VOL. XLVIII. No. 165

PRICE 10/-
POST FREE

BACONIANA

Founded 1886

October, 1965

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Editorial	1
The Orange and the Rose	9
The Christianity of Francis Bacon	15
The Two Faces of Ben Jonson	34
Mallet's Life of Francis Bacon	44
Who was Shake-speare?	51
The Affidavits	63
Book Reviews	89
One Side of the Coin	91
Correspondence	97

© Published Periodically

LONDON:

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

THE FRANCIS BACON SOCIETY

(INCORPORATED)

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

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

Officers and Council:

Hon. President:

COMDR. MARTIN PARES, R.N.

Past Hon. Presidents:

CAPT. B. ALEXANDER, M.R.I. — EDWARD D. JOHNSON, ESQ.
MISS T. DURNING-LAWRENCE — MRS. ARNOLD J. C. STUART

Hon. Vice-Presidents:

W. G. C. GUNDRY, ESQ — WILFRED WOODWARD, ESQ.
THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ.

Council:

NOEL FERMOR, ESQ., *Chairman*
T. D. BOKENHAM, ESQ., *Vice-Chairman*
COMDR. MARTIN PARES, R.N. — NIGEL HARDY, ESQ.
J. D. MACONACHIE, ESQ. — A. D. SEARL, ESQ.
C. J. HEMINGWAY, ESQ. — WILFRED WOODWARD, ESQ.
THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ.

MRS. D. BRAMELD, *Secretary:*
Canonbury Tower, Islington, London, N.1

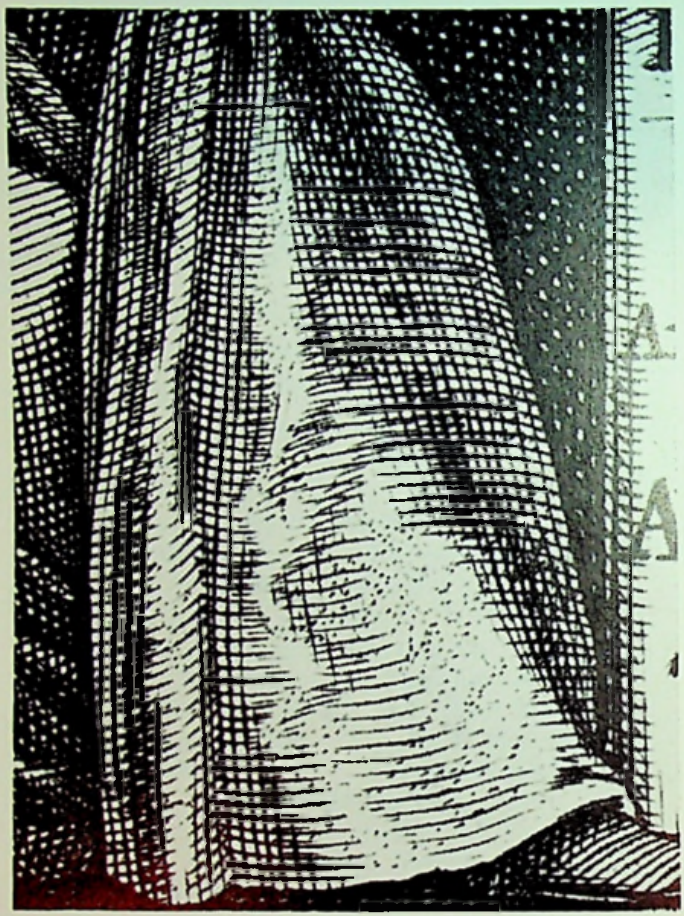
Hon. Treasurer:
T. D. BOKENHAM, ESQ.

The subscription for membership is two guineas payable on election and on the first day of each succeeding January. Members receive a copy of each issue of BACONIANA, without further payment, and are entitled to vote at the Annual General Meetings.

Members would assist the Society greatly by forwarding additional donations when possible, and by recommending friends for election. Those members who prefer to remit their subscriptions in American currency, are requested to send $6.25c.

DE AUGMENTIS SCIENTIARUM. 1645

(detail from page 60)



On the cloak which falls over Bacon's foot there is a human face outlined in small dots. This is visible with the naked eye in all copies dated 1645. Is it a symbol of the sun? Or is it a jester with the conventional cap and bells, and a counterpart to the Tragic Muse above? Who deciphers them?

BACONIANA

VOL. XLVIII (79th Year) No. 165 OCTOBER, 1965

It should be clearly understood that BACONIANA *is a medium for the discussion of subjects connected with the Objects of the Society, but the Council does not necessarily endorse opinions expressed by contributors or correspondents.*

EDITORIAL

The Shakespeare quatercentenary was an important year for our Society in more ways than one. In 1964 the 400th birthday of the supposed author of our national drama was celebrated by commemorating officially the wrong man in the wrong year ! Public reactions are sometimes hard to gauge but we wonder whether the sensitive soul of the English-speaking world was already becoming a little dubious about the Stratford legend and birthplace (recently described by an American friend as " that three ring circus ! "). At all events the exhibition turned out to be a colossal financial failure, the loss being given at £170,081 in the 1964 Report and Accounts.

This was not due to any lack of advertisement or ingenuity on the part of the Birthplace Trustees but rather the bewilderment of the public. After the greatest campaign of free editorial advertisement in the national Press that we have ever seen, the response was noticeably cool.

In a spirit of genuine " patriotism " the Editors of national newspapers (often with Stratford hot on their trail !) did their level best to protect the insecure foundations of Shakespearean orthodoxy. However, it is not always possible to pull the wool over the eyes of independent journalists and writers. Many of these took the opportunity to expose, not without relish, some of the bogus claims of the Birthplace Trust. The dramatist Ronald Duncan, Cyril Connolly, Arthur Calder-Marshall, and the Editors of the *Daily Mirror* and *Evening Standard* were especially caustic on this subject. We have no space here to do justice to the whole story, and we refer our readers to *Baconiana* 166, which we hope to produce later this year, con-

taining Press correspondence and extracts from some of the best articles. The chairman of the Shakespeare Action Committee, Mr. Francis Carr, who had kept a careful press cuttings record throughout the year 1964, was first in the field with a report entitled *The Stratford Tragi-Comedy*. Copies of this were sent to the leading newspapers and independent journalists in England and America, and are still available at a price of 3/- including postage.

* * * *

One of the most intriguing events of the year was Prince Philip's visit to Stratford-upon-Avon to open the exhibition. When shown the magnificent display of first editions of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, Prince Philip noticed the complete absence of anything of Francis Bacon. " Where is Bacon ? " he asked. Mr. Levi Fox replied to the effect that Francis Bacon was not " in the strictest term a dead contemporary." " I expect you will get into trouble " rejoined Prince Philip, and sure enough the blunder was reported in the newspapers. Francis Bacon was a " live " contemporary during the whole of the actor's life, since he was born four years before him, and survived him by ten years.

* * * *

Yet to our Society the most important event in 1964 was the High Court judgment in our favour enabling us to receive the Hopkins' legacy in the form of a trust fund, to be devoted to the search for the " Bacon-Shakespeare manuscripts." Our benefactress, Mrs. Hopkins, was a sister of the late Dr. Melsome, another great benefactor and a past president of our Society, who died in 1945.

It was contended by the solicitors who drafted Mrs. Hopkins' will that her legacy to the Francis Bacon Society was invalid ! They quoted as precedent the case of Mr. Bernard Shaw whose bequest for the establishment of a simplified form of the English language had been declared invalid some years previously. It is now well known that a testator may not designate a purpose for a legacy, except to a charity. It therefore seemed strange to us that the solicitors who drafted the will were the first to inform us of their mistake !

It took well over two years to trace the next-of-kin and persuade them to contest the will. Although given an opportunity to settle privately the Council of the Society decided to let the matter come before the High Court. The fact that our Society had been registered as an educational charity without revision of its Objects, enhanced the chances that the bequest might be allowed. An affidavit was prepared and sworn by our President and, in due course, was countered by affidavits from Professor Muir and Dr. Crow, who saw no reason to make any search for the Shakespeare or Bacon manuscripts. They claimed that all possible places had already been searched and that professional scholars were agreed that the author of the Plays was undoubtedly Will Shaksper of Stratford. These affidavits were then countered by three more, the most important being sworn by Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper, Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford University. He said that, although not a Baconian, he believed that the possibility of finding a manuscript could not be entirely ruled out, heretics were not necessarily wrong, and that a settled scholarly opinion might well inhibit future research. Mr. R. L. Eagle, in his affidavit, cited a number of places where an official search had never been made, among them the tomb and monument at Stratford. A final affidavit, from Mr. Piddock, Secretary of the Royal Archaeological Society countered the assertion that everything that had been buried in a tomb would have perished and disintegrated long ago.

A transcript of the affidavits and judgment is included in this issue. Commander Pares wishes us to say that in preparing his affidavit he was indebted to Mr. Richard Bentley (now editor-in-chief of the Journal of the American Bar Association), for allowing him to quote from the article *Elizabethan Whodunit* in *Baconiana* 161. Our Counsel, Mr. Slade, had thought it might be possible to interest the judge in the background of the controversy, and if this could be done clearly and succinctly it might help our case. Mr. Bentley's masterly exposition of the lack of evidence supporting the Stratford theory seemed to be the best way of achieving this.

It was also thought that our President's affidavit might have the effect of stimulating our opponents into making indefensible statements in support of Shakespearean orthodoxy; as for instance the

statement that to search for a manuscript from our national bard (of which not a single one was extant), was a " wild goose chase." This argument did not appeal to the judge, who thought that the success of such a search, though unlikely, was by no means impossible.

We have to thank Lord Wilberforce, not only for his considered judgment, but for a remark which, with its charming legal flavour, must go on record: " Wild geese," he said, " can with difficulty be apprehended."

* * * *

Our latest publication is *The Secrets of the Shakespeare Sonnets* by R. L. Eagle (The Mitre Press, London, 1965). This is an extended and improved version of the author's article *The Friend and the Dark Lady* in *Baconiana* 161. The book also includes, for good measure, a full facsimile of the first edition of Shakespeare's Sonnets, 1609, which we believe will increase its value to the student. We hope that members who are interested will purchase their copies of this book direct from the Society, to help us defray the considerable costs of publication, incurred as an act of faith in financing a serious literary venture.

The " ever-living " problem of the Sonnets, the identity of their " only begetter," of Mr. W.H., and of T.T. who signed the dedication, still continue to occupy Shakespeare scholars. Professor Dover Wilson, Dr. A. L. Rowse, and Dr. Leslie Hotson, have each advanced a totally different theory on the question of Shakespeare's Sonnets. Two of them at least must be wrong. There is even a possibility that all three may be wrong. If Mr. Eagle's more spiritual interpretation is right, we should accord recognition to Ovid and Horace, rather than an Elizabethan playboy, as the real inspirers of some of the most beautiful philosophical poems in our language.

* * * *

In this issue we print a review of a stimulating book on Francis Bacon, by Loren Eiseley, entitled *Francis Bacon and the Modern Dilemma*. We strongly recommend this work to our readers; it is not in any way concerned with the Shakespeare controversy, but pays a thoughtful tribute to the foresight and judgment of Francis Bacon, which is long overdue.

Last November our President gave a lecture on the Controversy at Caxton Hall under the auspices of the London Lecture Society. The lecture is illustrated with lantern slides and we noticed several that were new and interesting. These were *verbatim* extracts from the *Gesta Grayorum*, the original account of the Gray's Inn Revels of 1593. The purpose was to illustrate a verifiable association between the name " Shakespeare " and the young Francis Bacon, before any of the Shakespeare plays were printed. We quote these extracts below for the benefit of members who were unable to attend this lecture. The page references are to the copy of the *Gesta Grayorum* in Gray's Inn, dated 1688, in which they occur.

Everyone is familiar with the classical image of Pallas-Athene, the great Goddess of Wisdom, described etymologically in Liddell and Scott's Greek-English lexicon as " The Brandisher of the Spear." With the Romans, who called her Minerva (derived from the word *mens*) the goddess was the personification of thought, and therefore the patroness of learning. It is also well known that the great Temple of Learning in Athens, where poets and philosophers were accustomed to meet, was named the Athenaeum after her. In the second century of the Christian era, a similar institution was founded in Rome by the Emperor Hadrian under the same sacred name.

Centuries later, the learned Richard de Bury, who was High Chancellor of England in the fifteenth century, attributed to this goddess a special function in literature:

> The wisdom of the ancients devised a way of inducing men to study truth by means of pious frauds, the delicate Minerva secretly lurking beneath the mask of pleasure.

It is interesting therefore to find that the original Knights of the Helmet at Gray's Inn in the time of Francis Bacon were dedicated to this goddess, as the following extracts from their articles show:—

The most mighty Prince of Purpoole, &c. beareth his Shield of the highest Jupiter. In point, a Sacred Imperial Diadem, safely guarded by the *Helmet* of the Great Goddess *Pallas*, from the Violence of Darts, Bullets and Bolts of Saturn. Momus, and the

Idiot; all environed with the Ribband of Loyalty, having a Pendant of the most heroical *Order of Knighthood of the Helmet.*

(page 10)

ITEM. Every Knight of this Order shall endeavour to add Conference and Experience by Reading; and therefore shall not only read and peruse Guizo, the French Academy, Galiatto the Courtier, Plutarch, the Arcadia, and the Neoterical Writers from time to time; but also frequent the *Theatre*, and such like places of Experience; and resort to the better sort of *Ord'naries* for Conference.

(page 29)

It is intriguing and significant to see where the Knights of the Helmet gathered for " experience," and " conference " !

Two additional extracts from the Gray's Inn Revels serve to show a further connection between the Inn and the company in which Will Shaksper (the actor), was to perform in later years. If he was appearing in *A Comedy of Errors* at Gray's Inn on this occasion, there is no mention of him, either as author or actor; and the company is described as " a company of base and common fellows."

In regard whereof, as also for that the Sports intended were especially for the gracing of the Templarians, it was thought good not to offer any thing of Account, saving Dancing and Revelling with Gentlewomen; and after such Sports, *A Comedy of Errors* (like to Plautus his Menechmus) was played by the Players. So that Night was begun, and continued to the end, in nothing but Confusion and Errors; whereupon, it was ever afterwards called, The Night of Errors.

(page 22)

Also that he caused Throngs and Tumults, Crowds and Outrages, to disturb our whole Proceedings. And Lastly, that he had foisted a *Company of Base and Common Fellows*, to make up our Disorders with a *Play of Errors* and Confusions; and that Night had gained to us Discredit, and itself a Nickname of Errors.

(page 23)

In the Lambeth Library, in the bound volume of correspondence of Anthony and Francis Bacon, there is a sonnet addressed to Francis in 1595 or 1596 by the French poet and courtier La Jessée. In this the following lines occur:—

> Donc (Baccon) s'il advient que ma Muse l'on vante
> Ce n'est pas qu'elle soit ou diserte, ou scavante:
> Bien que vostre Pallas me rende mieus instruit
> C'est pource que mon Lut chant sa gloire sainte
> Ou qu'en ces vers nayfz son Image est emprainte:
> Ou que ta vertu claire en mon ombre reluit.

Pallas was not one of the Muses and had nothing to do with the Law, and this particular sonnet referring to Bacon's Pallas, preceded even the first edition of the *Essays*. What made La Jessée associate Bacon with Pallas?

There is another remarkable paper in the Lambeth collection which confirms this association. It is proved by notes in Bacon's hand-writing to be of his composition, and is quite in his manner. It begins:—

> Excellent Queen, *Making report to Pallas*, upon whom Philautia depends, of my last audience with your Majesty and of the opposition I found by the feigning tongue of a disguised Squire, and also of the inclination of countenance and ear which I discerned in your Majesty rather towards my ground than to his voluntary, the Goddess allowed well of my endeavour and said no more at that time . . . .

* * * *

As promised in our last Editorial, we print an article, *The Christianity of Francis Bacon*, from the able and learned pen of Professor Benjamin Farrington. The writer is, of course, a recognised authority on Bacon, and we consider this important contribution can only add to an already established reputation. In this connection we would again draw attention to Professor Farrington's recently published book, *The Philosophy of Francis Bacon*, advertised on the inside back cover of this issue. *Francis Bacon*, also advertised, is an enjoyable and concise biography of the great Lord Chancellor, particularly suited for those who are new to the subject, or have not the opportunity for more detailed study.

The Council announce with the greatest regret the death in his 97th year of Mr. Harold Bayley, for many years a most versatile member of the Francis Bacon Society.

Mr. Bayley was at one time a leading authority on paper and paper-making, but a wider range of interest was characteristically revealed in a Preface to *Paper Terminology*, published by his firm, which abounded in references to Ancient History. More substantial works by him were *Archaic England*, *The Lost Language of Symbolism* (two volumes), and *A new Light on the Renaissance.*

Like many Baconians, therefore, Harold Bayley was an independent thinker, and his contributions to our controversy on watermarks, symbolism, and allied subjects were, and are, of great value to us.

We have lost a stalwart from another generation. Let us respect him and honour his achievements.

* * * *

For the purposes of record we re-print in this issue an extract from the magazine *Past and Future*, in which our President once more effectively countered orthodox arguments supporting the " traditional view in the Shakespeare authorship controversy."

An earlier clash in the *Times Literary Supplement* will be commented on in *Baconiana* 166.

THE ORANGE AND THE ROSE

By Noel Fermor

To restore the commerce of the mind with things—Francis Bacon

This magnificent exhibition, open to the public from October 22nd to December 13th, 1964, covered the astonishingly wide field of collaboration between Holland and Britain in the "Age of Observation" from 1600-1750. Contemporary paintings, drawings, graphic art, sculpture, silver, medals, furniture, ceramics, scientific instruments, and books and documents, helped the visitor to "take all knowledge" for his province. Significantly enough, the two contemporary representations of William Shakespeare[1] were executed by Londoners of Dutch extraction, and the dynastic and spiritual links between Holland and Britain were aptly illustrated with an abundance of historical, scientific and literary exhibits. The point was made by Queen Elizabeth I of England in her *Declaration.* The Dutch, she said, were "the most ancient and familiar neighbours" of the English, the twain being "by common language of long time resembled and termed man and wife." Those prophetic words, in fact, heralded the marriages in succession of the Princes William II, III and IV of Orange, to the Princesses Mary, daughters of Charles I and James II, and Anne, daughter of George II.

We have suggested in previous writings that the hand of Francis Bacon could be traced in the remarkable increase of knowledge in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—in England primarily but also the Continent—which was described by Edward Wright in the Dedication to his own *Certaine Errors in Navigation* as follows:—

> *even God himselfe apparently seemeth to aim at this marke; for else what should it mean that within these few score yeeres Hee hath discovered to the world the greatest and rarest secrets, farre exceeding all that could be found out by the wit and industries of man in divers thousands of yeeres before . . . .*

Bacon was indeed the instrument of the Divine Spirit, breaking the chains of Aristotle and the scholastic philosophers, and substituting the pragmatic for the exclusively theoretical—founding

his New Atlantis in fact. Yet the achievements of the Dutch in this period were tremendous, and Leiden University the lode-stone for Sir Thomas Browne, Thomas Bodley, Rembrandt[2], Constantine Huygens, and Franciscus Junius who read divinity there, " before entering upon his pioneering philological studies in Gothic and Anglo-Saxon, and migrating to Britain." Those who have read Dr. Francis Springell's beautifully produced *Connoisseur and Diplomat*, reviewed in *Baconiana* 164, will remember the vivid description of Thomas Howard, the Earl of Arundel's ambassadorial journey to Germany and the simultaneous collection of a vast treasure of *objets d'art*. Franciscus Junius was curator of the Earl's collections, including the famous Marmora Arundelliana[3], and himself wrote *The Painting of the Ancients*, advocating a humanist art theory, stressing the emotive impulse for the *motif* of each canvas. His portrait *(circa* 1638), and unsigned, was an exhibit of great interest to us, and is at the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, to which his manuscripts were bequeathed. A Junior Francis indeed ?

[1] The 1623 Droeshout mask picture, and the Janssen Stratford Monument.
[2] A pen wash drawing of St. Alban's Cathedral by him was on exhibition.
[3] Described by John Selden in his work of that name.

Much has been written in recent numbers of *Baconiana* on William Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood and the famous reference in *Coriolanus*, so that we were intrigued to learn that a Dutchman, Leeuwenhoek, the " Father of micro-biology " and a Member of the Royal Society, provided a final proof of this. The learned Sir Thomas Browne wrote that it was a discovery which he preferred to that of Columbus.

Here we quote from the contribution by A. G. H. Bachrach to the *Catalogue:*—

" . . . Bacon had stirred a fresh hope for man and nature. Pointing to the three inventions which, though not made by the Ancients, had yet changed the whole face and state of things throughout the world—printing, gunpowder and the magnet—he had laid the new emphasis on ' counting, weighing and measuring.' The function of the scientist was to examine and dissect . . .

for whatever deserves to exist deserves to be known. It deserved to be described and, above all, to be drawn and painted. *Wonder,* he had declared, *is the seed of knowledge . . .*

Though Harvey had observed that *Lord Bacon reasons about natural philosophy like a Lord Chancellor,* the author of *The New Atlantis* was a man of consequence. Bacon's ideal took half a century to materialise; and then it was British to the core. But when we consider that what he had really pleaded for was *the restoration of the commerce of the mind with things,* could there be any motto more fitting for the vision of the artists in the Low Countries of half a century before? Perhaps Bacon himself has given the answer in his definition of what truly benefited the human race. This, he declared, would be the case . . . *above all, if a man could succeed, not in striking out some particular invention, but in kindling a light in nature, a light which should, in its very rising, touch and illuminate all the border regions that confine upon the circle of our present knowledge . . .*"

The facts that more than one of Bacon's works were printed in Holland—and that the Royal Society's interest in Dutch scientific observations was at its height for fifteen years from 1667—begin to fit neatly into the contemporary scene. The philosophy that Nature acts *per saltum* was finally discredited, the universe was *plenum formarum,* a *continuum,* and God still reigned in the *savants'* hearts. Sir Thomas Browne's *eternity in a grain of sand, infinity in a drop of water,* still stood. The names roll off the tongue—Stevin, the Huygens, Rembrandt, Hooke, Wren, Newton, Mercator—no wonder Voltaire could write *Je suis venu à Leyde pour y consulter le docteur Boerhaave sur ma sante et's Gravesande sur la philosophie de Newton!* Newton's great astronomical work *Principia,* and his discoveries of the law of gravity, the nature of colour and the calculus, with the pronouncement *I make no hypotheses,* reflected the greatness and humility of the age and, in our view, should be equated with his subsequent decision to make the Bible his life study. Surely it is the tragedy of our time that science has outstripped religion: a danger which both Bacon and Newton so clearly foresaw.

Amongst the more interesting paintings, which, with the owners' names, we list on page 14, we were impressed by a large canvas of the second Earl of Arundel pointing with his Earl Marshal's baton towards his famed sculpture gallery. He was, of course, Patron to Inigo Jones. George Vertue, whom readers will recognise from the *Daily Telegraph* correspondence on the Stratford Monument as being unreliable in his attributions, ascribed this work to Van Somer, but a contemporary letter mentions it as having been executed by Daniel Mytens, the Dutch painter. By contrast, we warmed to the sensitive, finely-drawn features of Henry, Prince of Wales, in a posthumous portrait painted by Mytens for Charles I. The young prince died aged 18, but had been a great patron of the arts and sciences.

Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Alban was portrayed in a half-length copy (one of six) of the full-length picture at Gorhambury House, by John Vanderbanck.

Miniatures by Samuel Cooper, Nicholas Hilliard and Isaac Oliver highlighted an interesting selection of this specialized art form, and amongst the etchings and engravings we noticed one by the famed Wenceslas Hollar, at one time in the Earl of Arundel's service.

Perhaps inevitably in a largely Godless modern society, Elizabethan and Jacobean science seems anachronistic in its strong religious slant, but what of Christiaen Huygens (1629-95), Dutch mathematician, astronomer and physicist, and Fellow of the Royal Society, who, *inter alia*, developed the wave theory of light, and "at one point arrived at a kind of relativity theory"? A marble relief of this remarkable man jostled a bust of Dr. William Harvey, discoverer of the circulation of the blood, Physician Extraordinary to James I, and Master Mason to Charles II. The wise man can but pay tribute to the *logos* of the Age.

In the books and documents section, Francis Bacon was well represented by the following editions: *De Proef-stucken*, Leiden, 1647 (a translation by Peter Boener of the *Essayes*, 1597, etc.); *The Advancement of Learning*, Oxford, 1640, translated from the *De Dignitate Scientiarum* (1632); the *Nova Atlantis*, Utrecht, 1643; and the *Sylva Sylvarum*, Leiden, 1648. We also noticed *Astronomiae*

Instauratae Mechanica, Wandesburg, 1598, from Gorhambury House, works by Hugo Grotius, the great jurist, and a 1653 London translation of William Harvey's *Exercitatio de Motu Cordis* (1628). Other noteworthy exhibits were Franciscus Junius' *The Painting of the Ancients in three bookes, declaring by Historicall Observations and Examples the Beginning, Progresse and Consummation of that most noble Art* (London, 1638); Isaac Newton's *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, (London, 1687), *Marmora Arundelliana* (London, 1628), and Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (London, 1667).

The amazing gamut of contemporary knowledge was illustrated by Simon Stevin's *The Haven finding Art* (London, 1599), dealing with latitude and longitude, and *Disme: the Art of Tenths, or Decimall Arithmetike* (London, 1608), Robert Norton's translation of Stevin's *De Thiende*, 1585; Sir Henry Wotton's *Elements of Architecture* (London, 1624); and James Watson's *The History of the Art of Printing* (Edinburgh, 1713).

Of more general application were Dutch translations of Jonathan Swift's *A Tale of A Tub* of 1704, and *Gulliver's Travels;* Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes;* and Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) and John Lyly's *Euphues; The Anatomy of Wyt* (1578) an English edition. Franciscus Junius was again represented by his *Observationes in Willerami Abbatis Fancican Paraphrasin Cantici Canticorum* (Amsterdam, 1655 edition).

The Victoria and Albert Museum authorities, and the sponsors and organisers of this Exhibition, deserve our warmest congratulations for this intellectual feast.

THE ORANGE AND THE ROSE EXHIBITION

We print below a short selected list of the paintings exhibited at the Victoria and Albert Museum, including the names of the owners, who are responsible for the attributions.

Charles I (1600-1649) by Gerrit van Honthorst (1590-1656). van Honthorst was Court Painter to Prince Frederick Henry and Prince William II; he taught the children of Elizabeth of Bohemia, the Winter Queen. Owner: M. Ulysse Moussalli.

Rupert, Prince Palatine; signed and dated by G. van Honthorst, 1642. Rupert was the third son of Frederick V, the Winter King, and a prominent soldier and naval commander in the English Civil War. Owner: The Städtische Galerie im Landesmuseum, Hanover.

Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727) by Sir Godfrey Kneller, and dated 1689. Sir Isaac was President of the Royal Society from 1703. Owner: The Earl of Portsmouth.

Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel and Surrey, *circa* 1618; ascribed by Vertue to Van Somer, but may be the work of Daniel Mytens. Owner: The Duke of Norfolk, K.G., P.C., G.C.V.O.

Henry, Prince of Wales (1594-1612) by Daniel Mytens, *circa* 1628. This is a posthumous portrait. Owner: The Hon. John Addington.

Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban, in Chancellor's robes, *circa* 1731, by John Vanderbanck. A half-length copy of the Gorhambury portrait. Owner: National Portrait Gallery.

Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723) by Johann Baptist Closterman, *circa* 1695. Wren was closely involved in the early growth of the Royal Society, and evolved an English style of Baroque architecture, especially in London churches, notably St. Paul's Cathedral. Owner: The Royal Society.

Franciscus Junius: *Grisaille* on panel, *circa* 1638. Etched by Hollar in 1659; sitter's age being given as 49. Owner: Bodleian Library, Oxford.

THE CHRISTIANITY OF FRANCIS BACON

by PROFESSOR BENJAMIN FARRINGTON
Emeritus Professor of Classics

I need a sympathetic audience this evening, for the subject of my lecture is far above my powers. I have not, for instance, felt theologian enough to discuss his *Confession of Faith*. It is however a subject that imposes itself, as I found when I first attempted to write about Francis Bacon as a scientist some dozen years ago. Then it became clear to me, not simply that Bacon was a Christian, but that his Christianity was vital to the understanding of his philosophy of science. Plenty of scientists have, of course, been Christians. But the fact that Napier used his logarithms to solve problems concerning the Number of the Beast, or that Boyle was an ardent evangelist, or that Faraday was a Sandemanian or Mendel a Roman Catholic, does not assist our understanding of their contributions to mathematica, chemistry, electricity, or the laws of inheritance. But unless we give Bacon's Christianity a central place in our interpretation of his thought we must be for ever content to skirt round the edges of it. So here I am under the auspices of the New Atlantis Foundation to talk about the author of *The New Atlantis*, trusting that this happy coincidence will ensure me an indulgent hearing.

I shall need it. For I shall make bold to say at the outset that, to the best of my judgment, Bacon intended a reform of religion just as much a form of science. Or, to be more precise, that he did not separate the two. For while it is a fact that he laboured to distinguish the realms of faith and knowledge, it is equally true that he thought one without the other useless. Edwin Abbott, an unsympathetic but competent biographer, long ago noted the religious character of Bacon's physics. It is a shrewd observation, and I should like to put you a simple question. Are the Fathers of Solomon's House in *The New Atlantis* priests or scientists, or both? Is the House itself a temple or a research institute? Was it not the most natural thing in the world that the first historian of the Royal Society, Bishop Sprat, in acknowledging Francis Bacon as the inspirer of the whole

enterprise, should go on to ask, " If our Church should be an enemy to commerce, intelligence, discovery, navigation, or any sort of mechanics, how could it be fit for the present genius of this nation ? "

The Bishop's question was a most pertinent one. He was conscious of a change in the spiritual climate of England. He talks of " the present genius of this nation " and is fully conscious of the rôle Bacon had played in forming it. England is to go forward with a scientific and technological revolution, and the Church is to play an active rôle in it. Listen to him again. " The universal disposition of this age is bent upon a rational religion; and therefore I renew my affectionate request that the Church of England would provide to have the chief share in its first adventures; that it would persist, as it has begun, to encourage experiments, which will be to our Church as the British Oak is to our empire, an ornament and a defence to the soil wherein it is planted." Nor is that all. Experimental science, the Bishop claims, will overcome narrowness of mind; enable minds distracted by civil and religious differences to meet calmly on neutral ground; and, by contriving " a union of men's hands and reasons," it will " unite various classes and occupations—soldier, tradesman, merchant, scholar, gentleman, courtier, divine, Presbyterian, Papist, Independent, and those of Orthodox judgment." All these, he claims, have " calmly conspired in a mutual agreement of labours and desires." Such was the temper of England in the first spring of the Baconian revolution. When Boyle was simultaneously laying the foundations of modern chemistry and expending vast effort and vast sums on the dissemination of the Scriptures in many tongues. When Christopher Wren combined the building of churches with original contributions to ten or a dozen nascent branches of natural science. The Baconian revolution, one might say, seemed a further instalment of the Reformation.

At the appearance of Bacon's masterwork *The Great Instauration* in 1620, George Herbert, a personal friend of his, who knew his thought well, with his usual justness of perception and precision of speech, hailed the author in a Latin poem as

Mundique et animarum sacerdos unicus,

the alone-only priest of nature and men's souls.

On the foundation of the Royal Society, the less inspired Cowley was voicing a common sentiment when he wrote:

> From these and all long errors of the way
> In which our wandering predecessors went,
> And like th' old Hebrews many years did stray
> In deserts but of small extent
> Bacon, like Moses, led us forth at last.
> The barren wilderness he past,
> Did on the very border stand
> Of the blest promis'd land,
> And from the mountain's top of his exalted wit,
> Saw it himself and shew'd us it.

The truth is that Francis Bacon envisaged himself and was, after his death, for a while accepted as leader of a total revolution in the conditions of human life; and that this revolution consisted in the recovery by mankind of his true relation towards the world of nature; namely in the Dominion over the Universe which had been promised to Adam before the Fall. Hence the aptness of the comparison with Moses; hence the justification for calling him the priest of nature and mankind.

A rough and ready way to bear out these claims is to make a cursory examination of *The New Atlantis*. You remember the story. A ship has been driven off course in the Pacific and, when supplies begin to run out and there are many sick on board, the crew sight an island, which, as they later discover, bears the Hebrew name of Bensalem, Son of Peace. This island utopia turns out to be very much a home from home. Its customs are not unfamiliar to the new arrivals; they are simply better. In Spedding's happy phrase Bensalem is "simply our own world as it might be made if we did our duty by it." A boat puts out from shore to contact the ship and brings a document couched in four languages—ancient Hebrew, ancient Greek, good Latin of the School, and contemporary Spanish. The culture of the island, therefore, is not different from that of England; nor is its religion. For the scroll is stamped with the sign of the cross, which is taken as a certain presage of good. "God is manifested in this land" they exclaim soon after they come ashore. "We are come here among a Christian people full of piety and humanity." Of the first important official they meet they enquire

who was the apostle of the island. "Ye knit my heart to you," he cries, "by asking this question in the first place; for it showed that you seek first the kingdom of heaven." He then explains the miraculous circumstances in which, not long after the Ascension, the islanders became possessed of a small ark of cedar wood containing all the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments. For in Bensalem, as in Bacon's ideal for England, the Bible is the treasure, the Church only the ark that contains it. There is a Hebrew element in the population living in great mutual amity and respect with their neighbours—a point of some curiosity, since the Jews had been expelled from England in the XIII century and not allowed re-entry till after Bacon's time. It is owing to their presence that scientific works of Solomon, lost to Europe, have survived in Bensalem. The central institution of the island, though its main business is science and technology, is called Solomon's House, or The College of the Six Days Works. Its chiefs are designated Fathers, and their spokesman explains: "We have certain hymns and services we say daily, of laud and thanks to God for his marvellous works; and forms of prayer imploring his aid and blessing for the illumination of our labours, and the turning of them into good and holy uses." Such is the setting Bacon provides for his brilliant sketch of the scientific wonders of Bensalem, which so strikingly anticipate the achievements of the last three centuries. Bacon was probably about fifty years of age when he composed it. May we take it that it represents, in its deeply religious and consistently Biblical colouring, a permanent and life-long characteristic of his thought?

This is certainly so. Bacon was already Lord Chancellor of England and fifty-nine years of age before he published his *Great Instauration*. By the title, as he explains more than once, he indicated his intention of instructing mankind to overcome, so far as might prove possible, the consequences of the Fall and to merit the long delayed fulfilment of God's promise to Adam of dominion over the universe. "Man by the Fall fell at the same time from the state of innocence and from his dominion over creation. Both of these losses, however, can even in this life be in some part repaired; the former by religion and Faith, the latter by arts and sciences. For creation was not by the curse made altogether and forever a rebel,

but in virtue of that covenant 'In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread' it is now by various labours (not certainly by disputations or idle magic ceremonies, but by various labours) at length, and in some measure subdued to the supplying of man with bread: That is, to the uses of human life." (N.O. II, end).

It is true that many students of Bacon's thought take this, and the many similar pronouncements which adorn the pages of *The Great Instauration*, as insincere. Joseph de Maistre regarded it as a heavy disguise of orthodoxy laid on to conceal his real atheism and materialism from the prying eyes of James. Professor Broad, the exponent of a more moderate scepticism, says, "It is evident that he was a sincere if unenthusiastic Christian of that sensible school which regards the Church of England as a branch of the civil service and the Archbishop of Canterbury as the British Minister for Divine Affairs." But it may be that Professor Broad's tolerant flippancy is even further from the truth than the angry hostility of de Maistre. The fact is that Bacon was a man with a mission. He was still but a boy, according to what he later told his secretary and literary executor, Dr. Rawley, when he became impatient of all philosophy that was strong only in disputations and contentions and barren of the production of works for the benefit of the life of man. In which mind, adds Rawley, he continued till his dying day.

Here, as it seems to me, it is all important to consider what Bacon meant by a philosophy productive of works for the benefit of the life of man. If we take it to mean, as most of his commentators seem to do, that what he had in mind was the mere multiplication of comforts and commodities, then it becomes impossible to understand the passion with which Bacon, throughout his life, pursued so trivial an ambition. It becomes impossible to understand why he should solemnly pronounce it his "only earthly wish." But that this is not the sense in which Bacon intended the words is beyond dispute. I have mentioned the prayers that were in use in Solomon's house in *The New Atlantis*. Here is the beginning of the prayer that Bacon composed for use in scientific institutes such as he tried all his life to get set up in England. "To God the Father, God the Word, God

the Spirit, we pour out our humble and burning prayers, that mindful of the miseries of the human race and this our mortal pilgrimage in which we wear out evil days and few, he would send down upon us new streams from the fountain of his mercy for the relief of our distress." And to the prospective student, the reluctant neophyte being initiated into the new philosophy of works, the promises he holds out are these: "My dear, dear boy," he says, "that which I purpose is to unite you with things themselves in a chaste, holy, and legal wedlock; from which association you will secure an increase beyond all the hopes and prayers of ordinary marriages, to wit, a blessed race or Heroes or Supermen who will overcome the immeasurable helplessness and poverty of the human race, which are the source of more destruction than all giants, monsters, or tyrants, and will make you peaceful, happy, prosperous, and secure." It is only when we take the philosophy of works in this universal and philanthropic sense that we can begin to understand how it has for Bacon religious significance.

The words I have just quoted come from the writing called *The Masculine Birth of Time.* This title is eloquent of the belief which animates all Bacon's writings; that he was destined to be the herald of an unimaginable change in the fortunes of the human race. The words quoted were written in 1603, when Bacon was forty-two. Seventeen years later he expressed the same thought in still stronger terms. "The sixth part of my work," he says in *The Great Instauration,* "for which the rest are but a preparation, will reveal the philosophy which is the product of that legitimate, chaste, and severe mode of enquiry which I have taught and prepared. But to perfect this last part is a thing both above my strength and beyond my expectation. What I have been able to do is to give it, as I hope, a not contemptible start. The destiny of the human race will supply the issue, and that issue will perhaps be such as men in the present state of their fortunes and of their understandings cannot easily grasp or measure. For what is at stake is not merely a mental satisfaction but the very reality of man's wellbeing and all his power of action."

To interpret his thought in historical terms and express it more concretely, Bacon had observed that while antiquity had not failed

to create a whole encyclopaedia of the sciences (the word is Greek and was in use in the sense in which we employ it already in the second century before Christ) those sciences were of such a kind as to give mankind little control over nature, little power of action. They were barren of works for the benefit of the life of man. For Bacon this was not simply a problem of the state of learning. When he wrote cautiously he so described it, being well aware of the obstacles which would confront him if he disclosed the full depth of his thought. But for Bacon the real problem was not an academic one. It was a problem of life and death. He took the same view of the situation in England in his own day as the more serious scientists do in our day of the situation in the world, and felt the same desperation. We have associations for the advancement of science just as Bacon wrote books in support of the advancement of learning. But we still lack an association for the liquidation of world poverty. It is respectable to hoist the academic banner, not so respectable then or now to point to the "immeasurable helplessness and poverty of the human race." But we shall not begin to understand Bacon until we take him at his word and accept his protestation that to overcome poverty was the primary business of science. In that sense he called it his only earthly wish.

In England, as the historian of philanthropy* tells us, "the sixteenth century was deeply concerned with the problem of poverty; its literature and documents are filled with the question; its discussion of causes, of extent, and of methods of action mount as the century wears on." Like other public men Francis Bacon was deeply involved. When the parliament of 1597 discussed the whole problem of poverty and its relief he spoke of the blighting effect of the enclosures and was subsequently one of the members of the commission appointed to sort out the tangle of remedial legislation proposed in some ten or dozen different bills. But Bacon, though fully apprised of the nature of the problem, was not satisfied with the remedies proposed. The beginning of the century had seen More's wistful but dubious glance at the solution of poverty proposed by the spokesman in his *Utopia*—the solution of an equal

* *Philanthropy in England*, 1480-1660, by W. K. Jordan, p. 57.

distribution of property. This had no appeal for Bacon. Neither did the actual course which charity took wholly satisfy him. W. K. Jordan, the historian of this remarkable movement, the beneficial effects of which are with us still, being knit into the very foundations of the social life of England, has revealed by a patient examination of the testamentary dispositions of the age what a vast volume of private wealth was poured by the merchants and industrialists who made fortunes at this time into carefully planned and well endowed charitable trusts. But just as Bacon had seen no solution of the problem of poverty in Thomas More's egalitarianism—which was only fair shares in poverty and not the creation of plenty—so also he disliked that form of society in which a few individuals make vast fortunes in the midst of widespread poverty and seek to redress the balance at the end of their lives by the distribution of what, soberly speaking, is no longer even theirs, since, as everybody knows, you can't take it with you.

The solution in which Bacon believed depended first on the structure of society itself. It must not breed poverty and riches at opposite polls and delude itself with the fancy that men who have spent their lives in the amassing of private gain will on their death-beds have such a wise understanding of public needs that they can be safely entrusted with the creation of permanent institutions for dealing with them. Instead he tried to turn the eyes of his fellow countrymen to the example presented by the Low Countries, " who could never have endured and continued so inestimable and insupportable charges, either by their natural frugality or by their mechanical industry, were it not also that their wealth was dispersed in many hands, and not ingrossed in few; and those hands not so much of the nobility, but most and generally of inferior conditions." *(The True Greatness of the Kingdom of Britain).*

That was one requirement. The other was, of course, the creation of a new kind of science, which, unlike the encyclopaedia of sciences inherited from the Greeks, should be constructed from the foundation up to be a means of producing works for the benefit of the life of man. Such were Bacon's two requirements, nor were they unconnected with one another. Both the new society, in which

wealth would be more equally distributed, and the new science in which knowledge would be power, must, he was convinced, rest upon a revaluation of the rôle of the mechanical arts in the development of civilization. The mechanical arts were innocent of theory and of but limited efficacy, and yet it was entirely due to them that, in the small measure to which they were effective, nature had by various labours been subdued to the supplying of man with bread. If a science of works was to be created, the mechanical arts must provide the foundation.

It is only when we place ourselves at this view point, when we bear in mind both the problem of poverty and the nature of the remedies Bacon had in mind, that we can begin to discuss the religious character of his thought. The plague of Baconian scholarship has been that his commentators, with few exceptions, try to fit his philosophy into a category too narrow to contain it. Thus, his philosophy of works, which ought to be accorded a major place in the philosophy of history, is often cut about and cruelly mangled in order to make it fit into the history of smaller movements of thought, and the man who, in Schweitzer's phrase, "drafted the progamme of the modern world view," has become merely one of the contributors to inductive logic, or to the growth of rationalism, or the history of English Erastianism or something of the sort.

For my part I propose to take him at his face value as he presents himself to his readers. That is to say, he was a man whom the circumstances of his age presented with the problem of poverty; who saw the solution of that problem in elevating to the dignity and power of a theoretical science the craft knowledge implicit in the mechanical arts; who found the traditional philosophy derived from the Greeks of no avail for two great reasons, one moral and the other intellectual; and who consequently turned his back upon the Greeks and discovered for himself in the Bible a world-outlook and a morality on which he could base his new philosophy of works.

This new world-outlook is succinctly defined in the twelve brief *Sacred Meditations* which Bacon brought out in 1597 as his first publication together with the more familiar Essays. The religious thought of these meditations is strongly marked by the practical

morality which had increasingly characterised English thought from the days of Colet and Erasmus. The first meditation is no more than one hundred words in length. The gist of it lies in these words, "God saw the works of his hands and they were exceedingly good; when man turned to consider the works of his hands, behold all was vanity and vexation of spirit. Wherefore if you will do God's works your sweat will be like aromatic balm and your rest like the Sabbath of God; for you will work in the sweat of a good conscience and rest in the leisure of sweet contemplation." The significance of these words for Bacon is in inverse proportion to their length. By recalling the fact that God had not only created the world but seen that it was good, he rejected the long tradition of contempt for this world which had come down from the Orphics through Plato and the neo-Platonists, the gnostics and the mystics, the pseudo-Dionysius and the Florentine platonists, and was still active in his own day. That early Baconian, the poet John Milton, echoes his thought when he says (or makes his Satan say):

> O Earth, how like to heaven, if not preferr'd
> More justly, Seat worthier of Gods, as built
> With second thoughts, reforming what was old;
> For what God after better worse would build ?

Furthermore, if Nature is God's handiwork, there can be no study more pleasing to him than natural philosophy.

On one condition, however—which is the subject of the second meditation, on the miracles of the Saviour. God the Father made the world good, but the works of man's hands are vanity and vexation of spirit. For this there is only one remedy, that every action should be motivated by love. This was not clear until the appearance on earth of God the Word. In Old Testament days the prophets brought all sorts of calamities on their enemies, which even the Apostles imitated, Peter striking Ananias dead and Paul making Elymas blind. Not so Jesus. He never performed a miracle except upon the human body and that for the purpose of healing it. "He restored motion to the lame, light to the blind, speech to the dumb, health to the sick, cleanness to the lepers, sound mind to them that were possessed with devils, life to the dead. There was no miracle of judgment, but all of mercy, and all upon the human body."

The third meditation could hardly be more pertinent to the actual rôle Bacon had designed for himself. It is on The Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent, and it considers the case of a man who aspires, not to a solitary and private goodness, but to a fructifying and begetting good involving the lives of others. The business of such a man will be with the world; and, though his purpose may be as innocent as the dove, it will be necessary for him to show himself acquainted with the cynicism and villainy of the world or risk being taken for a pious simpleton. He must arm himself with the wisdom of the serpent, but need not on that account fear pollution any more than a sunbeam which shines into a privy.

The meditation that deals with hypocrites has again the same practical ends in view. Hypocrites make a great display of public worship, which costs them nothing. They are exposed when directed towards works of mercy, reminded that pure religion and undefiled is to visit the widows and orphans in their affliction, and asked how a man who does not love his brother whom he hath seen can love God whom he has not seen.

Religious literature is the subject of another meditation which deals with three types of imposture. The first consists of the tedious trivialities of the Schoolmen, who create a specious appearance of system by the use of technical terms, the piling up of distinctions, the propounding of these, and arguments pro. and con. Then there are the lives of the fathers and the compositions of ancient heretics in which the poetic fancy is given free rein to invent every kind of example that could appeal to men's minds. Finally there are the mysterious and magniloquent writings, filled with allegories and allusions, of mystical and gnostic heretics. The first is a trap, the second a bait, the third a riddle, and all mislead. The remedy lies in the study of the Bible and of Nature. The Scriptures reveal the will of God, Nature reveals the power of God. Bible reading and natural philosophy are the cures respectively for superstition and atheism. The Bible and Nature are God's two books.

These brief meditations, I am well aware, could easily appear nothing more than a jejune and perfunctory set of typical seventeenth century commonplaces. But that, I am sure would be to mistake

their significance. Bacon shared with his age the predilection for the Bible as the true guide to religion and morality. But his conviction of the necessity and desirability of a scientific and technological revolution was peculiar to himself and the special purpose of the meditations was to supply a Biblical inspiration and justification for this revolution. It would be easy, even tempting, to dismiss this as a mere policy; to imagine that Bacon did not genuinely owe any of the inspiration which prompted his reform to Biblical sources, but pretended to do so in order to win acceptance for his proposals. Is this the truth ? Let us consider the facts.

That the sciences current in his own day had come down from the Greeks Bacon knew and acknowledged. His complaint was that while intellectually brilliant and beautifully articulated in their logical structure they were practically useless. Fertile in arguments, barren of arts. Beneath this strange paradox he detected an attitude to nature, and a relation betwen man and nature, which he could not accept. Such arts as were known to the Greeks were regarded by them as imitations of nature. All that man could do, or ever expect to do, was to learn some of nature's tricks and copy them, with perhaps slight modifications and adjustments to suit himself. A radical transformation of nature was out of the question. But Bacon saw things differently. He aimed, in his own words, " to shake nature in her foundations ", and the justification for this ambition he found in the Bible. God, who created nature, made man in his own image. Man must therefore also be a creator. Not a child of nature but a lord of nature. And this, precisely, was what God, according to the Scriptures, had designed man to be. He was to exercise dominion over nature. True, this could only be done by studying nature. To conquer nature one must obey her. But that need not mean that man's ambitions must be limited to reproducing nature's works. The essential character of an artificial thing is that it is not natural. It is something that could not have existed without the art and agency of man. The history of the mechanical arts, limited as their achievement has been, has yet shown that man can create something that would not have existed without him. This is the process that must be carried forward. If man is to solve his problems of poverty and disease it can only be by the creation of

new arts. Not merely improved arts, but radically new arts, examples of which, though they be too few, yet exist in history. Over the mantelpiece in his father's home Francis Bacon read the words in which Lucretius describes the transition from a food-gathering to a food-producing stage. " In days of old Athens, of glorious memory, spread among the hungry tribes of men knowledge of grain-bearing crops and thereby fashioned for them a new life." What was to prevent the industrial revolution, the evidence of which was everywhere to be observed in Francis Bacon's England, from effecting a similar revolution in the life of the modern world ? Was this not what God had promised Adam when he promised him dominion over the rest of creation ? That Bacon believed so I cannot doubt, and for this reason, from 1603 to 1620, when he drafted and redrafted his statement of his plan, the approved title was always *The Great Instauration of the Dominion of Man over the Universe.*

But why had the Greeks with all their brilliance failed ? Why did it seem hopeless to expect that the modern world, so long as it was content to follow in the footsteps of the Greeks, could ever escape the same futility ? This question also the Bible answered. The failure was a moral one—intellectual pride. Through intellectual pride philosophy has failed in two ways. Lacking the patience and humility to piece together the image of the universe by faithful study of Nature, one of God's books, philosophers, both ancient Greek and modern Italian make empty logical constructions which are but superficial pictures of reality. With these, men find it possible to remain satisfied, only because they ignore the lesson of the Bible, that the prime function of knowledge is to serve mankind. What more reasonable, then, than that God should smite this presumptuous and uncharitable wisdom with barrenness ?

Here is the account of the matter in Bacon's own words: " Without doubt we are paying for the sin of our first parents and imitating it. They wanted to be like Gods; we, their posterity, still more so. We create worlds. We prescribe laws to nature and lord it over her. We want to have all things as suits our fatuity, not as fits the Divine Wisdom, not as they are found in nature. We impose the seal of our image on the creatures and the works of God, we do not diligently

seek to discover the seal of God on things. Therefore not undeservedly have we again fallen from our dominion over the creation; and though after the Fall of man some dominion over rebellious nature still remained—to the extent at least that it could be subdued and controlled by true and solid arts—even that we have for the most part forfeited by our pride, because we wanted to be like gods and follow the dictates of our own reason. Wherefore, if there be any humility towards the Creator, if there be any reverence and praise of his works; if there be any charity towards men, and zeal to lessen human wants and sufferings; if there be any love of truth in natural things, any hatred of darkness, any desire to purify the understanding; men are to be entreated again and again that they should dismiss for a while or at least put aside those inconstant and preposterous philosophies which prefer these to hypotheses, have led experience captive, and triumphed over the works of God; that they should humbly and with a certain reverence draw near to the book of Creation; that there they should make a stay, that on it they should meditate, and that then washed and clean they should in chastity and integrity turn them from opinion. This is that speech and language which has gone out to all the ends of the earth, and has not suffered the confusion of Babel; this must men learn, and, resuming their youth, they must become as little children and deign to take its alphabet into their hands." *(History of the Winds, 1623).*

This extraordinary burst of eloquence, which has suffered at my hands in being translated from its original Latin, was written in 1623, when Bacon was sixty-two years of age, after his disgrace and fall from power, when he was trying to crowd into the remaining years of his life the scientific labours which he had neglected during his years of political servitude. He had already written his Last Will and Testament in which he bequeathed his soul to God above, his body to be buried obscurely, and his name to the next ages and foreign nations. Twenty-seven strenuous years had gone by since he had composed his *Sacred Meditations,* but the thoughts remain the same. Only the conviction is stronger, the vision clearer, the accents more prophetic. Finally, and this is the point at which I am trying to arrive, the ideal of science here presented is unlike anything derived from the Greek tradition. It is less metaphysical, less ideal, less

logical, less intellectual. It is more religious, more practical, more experimental, more ethical. It is not pure science, but science understood as a means of worshipping God and serving mankind. Or to put the matter in another way, it is a development of Biblical thought and not of Greek. It is, not merely in expression but in substance, Christian, and post-Reformation Christian at that. And it is this the neglect of this character of Bacon's thought that has made the accounts of his contribution given by historians of science so unsatisfactory. The usual fate of historians when faced with the problem of Bacon's place in the history of science is to find themselves reduced to the conclusion that he really contributed nothing except his eloquence. In fact he contributed a new conception of the rôle of science which has been, and still may be, of great consequence for mankind.

It is a curious reflection that when we utter the word ATHENS it is for us a symbol of the past whereas the word JERUSALEM is a symbol of the future. We look back to the Glory that was Greece, but we think of building Jerusalem. Athens is a memory, Jerusalem an aspiration. Out of compliment to Athens we go to school in academies or lyceums, but who could imagine a popular gathering singing about building Athens in England's green and pleasant land ? The origin of this distinction lies far back in time. But with the rise of vernacular translations of the Bible it began to be of fundamental importance for the culture of the English people; and from the time of Colet onward the resentment at Aristotle's being allowed to usurp the seat of St. Paul became more and more vocal. To this mounting tide of feeling Francis Bacon gave a new twist. It had been a theological issue for some generations, though not for that reason devoid of significance for the growth of the national character. Bacon extended it to cover the whole field of learning, insisting that what St. Paul called " science falsely so called " was not merely an obstacle to the religious life of the nation, but an effectual bar to her material progress as well.

" This philosophy," he writes, with regard to the Greek tradition as still taught in the universities in his day, " this philosophy, if it be carefully examined, will be found to advance

certain points of view which are deliberately designed to cripple enterprise . . . The effect and intention of these arguments is to convince men that nothing really great, nothing by which nature can be commanded and subdued, is to be expected from human art and human labour. Such teachings, if they be justly appraised, will be found to tend to nothing less than a wicked effort to curtail human power over nature and to produce a deliberate and artificial despair. This despair in its turn confounds the promptings of hope, cuts the springs and sinews of industry, and makes men unwilling to put anything to the hazard of trial." These, which were not idle words but words born of much bitter experience, were first penned in *Thoughts and Conclusions* in 1607, repeated in the *Novum Organum* in 1620, and began to have effect with the foundation of the Royal Society. In the context of Bacon's writings they were a manifesto in favour of the industrial expansion of England, with Greek philosophy appearing in the rôle of the villain and the Bible in the rôle of liberator. Thus it was that Bacon did not, could not, choose the Academy or the Lyceum as his symbol when he sought to liquidate poverty in England by the application of science to industry. If England was to be transformed into Bensalem it could only be under the auspices of Solomon's House.

I have already referred to the Sacred Meditation on three kinds of imposture in writing. It was a warning against Scholasticism, that is against letting the quibbling Aristotelian logic of the Schools usurp the spirituality of St. Paul. It was a warning against the element of pious fable in church history and in the lives of the saints. It was a warning against mystical works like the *Celestial Hierarchy* of the psuedo-Dionysius. If it means little to us, that is because the three types of literature here condemned, went rapidly out of favour. In the fifty or sixty years after 1600 England passed from a mainly medieval to a mainly modern outlook on the world, the two chief agents in the change being the two causes championed by Bacon—the Bible and the new philosophy of nature.

But apart from the literature of imposture countenanced by the Church and indeed fostered by it and nurtured in its bosom, there were two other contemporary types of imposture against which a

genuine philosophy of nature had to wage victorious struggle if it were to prevail. These were alchemy and magic. Both these powerful movements had roots going far back into pagan antiquity, and, what is more they had, in Bacon's view, certain claims to consideration which the Church lacked. The Church, in its pre-occupation with the affairs of the next world, had neglected the affairs of this. Not so the magicians and the alchemists. They had kept alive a dream, expelled from the bosom of the church, that it might be possible to make some other use of a knowledge of nature than St. Augustine allowed. For St. Augustine the justification of natural philosophy was that it might be of help for the understanding of the Bible. Francis Bacon had sharply departed from him on this point, advancing instead his view that God was the author of two books, not one; and that while the Bible was indispensable for the knowledge of God's will, it was from God's other book, Nature, that we could learn to understand his power. In this stand Bacon was much closer to the alchemists and the magicians than to the orthodox view, for they had always kept alive the dream that it might be possible, by acquiring knowledge of Nature, to effect great and dramatic alterations in man's state.

Historically speaking it would be true to say that alchemy and magic had drained off from the tradition of Greek science those elements in it which aimed at controlling nature, leaving to the orthodox tradition the barren satisfaction of contemplation. In short the alchemists and magicians kept alive the concept of knowledge as power, and Bacon did no more than borrow it from them. Hence the many traces of alchemical and magical thought in Bacon's writings, which make him in a certain sense the heir of his thirteenth century name-sake Roger, who had struggled in his own day to have the concept of knowledge as power openly accepted and approved by the church.

Nevertheless Bacon was throughout his whole life the sworn foe of the alchemists and magicians. And again his condemnation of them is more than intellectual. When he keeps speaking throughout his writings of his method of science as being chaste, holy, legitimate and so forth, the explanation of this somewhat surprising

terminology is his detestation of the moral and spiritual atmosphere which hung about the practice of these two professions. He condemned them because, though they believed in knowledge as power they did not set before them the great public goal of the relief of man's estate. Instead they sought possession of certain secret processes which would put power into their own hands. He condemned them because they made a mystery of their procedures and because their writings were deliberately enigmatic and obscure. He condemned them because of their pretence that the kind of knowledge they sought could only be attained by a limited number of persons who happened to be endowed with more than natural powers. He condemned them because, working under these conditions, their results were in fact meagre, while their boasts were as magnificent as they were unjustified.

Looking at his achievement from the strictly scientific point of view some of the more perceptive of the modern historians, Zilsel and Needham, for instance, agree in recognising Bacon as "the first writer in the history of mankind to realise fully the basic importance of modern scientific research for the advancement of human civilization." This is true and finely said. But it is necessary also to insist that his greatness lies, not in the inductive process he made an abortive attempt to describe in his *Novum Organum*, but in his conception of the true goal of science, the spirit in which it must be undertaken, and the manner in which it must be organised. Its goal must be, at least until this object has been attained, the relief of man's estate. The spirit in which it is pursued must be humble, sincere, unpretentious. The organisation must be public, democratic, co-operative.

It was characteristic of the England of the seventeenth century that in one department after another of life and thought the ecclesiastical gave place to the secular. In descriptions of this process the terminology preferred is often to say that the religious gave place to the secular. This is unfortunate. Religion is not much good unless it is as closely identified with the secular as two faces of a coin. Jerusalem is no good unless we try to build it in England's green and pleasant land. For this reason I have found it impossible

to give a full account of what Bacon was after without including it in the history of religion as well as in the history of science. Of course some of his opinions about the Bible are as out of date as are so many of his explanations of natural phenomena, his astronomy, cosmology, anthropology, or what-not. But if the true description of any religion is to be found not simply in its starting-point but in its history, then Baconianism is a chapter in the history of Christianity. And, while its scientific significance is obvious, it has also an inescapable religious significance. Bacon called the fulfilment of his programme his "only earthly wish" thereby keeping the door open for the conviction, which he certainly held, that there is more to us than what is seen to happen between the cradle and the grave. Furthermore, like so many modern scientists, he found it impossible to derive the moral ideals he served from the natural science he was trying to create. He therefore accepted the law of love as a revelation, a mystery beyond the reach of human reason. In short, he was, as his private secretary asserts, and as his friendships and his writings proclaim, a religious man. What I have tried to do is show how his Christianity is knit into the very substance of his philosophy, and I would venture to suggest that it is one of the most original and fruitful developments of Christianity of which we have any record. It is also, to my way of thinking, so wise and so tolerant, so set to avoid theological disputes and be judged only by its fruits, that it can, does, and will continue to enter into that slow spiritual process by which the human race, if it survives, will evolve for itself—what does not yet exist—a genuine world religion. The goal of such a religion might well be described in Spedding's phrase—"Our world as it might be made if we did our duty by it." Bacon is generally misjudged as one concerned only with the know-how of this process—that is as a scientist. But he was at least as much concerned to reveal it as a duty. This lies outside the purview of science and gives his thought its religious character.

THE TWO FACES OF BEN JONSON

by JOAN HAM

There has always been a reasonable doubt as to the real authorship of the letter in the 1623 Folio of Shakespeare addressed to *The Great Variety of Readers* and "signed" by Heminge and Condell. There is no certainty that these two gentlemen were literate or even able to sign their names. The authorship of this letter is here confidently assigned to Ben Jonson, however, and the evidence for this is the subject for this article.

The first folio collection of Ben Jonson was printed in three parts; the first in 1616, and the second and third in 1631–41—both of these latter parts being bound together. I had recently the great pleasure of reading this first Ben Jonson Folio for the first time, and was surprised to come upon certain passages which sounded very familiar. Further research revealed that these familiar passages had been read before in the letter to *The Great Variety of Readers* in the Shakespeare Folio. This prompted me to start listing them in order as they were encountered, for comparison. There were no less than 18 parallels between the letter and various extracts from Jonson's writings; and this in a letter of no more than 39 lines in all. On the strength of such overwhelming evidence (which works out roughly to a Jonson parallel to EVERY TWO LINES) it becomes clear that the names "John Heminge" and "Henrie Condell" appended to this passage are merely a cover for Ben Jonson himself.

The letter to *The Great Variety of Readers* is quoted below in its entirety, with pertinent extracts from Ben Jonson, revealing the same characteristic thought and diction.

SHAKESPEARE FIRST FOLIO	BEN JONSON
I From the most able, to him that can but spell: There you are *number'd*. We had rather you were *weighd*.	Suffrages in Parliament are *numbred*, not *weigh'd:* *Discoveries:* p. 95 I now *number* you . . . . . *Dedication to Epicoene*

SHAKESPEARE FIRST FOLIO	BEN JONSON
2 Especially, when the *fate* of all *Bookes* depends vpon your capacities:	But I fore-see a neerer *fate* to my *booke*, ... Dedication to *Epigrammes* addressed to William, Earl of Pembroke.
3 and not of your heads alone, but of your purses. Well! It is now publique, & you wil stand for *your priuiledges* wee know: to *read, and censure.* Do so, but *buy it first.*	. . . . euery person here, haue his or their *free-will of censure,* to like or *dislike at their owne charge* . . . . *Induction Bartholomew Fair,* 1614. *Read,* therefore, I pray you, and *censure.* Dedication to *Epicoene.*
4 (Do so, but *buy it first). That doth best commend a Booke,* the Stationer saies.	Thou, that mak'st gaine thy end, and wisely well, *Call'st a booke good, or bad, as it doth sell* . . . . *Epigrammes. To my Bookseller.*
5 Then, *how oddesoeuer your braines be* or *your wisedomes,* make your licence the *same,* and spare not.	for there, *how odde soever mens braines, or wisdomes are,* their power is alwayes even, and the *same.* *Discoveries,* p. 95.
6 *Iudge your sixe-pen'orth, your shillings worth,* your fiue shillings worth at a time, or higher, *so you rise to the iust rates,* and welcome.	. . . . any man to *iudge his six pen'orth his tweluepen'orth,* so to his eighteene pence, 2.shillings, halfe a crowne, *to the value of his place:* *Induction Bartholomew Fair.*
7 But, what euer you do, Buy. Censure will not *driue a Trade,*	. . . . who will *drive the trade,* . . . . *Masque of Owls,* p. 128.
8 or make *the Iacke go.*	. . . . te clocke himshelfe, or *te Iacke* dat shtrikes him! *Bartholomew Fair,* p. 32. . . . . or an old rusty *Iacke,* That has not one true wheele in him. *Divell is an Asse.* p. 102.

SHAKESPEARE FIRST FOLIO	BEN JONSON
9 And though you be a Magistrate of wit, *and sit on the Stage* at Black-Friers, or the Cock-pit, *to arraigne Playes dailie,*	. . . . any *that sits on the Bench, with him,* though they indite, *and arraigne Playes daily.* *Induction, Bartholomew Fair.*
10 know, these Playes haue had their triall alreadie, and stood out all Appeales; *and do now come forth* quitted rather by a Decree of Court, then any purchas'd Letters of commendation.	Fit. But *now* it ha's the shape— Cym. *And is come forth.* *Staple of News,* p. 15.
11 It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to haue bene wished, that *the Author* himselfe had liu'd to haue set forth, and ouerseen his owne writings; But since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by *death departed from that right,*	. . . . *the Author hauing departed with his right:* *Induction, Bartholomew Fair.*
12 we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to haue collected & publish'd them; and so to haue publish'd them, as where (before) *you were abus'd* with diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious imposters, that expos'd them:	That ha' not the heart to beleeue any thing, But what they see in print. FIT. I, that's an Error *Ha's abus'd many;* but we shall reforme it, As many things beside (we haue a hope) Are crept among the *popular abuses.* [Last two words B.J's. italics] *Staple of News,* p. 15.
13 euen those, are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and *perfect* of their *limbes;*	P.Iv. A most polite neat thing! with all the *limbs,* . . . . *Ibid.* By *perfect,* wee understand that, to which nothing is wanting; [Speaking of poets and poetry] *Discoveries,* p. 131.
14 and all the rest, *absolute in their numbers,* as he conceued them.	. . . . *he, who hath fill'd up all numbers;* *Discoveries,* p. 102.

SHAKESPEARE FIRST FOLIO	BEN JONSON
15 Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most *gentle expresser* of it. His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, *he vttered with that easinesse,*	. . . . brave notions, and *gentle expressions:* wherein *hee flow'd with that facility,* . . . . *Ibid.*, p. 98.
16 that wee haue *scarse* receiued from him *a blot in his papers.*	I remember, the Players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shake-speare, that in his writing, (whatsoever he penn'd) *hee never blotted out line.* *Ibid.*, p. 97.
17 But it is not our prouince, who onely gather his works, and giue them you, to praise him. It is yours that reade him. And there we hope, *to your diuers capacities, you will finde enough, both to draw, and hold you:*	. . . . but speake to the *capacity of his hearers.* *Ibid.*, p. 100. . . . . to their *capacity* they will all receive, and be full. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
18 for his wit can no more lie hid, then it could be lost. *Reade him therefore; and againe, and againe:* And if then you doe not like him, surely you are in some manifest danger, not to *vnderstand* him. And so we leaue you to other of his Friends, whom if you need, can bee your guides: if you neede them not, you can leade your selues, and others. And such Readers we wish him.	Pray thee, take care, that tak'st my Booke in hand, To *reade it well:* that is, to *vnderstand.* *Epigramme to the Reader*, p. 769.

The continuity of thought and diction in examples 15 and 16, between the first Ben Jonson extract and the second sentence from *to the reader* is striking. These extracts could easily be from the same passage and the "joint" would be undetectable; i.e. ". . . brave notions, and gentle expressions: wherein hee flowed with that facility that wee haue scarse receiued from him a blot in his papers."

A large number of extracts is taken from the *Discoveries* and it is interesting to note that Ben Jonson was living with Francis Bacon and translating much of his work into Latin for him while

writing *Discoveries*. The phrase "Numbering, not weighing" first appeared in Bacon's *Promus* many years prior to the letter appearing in the Shakespeare Folio, and Ben Jonson could well have seen the *Promus*, or heard Bacon use the phrase. (See first example).

Many of the parallels are so close that they can only have had one author—Ben Jonson. It is hardly surprising in view of this to find that the extracts from *Discoveries* refer to Lord Verulam:—" he who hath filled up all numbers," and also to Shakespeare " who never blotted out line," *cf.* extract from P.*100* in *Discoveries* (Could this be significant ?). This is contained in a long paragraph dealing with the " True Artificer " who can hardly be other than Francis Bacon, judging from the way he is drawn. Jonson was a master of innuendo and such phrases as " though his language differ from the vulgar somewhat," "An other age, or juster men, will acknowledge the vertues of his studies," " Then in his elocution to behold, what word is . . . strong to shew the composition MANLY," would seem to point to Bacon.

Apart from *Discoveries*, the other chief source of parallels is *Bartholomew Fair*. The Induction to the play positively proclaims a mystery in the specific agreement between the spectators and author *NOT* to search out who was meant by various characters in the play. This has been expounded very thoroughly by "Arden " in a previous *Baconiana*, showing that Francis Bacon and his contemporaries are portrayed in *Bartholomew Fair*.

The truly remarkable point about the letter *To the Great Variety of Readers*, is that Ben Jonson has cleverly put together characteristic scraps from his own writings to make a coherent whole, thereby signing it as his own, and at the same time, by the very extracts he has chosen, revealed the true author of the Shakespeare Folio as Francis Bacon.

It will be recalled that there is another preface in this Folio above the names Heminge and Condell—none other than the famous Dedication to the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, Many orthodox Shakespearean scholars would agree that this, as well as

the letter already investigated, was the work of Ben Jonson. This point was demonstrated in *Baconiana* No. 4, where parallel extracts were given between the *Epistle Dedicatorie*, and *The Natural History of Pliny* in the more modern translation of Mr. John Bostock. The following example is perhaps the most striking of these:—

EPISTLE DEDICATORIE	PLINY
Country hands reach foorth milke, creame, fruites, or what they haue: and many Nations (we haue heard) that had not gummes & incense, obtained their requests with a leauened Cake. It vvas no fault to approch their Gods, by what meanes they could.	But the country people, and, indeed, some whole nations offer milk to the Gods, and those who cannot procure frankincense substitute in its place salted cakes, for the Gods are not dissatisfied when they are worshipped by every one to the best of his ability.

The following parallels, too, reveal the hidden Jonson, and it is more than a coincidence that they are to be found in the various *DEDICATIONS* to Ben Jonson's plays of the *FIRST VOLUME*. They also support the idea (example 28) that Jonson was privy to Bacon's note books, parts of which, in the *Promus* (now in the British Museum) have survived.

DEDICATION TO PEMBROKE & MONTGOMERY, SHAKESPEARE FOLIO	BEN JONSON
19 Whilst we *studie* to be *thankful.*	. . . . I now render my selfe *gratefull*, and am *studious* to iustifie the bounty of your act: Dedication to the two Famous universities. *Volpone*, p. 442. . . . . as I haue *car'd* to be *thankefull* for your affections past, ... *Ibid.*
20 in our *particular*,	For my *particular*, ... *Ibid.*, p. 443.
21 for the many fauors we haue received from your L.L. *we are falne* upon the ill fortune, ...	. if *I be falne* into those times, . . Dedication to William EARL OF PEMBROKE, p. 767. *Epigrammes.*

DEDICATION TO PEMBROKE & MONTGOMERY, SHAKESPEARE FOLIO	BEN JONSON
22 . . . . For, when we aulew the places your H.H. sustaine, we cannot but know their *dignity* greater, then to descend to the *reading* of these trifles:	. . . . whether I haue not (in all these) preseru'd their *dignitie*, as mine owne person, safe? My workes are *read*, allow'd, ... Dedication to two Universities, p. 444.
23 . . . . and haue prosequuted both them, and their Author liuing, vvith so much *fauour:* we hope, that (they *out-liuing* him, and he not hauing the fate, common with some, *to be exequutor to his owne writings)* you will use the like indulgence toward them, you haue done unto their parent.	. . . . some ground of your fauours; let me not despaire their continuance, ... *Ibid.*, p. 447. . . . . I send you *this peece of what may liue of mine;* Dedication to Mr. Richard Martin, *Poetaster*, p. 273.
24 . . . . We haue but collected them, and done an office to the dead, to procure his *Orphanes, Guardians;*	. . . . I must expect, at your Lo: hand, the *protection* of truth, and libertie, ... Dedication to William EARL of PEMBROKE, to *Epigrammes*, p. 767. and not my yongest *infant* but hath come into the world with all his teeth; [speaking of his works] Dedication to two Universities, *Volpone*, p. 444.
25 uuithout ambition either of *selfe*-profit, or *fame:*	Thou art *not couetous* of least *selfe fame*, . . . *Epigramme to my Booke*, p. 769.
26 onely to *keepe the memory of so worthy a Friend, & Fellow aliue,* as was our SHAKESPEARE, ...	. . . . to *preserue* that part of *reputation* most tenderly, wherein the benefit *of a friend* is also defended. Dedication to two Universities, *Volpone*, p. 442.

DEDICATION TO PEMBROKE & MONTGOMERY, SHAKESPEARE FOLIO	BEN JONSON
27 . . . . But, there we must also craue our abilities to be considerd, my Lords. *We cannot go beyond our owne powers.* Country hands reach foorth milke, creame, fruites, or what they haue: and many Nations (we haue heard) that had not *gummes* & incense, obtained their requests with a leauened Cake. It vvas no fault to approch their Gods, by what meanes they could:	In the age of sacrifices, the *truth* of religion *was not in the greatnesse,* & fat of the *offrings,* but in the *deuotion,* and *zeale of the sacrificers:* Else, what could a handfull of *gummes* haue done . . . . or, how might I appeare at this altar, except with those affections . . . . Dedication to Mary, Lady Wroth, *The Alchemist,* p. 603.
28 And the most, though *meanest,* of things are made more precious, when they are dedicated to Temples. *In that name* therefore, we most humbly consecrate to your H.H. these remains.	Tantum series juncturaq pollet: Tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris. Horace, *Arte Poetica.* Translated by Jonson as, ... The excellence is such Of order, and Connexion; so much grace, There comes sometimes to things of *Meanest* place. *Vnder which name,* I here offer to your Lo: the ripest of my studies, . . Dedication to William EARL of PEMBROKE, *Epigrammes,* p. 767.
29 . . . . that what delight is in them, *may be euer* your L.L. *the reputation his, &*	. . . . to *preserue* that part of *reputation* most tenderly, wherein the benefit *of a friend* is also defended. Dedication to two Universities, p. 442.
30 the faults ours, if any be committed, by a *payre so carefull* to shew their *gratitude both to the liuing,* and the dead, as is Your Lordshippes most bounden,	. . . . but there must come both matter, ... and *fauourers* to it: If this be true, and the fortune of all writers doth daily proue it, it behoues *the carefull* to prouide, well, toward these accidents; *Ibid.,* p. 442. Hence is it, that I now render my selfe *gratefull,* . . . . *Ibid.*

Example 28 supports the notion that Jonson was privy to Bacon's private note-book, the *Promus*. At entry No. 1065 of this note-book is the identical couplet from Horace's *Art of Poetry*, which Mrs. Potts translated as:

> Such power lies in proper arrangement and connection, so capable are the *meanest*, commonest, and plainest things of ornament and grace.

It is not surprising that two well-educated men should have read Horace, but it *is* remarkable that both should have been sufficiently interested by this one phrase from a very long poem to have remembered and noted it. It would have been far more likely to have impressed Jonson if he had *also* seen it in the *Promus*. Another example of Jonson's abundant usage of sentiments which appealed to him is to be seen in example 27, where, not only did he lift Pliny whole for the Shakespeare Dedication, but he re-furbished the idea in a dedication addressed to Mary, Lady Wroth, prefixed to his own play, *The Alchemist*. One meets with this repetition of phrases continually in Ben Jonson's writings, as these parallels show.

Three of the twelve extracts from Jonson's own dedications are selected from those addressed to William Earl of Pembroke—one of the " incomparable paire of brethren " honoured with the Shakespeare dedication. One of these instances reveals an odd similarity of thought in the way in which the Earl is asked for his patronage. (Example 24). He is appointed in the Shakespeare Folio as the " Guardian " of the author's " Orphanes," meaning his plays. Ben Jonson, expects "at your Lo: hand, the *protection* of . . . ," the very office of a " Guardian," and the next extract taken from the dedication to the two famous universities shows that he thought of his own writings as " infants " (which in his own case, were fully supplied with their teeth !). Bacon, too, referred to his writings in this way.

I cannot refrain from closing this article with a curious extract from Jonson's *The New Inn*. Jonson in disparaging " Shop-Citizens " continues . . . .

> . . . . And let 'em get but ten mile out a Town,
> Th'out swagger all the *Wapen-take*.
> Fly. What's That ?
> Tip. A saxon word to signifie the *Hundred*.

Everyone knows that the simple numerical count of the name Francis Bacon is 100. It was therefore intriguing to find that a modern dictionary defines the word " Wapen-take " as follows:—

> A.S. weapon-touching. A name formerly given in certain English counties to a division corresponding to a *hundred.*

Chambers' Dictionary, in an explanatory note, says that "weapon-taking" was a term signifying "assent" by "*brandishing* a weapon."

This recalls the quaint words in Ben Jonson's famous poem in the Folio, eulogising the Author:—

> . . . . he seems to *shake a lance,*
> As *brandish't* at the eyes of Ignorance.

In Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon under the name *Pallas Athene* are the words

> The *spear brandisher.*

All of which suggests, irresistibly, the shaking of spears ! Now, without getting too solemn and serious about the analogy, it is surely a little odd that Jonson should want to explain so ponderously that wapen-take is also a " hundred."

Are we being nudged again ?

MALLET'S LIFE OF FRANCIS BACON

II

By THOMAS D. BOKENHAM

In *Baconiana* No. 164 it was suggested that the 1740 " Mallet " edition of Bacon's works, which included "A New Life of the Author," was part of a scheme whereby certain influential people, guardians of Bacon's memory and some of his secrets, were enabled to issue certain of his works the publication of which had been delayed; perhaps deliberately.

It would seem from Ewen MacDuff's stimulating article " By Line and Levell " that Bacon's "Abecedarium Naturae " published by T.T. in 1679, falls into this important category. In these circumstances it seems advisable to examine in more detail Mallet's " New Life of the Author " which was also published as a separate volume in 1740.

The copy which we have to hand belonged formerly to Mr. Bertram G. Theobald, a member of the Francis Bacon Society, who was particularly interested in numerical ciphers to be found in 17th century literature. In this volume Mr. Theobald has made some interesting annotations which seem to show considerable evidence of a cipher method, even though the date of publication is well into the 18th century. For example, the count of Roman letters in the text of the last page of the Dedication totals 157. Also to be found in the first and last pages of this book is the count 287. These two confirmatory counts (or seals) have been found on these same pages in many important books published between 1586 and 1740 (including all the Bacon and the Shakespeare works). This fact is a strong indication of the existence of an organisation which had some control over the publishing and printing of such works. Indeed, a count, in simple cipher, of the last letters of each line of the text on the last page of this book, totals 136 which stands for " Bacon-Shakespeare " (33 + 103). It will be remembered that on page 136 of the Shakespeare First Folio the long word honorificabilitudinita-

tibus† appears, and I must be forgiven for pointing out that the count of the letters of this word in simple cipher=287—one of the above "seal" numbers!

It seems, however, that we should go further than this. If certain passages or paragraphs in this book are hallmarked, these passages are worthy of further study. On page 3 (see facsimile) Mr. Theobald particularly noticed the last paragraph which concerns Francis Bacon's parents. Since it is held by some people that Bacon was, in fact, of *Royal* birth, this paragraph appeared to call for special attention. A closer examination revealed that lines 2-5 are especially hallmarked. The next process was to "square" this shorter passage as shown in diagram 1.

It will be noticed that in vertical column 13 appears the word SON with an F above it. On line 2 in front of this letter F are the letters SELI which of course form the initial letters of the name ELISabeth. With the O in front of the letter S (line 2) we have SON OF ELIS and it is now not difficult to complete the phrase with the BTH and adjacent A and with the E after the F of line 2—and we have the full answer formed in the shape of two large letters F.T. which must surely stand for Francis Tudor, the whole puzzle being enclosed in a paragraph concerning Bacon's parentage!

Continuing through this little book one comes to page 162 in which the writer is describing the fourth part of Bacon's "Great Instauration." The words "Scala Intellectus" appear in the margin and also in italic letters in the centre of paragraph two. Here Mr. Theobald noticed that the sum of words in Roman type plus the sum of italic letters=136 which in "simple" cipher="Bacon-Shakespeare." Since many Baconians believe that this fourth part of the "Great Instauration," which was to include "examples of enquiry and investigation agreeable to his own method," was in fact the "Shakespeare" plays, this paragraph also suggests further study. Starting with line two and continuing to the line before the italic words "Scala Intellectus" we soon discovered that the count

† See *Baconiana* 160 for analysis of this long word.

1.) Mallet's Life of Bacon 1740 Page 3.

```
     1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35
2    B  A  C  O  N  W  H [O][S][E][L][I][F][E] I  A  M  W  R  I  T  I  N  G  O  F
3    T  W  O  S  O  N  S [B][Y] T  H [I][S] M  A  R  R  I  A  G  E  H  E  W  A  S  T  H  E
4    Y  O  U  N  G  E  S [T][A] N  D  B [O] R  N  A  T  Y  O  R  K  H  O  U  S  E  I  N  T  H  E
5    S  T  R  A  N  D  T [H][E] T  W  E [N] T  Y  S  E  C  O  N  D  O  F  J  A  N  U  A  R  Y
```

2.) Page 162

```
     1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35
2    T  H  I  N  G  S  E  E  M  S  W  A  N  T [I] N  G  B  U  T  T  O  E  N  T  E  R  A  T  O  N  C  E
3    O  N  T  H  E  L  A [S] T  A  N  D  M  O [S] T  E  X  A  L  T  E  D [K] I  N  D  O  F  P  H  I
4    L  O  S  O  P  H  Y  B  U  T [T][H][E][A][U][T][H][O][R] J  U  D  G  E  D  T  H  A  T
5    I  N  A  N  A  F  F [A] I  R  S  O  C  O  M  P  L  I  C  A  T [E] D [A] N  D  I  M  P  O  R  T  A  N  T
6    S  O  M  E  O  T  H  E  R  T  H  I  N  G  S  O  U  G  H  T  T  O  P  R  E  C  E  D  E  P  A  R  T
7    L  Y  F  O  R  I  N [S] T  R  U  C  T  I  O  N  A  N  D [F] A [R] T  I  Y  F  O  R  P  R  E  S  E  N  T
8    U  S  E  H  E  T  H  E  R  E  F  O  R  E  I  N  T  E  R  P  O  S  E  D  A  F  O  U  R  T  H
9    A  N  D  P  I  P  T [H] P  A  R  T [T][H][E][P][O][R] M [E] R  O  F  W  H  I  C  H  H  E
     N  A  M  E  D  S  C  A  L  A  I  N  T  E  L  L  E  C  T  U  S
```

3.) The Shakespeare Monument 1740 Inscription

```
     1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35
1    G  V  L  I  E  L  M  O  S  H  A  K  S  P  E  A  R  E
2    A  N  N  O  P  O  S  T  M  O  R  T  E  M  C  X  X  I  V
3    A  M  O  R  F  V  B  L  I  C  U  S  P  O  S  V  I  T
```

Scroll

```
     1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35
1    T  H  E  C  L  O  U  D [C] A  P  T  T  O  W  R  S
2    T  H  E  G  O  R  G  E [O] U  S  P  A  L  A  C  E  S
3    T  H  E  S  O  L  E  M [N] T  E  M  P  L  E  S
4    T  H  E  G  R  E  A  T  G  L  O  B  E  I  T  S  E  L  F
5    Y  E  A  A  L  L [W][H][I][C][H] I  T  I  N  H  E  R  I  T
6    S  H  A  L  L  D  I  S  S  O  L  V  E
7    A  N  D  L  I  K [E][T][H][E][R] A  S  E  L  E  S  S  F  A  B  R  I  C  K  O  P  A  V  I  S  I  O  N
8    L  E  A  V  E  N [O][T][A][W][R] E  C  F  B  E  H  I  N  D
```

Note:- Passages 1 and 2 appear in a book bearing SEAL NUMBERS 157 and 287.
Passage 3 also bears SEAL NUMBER 157.
All these passages are marked by the names BACON or SHAKESPEARE.
The messages relate to the text in which they are found.
The messages form a reasonably symmetrical and central pattern.

FIRST LETTERS OF LINES (S)	LAST LETTERS OF LINES (S)	TOTAL NUMBER OF WORDS	TOTAL NUMBER OF LETTERS
2	6		
19	5		
23	5		
18	23		
62	39		
19	5		
14	9		
11	19		
9	19		
18	19		
11	19		
20	8		
1	5		
103	103	56	
		8 +12a	
		132	56
19			
19			
19			
19			
23			
18			
1			
11			
129		33	157

33 = BACON (S)
39 = F.BACON (S)
56 = FR.BACON (S)
62 = FRA.ST.A (S)
103 = SHAKESPEARE (S)
129 = FRANCIS BACON ST.(S)
132 = FRANCIS ST.ALBAN (S)
157 = THE SEAL NUMBER

try with the integrity of a good man, and preſerving, thro the whole courſe of his proſperity, that moderation and plainneſs of manners which adorn a great man. His ſecond wife was a daughter of Sir *Anthony Cooke*, who had been preceptor to *Edward* the Sixth, and of whom hiſtorians have made honourable mention for his skill in the learned languages. Neither have they forgot to celebrate this Lady, on the ſame account. To the truth of which even an enemy bore teſtimony, while he reproached her with having tranſlated, from the *Latin*, Biſhop *Jewel*'s apology for the Church of *England*. *Parſons the Jeſuit.*

SUCH were the parents of *Francis Bacon*, whoſe Life I am writing. Of two ſons, by this marriage, he was the youngeſt: and born at *York-Houſe* in the *Strand*, the twenty-ſecond of *January* 1561. As he had the good fortune to come into the world at a period of time when arts and ſciences were eſteemed and 1561.

trated farther than he into its ſeveral regions, marked out and diſtinguiſhed them with more accuracy; the reſult of theſe diſcoveries has leſs extended their fame than it has raiſed and enlarged his.

Scala Intellectus.

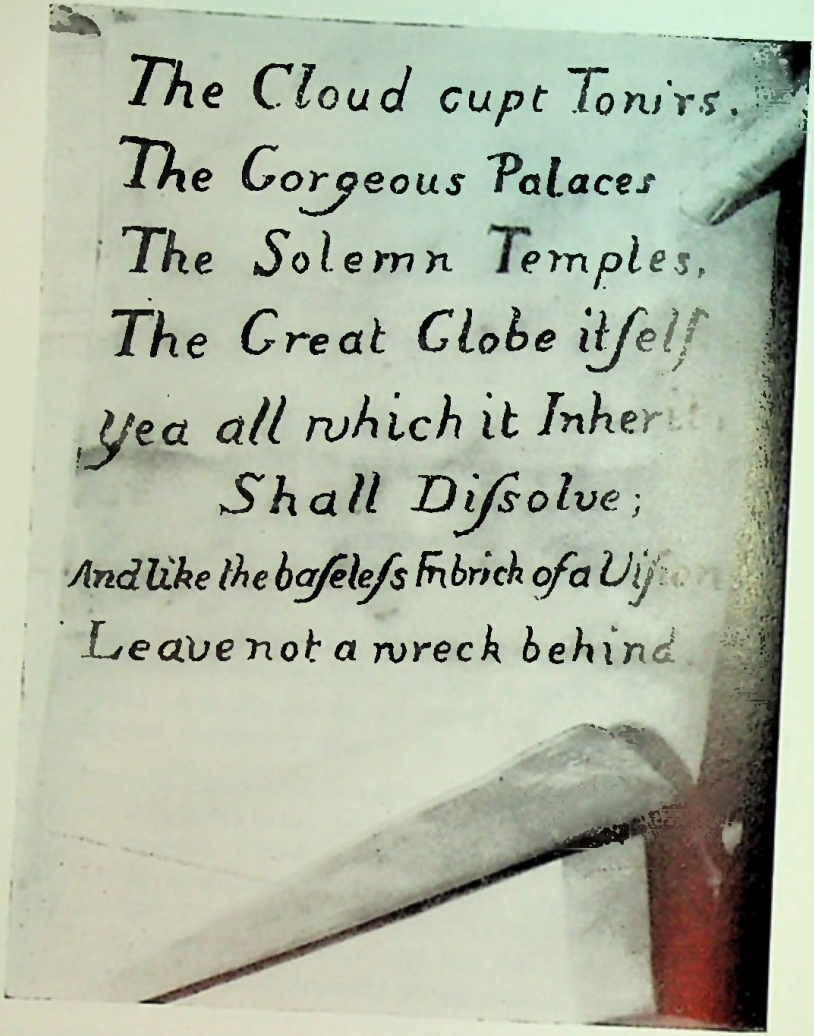
4. AFTER theſe preparations, nothing ſeems wanting but to enter at once on the laſt and moſt exalted kind of philoſophy: but the author judged, that, in an affair ſo complicated and important, ſome other things ought to precede, partly for inſtruction, and partly for preſent uſe. He therefore interpoſed a fourth and fifth part: the former of which he named *Scala Intellectus*, or a ſeries of ſteps by which the Underſtanding might regularly aſcend in its philoſophical reſearches. For this purpoſe, he propoſed examples of enquiry and inveſtigation, agreeable to his own method, in certain ſubjects; ſelecting ſuch eſpecially as are of the nobleſt order, and moſt widely differing from one another; that inſtances of every ſort might not be wanting. The

of the initial letters in " simple " cipher=103 which in the same cipher=Shakespeare. The count of the last letters of these same eight lines in " simple " cipher also totals 103. Squaring this passage (diagram two) one immediately notices the words THE AUTHOR in the centre of line four. It will then be observed that in the whole of this squared passage only one K appears (line three column 24). Below this on alternate squares and *in the form of steps* (see the description in the passage following the words " Scala Intellectus ") appear the letters A.E.R.P.E. Balancing this on the other side of the words THE AUTHOR are to be found the letters S.A.S.H. which complete the word SHAKESPEAR which, with the letters IS above THE AUTHOR and the letters (line nine) THE FO, make up the message SHAKESPEAR IS THE AUTHOR OF THE, and immediately undeneath, SCALA INTELLECTUS, or *a series of steps by which the understanding might regularly ascend etc.* This is a fairly symmetrical pattern occupying all these eight lines and it is claimed that it could not have been there by accident. The passage concerns the subject in question, is well hall-marked and gives a clear message as to the nature of the missing fourth part of Bacon's " Great Instauration."

If it can now be accepted that both Mallet's " New Life " and Bacon's "Abecedarium Naturae " disclose, by means of cipher, some of the latter's well-kept secrets, the reason for their delayed publication becomes abundantly clear.

Several of Bacon's manuscripts, not published during his lifetime, are to be found in the Harleian collection of manuscripts in the British Museum. These include the *Promus* (Bacon's own collection of experimental words and figures of speech which appear profusely in the Shakespeare plays). In 1729 the Blackbourne edition of Bacon's works was published and, like this Mallet edition, was dedicated to Dr. Mead. Included in this edition were the *Manes Verulamiani* (first published by Rawley in 1632), in which Bacon is mourned as the leading *poet* of his day, though concealed. They appeared again in the *Harleian Miscellany* of 1813.

This means that Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and patron of Pope, Defoe and others, must have known of these documents and


The Cloud cupt Tonirs,
The Gorgeous Palaces
The Solemn Temples,
The Great Globe itself
yea all which it Inher
Shall Dissolve;
And like the baseless Fabrick of a Vis
Leave not a wreck behind

of their tremendous purport, and their publication at this time is significant. It is further suggested that some of Bacon's works were intended *for use* as well as publication at the appropriate time. We know that Bacon left " his name and memory to his countrymen after some time be passed " and that he also worked for posterity. We know also that Robert Harley worked for and achieved, with the help of his able " pens," the Act of Union between Scotland and England* and also the final overthrow of the Stuart Kings whereby a Protestant dynasty was secured for this country—both objects dear to Bacon's heart.

It may be significant therefore, that Macaulay in his *History of England* (IV p. 368) says of Harley, Earl of Oxford, " he constantly had, even with his best friends, an air of mystery and reserve which seemed to indicate that he knew some monstrous secret and that his mind was labouring with some vast design." One can but assume, in view of his earlier essay, that Macaulay did not associate this design in any way with Francis Bacon !

There is one further example of 18th century cryptography which should now be demonstrated. This concerns the Shakespeare Monument in Westminster Abbey erected in the same year as the Mallet publication and under the auspices of the Earl of Burlington and the aforementioned Dr. Mead and Alexander Pope.

It has frequently been pointed out that the wording on the scroll is a curious adaptation of the original lines in *The Tempest*. Unnecessary abbreviations and mis-spellings have been inserted, and one misquoted line appears entirely out of place. Because of this, however, the number of letters in this passage totalls 157, one of the great SEAL numbers. If the word CLOUDCAP'T, here given incorrectly as two words, can be counted as one, we then have a total of exactly 33 words=Bacon (s). Shakespeare's finger points significantly at the word TEMPLES which Mr. MacDuff has taught us concerns Bacon (see *Baconiana* 160 and 164) and the total, in simple cipher, of the first letters of each line is 129=Francis Bacon Kt. (s).

* First drafted by Sir Francis Bacon for England and the Lord Advocate for Scotland.

Squaring this passage, one is faced with the perpendicular letters CON in column nine. There are four B's in this inscription and one, in the word "Fabrick," is a little off the map. Let us try the B in line seven column 11 and let us also use the A in line eight column nine. Symmetrically we should now include the E of "Like" in line seven. Now connect up with the letters O, T and W, R in line eight and we have the words "Bacon wrote." At this point it seemed impossible to continue, except to ask "What did Bacon write?" The answer is, he wrote this passage from *The Tempest* and the word WHICH in line five tells us just this—WHICH BACON WROTE!

The marble inscription immediately below the great arch, with which the masons surrounded this monument, does not appear to tell us very much. The Latin grammar on it has been subject to some criticism in the past and the eight words plus the Roman numerals which stand for 124, add to 132 which=Francis St. Alban(s). The number of letters, including the small symbol after the Roman figures, totals 56—Fr. Bacon(s), two of Bacon's signatures. The shape of this upper inscription, like a heraldic "label," is somewhat similar to the formation of letters at the foot of my marked diagram (in reverse) and it would be curious if the last word in the lower scroll had any significant connection with this upper tablet. This might be left, however, to the Shakespeare Action Committee!

WHO WAS SHAKE-SPEARE?

By M.P.

Tragedies and Comedies are made of one Alphabet ‡

The time honoured joke that "Shakespeare must have written Shakespeare" (if it means anything at all) means that "the author must have been the author." It is a quick, if unintelligent, method of getting the problem out of the way, and begs the whole question of personal identity. To avoid this ambiguity we will use the original title-page ascriptions "Shakespeare" or "Shake-speare" as the name or pseudonym of the Bard; and the names "Shakespere" or "William" when referring to the good fellow whose claims to the Shakespearean authorship have been put forward by popular tradition, though not by himself. The internal evidence of the plays is useless unless it can be shown to correspond with external evidence; and in the case of Will Shakspere it does not. In fact it would have been better for the Stratford tradition if we knew no more about him than we know about Homer.

On the title-page of the first edition of *Shake-speare's Sonnets* the name is spelt thus with a hyphen. In the register of the Stationers Company (1609), it is entered as *A book called Shake-speare's Sonnets*. This curious hyphenated word has the appearance of a pseudonym. It is printed as the running title at the top of every leaf of the Sonnets, on the title-pages of many of the quarto plays, and five times in the preliminaries to the First Folio. We may perhaps take this continuous flagwaving as a signal to inquire into the identity of the author.

As a youth William Shakspere, the actor, was unnoticed as pupil or scholar, though noticed as butcher-boy and poacher. There is no evidence that he ever went to a school or university*. He has not left us a single manuscript or letter to anyone. He took no interest in the culture of bis day, and did not even educate his

‡ *The Promus*. 1594.
* The statement in the D.N.B. is unfounded.

children. By all extant accounts he was a pushing and avaricious man, anxious to display a coat-of-arms and jealous of his rights, often suing poorer men for small sums lent. Yet in spite of this he made no claim, either during his life or in his Will, to the authorship of the plays attributed to him. Among the specific bequests of his essentially vulgar Will, not a book nor a play is mentioned.

The documented life-story is disappointing. We try to come close to one of the greatest minds of our civilization, and we find that mind—in the prime of life—occupied only in money-lending, malt-cornering and enclosing common lands. Not one generous or kindly action is reported. We ask for bread and we are given stones.

For more than three centuries the player has been identified with the poet. Admiration has risen to reverence and reverence to worship. A *Shakespere Allusion Book* has been compiled, claiming all the eulogies addressed to the author as allusions to the actor. In point of fact there are barely a score of the latter. Nashe (1589) calls Shakspere an idiot; Greene (1592) calls him "An upstart crow beautified with other's feathers"; Manningham (1601) makes him the boasting hero of an indecent amour; two anonymous writers in 1605 refer to his property and dubious aspirations to a coat-of-arms; Heywood (1612) complains that two of his own poems had been published as Shakspere's; Ben Jonson (1616) calls him "poor poet-ape that would be thought our chief."

When the actor died in 1616, nineteen of the thirty-six plays had never been printed, and those that had were soon to be subjected to textual alterations of a most fastidious kind, revealing the author's hand on every page. The play of *Othello*, which first appeared in print six years after the actor's death was completely re-written one year later in the First Folio, with 160 new lines. In the absence of any manuscripts it is our contention that the real author was alive in 1623.

Some years ago a distinguished dramatic critic wrote to me expressing the view that *Love's Labours Lost*, though written by William, was probably dictated by Bacon who, soon after leaving

Cambridge, had actually stayed at the Court of Navarre.† In reference to this play Professor Dover Wilson has written as follows:—

> To credit that amazing piece of virtuosity to a butcher boy who left school at thirteen or even to one whose education was only what a grammar school and residence in a little provincial borough could provide is to invite one either to believe in miracles or to disbelieve in the man from Stratford§.

It is of course a mere pretence that the butcher-boy went to school. However this is a fair statement of the dilemma in which men of letters find themselves and so one may be forgiven for disbelieving in the Stratford man.

* * * *

Above are some of the facts which have made men like Lord Palmerston, Cardinal Newman, Emerson, Bismarck, Mark Twain, Walt Whitman, Lord Penzance, Judge Holmes, Judge Webb, Sigmund Freud, John Bright and many others, unable to marry the story of William's life to the plays and poems attributed to him. Who then was the Bard ?

> One of these men is genius to the other
> And so of these Which is the natural man
> And which the spirit ? Who deciphers them ?‡

My first exhibit is *The Promus*, Francis Bacon's 'gag book,' now in the British Museum. It is dated 1594 and consists of 93 folio pages in his own hand, recording figures of speech, many of which appeared *later* in the Shakespeare plays. It is argued by some that the material of *The Promus* might equally have been available to Will Shakspere. So it might, but a notebook is evidence and implies a purpose.

My second exhibit is the *Northumberland Manuscript* which was originally Bacon's property with his name on the cover above the list of contents. This list includes two Shakespearean plays

---

† See *Shakespeare*. Ivor Brown (1949) p. 301.
§ The Essential Shakespeare (1942) p. 41.
‡ *A Comedy of Errors* V/1/ 334.

Richard II and *Richard III*, now missing from the docket, while most of Bacon's own compositions remain. In 1598 these two plays had been title-paged to 'William Shake-speare' and their removal from the docket would certainly have been a wise precaution in 1601, during the Essex Rebellion, when *Richard II* was 'procured to be played in the open streets to incite the populace.' But here is a curious thing. When the Essex conspirators were charged, and much was made of this treasonable play, there was no mention during the whole course of the trial of the name 'Shake-speare'—not even when his reputed patron, Southampton, was on trial for his life. Heywood was sent to the Tower for his prose version of the deposing of Richard II, and Bacon was interrogated by the Queen about it; but the author of the play, which was far more dangerous, was simply ignored. How shall we account for this? Was the hyphenated name 'Shake-speare' a pseudonym? It is on record that Bacon, on seeking to be relieved of his part in the prosecution, made the strange excuse 'it would be said I gave in evidence mine own tales.' *

Apart from its revealing list of contents, the front page of the *Northumberland MS* is also covered with contemporary scribblings connecting the names "William Shakespeare," 'Shakespe,' 'Shakspe,' 'Shak,' 'William,' 'Wlm,' and 'Mr. ffrauncis Bacon.' In one place we even read 'by Mr. ffrauncis William Shakespeare.' Scribbles may not be acceptable as proof; but as Judge Webb pointed out, they may well indicate a deliberation as to whether the name 'William Shakespeare' would serve as a pseudonym.

Another intriguing scribble on this page is the word 'Honorificabilitudine,' a variant of the nonsense word in *Love's Labours Lost*, which is found once or twice in European literature, and also in Nash's *Lenten Stuff*. By mere chance the first 11 letters of this word include the seven letters of Bacon's most usual signature 'Fr. Bacon.' Did he notice this? In his notebook, *The Promus*, we find the word 'Honorificabo,' in a phrase quoted apparently from the

---

* *Apology:* Francis Bacon.

Vulgate; and in one of his papers the long word is analysed diagrammatically thus:

ho
hono
honori
honorifi
honorifica
honorificabi
honorificabili
honorificabilitu
honorificabilitudi
honorificabilitudini
honorificabilitudinita
honorificabilitudinitati
honorificabilitudinitatibus

For what purpose other than a cryptogram would anyone trouble himself to construct such a diagram? The occurrence of this long word in the *Northumberland MS* and in *Love's Labours Lost*—where incidentally it is followed by the cryptic line "What is A b spelt backward with the horne on his head?"—suggests a deliberation of this kind. But whether we like it or not, there is in existence only one MS known to have contained originally two Shakespearean plays. That MS belonged to Francis Bacon.

My third exhibit is the *Manes Verulamiani*, a rare collection of 32 elegies in memory of Francis Bacon, printed a few months after his death in 1626. The elegies were in Latin; the writers were English. Among them were William Rawley, George Herbert, Henry Ferne, William Boswell, Thomas Vincent, John Williams, Herbert Thorndike, Robert Ashley, William Loe, James Duport, Thomas Randolph and John Haviland. An impressive list of names, almost all to be found in the D.N.B.

In the *Manes* Francis Bacon is eulogized in the following words: 'Day-star of the Muses' . . . . 'The leader of Apollo's Choir' . . . . 'Bathed in the sweet attic honey' . . . . 'The tenth Muse and the glory of the Choir' . . . . 'Leader of the choir of the Muses and of

Phoebus'. . . 'Joves brain like Minerva'. . . 'Let Apollo shed tears plentiful as the water which even the Castalian stream contains'. . . 'Pallas too, now arrayed in a new robe, paces forth' . . . . 'He taught the Pegasean arts to grow, as grew the spear of Quirinus.'

Apollo, Phoebus, Pegasus, Castalian stream, Spear of Quirinus, Minerva; Pallas, the shaker of the spear: what does all this mean? When William of Stratford died in 1616 no notice was taken, and not a verse was written. 'Shakespeare' was still alive and many plays were still to come. Seven years later twenty more plays were to be published in the Folio under the auspices of Ben Jonson, then living with Bacon at Gorhambury, translating the Essays into Latin.‡

As a young man Bacon was upbraided by his mother, Lady Anne, for "mumming and masking and sinfully revelling."† He was the accepted Master of Ceremonies at the Gray's Inn revels. He was the author or contriver of the following masques and devices; in 1589 *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, in 1592 *A Conference of Pleasure*, in 1594 *The Masque of the Order of the Helmet*, in 1595 *The Philautia Device* and *The Device of the Indian Prince*, in 1612 *The Marriage of the Rhine and the Thames*, and in 1613 *The Masque of Flowers*. As Lord Chancellor he patronised the production of *The Masque of Mountebanks*, which was produced in his honour by members of his Inn. This impressive list of Bacon's private theatricals is evidence of his taste. It finds its counterpart in the masques and dumb shows in the Shakespeare plays, so often introduced without any kind of dramatic necessity. In his essays *Of Masques and Triumphs*, Bacon reveals his interest in acting, mime, alterations of scenes, coloured and varied lights etc. In *The Advancement of Learning* he commends play-acting as a useful form of personal discipline.*

In his younger days at Gray's Inn Francis Bacon was the moving spirit of the "Order of the Helmet," an invisible Knighthood dedicated to Pallas Athene—the Shaker-of-the-Spear. In the

‡ *Baconiana:* Tenison, 1679, p. 60.
† Lambeth MSS 650. 222.
* *De Augmentis* VII4.

Gesta Grayorum this Order is said to be "safely guarded by the Helmet of the great Goddess Pallas," and one of its Articles is as follows:—

> *Item*, Every Knight of this Order shall endeavour to add Conference and Experience by Reading; and therefore shall not only read and peruse *Guiza*, the *French Academy*, *Galiatto* the Courtier, *Plutarch*, the *Arcadia*, and the Neoterical Writers from time to time; but also frequent the Theatre, and such like places of Experience and resort to the better sort of Ordinaries for Conference**.

So it seems they went to the Theatre for Experience, and to the better sort of "Local" for Conference! Clearly this was the cause of anxiety to the puritan Lady Anne†. In the Gray's Inn Revels of 1593 *A Comedy of Errors* was "played by the players" who are described as "a company of base and common fellows."‡ If Will Shakspere was among them, he is not mentioned at all, either as player or as dramatist. The names "William" and "Wilhelm" are derived from the word "Helmet." The Knights of the Helmet were devotees of Pallas and would have been quick to perceive, in the hyphenated name "William Shake-speare," an excellent cover for an invisible member of their Order.

That Francis Bacon was a restless, tireless imaginative genius is a well-known fact. Aubrey tells us that he was "a good poet but *concealed*." Sir Tobie Matthew writes, "The greatest wit of this side of the ocean is of your Lordship's name *though he be known by another*." In a letter to Sir John Davis, Bacon ends by beseeching him to "be good to *concealed poets*." In his draft will, Bacon bequeaths his name and memory to foreign nations and to his own countrymen "after some time be passed over."

About the year 1620 Ben Jonson became one of Bacon's "good pens." In *Discoveries* (1641) he gives Bacon the highest praise, and describes his writings in these peculiar words . . . .

> He who hath filled up all numbers and performed that in our tongue which may be compared or preferred to *insolent Greece and haughty Rome* . . . . so that he may be named as the mark and acme of our language.

** *Gesta Grayorum* London 1688 (p. 10).
† Lambeth MSS. 650 - 222.
‡ Ibid (p. 23).

Bacon is here compared to Homer and Virgil in the same words that Jonson used about the author of the Shakespeare Folio in 1623 . . . .

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

Was Ben so bankrupt of ideas that he had to use the same words in describing two different men? Or did he have his tongue in his cheek? Remember, he gave Bacon the highest praise he ever gave to anyone . . . .

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

. . . . whereas, notwithstanding the eulogies to the "author" of the First Folio, Will Shakspere is not even mentioned in Jonson's *Scriptorum Catalogus*, in his list of the principal writers of his day.

* * * *

The range of experience and knowledge which went into the Shakespearean result points inevitably to the trained mind. Although the author, like Bacon, approaches his point under a barrage of classical examples to which no one could object, the plays are crammed with a new philosophy and sociology of a very revolutionary kind. The gardeners in *Richard II*, the soldiers in *Henry V*, the citizens and tribunes in *Coriolanus* and the conspirators in *Julius Caesar* are far too outspoken for an age of Tudor despotism. But, the emerging English democracy, if referred in retrospect to the streets of ancient Rome or to the field of Agincourt—remote from the shadow of the Tower—could be more safely debated. There are grounds for believing, with Bismarck, that the author was in touch with great affairs and behind the scenes of political life‡. In 1817 Hazlitt hovered near the truth . . . .

> *Coriolanus* is a storehouse of political commonplaces. Anyone who studies it may save himself the trouble of reading Burke's reflections, or Paine's *Rights of Man*, or the debates in both houses of Parliament since the French Revolution or our own§.

‡ Personal Reminiscences of Prince Bismarck (S. Whitman) pp. 13, 5-6.
§ *Characters of the Shakespeare Plays* (669) William Hazlitt 1817.

But Hazlitt offers no suggestion as to how the Stratford man could have gained this experience. In our submission only a courtier who had spent half a lifetime in the Commons could have thus presented the spectacle of a nobleman involved in the proceedings of a democratic society.

* * * *

The legal profundity in the plays impressed Lord Chief Justice Campbell, who wrote: "While Novelists and Dramatists are constantly making mistakes as to the law of marriage, of wills, and of inheritance—to Shakespeare's law lavishly as he propounds it, there can neither be demurrer, nor bill of exceptions, nor writ of error."‡‡

While leaving this question for lawyers to decide, I submit that it was some vagary of Bacon (who according to Ben Jonson could never refrain from a joke) that inspired Sonnet 46, and that also caused the Duke of Austria to describe a kiss "as seal to this indenture of my love." It must have been sheer absent-mindedness that caused Romeo, in a moment of intense passion, to "seal with a righteous kiss, a dateless bargain to engrossing death"!

Let it not trouble us that the Bard may have been one of England's greatest lawyers. Is there not (as O'Connor pointed out) a vast difference in style between "A lawyer's farewell to his Muse" and the same Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries?* Or between Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection* and the unearthly "Kubla Khan"? Can the prose of Shelley ever rise to the wild loveliness of "The Ode to the West Wind"?

The native English drama, while slowly evolving through Moralities and Miracles, had been rudely interdicted by Tudor despotism. All that remained, where once of old the Soul had been summoned "in long drawn aisle and fretted vault," was the pulpit and a vicious playhouse. "It was," wrote Bacon, "the business of rhetoric to make pictures of virtue and goodness, so that

‡‡ *Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements* p. 108. John Lord Campbell 1859.

TITLE PAGE OF BACON'S ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING
IN THE FIRST CONTINENTAL EDITIONS OF
1645, 1652, 1654, 1662.

"The Dionysian Procession must enter the Temple"
(Delia Bacon)

(For detail see Frontispiece)

they may be SEEN."* Dramatic enlightenment, as used in the ancient mysteries, was as necessary to his philosophy as it was to Hamlet's . . . .

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

Strange that he never once mentions Shake-speare. Incredible that these two could have lived in Elizabethan London at the same time without knowing each other.

The title page of Bacon's *De Augmentis* (see page 60) is significant. The Dutch artist was not simply amusing himself; clearly he had something to impart. He suggests, with consummate skill, that the ancient dramatic method of teaching had been reintroduced by Bacon as a parallel to the direct teachings of religion, history and science. For, while pointing in the light to the open text, he calls us in the shadow to the Athenian Hill, through the medium of a figure in goatskins—the Tragic Muse—a book with the symbol of "the Mirror" and the face of the Sun (or is it a cap and bells ?) on his cloak (see frontispiece). Surely it is the Shaker-of-the-Spear who sits in that chair. In this one careful engraving the artist reveals Bacon's dual literary purpose. Arts and Sciences, like tragedies and comedies, are made of one alphabet.

* * * *

Our controversy, then, turns upon the interpretation of a name or pseudonym. We know that a number of Bacon's friends, including Ben Jonson, regarded him as a concealed poet, and that the external evidence for him is of a kind not available in the case of any other candidate. Stratfordians, in order to bring the plays and their reputed author into strict accord, have found it necessary to make him, by inference, a scholar, a philosopher, a politician, a courtier, a lawyer, a botanist, and an amateur physician. But what "Shake-speare" was by inference Bacon was in fact.

The plea of Francis Bacon for recognition "after some time be passed over" is the plea of Prospero to be set free. The Shake-speare Plays and Sonnets are Philosophy personified—Philosophy in

---

* *De Augmentis* VI (3).

a motley coat. But in taking the medicine of Jacques we have swallowed the bottle too! The strange spectacle of a nation referring the origin of its drama—a drama more learned and more subtle than the Greek—to the unconscious invention of an illiterate player, will be a matter for astonishment and derision in the year 2000.

NOTE.—The above article by Commander G. M. Pares, R.N., President of the Bacon Society, is based on an article contributed by the author to *The Law Society Gazette* of February 1964. It appears here, in a considerably extended version as *The Aylesford Review's* contribution to the celebration of the Shake-speare Quatercentenary.

THE AFFIDAVITS

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE 1963 H. No. 2262
CHANCERY DIVISION
GROUP B
IN THE MATTER of the TRUSTS of the WILL dated 21st NOVEMBER 1957 of EVELYN MAY HOPKINS deceased
BETWEEN:
CHARLES THOMAS MARTIN NAISH and
ANTHONY JOHN FREDERICK LEWIS HOLLEY *Plaintiffs*
and
THE FRANCIS BACON SOCIETY INCORPORATED
PHILLIP GUY OBAN WILLOUGHBY and
HER MAJESTY'S ATTORNEY GENERAL *Defendants*

I MARTIN PARES of 54 Cheyne Court Chelsea in the County of London a Commander in Her Majesty's Royal Navy (Retired) MAKE OATH and SAY as follows:—

1. I am the President of the Francis Bacon Society Incorporated (in this affidavit called " the Society ") and am authorised to make this affidavit on behalf of the Society.

2. The above-named Evelyn May Hopkins (hereinafter called "the Testatrix ") was for many years up to the date of her death a subscribing member of the Society.

3. The Society was incorporated on the 20th August 1903 and both at the date of the Testatrix's above-mentioned Will and at the date of her death its objects included (inter alia) the following:—

" To encourage the general study of the evidence in favour of Francis Bacon's authorship of the plays commonly ascribed to Shakespeare and to investigate his connection with other works of the Elizabethan period."

4. The Society's objects have recently been slightly altered by Special Resolutions of the Society respectively dated the 9th of January 1963 and the 28th May 1963. A copy of the Society's Memorandum of Association in its present form (as amended) is now produced and shown to me marked " M.P.1."

5. Following the passing of the last-mentioned Special Resolutions, the Society has been duly registered by the Charity Commissioners as a Charity pursuant to the Charities Act 1960.

6. I have read a copy of an affidavit sworn in these proceedings on the 2nd July 1963 by Mr. Charles Thomas Martin Naish and respectfully agree with him that the reference in the Will to " the Bacon-Shakespeare Manuscripts " is to be construed as a reference to the original manuscripts of the plays commonly ascribed to William Shakespeare. It is also true, as Mr. Naish suggests, that many subscribers to the Society (such as myself) believe on the evidence at present available that these plays were written by Francis Bacon. I believe it to be true, however, that the primary concern of most members of the Society in this connection is not so much to advance any particular " case " as to the authorship of these plays (as Mr. Naish might be taken as suggesting) as to discover the truth concerning the authorship of our greatest national drama, which after more than 300 years is still surrounded by considerable doubt.
7. Not a single manuscript, personal letter or notebook known to have been written in the hand of the author of the plays commonly attributed to William Shakespeare (which I will call " the plays ") has yet been discovered.

8. There are, I believe, substantial difficulties in accepting the theory that William Shakespeare who was born at Stratford-on-Avon in 1564 was the author of the plays. These difficulties, in my submission, are well summarised in the following extract from an Article entitled " Elizabethan Whodunit: Who was William Shakespeare " by Richard Bentley of the Illinois Bar (Chicago), originally published in the Journal of the American Bar Association and reprinted in *Baconiana* (the official journal of the Society) in February 1961[1]

9. Insofar as Mr. Bentley makes statements of fact in the extract from his Article quoted above, I believe these statements of fact to be true. Professor Dover Wilson in reference to Love's Labours Lost has written in *The Essential Shakespeare* [1942 Edition] at p. 41 as follows:—

---

[1] See pp. 44, from heading WILLIAM SHAKSPER OF STRATFORD, to 50, ending with the words, John Greenleaf Whittier.—*Editor.*

"To credit that amazing piece of virtuosity to a kitchen-boy who left school at 13 or even to one whose education was only what a grammar school and residence in a little provincial borough could provide is to invite one either to believe in miracles or to disbelieve in the man from Stratford."

There is in fact no evidence to show that William Shakespeare even attended the Stratford Grammar School or any other school still less any University. In contrast Spenser, Bacon and Marlowe are known to have been at Cambridge University.

10. The remarkable lack of information as to the respective lives of William Shakspere (the man) and of the inspired author of the plays is, I believe, difficult to explain unless the author of the plays was in truth one of the man "William Shakspere's" great contemporaries, well-versed in the world of letters, who for reasons of his own preferred to write the plays under cover of another's name. In this connection, those who like myself incline to believe that Bacon was the author point to the facts that Bacon's personal notes (which survive) appear to have been used or paralleled to a considerable extent in the plays and also that, while Bacon and "Will Shakespere" living in Elizabethan London at the same time, could hardly have been ignorant of each other, yet Bacon in the considerable volume of his known works, never mentions the author "Shakespeare," or the actor Will Shakspere, not even in his remarks on stage plays. Others, however, believe equally strongly on literary or other grounds that the author of the plays was Christopher Marlowe or Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford. Another strong possibility is that "Will Shakspere" wrote the plays with considerable collaboration from another person or persons.

12. For many reasons, among others those referred to above, a number of literary societies have from time to time been established with a view to discovering the truth concerning the authorship of the plays. Some of these societies have primary objects to which this is secondary (such as the Francis Bacon Society whose primary object is in effect to commemorate Francis Bacon). Some have adopted rival claimants, some (such as the Shakespeare Authorship Society)

simply question or reject the orthodox tradition as to the authorship of the plays.

13. I do not believe that the discovery of the manuscripts of the plays is a project by any means without hope of success. In 1962 for example a "Shakespeare Action Committee" was formed by a number of individuals who hope that, before the 400th anniversary of Will Shakspere's birth in 1964, an effort will have been made to investigate the tomb and monument of "Will Shakespere" in the Parish Church in Stratford-on-Avon, in which it is widely believed manuscripts of at least some of the plays may be found. Many of the persons who have lent their name to this project accept the orthodox tradition that the man "Will Shakspere" was the author of the plays, but all of them are united in the object of discovering the truth. Among the tombs which have been examined in the past are those of Francis Bacon at St. Albans, of Ben Jonson and Edmund Spenser in Westminster Abbey and of Sir Francis Walsingham at Chislehurst, the object of the latter investigation being to find evidence of Christopher Marlowe's collaboration (if any) in the authorship of the plays.

14. In my respectful submission the discovery of manuscripts of any of the plays, whether by the means contemplated by the Shakespearean Action Committee or by any other means, would be of immense public benefit. For it would be likely not only to elucidate textual problems but, particularly if the manuscripts revealed the identity of the author of the plays (whether he be "Will Shakespere," Francis Bacon or any other person or whether the plays were written in collaboration) would be likely to illuminate the entire corpus of Shakespearean critical study. It is furthermore by no means impossible that knowledge valuable for literary purposes would be derived in the course of even an unsuccessful search for the manuscripts.

SWORN etc.

I, KENNETH ARTHUR MUIR of 6 Chetwynd Road Oxton, Birkenhead in the County of Chester make oath and say as follows:—

1. I am and have been since 1951 the King Alfred Professor of English Literature in the University of Liverpool. From 1937 to 1951 I was Lecturer in English Literature in the University of Leeds. I have made a special study of the literature of the 16th and early 17th Centuries and Shakespeare's works in particular. I have edited three of Shakespeare's plays and am the author of three books about Shakespeare. I am a member of the Advisory Board of "Shakespeare Survey" (which is published annually by the Cambridge University Press and sponsored by several British Universities).

I have lectured on Shakespeare in the United States of America, France, Germany, Canada, Poland and Russia.

2. I firmly believe that the plays and poems commonly attributed to William Shakespeare were written by the actor of that name who was born at Stratford-on-Avon in 1564 and died in 1616. I have read many books which attempt to prove that the plays and poems were the work of another or others. In my opinion these books are too unscholarly to be taken seriously.

3. I am not aware of any literary or historical scholar of repute living or dead who maintains or maintained that the works usually attributed to William Shakespeare were written by Francis Bacon. In my view no modern scholar in the literature or history of Shakespeare's time would regard as competent witnesses in this field any of the persons named at the end of paragraph 8 of the affidavit of Commander Martin Pares sworn herein on the 29th day of October 1963. I have read what purports to be a true copy of that affidavit.

4. The extant works of Francis Bacon differ totally in style from those commonly attributed to Shakespeare. Bacon's whole temperament and attitude to life makes it certain in my opinion that he could not have written the "Shakespeare" plays and poems.

5. I see no reason for believing that any useful purpose would be served by opening William Shakespeare's grave. There is no evidence

that any manuscripts were buried there. Even if they had been they would long since have disintegrated in view of the situation of the grave which is close to the River Avon.

6. It is, I suppose very remotely possible that a manuscript of one of Shakespeare's plays may be discovered, but wide search has been made in all probable places for such manuscripts since the 18th Century and none has been found. I am at a loss to imagine where any further useful search could now be made.

7. I have not endeavoured in this affidavit to refer to the numerous points of detail raised in Commander Pares aforesaid affidavit (many of which I would dispute). I have merely dealt with the matter in general terms. There are, however, three matters to which I would like to refer further. First, the quotation from Professor J. Dover Wilson's "The Essential Shakespeare" in paragraph 9 of Commander Pares' affidavit. Professor Dover Wilson is a most eminent and well known Shakespearean scholar and never doubts in any of his works that the Shakespeare plays were written by the actor from Stratford. Secondly, I should observe that at least 12 authentic plays were published in William Shakespeare's lifetime with his name on the title page and nine of them were registered for copyright purposes. Thirdly, it is of course true that comparatively little is known about Shakespeare's life. But very little is known about the lives of Elizabethan poets generally, however eminent, unless they earned fame or notoriety in some other field. Marlowe, for example, was arrested twice and Sir Walter Raleigh was a man of action.

8. I should make it clear that Commander Martin Pares' said affidavit contains no new information or argument of any kind relating to Shakespeare or the authorship of the plays and poems attributed to him.

* * * *

I, JOHN WILLIAM CROW M.A. (Oxon) of 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields Holborn in the County of London make oath and say as follows:—

1. I am and have been since 1961 a Reader in English Language

and Literature in the University of London; I have been a lecturer in English Language and Literature at King's College University of London from 1945 to the present date. I am the author of the revised article on Shakespeare in the latest edition of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica." My special field of study is English 16th and early 17th Century literature in general and Shakespeare's work in particular.

2. There is so far as I am aware no evidence that contemporary manuscripts connecting William Shakespeare with Francis Bacon have ever existed. No suggestion of a linkage between the two men, Shakespeare (1564-1616) and Bacon (1561-1626), is known to have been made before the 19th Century. No writing attributed to Shakespeare actor and dramatist, suggests that he had any detailed knowledge of the higher legal circles of his lifetime, no writing attributed to Bacon politician and Lord Chancellor of England suggests that he had even a remote acquaintance with the popular stage of his time. An examination of the surviving writings of Bacon leads to the conclusion that the cast of his mind differed totally from that of the author of the Shakespeare plays.

3. Dramatic authors of the 16th and early 17th Centuries are known from contemporary documents to have worked in the closest collaboration with the actors during rehearsals. If William Shakespeare, the actor is not to be identified with the author of the writings which were published under his name, an incredible conspiracy of silence among those connected with the theatre of the time must be postulated. If the plays attributed to "Shakespeare" were in fact the writings of a man so much in the public eye as Francis Bacon the chance of such a mystification not being mentioned in the numerous surviving diaries letters and commonplace books of the early 17th Century seems to me to be practically non-existent.

4. So far as I am aware it is the unanimous view of trained scholars in Universities and other institutions of learning (both in the United Kingdom and abroad) who have specialised in the study of the 16th and early 17th Centuries and their literature that there is no reason to doubt that the plays attributed to William Shakespeare were in fact written by the actor of that name who was born at

Stratford-on-Avon in 1564 and who died in 1616. The differing spellings of Shakespeare's name are of no significance. More than 30 different contemporary spellings of the surname of Sir Walter Raleigh are recorded. The unorthodox in this matter, the "anti-Stratfordians," seem always to be those whose knowledge, though sometimes deep, is unsystematic and who have received no training in the methods of literary scholarship. I have over many years in the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and Western Europe met quite a few people who were unconvinced of William Shakespeare's authorship of the "Shakespeare" plays. None of them however has ever been a person whose academic training was in English literature or 16th and 17th Century English history. None of the persons named at the end of paragraph 8 of the affidavit of Commander Martin Pares sworn herein on the 29th October 1963 would in my view be accepted by present-day scholars in these fields as being of any authority on the subject at all.

5. So far as I am aware no modern scholar who is recognised as an authority on Shakespeare, or English drama or English literature of the 16th and 17th Centuries accepts that what the Testatrix referred to in her Will as "the Bacon-Shakespeare manuscripts" (by which I presume the Testatrix meant *either* manuscripts of works commonly attributed to William Shakespeare but in fact written by Francis Bacon or another *or* manuscripts tending to prove that Bacon or another wrote the Shakespeare plays) ever existed.

6. As regards search for Shakespeare manuscripts generally I should make the following observations first, that such manuscripts should have been buried in a grave is to me an extraordinary suggestion; no example of a man's writings being entombed with him is, so far as I am aware, known from any century of English literary history. Secondly, if such manuscripts were so buried in Shakespeare's tomb they would long since have disintegrated because of the situation of the tomb by the banks of the Avon. Thirdly search for Shakespeare manuscripts has been vigorously made since the 18th Century and all probable places for their possible finding have long since been examined.

7. I have read what purports to be a true copy of the said affidavit of Commander Martin Pares. It discloses no information or arguments which have not been long familiar to scholars in this field. There are many statements in the affidavit which are quite unacceptable to me, but I have not dealt with them in detail in this affidavit as I have merely endeavoured to state in as general terms as possible what I believe to be the views generally accepted by scholars in this field.

* * * *

I, HUGH EDWARD TREVOR-ROPER of History Faculty Library Merton Street Oxford in the County of Oxon make oath and say as follows:—

1. I am Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. My special field of study is in the 16th and 17th Centuries. I have studied the problems concerning Shakespear's works.

2. I have read copies of the affidavits sworn in these proceedings respectively by Commander Martin Pares, Professor Kenneth Muir and Mr. John W. Crow.

3. I consider that the available evidence, in so far as it is positive and unambiguous, shows that the poems and plays ascribed to William Shakespeare were in fact written by William Shakspere of Stratford-on-Avon who was born in 1564 and died in 1616. On the other hand I recognise that the balance of evidence is slight; that new material could upset it; and that the present conclusion entails difficulties which cannot be ignored.

4. The positive, unambiguous evidence consists of the explicit statements made in the First Folio of 1623. If those statements stand (and they were never challenged at the time), then all lack of faith is vain and debate is purposeless. The difficulties are (1) that during the whole life-time of William Shakspere of Stratford-on-Avon there is no evidence unambiguously showing that he was, or was thought to be, the author of literary works; (2) that the internal evidence of the literary works concerned indicate an author very different in character from William Shakspere of Stratford, in so far as his

character is known; and (3) that the intensive research of the last century, instead of narrowing, has widened the evidential gulf between William Shakspere the man and the literary works concerned.

5. I am aware that almost all professional scholars accept the authorship of William Shakspere of Stratford, and that many of those who doubt or deny it can be, and have been, labelled as cranks. But it is my general view that a settled scholarly tradition can inhibit the free thought even of the best scholars; that truth and error are not to be measured by personalities; and that heretics are not necessarily wrong. The case against William Shakspere's authorship of the Works can be made entirely from the admissions of reputable scholars who themselves believe in his authorship.

6. For all these reasons, while I reject several of the arguments advanced by Commander Pares in his said affidavit and while I definitely do not believe that the Works of Shakspeare could have been written by Francis Bacon, I consider that the question of the authorship cannot be considered closed.

* * * *

I, RODERICK LEWIS EAGLE of 27 Avenue Road, Falmouth in the County of Cornwall make oath and say as follows:—

1. I am 76 years of age and a Retired Marine Insurance Adjuster. I have been deeply interested in the Shakespearean drama for some fifty years both as actor and producer, and I have been a supporter of the Francis Bacon Society for fifty-two years having been, at one time, Chairman of the Council. Although no longer a member I still write occasional articles for its journal "Baconiana." I am the author of "Shakespeare: New Views for Old" published in 1943 which was sufficiently successful to go quickly into a second impression. A few years ago I reached the final question in the "64,000 dollar Question Contest" organised by I.T.V. on the subject of "Shakespeare." I was present when arrangements were made with the late Dean of Westminster, Dr. Paul Labilliere, for a search to be made for Spenser's Tomb in the Poets' Corner of

Westminster Abbey, and was there on the 3rd November 1938 when the proceedings were terminated suddenly by order of the Dean when it became apparent to him that the digging was in the wrong position.

2. I have read copies of the affidavits sworn in these proceedings respectively by Commander Martin Pares, Professor Kenneth Muir and Mr. John W. Crow.

3. I strongly disagree with the suggestions made by Professor Muir and Mr. Crow that all possible places for the finding of the manuscripts of the plays commonly attributed to William Shakespeare have been examined. Among the more important places for the finding of these manuscripts which have not yet been searched are:—

(1) *The "Shakespeare" vault in the Parish Church at Stratford-on-Avon.*

(2) *The Shakespeare Monument in the Parish Church at Stratford* situated above the Vault. This bears the inscription that he is "plast within this Monument." So far as the body is concerned this was buried some ten feet below the Chancel floor.

(3) *The Tomb of Mrs. Shakespeare in the Parish Church at Stratford-on-Avon.*

(4) *The Spenser grave in Westminster Abbey.*

It was recorded by Camden in his "Annales" that at Spenser's funeral in 1597, the poets of the day cast their elegies into the grave, together with the quills with which they wrote them. As Camden was then Headmaster of Westminster School there is no reason to doubt his account. It was, therefore, not unknown for manuscripts concerning a deceased to be placed in a tomb.

(5) *Bacon's Monument and Vault in St. Michael's Church, St. Albans.*

(6) *The Monument and Vault of Nathaniel Bacon at Stiffkey, Norfolk.*

4. Furthermore there are many chests of documents of the period in country houses of families who are descendants of people who were important in Elizabethan and Jacobean times, and which have never been properly examined. Among those old papers and documents may be private correspondence, which might prove the identity of the author of the Plays and Poems. It was a custom for literary gentlemen to write and send complimentary sonnets written in sugared ink so that the writing would shine. Some of these "sugared sonnets" may be still in existence and could well be revealing.

* * * *

I, EDWARD PYDDOKE of University of London Institute of Archaeology 31-34 Gordon Square in the County of London make oath and say as follows:—

1. I am Secretary and Registrar to the University of London Institute of Archaeology, a post which I have held since 1951. My professional qualifications and experience are as follows: I hold the academic Post Graduate Diploma in Archaeology of the University of London and I am a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

2. I have read what purport to be true copies of affidavits sworn by Commander Martin Pares, Mr. John W. Crow and Professor Kenneth Muir sworn in these proceedings.

3. In suitable environmental conditions, for instance in damp and anerobic deposits of peat, materials both of vegetable and animal origin are known to have survived intact for thousands of years; similar preservation may be achieved by conditions of continuing drought. I am able to depose to the matters just stated from knowledge acquired in the course of my professional experience. I am therefore of the opinion that should manuscripts or relics have been placed in William Shakespeare's tomb or in the Parish Church at Stratford-on-Avon at the time of his interment they will not necessarily have perished.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE
CHANCERY DIVISION

ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE
WEDNESDAY, 8th JULY, 1964

Before:— MR. JUSTICE WILBERFORCE

re HOPKIN'S WILL TRUSTS

NAISH & anr.

v.

THE FRANCIS BACON SOCIETY INCORPORATED & ors.

(Transcript of the Shorthand Notes of Harry Counsell & Co., 12, New Court, Carey Street, London, W.C.2. Telephone: Holborn 2071).

Mr. N. C. H. Browne-Wilkinson (instructed by Messrs. Hewitt, Woollacott & Chown, Agents for Messrs. Arthur Palmer, Holley & Co., Bristol) appeared on behalf of the Plaintiffs.

Mr. Christopher Slade (instructed by Messrs. Thorold, Brodie, Bonham-Carter & Mason) appeared on behalf of the first Defendant.

Mr. Michael Fox (instructed by Messrs. Preston, Lane-Claypon & O'Kelly) appeared on behalf of the second Defendant.

The third Defendant (Her Majesty's Attorney-General) was not represented.

JUDGMENT

Mr. Justice Wilberforce: This Summons is brought to determine the validity of a gift made by the Will of Miss Evelyn May Hopkins, deceased. She died on the 7th April, 1961, having by her Will disposed of one-third of her residue as follows: "As to one equal one-third part thereof for The Francis Bacon Society Incorporated of 50A Old Brompton Road, London, S.W.7, to be earmarked and applied towards finding the Bacon-Shakespeare Manuscripts and in the event of the same having been discovered by the date of my death then for the general purposes of the work and propaganda of the Society." The sum in question is about £6,500.

The Francis Bacon Society Incorporated, as it has been called since 1950, is a society limited by guarantee. It was formed in 1903 and Miss Hopkins was a member of it for many years. Its main objects, as at the date of the Will and the date of the testatrix's death, were these: "(1) To encourage the study of the works of Francis Bacon as philosopher, lawyer, statesman, and poet; also his character, genius, and life; his influence on his own and succeeding times, and the tendencies and results of his writings. (2) To encourage the general study of the evidence in favour of Francis

Bacon's authorship of the plays commonly ascribed to Shakespeare, and to investigate his connection with other works of the Elizabethan period." Some minor amendments were made to these objects in 1963 and with these amended objects the society is registered as a charity under the Charities Act, 1960; so it is conclusively presumed to be a charity.

Miss Hopkins could have given the money to the society during her life and the society under its constitution could have spent it for the purposes stated in the Will. But the validity of her testamentary disposition is questioned. The basis for the challenge is that this is a gift to the society not absolutely but upon a stated trust, so that it is necessary to see whether the trust is valid. It cannot be upheld as a gift upon valid but non-charitable trusts, and the society does not seek so to uphold it. It can only be supported if it is a valid charitable trust. Whether it is so is what the Court has to decide.

The first step is to construe the bequest. What is meant by " finding the Bacon-Shakespeare Manuscripts ? " Mr. Naish, who is one of the Plaintiffs and executors, states in his affidavit what, after enquiries, he believes the bequest to mean; but, except to the extent that he provides evidence of facts or circumstances proper to be considered on a question of construction, the meaning of the words used in the Will is not a matter for him. There have been two main alternatives suggested. For the society it is said that the words mean " towards finding manuscripts of the plays commonly ascribed to Shakespeare but which I, and other members of the society, believe to have been written by Bacon". For the next of kin it is suggested that, if the words are not wholly uncertain in meaning, they refer to any manuscripts (not necessarily confined to manuscripts of the plays) which will support the case of the society that Bacon wrote the " Shakespeare " plays. The distinction between these alternatives is that, according to the society's construction, the gift is one for a piece of research into the authorship of " Shakespeare " plays; according to the next of kin, it is for work directed towards the reinforcement of the Baconian case. If the society's interpretation is the correct one, it may be easier to establish the gift's charitable character.

To assist the choice between the alternatives, there are certain facts which should be considered. Although William Shakespeare died in 1616, the first folio was not published until 1623 and it contained a number of plays not published during his lifetime. This seems to show that manuscripts of some plays, later published under Shakespeare's name, must have been in existence, probably at the place where the first folio was produced, in or shortly before 1623. Then there is the fact, of which there is evidence, that members of the society, to which the testatrix herself belonged, believe that it was Francis Bacon who wrote, that is composed, "the plays" which I take to mean all or some of the plays published under Shakespeare's name. The wording of the society's second object supports this: it is to encourage study of the evidence in favour of Francis Bacon's authorship of "the plays commonly ascribed to Shakespeare".

So we have the plays and we have manuscripts of the plays possibly existing at some time after Shakespeare's death; these plays commonly stated to have been composed by Shakespeare, believed by the testatrix to have been composed by Bacon. With this I return to the gift, to the Francis Bacon Society as trustee, of a share of residue, to be used towards "finding the Bacon-Shakespeare Manuscripts".

The definite article here is evidently significant. What does it signify? In the context of the society's objectives, it must surely indicate that the search is to be for some real object believed to exist. Mr. Fox described it as a wild goose chase; but wild geese can, with good fortune, be apprehended. This search is to be for real manuscripts, once in existence, of existing plays, believed to be capable of being found. The latter part of the bequest fits in with this interpretation. It deals with the possibility that the manuscripts may have been discovered by the date of the testatrix's death—again suggesting that the search is one for definite objects which can be found. So that it seems to me that the trusts on which this gift is to be held are to use the money to search for the manuscripts of the plays commonly ascribed to Shakespeare believed by the testatrix and the society to have been written by Bacon, and it is these trusts

which, if they are to be valid, must be shown to be charitable in the legal sense.

Before I come to the legal question whether this is so, it is convenient to deal with an argument put forward on behalf of the next of kin that the bequest is made for a purpose so manifestly futile that it does not even qualify for consideration as a possible charitable gift. This argument is relevant and is similar in substance whichever of the two interpretations of the bequest is correct. Its validity depends upon the evidence which has been filed, which I will now examine. Let me say at once that no determination of the authorship of the " Shakespeare " plays, or even of any subsidiary question relating to it, falls to be made in the present proceedings. The Court is only concerned, at this point, with the practicability and later with the legality of carrying Miss Hopkins' wishes into effect, and it must decide this, one way or the other, upon the evidence of the experts which is before it.

The authorship of " Shakespeare's " plays, as one would expect, has been the subject of extensive enquiry over many years. The evidence before the Court is of an economical character; it does not enter in any detail into the facts for or against the authorship of the various pretenders (I use this expression though the pretensions are those of their supporters and might well have been repudiated by the candidates themselves); it merely states, in some cases dogmatically, the outline of the contentions which have been made. The Court cannot go outside this evidence. I summarise it as follows: 1. The orthodox opinion, which at the present time is unanimous, or nearly so, among scholars and experts in 16th and 17th Century literature and history, is that the plays were written by William Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon, actor. 2. The evidence in favour of Shakespeare's authorship is quantitatively slight. It rests positively, in the main, upon the explicit statements in the First Folio of 1623 and upon continuous tradition; negatively upon the lack of any challenge to this ascription at the time. The form in which scholars express the result of this evidence is not that it proves Shakespeare's authorship but that there is no reason to doubt it. 3. There are a number of difficulties in the way of the traditional ascription. There is no

existing manuscript of any of the plays or poetry. There is no mention of any manuscript or of anything to do with the plays in Shakespeare's will. Some find difficulty in understanding how a man with the antecedents and known character of William Shakespeare of Stratford could have developed the literary qualities required to compose the plays. There are a number of known facts which are difficult to reconcile with William Shakespeare's authorship; some of these are referred to in Commander Pares' affidavit. Moreover, as Professor Trevor-Roper of Oxford points out, so far from these difficulties tending to diminish with time, the intensive research of the 19th Century has widened the evidentiary gulf between William Shakespeare the man and the author of the plays. 4. A number of alternative authors have been suggested by evident cranks, or supported by intelligent amateurs, but none of these has been accepted by scholars, little solid fact has been found to support any of them, and serious objections must be overcome before any of them can be considered as possible candidates. 5. As regards Bacon's own claims, the evidentiary material before the Court is somewhat unsatisfactory. Commander Pares, the President of the society, says that he and many subscribers believe on the evidence at present available that the plays were written by Francis Bacon, but, with one exception, he does not specify of what that evidence consists. That exception is Bacon's personal notes, by which I take the Commander to be referring to the Promus of Formularies in Bacon's handwriting which appear to have been used or paralleled to a considerable extent in the plays. The Commander also regards it as significant that whereas Bacon and Shakespeare were almost exact contemporaries and living together in London, no reference is made by Bacon to Shakespeare either as author or as actor even in his remarks on stage plays—in fact, an *argumentum a silentio*. I was told by Counsel for the society that the society had not in fact thought it necessary or right to set out in their affidavit the full evidence at their disposal. Its solidity is therefore difficult to appraise.

On the other side, the two experts, Professor Muir and Mr. Crow, without traversing Commander Pares' evidence in detail, consider it "certain" that Bacon could not have written the

" Shakespeare " plays and poems. They base this on consideration of the literary style, temperament, cast of mind and attitude to life of Francis Bacon. Professor Trevor-Roper, in a judicious affidavit, takes a more cautious line. While keeping his own position firmly in the ranks of the orthodox and stating that he definitely does not believe that the works of Shakespeare could have been written by Francis Bacon, he also considers that the case for William Shakespeare rests on a narrow balance of evidence and that new material could upset it; that, though almost all professional scholars accept Shakespeare's authorship, a settled scholarly tradition can inhibit free thought, that heretics are not necessarily wrong. His conclusion is that the question of the authorship cannot be considered as closed. I read this to mean at least that new material might show some person other than Shakespeare to have written the plays and poems, and it may mean that it is conceivable, though unlikely, that Francis Bacon may turn out to be the author.

What, then, of the practical possibility of discovering any manuscripts, Shakespearian, Baconian, or of other authorship? The experts who have given evidence on the side of the next of kin are not encouraging, but are also not very specific. Professor Muir says that it is very remotely possible that a manuscript of one of Shakespeare's plays may be discovered, but that wide search has been made in all probable places and he is at a loss to imagine where any useful search could now be made. Mr. Crow also says that search has been vigorously made since the 18th Century and all other " probable places for their possible finding " have long since been examined. Both experts direct specific attention to the prospects of finding a manuscript in Shakespeare's or some other person's grave, but summarily dismiss this both on the ground that it is extraordinary to suggest that any manuscript should ever have been placed in a grave and because if it had it would long ago have disintegrated — Shakespeare's grave in particular being close to the banks of the River Avon. The latter point is challenged, with some authority and with the use of some scientific terminology, by Mr. Edward Pyddoke, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and the more general issue, as to the utility of a further search for manuscripts, is taken up by Mr.

Roderick Eagle, by profession a marine insurance adjuster, but evidently an enthusiastic amateur of Shakespearian questions of Baconian inclination, who witnessed an abortive attempt to excavate Spenser's Tomb in 1938. He strongly disagrees with the views of the experts that all likely places have been searched and gives a list of six unexplored monuments where manuscripts of the plays might be found. He adds that there are many chests of documents in country houses which have never been properly examined, though as to these he limits his hopes to the discovery of private correspondence which might prove the identity of the author of the plays and poems. Commander Pares refers to the establishment in 1962 of a Shakespeare Action Committee which hoped before the quatercentenary to investigate Shakespeare's tomb and monument at Stratford-on-Avon. On this evidence, should the conclusion be reached that the search for the Bacon-Shakespeare Manuscripts is so manifestly futile that the Court should not allow this bequest to be spent upon it as upon an object devoid of the possibility of any result? I think not. The evidence shows that the discovery of any manuscript of the plays is unlikely; but so are many discoveries before they are made. (One may think of the Codex Sinaiticus, or the Tomb of Tutankhamen, or the Dead Sea Scrolls); but I do not think that that degree of improbability has been reached which justifies the Court in placing an initial interdict on the testratrix's benefaction.

I come, then, to the only question of law: Is the gift of a charitable character ? The society has put its case in the alternative under the two headings of education and of general benefit to the community and has argued separately for each. This compartmentalisation is derived from the accepted classification into four groups of the miscellany found in the Statute of Elizabeth (43 Elizabeth, chapter 4). That statute, preserved as to the preamble only by the Mortmain and Charitable Uses Act, 1888, lost even that precarious hold on the Statute Book when the 1888 Act was repealed by the Charities Act, 1960, but the somewhat ossificatory classification to which it gave rise survives in the decided cases. It is unsatisfactory because the frontiers of " educational purposes " (as of the other divisions) have been extended and are not easy to trace with pre-

cision, because, under the fourth head, it has been held necessary for the Court to find a benefit to the public within the spirit and intendment of the obsolete Elizabethan statute. The difficulty of achieving that, while at the same time keeping the law's view of what is charitable reasonably in line with modern requirements, explains what Lord Simonds accepts as the case to case approach of the Courts: (see *National Anti-Vivisection Society v. Inland Revenue Commissioners,* 1948 Appeal Cases, page 65). There are in fact examples of accepted charities which do not decisively fit into one rather than the other category. Examples are institutes for scientific research (see the *National Anti-Vivisection* case, 1948 Appeal Cases, page 42, per Lord Wright), museums (see *re Pinion,* 1963 3 Weekly Law Reports, page 783), the preservation of ancient cottages *(re Cranstoun,* 1932 1 Chancery, 537) and even the promotion of Shakespearean drama (1923 2 Chancery, page 398). The present may be such a case.

Accepting, as I have the authority of Lord Simonds for doing, that the Court must decide each case as best it can, on the evidence available to it, as to benefit, and within the moving spirit of decided cases, it would seem to me that a bequest for the purpose of search, or research, for the original manuscripts of England's greatest dramatist (whoever he was) would be well within the law's conception of charitable purposes. The discovery of such manuscripts, or of one such manuscript, would be of the highest value to history and to literature. It is objected, against this, that as we already have the text of the plays, from an almost contemporary date, the discovery of a manuscript would add nothing worth while. This I utterly decline to accept. Without any undue exercise of the imagination, it would surely be a reasonable expectation that the revelation of a manuscript would contribute, probably decisively, to a solution of the authorship problem, and this alone is benefit enough. It might also lead to improvements in the text. It might lead to more accurate dating.

Is there any authority, then, which should lead me to hold that a bequest to achieve this objective is not charitable? By Mr. Fox, for the next of kin, much reliance was placed on the

decision on Bernard Shaw's Will, the British alphabet case, reported in 1957 1 Weekly Law Reports, page 729. Mr. Justice Harman held that the gift was not educational because it merely tended to the increase of knowledge and that it was not within the fourth charitable category because it was not itself for a beneficial purpose but for the purpose of persuading the public by propaganda that it was beneficial. The gift was very different from the gift here. But the learned Judge did say this: " If the object be merely the increase of knowledge, that is not in itself a charitable object unless it be combined with teaching or education "; and he referred to the House of Lords decision in *Whicker v. Hume*, where, in relation to a gift for advancement of education and learning, two of the learned Lords read " learning " as equivalent to " teaching ", thereby in his view implying that learning, in its ordinary meaning, is not a charitable purpose.

This decision certainly seems to place some limits upon the extent to which a gift for research may be regarded as charitable. Those limits are that either it must be " combined with teaching or education ", if it is to fall under the third head, or it must be beneficial to the community in a way regarded by the law as charitable, if it is to fall within the fourth category. The words " combined with teaching or education", though well explaining what the learned Judge had in mind when he rejected the gift in *Shaw's* case, are not easy to interpret in relation to other facts. I should be unwilling to treat them as meaning that the promotion of academic research is not a charitable purpose unless the researcher was engaged in teaching or education in the conventional meaning; and I am encouraged in this view by some words of Lord Greene, the Master of the Rolls in *re Compton*, 1945 Chancery, 123, at page 127. The testatrix there had forbidden the income of the bequest to be used for research, and Lord Greene treated this as a negative definition of the education to be provided. It would, he said, exclude a grant to enable a beneficiary to conduct research on some point of history or science. This shows that Lord Greene considered that historic research might fall within the description of " education ". I think, therefore, that the word " education " as used by Mr. Justice Harman in *re Shaw* must be used in a wide sense, certainly extending

beyond teaching, and that the requirement is that, in order to be charitable, research must either be of educational value to the researcher or must be so directed as to lead to something which will pass into the store of educational material, or so as to improve the sum of communicable knowledge in an area which education may cover—education in this last context extending to the formation of literary taste and appreciation: (compare *Royal Choral Society v. Inland Revenue Commissioners*, 1943 2 All England Reports, page 101). Whether or not the test is wider than this, it is, as I have stated it, amply wide enough to include the purposes of the gift in this case.

As regards the fourth category, Mr. Justice Harman is evidently leaving it open to the Court to hold, on the facts, that research of a particular kind may be beneficial to the community in a way the law regards as charitable, " beneficial " here not being limited to the production of material benefit (as through medical or scientific research) but including at least benefit in the intellectual or artistic fields.

So I find nothing in this authority to prevent me from finding that the gift falls under either the third or fourth head of charitable.

On the other side there is *re British School of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1954 1 Weekly Law Reports, page 546, also a decision of Mr. Justice Harman, a case much closer to the present. The trusts there were to excavate, to discover antiquities, to hold exhibitions, to publish works and to promote the training and assistance of students —and all in relation to Egypt. Mr. Justice Harman held that the purposes were charitable, as being educational. The society was one for the diffusion of a certain branch of knowledge, namely, knowledge of the ancient part of Egypt; and it also had a direct educational purpose, namely, to train students. The conclusion reached that there was an educational charity was greatly helped by the reference to students, but it seems that Mr. Justice Harman must have accepted that the other objects—those of archaeological research—were charitable too. They were quite independent objects on which the whole of the society's funds could have been spent, and the language " it also had a direct educational purpose, namely, to

train students" seems to show that the learned Judge was independently upholding each set of objects.

Mr. Fox correctly pointed out that in that case there was a direct obligation to diffuse the results of the society's research and said that it was this that justified the finding that the archaeological purposes were charitable. I accept that research of a private character, for the benefit only of the members of a society, would not normally be educational—or otherwise charitable—as did Mr. Justice Harman (see the report at page 551), but I do not think that the research in the present case can be said to be of a private character, for it is inherently inevitable, and manifestly intended, that the result of any discovery should be published to the world. I think, therefore, that the *British School of Egyptian Archaeology* case supports the society's contentions.

A number of other authorities were referred to as illustrating the wide variety of objects which have been accepted as educational or as falling under the fourth category; but, since none of them is close to the present, I shall not refer to them. They are well enough listed in the standard authorities.

One final reference is appropriate, to *In re Shakespeare Memorial Trust*, 1923 2 Chancery, 398. The scheme there was for a number of objects which included the performance of Shakespearean and other classical English plays and stimulating the art of acting. I refer to it for two purposes, first as an example of a case where the Court upheld the gift either as educational or as for purposes beneficial to the community—an approach which commends itself to me here—and secondly as illustrative of the educational and public benefit accepted by the Court as flowing from a scheme designed to spread the influence of Shakespeare as the author of the plays. This gift is not that, but it lies in the same field, for the improving of our literary heritage, and my judgment is for upholding it.

Mr. Parker: My Lord, I hold the Brief for my friend Mr. Browne-Wilkinson to-day.

Mr. Justice Wilberforce: There are a number of questions in the Summons which have been asked. I suppose I had better give answers formally to them, had I not?

Mr. Parker: Yes, my Lord.

Mr. Justice Wilberforce: The answer to 1 (a) is "No." The answer to 1 (b) is "Yes." I had better make a declaration in the sense of 1 (b), then answer Question 2 in the sense of (a), and I had better make a Representation Order, I should think, the Defendant Willoughby to represent the next of kin.

Mr. Parker: My Lord, on the question of costs, I am asked by the two charities who are interested in the remaining two-thirds of residue to submit to your Lordship that the costs of these proceedings should come wholly out of the one-third share with which your Lordship has been concerned, and not out of the residue as a whole.

Mr. Justice Wilberforce: I do not know about that.

Mr. Parker: There is no direct authority on the point. There is a case in which the question arose as between a legacy on the one hand, with which the Court was concerned, and residue on the other. Perhaps your Lordship might like to look at it.

Mr. Justice Wilberforce: I had better look at that.

Mr. Parker: That is 1916 1 Chancery.

Mr. Justice Wilberforce: The general rule is that the costs of resolving ambiguities and difficulties in the Will fall on the estate as a whole.

Mr. Parker: That certainly is the general rule.

Mr. Justice Wilberforce: I will look at the authority, certainly.

Mr. Parker: It is 1916 1 Chancery, page 272, *In re Hall-Dare.* The head-note reads: "Testatrix by her will bequeathed to H. a legacy of £8,000 'and in the event of his death unmarried, to his mother B,' and gave the residue of her estate to D. The Will contained no directions as to the incidence of testamentary expenses and the legacy had not been separated from the general estate.

Questions having arisen as to the interests taken by H. and B. respectively in the legacy, the executor took out an originating summons for their determination and expressly asked that the costs of the application might be paid out of the legacy: Held, on the construction of the gift, that the legacy vested absolutely in H. on the death of the testatrix, but subject to a gift over to B. in the event of his dying a bachelor, and, by consent, the legacy, less legacy duty, was ordered to be paid to the two legatees as trustees for themselves according to their respective interests in it. Held, also, that the necessity for the summons was entirely attributable to the ambiguity of the language used by the testatrix herself, and that the costs of the summons were accordingly costs of administration and therefore payable as between solicitor and client out of the residue."

This is the general principle. I will refer your Lordship to the Judgment, page 276, the last paragraph on that page: " The testatrix died in May of last year, and the necessity for the summons is entirely attributable to the ambiguity of the language used by the testatrix herself. The application is a perfectly proper one. It was made by the executor, and made by him without previous consultation with the defendants, and its purpose was, first, to obtain directions from the Court which would enable the executor to fix the amount of the duty payable on the legacy, and, secondly, to ascertain whether there was now any person to whom he could properly pay the legacy, and if not, how he was to deal with the fund until there was. The legacy has not in any sense been separated from the rest of the testatrix's estate, and the will contains no directions as to the incidence of testamentary expenses. Now in that state of things the costs of the summons are in my opinion clearly costs of administration or testamentary expenses, and prima facie they ought to be borne by the residue, because, as has been said, until these have been paid the net residue cannot be ascertained." I do not think I need take your Lordship any further. That is a statement of the general rule.

Mr. Justice Wilberforce: That is what I thought.

Mr. Parker: I am merely seeking to distinguish this only on the ground that in that case the question arose as between a legacy on the one hand and residue on the other, and there is no authority directly on the point where the question arises as between one share of the residue and the remainder of the residue.

Mr. Justice Wilberforce: I cannot see any basis for distinguishing the case. Have you got anything to say on this, Mr. Slade?

Mr. Slade: This is a case, in my submission, which establishes the general principle that where a testatrix has used ambiguous language and that ambiguous language necessitates an application to this Court for construction, the costs of that application are testamentary expenses. In this case the testatrix has expressly directed how her testamentary expenses are to be dealt with.

If your Lordship would be good enough to look at Clause 4 (2) of her Will, your Lordship will see that she has directed that out of the proceeds of sale of her estate the trustees should pay her debts, funeral and testamentary expenses and all duties payable in respect of her estate. Then it is the residue remaining after that which is given as to one-third to the Francis Bacon Society Incorporated and as to the other two-thirds to the other charities mentioned.

In those circumstances, the costs of this Summons, in my submission, fall to be paid out of the general estate before residue is ascertained.

Mr. Parker: There is only, I think, one further point on costs and that is that I think the Order for costs should include the costs of the Attorney-General, who was a party at the beginning of these proceedings.

Mr. Justice Wilberforce: Up to the point when he ceased to take any interest in the proceedings, yes. I think this is a case for the general rule to be applied. So I will order the costs of all parties, on the usual basis, including those of the Attorney-General, to be raised and paid out of the residue in due course of administration.

Mr. Parker: If your Lordship pleases.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Eternal Calendar. By Minnie B. Theobald.

(Edited by Beryl Pogson)

This is a companion to the two previous publications *Three Levels of Consciousness* and *The Canopy of Heaven*, published by Miss Theobald, a lifelong member of the Francis Bacon Society. Although the subject-matter of this book is not strictly within the scope of the Francis Bacon Society's Objects we feel that some of our members would like to have it brought to their attention. Miss Theobald was a member of a family which had supported the Francis Bacon Society since its foundation in 1885. Dr. R. M. Theobald, M.A., was formerly our President, and a valued contributor to *Baconiana*. Mr. B. G. Theobald, B.A., was at one time Secretary, and later Chairman of the Council; he was a prominent writer on Baconian subjects.

In this book Miss Minnie Theobald deals with the mystical interpretations of many of the Christian festivals and their astrological signs. These range from such lofty themes as the Transfiguration and Corpus Christi and the inner significance of Whitsuntide, to subjects such as Christmas cake, mince pies, and the Round Table.

This stimulating book can be obtained from the publishers, John Wadsworth, Ltd., Rydal Press, Keighley, Yorkshire.

N.F.

Francis Bacon and the Modern Dilemma By Loren Eiseley.
University of Nebraska Press.

This book really consists of three essays: *The Man Who Saw Through Time*, *Bacon as Scientist and Educator*, and *Bacon and the Modern Dilemma*.

The author is not concerned with our controversy, and is a well-known American anthropologist and writer on science who treats Bacon's philosophical aspirations with great sympathy and understanding. In particular Dr. Eiseley is impelled to point out the clear warnings given by the great philosopher that knowledge without charity can bite with the deadliness of a serpent's venom. Only in this context can Bacon's great effort " to overcome not an adversary in argument, but nature in action," be understood.

Mankind's ethics are diluted by superstition, our lives by self-created anxieties. As Bacon observes, " Our persons live in the view of heaven, yet our spirits are included in the caves of our own complexions and customs which minister unto us infinite errors and vain opinions if they be not recalled to examination." Izaak Walton's description of Bacon as " the great Secretary of all Nature" is indeed apt.

Dr. Eiseley has much of importance to say and on page 46 quotes the following from the *Sylva Sylvarum,* which follows observations on plant mutations:

The transmutation of species is, in the vulgar philosophy, pronounced impossible, and certainly it is a thing of difficulty, and requireth deep search into nature; but seeing there appear some manifest instances of it, the opinion of impossibility is to be rejected, and the means thereof to be found out.

This astounding observation on the theory of evolution was reflected centuries later in Darwin's statement: " I worked upon the true principles of Baconian induction."

A few copies of this highly interesting book are on sale at 23/6 each; and the buyer can ponder such Baconian jewels as this: " Whatever vast and unusual swells may be raised in nature, as in the sea, the clouds, the earth or the like, yet nature catches, entangles and holds all such outrages and insurrections in her inextricable net, woven as it were of adamant."

N.F.

An extract from *Past and Future*

ONE SIDE OF THE COIN

There are indeed two sides to every penny. But newspapers occasionally give the impression that in some controversies there is only one line of argument. The Editor of the "Times Literary Supplement", for example, has recently published a long letter (printed below) giving eight reasons for accepting the traditional view in the Shakespeare authorship controversy. An official reply from the Francis Bacon Society was first promised, but, when received, refused publication. Every editor has the right to reject a letter, but it is hard to see any reason other than bigotry for preventing this reply from reaching the public. There are few literary magazines in the world with the reputation of the "Times Literary Supplement"; it is therefore all the more unsatisfactor when its Editor shows such narrow bias and prejudice.

Sir,—Shakespearean scholars do not seem to feel called upon to prove that the Plays are by Shakespeare of Stratford, any more than literary historians set out to show that Christopher Marlowe wrote Marlowe's plays or John Donne the poems of Donne. They cast a tired glance at the monstrous erection of improbabilities and impossibilities raised by those who think he did not write them, and leave it at that. But now that it has been laid down in a High Court judgment (the Bacon-Shakespeare Manuscripts case, *The Times* Law Report of July 9, 1964) that the evidence that Shakespeare the actor wrote the plays is "quantitatively slight" leaving scope apparently for research into the possibility that he did not, it seems as well for the common reader to look at this slight evidence and see what it amounts to.

What are the known facts which are reconcilable only with, or at least point very strongly to, the authorship of Shakespeare the actor, born and buried at Stratford-upon-Avon? I list eight such facts below. (Shakespeare's modern biographies, in whose works they are all recorded, could no doubt improve on my selection).

1. The first known reference to Shakespeare in print (an abusive one calling him "Shake-scene" but identifying him unmistakably) is in Robert Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*, 1592; here Shakespeare is shown to be exciting envy and rancour as actor, playwright and upstart.

2. His first publication (in 1593) was the poem *Venus and Adonis*, of which the publisher and printer was Richard Field, a Stratford-upon-Avon man of about Shakespeare's own age who must have known him well and must have accepted his authorship. The dedication of the poem to the Earl of Southampton is signed in full "William Shakespeare," and is in terms suggestive of a man commencing author (playwriting did not at that time count as literary work).

3. In 1598 the author of *Palladis Tamia*, Francis Meres, in a laudatory account of Shakespeare, included among his works the poems *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* along with nearly all the plays produced but not published as his up to that time. Presumably Meres was relying on common knowledge (and possibly playbills) in attributing the plays to the author of *Venus and Adonis*, who was now, owing to the success of his poems, a prominent literary figure.

4. In the same year 1598 appeared the first of the plays *(Love's Labour's Lost)* to be published with Shakespeare's name as the author. In subsequent years 16 quartos (not all authorized) were issued with his name by various publishers. No William Shakespeare other than the Stratford actor-playwright has been heard of in the literary world, and there is no contemporary suggestion that the name was a pseudonym.

5. Heminge and Condell, who collected and published the plays in the First Folio seven years after Shakespeare's death, including a number which had not previously been published, were (a) his personal friends; (b) fellows and sharers with him in the Chamberlain's Company which had produced the plays over a period of twenty years; (c) in that capacity part-owners of the manuscripts (original of copies) of the unpublished plays. They must, in

the course of production and frequent revival of the plays, have gone over the manuscripts many times with their fellow Shakespeare and discussed any cuts or additions as producers do with an author. He heads the list they give in the First Folio of the principal actors appearing in the plays, besides, of course, being named as the author, so that his double relation to them is recorded by the persons in the best position to know.

6. Ben Jonson, whom there is no reason to distrust, pays an enthusiastic tribute in the First Folio to the Stratford Shakespeare as the author of the plays. His references to Shakespeare elsewhere (e.g., in *Timber*), link the personality of the man, for whom Jonson declares a strong affection, with the character of the plays as he saw them.

7. The special production at the "Globe" of *Richard II* on the eve of the Essex rebellion was regarded by the authorities as a suspicious circumstance; the subsequent investigation, however, uncovered nothing about the authorship in conflict with current beliefs.

8. Shakespeare the actor retired to Stratford with a great literary reputation, to which the inscription on his monument bears witness. Local tradition endorsed Ben Jonson's account of him as a great natural wit, and recorded his practice in his later years of supplying plays from Stratford to the London stage.

In short, the evidence for Shakespeare's authorship seems to be much the same in quality, however deficient it may be in quantity, as the evidence for most authors' part in the works attributed to them namely, their names on the title pages of the books and the testimony of their friends, acquaintances and working associates. Perhaps the common reader can rest secure in his allegiance so long as no new discovery (as distinct from theory) turns up to disturb it.

Cranbrook, Kent. MYRA CURTIS

Sir,—The High Court judgment in favour of the Francis Bacon Society, in which the evidence that the actor Shakespere wrote the

plays was found to be "quantitatively slight," is courteously but firmly criticised by Myra Curtis (*T.L.S.* p. 886). Slight we must believe it is: no manuscripts, not a letter to anyone, nothing to compare with Bacon's gag-book of phrases which also occur in the plays; nor with the Northumberland MSS., once Bacon's property, in which *Richard II* and *Richard III* appear in the list of contents. So may I, with respect, reply for the heretics, taking the eight facts mentioned in order . . . .

1. The reference to "Shake-Scene" by Robert Greene in 1592 certainly identifies the *actor*. But Greene also calls him "an up-start crow beautified with our feathers," i.e. parading other men's flowers. The *author* eludes us.

2. Richard Field, if Stratford born, was known as a London publisher to Francis Bacon. If it is maintained that the printing of *Venus and Adonis* was done as a favour to a friend, it should also be remembered that the poem had to be licensed by Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, Bacon's old tutor at Cambridge!

3. In 1598 Francis Meres coupled the name—or pseudonym—"Shakespeare" with *Venus and Adonis, Lucrece,* and thirteen plays; but this is no proof that he was referring to the Stratford man. The name had previously been subscribed to the dedication of the two poems, though not on the title pages.

4. In 1598 the name "Shakespeare" first appeared on a title-page. *Love's Labour's Lost* was title-paged to "W. Shakespere" and *Richard II* and *Richard III* to "William Shake-speare." This tell-tale hyphen, like waving a flag, appears on the title-page and every leaf of *Shake-speare's Sonnets,* 1609. In the Stationers' register the entry is "a booke called *Shake-speare's Sonnets,*" strongly suggesting a pseudonym.

5. Henslowe's Diary (1591 to 1609) mentions Ben Jonson, Dekker, Chettle, Marston, Drayton, Middleton, Webster and others but *not* Shakspere. Alleyne is equally silent about him. The prefaces to the First Folio are believed by many to have been penned by Ben Jonson and not by Heminge and Condell. One contains a

passage lifted whole from Pliny. In 1635 in a petition addressed by the Burbages to the Lord Chamberlain Heminge, Condell and Shakspere were classed as " men-players " . . .

> " and to ourselves we joined those deserving men, Shakspere, Heminge, Condell and Phillips—partners in the profits of that they call the House . . . . "
>
> " and so purchased the lease from Evans with our money, and placed men players, which were Heminge, Condell, Shakspere, etc."

This is one of the few contemporary references to Shakspere as an individual, and not a word about him as an author! The Lord Chamberlain, Pembroke, was one of the " Incomparable Paire of Brethren " to whom the First Folio was dedicated. If Shakspere had really been its author, surely the petitioner would have referred to him differently.

6. Ben Jonson, who knew the truth, seems to have had his tongue in his cheek! His references to the actor are puzzling—" poor poet ape that would be thought our chief! " About 1620 Jonson became one of Bacon's " good pens." In *Discoveries* (1641) he gives Bacon the highest praise . . . .

> He who hath filled up all numbers and performed that in our tongue which may be compared or preferred to *insolent Greece and haughty Rome* . . . .

Bacon is here compared to Homer and Virgil in the exact words that Jonson used about the author of the Shakespeare Folio in 1623 . . . .

> Leave these alone for the comparison
> Of all that *insolent Greece and haughty Rome*
> Sent forth . . . .

7. The play *Richard II* was used to incite the populace in the Essex Rebellion. Bacon, who at the Essex Trial was compelled " nolens volens " to deal with this play, begged to be excused, saying " it would be said that I gave in evidence mine own tales " ! And

in the whole account "Shakespeare" is not mentioned once, not even when his patron, Southampton, was on trial for his life!

8. When the actor returned to Stratford, he had no literary reputation. The documented record is disappointing. We try to come close to one of the greatest minds of our civilization, and we find that mind—in the prime of life—occupied only in money-lending, malt-cornering and enclosing common lands. Not one generous or kindly action is reported. When he died in 1616 no notice was taken, not a verse was written. Nineteen plays still remained to be printed seven years later. *Othello*, first printed in 1622, reappeared next year in the Folio, with 160 new lines. The famous choruses in *Henry V* appeared first in 1623, when the quarto play was completely re-written. In the absence of any Shakespearean MSS., it is our contention that the real author was alive in 1623.

To a heretic whose goal is the truth these difficulties must remain; but we respect the loyalty with which our opponents uphold the Stratfordian tradition as an article of faith.

Canonbury Tower,
London, N.1.

MARTIN PARES,
President, Francis Bacon Society

CORRESPONDENCE

To The Editor,
Baconiana.

Dear Sir,

THE PESTILENTIAL SOUTHERLY WIND

In *Historia Ventorum* (1622), Bacon wrote:

> "In the south wind the breath of man is more offensive, the appetite of animals is more depressed, pestilential diseases are more frequent, catarrhs abound, and men are more dull and heavy" *(translation).*

It would seem that Bacon refers to the south-westerly wind, as a south wind is a rare occurrence bringing fine weather with no more than a gentle breeze

Shakespeare, in *Coriolanus* (1, 4) also associates the south wind with pestilence:

> All the contagion of the south wind light on you,
> You shames of Rome! You herd of—Boils and plagues
> Plaster you o'er; that you may be abhorr'd
> Further than seen, and one infect another
> Against the wind a mile!

It is Caliban who sets the pestilential wind in the exact quarter:

> A south-west blow on ye
> And blister you all o'er!

Yours truly,
R. L. EAGLE.

To The Editor,
Baconiana.

Dear Sir,

I have been studying the 1640 *Advancement of Learning* claimed to be " interpreted " by Gilbert Wats. I say " claimed " because there are several points which do not appear to be consistent with this statement on the title-page.

The first of these is that there are many Latin phrases scattered throughout the English text. This does not seem to me to be consistent with the notion that the whole book has been "interpreted" from Latin—why not translate these odd sentences with the rest of the book ? There is a specific instance which points the absurdity of this. In Book 1, Chapter 1, page 5, the writer is speaking of the idea of knowledge making a man swell, and immediately following this, he interpolates the Latin " Scientia inflat " and gives a marginal reference 1 Corinthians, 8. On page 7, pursuing the same train of thought, and with the very same marginal reference, he states, " The Apostle immediately addes in the former clause, saying Knowledge blowes up, ... " This sounds much more like an author writing in *English* and larding his text with Latin quotations, as Bacon always did, even in his letters, than a translator with a page of Latin before him which he is rendering into English.

There is also a most odd sentence in the prefatory " To the reader." It is this,

" For if a writer deliver himselfe out of his Native language, I see not why a Translator rendring him in it, may not come neare him: and in this case, *the Author himselfe is the Interpreter,* being he translates his own thoughts, which originally speak his mother tongue."

This sentence, I find completely bewildering, but the underlined part seems oddly significant.

Archbishop Tennison tells us in *Baconiana*, 1679, of the trouble Bacon took in finding people to translate his work *into* Latin for him from his original English; does it not seem peculiar that it was later necessary to have it *retranslated* from Latin into English?

It would appear to be far more reasonable to think that the 1640 edition was printed from the original English manuscript, than that it is a translation by another.

Yours faithfully,
JOAN HAM

Faraday,
Greyfriars,
Storrington, Sussex.

PLEASE BUY YOUR SOCIETY'S OWN BOOK

THE SECRETS OF SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS

BY

RODERICK L. EAGLE

PRICE 25/-

(plus postage)

This book will not be remaindered

FRANCIS BACON SOCIETY'S BOOKS FOR SALE

	Price including British postage
Bevan, Bryan. The Real Francis Bacon* - - -	25/6
Dodd, Alfred The Martyrdom of Francis Bacon - -	11/6
Eagle, R. L. Shakespeare, New Views for Old (Illustrated) - -	11/6
Eiseley, Loren Francis Bacon and the Modern Dilemma* - -	21/–
Farrington, Professor Benjamin. Francis Bacon, Philosopher of Industrial Science - - -	15/–
The Philosophy of Francis Bacon* - - -	26/–
Francis Bacon, Pioneer of Planned Science* - -	11/6
Gundry, W. G. C. Francis Bacon — a Guide to His Homes and Haunts (Illustrated) - - - -	4/6
Manes Verulamiani (1626 edition in full photo-facsimile, with translation and comment; limited to 400 copies, of which a few only remain) - - - -	£2/10/–
Johnson, Edward D. Bacon-Shakespeare Coincidences -	3/10
The Fictitious Shakespeare Exposed - - -	2/10
The Shakesper Illusion (Illustrated) - - -	3/-
Francis Bacon's Maze - - - - -	12/6
Shakespeare's Sonnets* - - - - -	12/6
Melsome, W. S. Bacon-Shakespeare Anatomy (Price reduced)	11/–
Pares, Martin. A Pioneer*: second and augmented edition -	10/–
Sennett, Mabel. His Erring Pilgrimage: Interpretation of 'As You Like It' - - - - -	6/6
Theobald, B. G. Exit Shakspere - - - -	3/–
Enter Francis Bacon - - - - -	3/–
Francis Bacon Concealed and Revealed (Illustrated) -	8/10
Shakespeare's Sonnets Unmasked - - -	6/–
Woodward, Frank. Francis Bacon's Cipher Signatures (Photo Facsimile Illustrations) -	26/6

PAMPHLETS FOR SALE

	Price including British postage
Baker, H. Kendra. Bacon's Vindication*	1/2
Pope and Bacon	1/6
Shakespeare's Coat of Arms	1/6
Bridgewater, Howard. Bacon-Shakespeare Controversy	8d.
Bacon or Shakespeare — Does it Matter?	10d.
Shakespeare and Italy	1/6
Evidence Connecting Francis Bacon with Shakespeare (Illustrated)	1/9
Dodd, Alfred. Mystery of the Shakespeare Sonnets	1/6
Who Was Shakespeare?	2/–
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin Shakespeare Myth — Milton's Epitaph and Macbeth Prove Bacon is Shakespeare (The ten hundredth thousand)	5/–
Eagle, R. L. Shakespeare Forgers and Forgeries (Illustrated)	1/6
Bacon or Shakspere: A Guide to the Problem	3/–
The 'Friend' and 'Dark Lady' of the Sonnets	2/–
Eagle/Hapgood. Stratford Birthplace (Illustrated)	1/4
Ellis, Walter. Shakespeare Myth (Illustrated)	1/9
Franco, Johan. Bacon-Shakespeare Identities Revealed by their Handwritings (Illustrated)	2/8
Gundry, W. G. C. "Notes on Hinton Saint George"	2/–
Was Shakespeare Educated? (Illustrated)	3/–
Johnson, Edward D. Don Adriana's Letter (21 diagrams)	3/–
Shake-Spear*	1/3
The Shakespeare Quiz*	1/3
Francis Bacon: Similarity of Thought	1/3
Will Shakspere of Stratford*	4/–
Francis Bacon of St. Albans*	4/–
A Short History of the Stratford "Shakespeare" Monument*	1/4
Pares, Martin. Will O' The Wisp*	2/6
Knights of the Helmet*	5/–
Pogson, Beryl. Romeo and Juliet. An Esoteric Interpretation All's Well That Ends Well. An Esoteric Interpretation A Winter's Tale	10/-
Seymour, Henry. John Barclay's Argenis & Cipher Key	1/–
Witney, M. A. Francis Bacon	2/8

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

* New Publications.

BACONIANA (Copyright Reserved)

The official journal of the Francis Bacon Society (Inc.) is published at 10/- (post free). Back numbers can be supplied. When enquiry is made for particular copies the date should be specified. Some are now very scarce and, in the case of early issues, difficult to obtain unless from members of the Society who may have spare ones.