money lending are not activities usually associated with the heroes of best sellers.

Mr. Brophy, however, does his best. He devotes many pages to the love interest. Anne Hathaway and her seduction is the theme of Book I. The heroine of Book 2 is a lady in scarlet and white and the heroine of Book 3 is Nell, a dark Welsh woman. The subject of the much shorter fourth Book is Judith, Shakspere's daughter, of whose society he, as a frustrated business man, cannot have too much. This portrait of William in retirement is unique. He says "I am a man much changed of late years and it hath taken me long—over long perchance—to make reckoning of the change. My passions are all spent. Once I was urgent and tumultous within; now I am turned, like it or not, to the habit of contemplation. Some virtue hath gone out of me. And the strangest, child, lies in this. I know my loss and regret it not." And Judith, who for some inexplicable reason or another, was never taught to write, replies in a style which would appear to be considerably above her "Father, this asks more than I can give. Thou speakest what are enigmas to my ears. So much I must at once confess. But speak on and haply I will attain comprehension." Whether the lady does or does not we are not told. We can only confess entire failure on our own part to comprehend either father or daughter. The former may perhaps give some clue in his answer, with love in his eyes, "I would not have thee possess all the knowledge I have come by" and he brusquely and cheerfully proceeds "What is lost is gone; call it dramatical energy. But I have much left—enough to eke out such further labours as I care to undertake. Poetry is left in me, although it be transformed all to contemplative calm. And still I have the ability to laugh and to make others laugh. This is more than nothing."

It is certainly not less.

There is considerable emphasis laid upon the physical aspect of the loves of this gentleman of Stratford, whose title to the description seems a little doubtful. The word "gentleman" however, may be used in a limited sense. Shakspere did acquire the right to armorial bearings.

Of the novel as such the less said the better. It is recommended by the Book Society and the publishers advertise that "it fulfils the primary functions of a first-class novel; it tells a story which holds interest from first to last; it creates vivid and credible characters, just as it recrcates a whole period of English history, and, above all, it is about William Shakespeare. It reveals the man—the great but wholly human man—behind the famous plays."

The language of the publishers' "puff" need not be taken too seriously, and were it not for the author's post-script, the subject of which is "historical origins," the notice of readers of BACONIANA would not have been invited to this latest contribution to our knowledge of the greatest poet and dramatist of all time.

The "historical origins" prove to be anything but historical. We are told that the known facts of Shakespeare's external life may seem scanty, but they are ampler than those of most poets of his period, a statement which has been shown to be quite untrue.

The author rejects all the theories which seek to prove that Shakespeare was anyone but Shakespeare and this sentence is characteristic of the intellectual level upon which the postscript is written. Mr. Brophy sees no reason why a grammar school education should debar a man from writing plays and poetry. As if any sane person ever contended that it did! He proceeds that there are many references to Shakespeare's Stratford days, but gives no examples, except the observation of the river current from the Clopton Bridge. Greene, Jonson, Chettle, Harvey, Manningham, Webster, and Beaumont had, we are told, no doubt that the man who wrote Shakespeare's plays was Shakspere.

For Mr. Brophy's information, but not with any hope that this stale joke will ever see the end of its day, the anti-Shakespearian position may be defined in this way. The man who wrote under the name of Shakespeare or Shake-speare was a man who bore an entirely different name—one who lived and moved and had his being in a vastly different sphere of life from that in which Shakspere of Stratford lived and moved. F.E.C.H.

CORRESPONDENCE

TO THE EDITORS OF BACONIANA.

WAS SHAKESPEARE A SEAMAN?

Dear Sirs,—The article "Was Shakespeare a Seaman" which appears in the current BACONIANA—a most interesting number—bears a similar title to one that appeared I think in the "St. James' Magazine" many years ago.

Commenting on the order "Lay her a-hold" neither Mr. Walker nor Mr. Carr Laughton, whom he quotes, appears to have read "Shakespeare's Sea Terms Explained" by Captain W. B. Whall, who was Nautical Surveyor to the Board of Trade. His book was buplished by Arrowsmiths, Bristol, in 1910. I knew Captain Whall (since deceased) and he presented me with a copy of his book, which I possess.

He writes that "Lay her a-hold" is an obsolete term meaning to keep a ship close to the wind. "Lay" is a sea word referring to direction, e.g., "Does she lay her course?" "The Lay of the land," "Lay aft" and so on. A modern ship can sail six points of the compass from the wind; that is, if the wind be south and it is wished to go south west, the nearest the ship can steer to that point is west south west (which is six points from south, the direction of the wind)."

In all talk about Bacon and discussion as to how he might have acquired knowledge of the use of sea terms, there has not been, so far as I can find, any allusion to intercourse he might have had with Admiral Sir Robert Mansel, Queen Elizabeth's sturdy Welshman who, as Admiral of the Narrow Seas (Straits of Dover) was so "zealous of his Queen's honor." Bacon and Mansel likely enough met often as there was a family connection. Of this I have written elsewhere.

Yours faithfully,

ALEX. G. MOFFAT.

TO THE EDITORS OF BACONIANA.

THE GALLUP DECIPHER.

Dear Sirs,—I have read "A Study in Elizabethan Typography" by Mr. G. B. Curtis which includes comment on certain points contained in my two papers on "The Gallup Decipher" (XXII., pp. 66-77 and 253-8). I do not notice therein anything refuting my findings, and as the strongest expression of Mr. Curtis is no more than that Mrs. Gallup's work is "almost certainly correct." I am satisfied to leave my case as it stands to the judgment of posterity. I may, however, remind your readers that if as now appears from Mr. Gallup's papers, she ignored three italic letters *ATO* on page A2 of OL and G editions of *The Spanish Masquerado* my conclusions are not adversey affected as I explained on p. 76, and where I demonstrated (and Mr. Curtis agrees) that two distinct readings can never be obtained from any one set of Bacon symbols by adding or removing any number of initial symbols, so Mr. Curtis's case rests entirely on the six pages in *The Spanish Masquerado* being of different settings in K and (OL and G) editions. I consider I have established that, for all practical purposes (and a cipher must be practical, see p. 253), the specified six pages are of the same setting of type in both editions. All the talk of microscopic work avails nothing, for minute differences are commonly found in books of the same printing. Moreover during the Summer of 1900, when Mrs. Gallup worked in the British Museum, her eyesight (as she herself tells us) was "overstrained," and so she could not have done work requiring minute exactitude. On irrelevant matters Mr. Curtis is expansive, but on more pertinent occasions his reticence is most disappointing. Having Mrs. Gallup's MS. before him could he not have told us exactly what she did use throughout, such as running heads, ampersands, and so on? Nor is his expression always clear, as, for instance, on p. 15 where he seems to make me assume that Mrs. Gallup used OL and not G. I did not express any opinion as to the exemplar from which she worked. Elsewhere he is not as accurate as he might be. I did not note

that Woodward classified 75 per cent. of letters, but that he himself declared he did. On p. 7 (note 6) he makes an unwarranted assumption: "If one half the 250 italic letters in the K sonnet should be assigned definitely and unmistakeably to their respective founts, Mr. Ewen would have to accept the validity of Mrs. Gallup's work." Actually I should do nothing of the kind, for any person by the spin of a coin can get about 50 per cent. of guesses right. By experiment I found that at least 96 per cent. accuracy is necessary to enable any sensible message to be read (see xxii, p. 68). And that is the precision which would have to be obtained by the numerous proof readers of old supposed to be engaged in the work. When we find a modern who can attain to the same degree of perfection it will be time enough to accept Mrs. Gallup's "decipherings," in the meantime (trusting that the printer will not again misspell me) I shall continue to believe (on my numerous stated grounds) that the lady drew her narratives from some "subliminal storage."

Yours faithfully,
C. L'Estrange Ewen.

To the Editors of Baconiana.

THE NEW SHAKESPEARE; RICHARD II.

Dear Sirs,—In the July number of Baconiana the writer of "Notes and Notices" makes a statement in reference to the inclusion of the play of *King Richard II*, in the New Cambridge edition of Shakespeare, which seems to me to call for elaboration. He says that Dr. Dover Wilson (the editor of this edition) "apparently does not realise that Shakespeare wrote a cycle of historical plays which included the reigns of all the English Kings from Richard II to Henry VIII, with the exception only of Henry VII. Bacon wrote the *History of Henry VII* under his own name, and this alone was wanting to complete the series."

The writer might, I think, have gone further and said that with the exception only that there is no play devoted to the reigns of Edward V and Edward VI (obviously because neither of these reigns could well have been the

subject of a play, as the former king reigned only for one year and the latter only as a youth under the protectorship of Somerset) the sequence of English-King plays was complete from *John* to Henry VIII.

As I think I was the first to point out, excepting for the omissions above mentioned, the author of "Shakespeare" did in fact write plays concerning all the English Kings from John to Henry VIII, although some of them were not included (for the very good reason that they had been attributed to, and published as by, other authors) in the folio edition.

As I demonstrated in a series of addresses given to the Bacon Society in 1931, 1932, and 1933, the plays missing from the "Shakespeare" sequence were published as being each by a different author, as follows:—

Edward I	attributed to	Geo. Peele
Edward II	,,	C. Marlowe.
Edward III	,,	Anonymous.
Edward IV	,,	T. Heywood.
*Henry III	,,	Robt. Greene.

As pointed out in my addresses (subsequently published in BACONIANA and reprinted therefrom) these plays are precisely and only those that are missing from the "Shakespeare" sequence—excepting Henry VII, which the author would no doubt have also dramatised had he lived long enough.

It is very extraordinary that each of the five plays above-mentioned, each of which is alleged and generally believed to be by a different author, should all have been written in blank verse, of such remarkable merit and style that the Shakespearean character of portions, if not the whole of every one of them, has been remarked upon by one critic or another. As I pointed out at the time, it struck me as extremely curious (if we were not at once to assume that the alleged authors' names were nothing but pseudonyms) that while each selected as the subject of his play a King different from that of his fellows, and carefully

* Published under the title *The Hon. History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*.

avoided dealing with any of the Kings whose reigns were subsequently dramatised in "Shakespeare," no one of them wrote more than one English-King play. What logical reason can be put forward in explanation of this? Each of the four writers, having made such a success of a play dealing with the reign of one of our Kings, one of them surely might have been expected to try his hand at least at one other.

And why should all these plays have been written in blank verse?

Anyone who carefully studies this subject must, I think, inevitably come to the conclusion that these plays were written at a time when Sir Francis Bacon was quite indifferent to the name he used as non-de-plume, provided only, as in these cases, the name employed was that of a man already dead! Yours faithfully,

H. BRIDGEWATER.

TO THE EDITORS OF BACONIANA.

Dear Sirs,—I have been reading Dr. J. Dover Wilson's *Richard II*, which arrived here yesterday. All he writes about the origin of the play, his Froissart, Creton, Daniel and Reyher is much more in favour of Baconian authorship than of the Stratford Shakespeare.

The Stratfordians demonstrate in spite of themselves that Shakespeare was one of the greatest readers of all time; to what innumerable books he must have had access and what encyclopædic knowledge must have been his! To mention one example—he knew the Bible from cover to cover and yet there is "no evidence that it was taught at Stratford School" (Richmond Noble).

It would appear to be only a question of time before Stratfordians themselves demonstrate that their Shakespeare is an impossibility. It is certain that Bacon had more to do with *Richard II* than any other man and I have been wondering whether Dr. Dover Wilson has ever read Bacon's works. A few years ago I hunted these up in the Cambridge University Library and found the pages remained uncut! Yours faithfully,

W. S. MELSOME.

NOTES AND NOTICES.

Mr. George H. Widger, of 50, Hill Street, St. Albans, has made what he believes to be a very important discovery. A few days ago he brought to the *Herts Advertiser* office for inspection a coffin handle of ornate design, which he is convinced formed an adornment for the coffin of Francis Bacon.

Here, in his own words, is the story of how the discovery was made:—

"I was formerly surveyor to the local Council of Totnes, Devon, and, having done a good deal of digging in connection with archaeological research, I have always been interested in any place where excavations are proceeding.

I was walking through St. Michael's Churchyard, St. Albans, where they were excavating for foundations for a new vestry at the Eastern end of the church. I observed that they were removing debris from beneath Bacon's tomb on the Northern side of the chancel. My curiosity was aroused as to whether I could find any relic of Bacon. I went night after night in my quest, and then I picked up a lump of iron work and stone. Suspecting it was a coffin handle, I took it home and applied some of the tests I had learned in advanced chemistry. After much careful treatment I discovered that it was a handle of what I believe was Bacon's coffin, for it is so ornate that only a very distinguished person would have had a coffin like that. After much scraping and other treatment I tired of my task and threw my "find" into the fire. A little later I saw two small faces looking at me. I recovered it, and here it is. It is a curved drop-handle upon which appear two faces, one of which I believe to be a reproduction of Francis Bacon's face, and the other holding the hand of Bacon, and conducting him to the other world, similar to part of the ornamentation on the Armada Memorial at Plymouth Hoe."

In view of this incident several members of the Council of the Bacon Society went to St. Albans to investigate the matter and to examine the coffin handle which Mr. Widger

found. On one side there is certainly the face of a cherub, while on the other is the face of a man. This latter has been damaged somewhat, so that the nose and part of the chin are no longer intact. Even allowing for this it seems to us extremely doubtful whether the face is intended to represent Francis Bacon's features, though in such a matter one cannot be quite certain. Mr. Widger also found some coffin nails and certain bones of a human skeleton.

Seeing that the material excavated has been dumped in a heap outside the church, and so far as one can ascertain no care has been taken to preserve any relics which might be of importance, it does not seem possible to say definitely whether the coffin handles in question were really beneath the Bacon wall monument in the church, or came from some adjacent spot, where other burials might have taken place.

Most readers of BACONIANA will know that there is a problem connected with the death of Francis Bacon, and that serious doubts have been entertained by several students as to whether he did die in 1626 or merely planned a mock decease and then retired secretly to the Continent, where he may have lived for many more years. Without going into details on this subject, we may perhaps mention that according to Aubrey, there was a report current in St. Albans in 1681 that Sir Harbottle Grimston, who had purchased the Gorhambury estate, removed Bacon's coffin in St. Michaels Church in order to make room for his own. It is also a fact that the late Earl of Verulam stated positively that when searching the vaults at St. Michaels with a party of experts, Bacon's coffin was nowhere to be found. In view of these circumstances, it seems at least possible that the coffin handles which Mr. Widger discovered are those belonging to Sir Harbottle Grimston's tomb, if the report referred to by Aubrey was well founded.

The Bacon Society will do what is possible to ascertain all the relevant facts, and if there are further developments we shall inform our readers in due course.

It was suggested by the late Mr. Parker Woodward, in his *Sir Francis Bacon*, that the body was secretly interred in an un-named grave near the foot of the Shakespeare statue, and that this grave is probably the one alleged to contain the body of a relative of Henry VII, who is said to have sought sanctuary in the Abbey. The Shakespeare Statue was erected in 1740-41 at the instigation, so it is said, of Alexander Pope, Dr. Richard Mead and the third Earl of Burlington. Dr. Mead was at that time the greatest living authority on Bacon's works. He was a descendant of the ill-fated Earl of Essex.

Mr. Ivor Brown has gone to the defence of "the town that lives on Shakespeare." He will be remembered as the author of *Amazing Monument*, that short history of the Shakespeare Industry which was one of the most effective exposures of the relic racket we have read. Now in *Picture Post* (August 5th, 1939) he writes of the shrines and sights of Stratford-on-Avon and the pride and profit of the place. Mr. Brown says the immense Industry is now perfectly honest but he surely realises that "Shakespeare's Desk," as it is called, is only a relic of the Grammar School at which there is no evidence Shakespeare ever attended. There is absolutely nothing to associate Shakespeare with this or any desk; yet Mr. Brown writes of a little boy examining the desk "originally used by Shakespeare when he was at the Grammar School."

Thousands go annually to Anne Hathaway's cottage at Shottery. It is doubtful whether there was any such person, and still more doubtful whether she was the wife of William of Stratford. Richard Hathaway, of Shottery, the owner of the cottage, divided his property between seven children bequeathing £6 13s. 0d. to his daughter Agnes. He had no daughter named Anne. Both in the bond and the marriage license the name of W. Shakespeare's bride is Anne Whateley and she is described as of Temple Grafton. Anne and Agnes are not one name, as the orthodox contend. By statute they are distinct baptismal names; 33 Henry VI declares this to be so.

The Shottery humbug should no longer be associated even with Shakspere of Stratford.

The theatre at Stratford is described as the most up-to-date in the country. It is certainly one of the most profitable, but its productions are beneath contempt. The players do their best but only a minority have the least idea of the meaning of the words they declaim at dreadful speed. The scenery would often disgrace a performance by amateurs. Cranks, in some cases, are given a free hand: this season's *Coriolanus* and *Twelfth Night* were caricatures of Shakespeare. "Iago" in *Othello* seemed uncertain of the meaning of many of his lines and appeared to have no conception of the character whatever. The "Othello" was worse. Mr. John Laurie was much better suited as "Richard III", in which tragedy the entire caste seemed very much happier and there were one or two scenes of great beauty. The ghost scene was lamentable, and of the battle of Bosworth the less said the better.

Finally, Shakspere and his family do *not* lie buried in the churchyard of Holy Trinity Church: it is *not* likely that William Shakspere was married in the Manor House where Mr. and Mrs. Flower now live: he did *not* certainly walk in the garden of Anne Hathaway's cottage: there is a picture of "a shop on which the Bard as he may have been looks down as tourists come to buy the plays they may possibly read and which he almost certainly wrote." There is much virtue in "almost."

BOOKS FOR SALE

	Published at	*Price including British postage*
The Vindicators of Shakespeare: A Reply to Critics. By Sir George Greenwood	3/-	1/10
Shakespeare's Law. By Sir Georgo Greenwood	2/6	8d.
Bacon's Secret Disclosed in Contemporary Books. By Granville C. Cuningham	3/6	2/9
Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio: Bacon's Secret works and Travels (3 vols.). By Walter Begley	15/-	8/-
Exit Shakspere: An outline of the case against Shakspere. By Bertram G.Tbeobald	2/-	1/9
Enter Francis Bacon: The case for Bacon as the true "Shake-speare." By Bertram G. Tbeobald	3/-	2/10
Francis Bacon Concealed and Revealed: Bacon's Secret Signatures in his unacknowledged books. By Bertram G. Tbeobald	7/6	5/6
Bacon is Shakespeare, with reprint of Bacon's *Promus*. By Sir E. Durning-Lawrence	6/-	4/-
The Shakespeare Myth, Milton's epitaph on Shakespeare, etc. By Sir E. Durning-Lawrence	2/6	8d.
Some Acrostic Signatures of Francis Bacon. By William Stone Bootb		21/-
The Hidden Signatures of Francesco Colonna and Francis Bacon. By William Stone Booth		6/3
Tbese two are offered by Messrs. Constable & Co., London.		
Shakespeare's Heraldic Emblems. By W. L. Goldsworthy. This is offered by W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., Cambridge.		6/3
The Personal Poems of Francis Bacon: Shake-speare's Sonnet Diary. Sixtb edition. By Alfred Dodd . .	2/6	2/9
The Northumberland Manuscript. Witb 90 full-page Collo-type facsimiles. Edited by Frank J. Burgoyne . . .	84/-	63/9
Queen Elizabeth and Amy Robsart. A Reprint of *Leycester's Commonwealth*. Edited by Frank J. Burgoyne . . .	7/6	5/-
Sir Thomas Meautys and his Friends. A sbort life of Francis Bacon's private secretary. By Mrs. A. Chambers Bunten .	1/6	1/2
A Life of Alice Barnham, Francis Bacon's wife. By Mrs. A. Chambers Bunten	1/6	1/3
Ben Jonson and the First Folio. By W. Lansdown Goldsworthy		8d.
Uncrowned: a Story of Queen Elizabeth and Francis Bacon. By C. Y. C. Dawbarn, M.A.		6/-
The Problem of the Shakespeare Plays. By G. C. Bompas		2/9
The Shakespeare Problem Re-stated. By Sir George Green-wood. Condensed version by Miss Elsie Greenwood . .	6/-	5/3
The Queen's Rings. By Anne Meeker		7/6

PAMPHLETS FOR SALE

	Price, including British postage.
Shakspere's Real Life Story (published by the Bacon Society). . .	2d.
The Life of Francis Bacon (published by the Bacon Society) . . .	2d.
The Shakespeare Myth and the Stratford Hoax. By Walter Ellis .	7d.
Pope and Bacon: The meaning of "Meanest." With Foreword by Marjorie Bowen. By H. Kendra Baker	1/1
The Bacon-Shakespeare Controversy. By a Barrister	7d.
The First Baconian. By Lord Sydenham	1½d.
The Missing Historical Plays. By Howard Bridgewater . . .	7d.
A Study of *As You Like It*: a psychological interpretation. By Mabel Sennett	1/1
Dressing Old Words New. Striking parallelisms between Shakespeare and the private correspondence of Lady Anne and Anthony Bacon. By W. H. Denning	7d.
A Cypher within a Cypher: An elementary lesson in the Bi-literal Cypher. By Henry Seymour	1/-
The Uncommon Note-Book of Facts and Fancies. By W. A. Vaughan	1/1

BACONIANA.

The official journal of the Bacon Society (Inc.) is published quarterly at 2/6 (postage 1d.).

Back numbers can be supplied at reduced prices when four or more are ordered and the selection is made by the Librarian. When enquiry is made for particular numbers the date should be carefully specified, as some are now very scarce and, in the case of early issues, difficult to obtain except from members of the society who may have spare copies for disposal.

The Rydal Press, Keighley