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BACONIANA

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THE FRANCIS BACON SOCIETY

(INCORPORATED)

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

1. To encourage for the benefit of the public, the study of the works of Francis Bacon as philosopher, statesman and poet; also his character, genius and life; his influence on his own and succeeding times, and the tendencies and results of his writing.

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

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The subscription for membership is £2·10 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 $5.

HOWARD PUBLISHING CO.,
PUBLISHERS OF THE CIPHER WRITINGS OF
SIR FRANCIS BACON,
DETROIT, MICH., U. S. A.

Does she know that I worked months to get my alphabets in the Henry the Seventh. every day with a good many hours in, many days at that! I spent between two and three weeks on the alphabets of the Reuss when it changed to the 2d part. It is not so very difficult to find the fonts a printer would pick out, but it is a work of time to find out the arrangement that was the rule in that particular work, for while you might get something that would make a word or two, it would not apply to the work and make sentences unless it was the correct arrangement.

I do not claim any special faculties for deciphering but I have assuredly had long practice and

Extract from Mrs. Gallup letter dated November 2nd, 1908.

know what difficulties one must expect. Instead of disproving the work, or making it impossible to do, it is the best guarantee of its genuineness and it is proven possible, with patience, time, and accurate vision.

You verified my work sufficiently I think. when we were working together at the Boston Public Library. — you and Kate on Essex I think. Sometimes you two would need my judgment on the doubtful letters and then you would go on very well. And Mrs Kinderley. Would I have spent months teaching her to do the work if I had not known the cipher was there and could be deciphered Such a thing as unconscionable? Even Wallace verified so large.

Extract continued. The painstaking nature of cipher work is made plain by the letter writer.

BACONIANA

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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

Some papers which have recently come to light will recall the hard and exacting work of a very staunch Baconian, Mrs. Elizabeth Wells Gallup, at the turn of the century. They relate to the Shakespeare controversy. Through the kindness of two of our members, the musical composer and conductor Alan Hovhaness and his wife, we are permitted to record these letters in the present issue of *Baconiana*. They are nine in number and dated during the years 1907 - 9. Mrs. Gallup's book, *The Biliteral Cipher of Francis Bacon*, was first published in 1899, with second and third editions (progressively enlarged) in 1900 and 1901.* Part III of Mrs. Gallup's work, subtitled *The Lost Manuscripts*, came out in 1910.

The deciphered story, which mostly follows that of Dr. Orville Owen from *The Word Cipher*,† was vehemently rejected by the world in general as " rubbish ". It was also officially disclaimed by the Council of the Francis Bacon Society of the day, although stubbornly adhered to by some of its members. By mutual agreement this cleavage of opinion within the Society obliged the present Council to observe its impartiality on the cipher question. But apart from this all members of the Society remained loyal to the Objects, as stated inside the front cover of every issue of *Baconiana*, and to the cause of Francis Bacon.

* The Howard Publishing Company, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A. 1901.

† The Howard Publishing Company, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A. 1894 - 5.

However, the authors of the recent book *The Sixty Seventh Inquisition*§ have completely upset this state of affairs, at least in relation to most members of the Council. Individual members can (to use Bacon's ironical words) " believe what they prefer ", but the book in question contains positive proof of a cipher indicating the Baconian authorship of our national drama, and taking into account the collusion of Anthony Bacon at an early stage. The evidence comes from Tenison's *Baconiana* 1679 in a series of geometrical diagrams skilfully drawn according to the rules given by Bacon himself. The world may continue to believe that " Shakespeare wrote Shakespeare " (still using that meaningless and boring cliché !) while it refuses to recognise the facts. The name Shakespeare (especially when hyphenated " Shake-speare " as in the running title of the Sonnets) is essentially a pseudonym; it also happens to be a most useful approximation of the name traditionally given to the Stratford mask, " Shaks-pere, Shagspere and Shaxper ", as he was variously described. Those who really study *The Sixty Seventh Inquisition* will not only come closer to the spirit of the real author of the Plays, they will come to know something about the antecedents and birth of Francis Bacon. To say more would be to spoil the steps by which the conclusion is inevitably reached. It is an extraordinary thing that Mrs. Gallup should have come to the same conclusions by using Bacon's Biliteral Cipher without being able to prove them.

The late Colonel W. F. Friedman, in his book *The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined*, gave qualified praise to the ingenuity and integrity of Mrs. Gallup, whom he came to know in 1915. He also described Bacon's Biliteral Cipher as a useful and valid cipher; but he declared it to be impracticable for use in the printing techniques of those times. He devoted the last seven chapters of his book to this question, and to an exposition of the Biliteral Cipher which, we regret to say, is cleverly calculated to discredit Mrs. Gallup. Students who do not study the Fried-

§ Privately printed, and limited to 500 numbered copies of the first issue: *cf.* our review of *Number Symbolism* (page 79).

man book carefully enough and only read it superficially are encouraged to believe that it has put an end, once and for all, to the Shakespeare controversy. But this is far from the truth. "Jacobite" who writes for our journal, has also contributed three articles in *Baconiana* which those who really seek the truth of this controversy ought to study carefully "Jacobite", who calls himself "an electronics man" is also a mathematician. The three articles by him are: *Francis Bacon and the Electronic Computer (Baconiana* 160*), Theseus and a Magic Square (Baconiana* 165*),* and *The Touchstone (Baconiana* 171*).*

Professor Pierre Henrion of Versailles is the most trenchant writer on this subject, having himself been engaged professionally in cryptographic work. With true Gallic verve he wrote as follows in *Baconiana* 160:—

> The Friedman case exceeds even the "Gallup" case in complexity; for if we have before us a novel and intriguing work—one in which a great deal of purely destructive and pernicious criticism is always amusingly expressed—we have also, if I may say so, an extremely artful book . . . To anyone with real cryptological experience it is hard to reconcile the impartiality claimed by the authors with the skill and *leger-de-main* by which certain danger points have been avoided. It is these unexpected manipulations which have led me at times to suspect a "command performance" . . .

Professor Henrion's article is, we must admit, extremely revealing. The Editors of *Baconiana,* when challenging certain specific points in Colonel Friedman's book on the cipher question (see *Baconiana* 161, page 12) never received the answers that he promised. Unfortunately his health, when Commander Pares went to see him in Washington, D.C., on three separate occasions in 1964, 1965, and 1968, did not permit an interview with him . . .

* * * *

The recently found Gallup letters have been copied in photo-facsimile from which one page bearing her signature is illustrated. While not affecting the present stage of the Shakespeare controversy, they certainly confirm the high-principled and lovable nature to which her English friends bore witness, and the personal integrity to which Colonel Friedman had also testified in his book.

A question which naturally occurs to some students is whether Mrs. Gallup was aided in her deciphered story by subjective processes such as intuition. After all Francis Bacon himself was interested in such things, and he even refers to "the transfer of spirits" through the medium of the imagination.* *The 67th Inquisition,* however, is essentially scientific. It must eventually—to use Bacon's curious phrase—"fall upon and strike the senses". It *proves* a cipher.

* * * *

Once again we are in the fortunate position of being able to include a contribution from Professor Benjamin Farrington, who is known internationally for his authoritative work on Francis Bacon's philosophy. The present article, *Francis Bacon After His Fall,* is particularly important because of its insistence on the strong religious inspiration underlying Bacon's literary output — which became increasingly evident after his fall from power in 1621.

It is disturbing that even the late C. S. Lewis considered Bacon "a mere empiricist", though in this he was simply following majority contemporary academic opinion. The University of Georgia are to be congratulated on publishing a series of studies on Francis Bacon, from which *Francis Bacon After His Fall* is taken. We hope to print at least one other article from this source in the future with the kind permission of the Department of English.

* * * *

Readers who remember the article *The Day-Star of the Muses*(1) will be glad to see that we are now printing a contribution from E. & M. Brameld on watermarks which appear in Elizabethan and Jacobean literature associated with Bacon. Since the time of Harold Bayley, and before him, Mrs. Henry Pott,

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* *Sylva Sylvarum,* S 236.

(1) E.M.B.: *Baconiana* No. 167, pp. 32 - 53.

this subject, inextricably mixed with contemporary symbolism, has not received the attention it deserves. The late Dr. Gerstenberg helped to stimulate interest in the significance of head-and-tail-pieces appearing in the 1623 Shakespeare Folio and elsewhere in his *Strange Signatures,* but the present article ranks as the most important study in these specialised subjects for some years. Taking into account ciphers, parallelisms, and watermarks, the internal evidence for Bacon's guiding hand in literary works, including the Shakespearean quartos and Folios, becomes so strong that it cannot be put aside.

We understand that Elizabeth and Mary have in mind the production of a book incorporating their researches at a later date, and meanwhile *Baconian Jottings Then and Now* reminds us periodically of their enthusiasm and devotion to our cause.

* * * *

A letter to *The Times* from our Chairman appears in the correspondence section. The primary reason for entering the discussion on long words was to publicize the Northumberland MS. with a view to eliciting orthodox comment on the scribbled allusions therein to Shakespeare and Bacon and the Plays. The fact that no reply appeared was hardly surprising, since orthodox scholars would be aware, presumably, that this MS. belonged to Francis Bacon, and would not relish mention of this in a subsequent letter to the newspapers. Commander Pares discussed the Manuscript at length in March 1960 (*Baconiana*, 160) and an article by R. L. Eagle on *honorificabilitudinitatibus* appeared in the same number. As mentioned by Noel Fermor, this long word was printed in the *Catholicon* in 1486 (not 1286 as was inadvertently stated in Mr. Eagle's original article).

* * * *

May we remind members that the annual subscriptions £2·10) are due on the 1st January each year? It would be of great assistance if, wherever possible, these subscriptions were made by means of Banker's Order, a form for which is enclosed in this issue of *Baconiana.*

It will be remembered that in 1963 The Francis Bacon Society became exempt, as an educational charity, from income tax. Those members who are in a position to complete forms for covenanting their subscriptions for a period of seven years would enable the Society to benefit from a reclaim of tax which would be very much appreciated. These forms are available, on request, from our Secretary, Mrs. Brameld, of 12 Nevern Square, London, S.W.5.

THE GALLUP LETTERS, 1907 - 9
(See Editorial)

Whittakers Hotel,
42, Gt. Russell St., London W.C.
Tues. Sept. 17, 1907.

Dear **Kate,**

Your letter came yesterday to my great delight. I am afraid I don't write as often as I should but you can understand how little time I have for writing. I think of you all every day, and often wish I might be with you. I think Alice proved in her own inimitable way that she has not forgotten me, and I am very sure Hilary and Katherine have not, but baby Robert is still to be won.

It is a pleasure to know the children have had such a nice summer with Alice Williams and for your sake and theirs I am sorry she is going away.

Now as to myself and my quest. I saw in the *Baconiana* what was said about that edition of Spenser with an engraving of the monument as a frontispiece and was interested simply because it was a representation of the original stone; but when I saw the differences in the letters and began to clarify them I found that the cipher was there. Although I do not follow Mrs. Pott in what she says of Fr. Bacon and his secret society I am convinced that there was someone to carry on the work later than either Burton's or Rawley's time. You remember that she spoke of it in the *De Aug:** in the very same words that I have used, or nearly the same. Before that I did not suppose there was anything done in biliteral after Rawley died. As Dr. Dane pertinently asks, 'Why weren't they found?' I have surmised a good many things but, since I don't really know, I won't attempt to answer. I wish I knew whether it were possible that the foundation stones did not crumble and that the MSS. may still be there.

I thought it would be better to keep at work upon the Oxford and St. Alban inscriptions and have that part of the work ready

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* *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum;* Bacon, London, 1623.

for Billy when he comes†. The Burton type was not difficult, but the designs on either side, if they are anything more than the calculation of R.B.'s nativity as they purport to be, convey nothing whatever to my mind. I think I wrote you what the biliteral part read " Take heed. In a box is MS." (I think that is it but I quote from memory. *I know* it is the statement but I don't remember the spelling nor whether the word was abbreviated). Not definite I regret to say.

Then I worked away at the St. Alban inscriptions. There are three you remember and we took duplicate copies. I really studied them all, for some letters were clearer in one and some in the other set. The terminations of some words gave me great trouble and one in particular had to be tested in three different ways making a difference in the grouping. It was the Latin of Viscount which ends " mitis " and has MTS above the line. Being an abbreviation it might be MITIS the stem of the " T " making the " I "s or MTIS, or simply MTS. I worked very constantly for a good many days to no purpose. All this time I had noticed letters and parts of letters in the space, but had thought it vandalism—perhaps of Cromwell's time but I finally saw that the original inscription had been partly effaced and the whole re-cut. I got permission to work in the British Museum three days and attempted to find some record of the work. I found that St. Michaels was restored in the '60s but did not note the exact date. When I can give the Superintendent the year, he will send for the St. Albans newspapers and I can look for details of the restoration.

Did I tell you about the copy of the Stratford inscription being lost where I sent the whole set to be mounted on cambric ? Stanford has replaced it by another certified copy, but I am deciphering Dr. Dane's books now that I brought with me. " The Sonnets " told us nothing new simply " His cognomer signifies some interior worke to note ". *The Felicity of Queen Elizabeth** has, I regret, yielded nothing at all at present. If there is no

† The references are to Christchurch Cathedral, Oxford, and St. Michael's Church (St. Albans), respectively.—Editor.

* London. Printed by T. Newcomb, for George Latham at the Bishops Head in St. Pauls Church-yard. 1651.

message one has to work longer and harder than ever to make sure the difficulty is not caused by some mistake of one's own. There is one thing that makes me somewhat doubtful about " The Felicity ". The title page reads " By the Right Honorable Francis Ld. Bacon Viscount St. Alban." Francis himself never used the title Lord Bacon, and Rawley always wrote Lord Verulam or Lord St. Alban. This was in 1651 before the first edition of the *Resuscitatio* came out and would be done by Rawley, we suppose. However I shall find out. If the cipher is there I am quite sure I can find it in time.

Mr. Moore writes that he thinks it would be pleasanter for me in Oxford than in London as the days grow shorter and the light uncertain. I should like to stay here until Billy comes. Does he sail the 26th ?

I am wondering and wondering about the Smedley find. I do hope it is genuine. I can't dispossess myself of the idea that the Baconians were telling the story some years ago. Perhaps I am wrong.

It does not seem as though Dr. Owen would have kept secret a knowledge of the place where the MSS. could be found for there could not be a proof so irrefutable of the correctness of the work. He may as you suggest have worked out what I had by the word cipher, but Mr. Moore had never heard of it, surely, and that would be very peculiar in the circumstances. I don't know but it might be possible not to realise the importance of having the MSS. but it is hardly conceivable.

I am surprised to hear the sad news about the B's and am very sorry for Millie. What a complication in the engagement of his sister !

I had a delightful little visit with Fraulein von Blomberg and her enthusiasm is like sunshine.

Thanks for the enclosed letter. It did overbalance the scales a little evidently but the fact itself has no weight. I was greatly pleased to have it and return it with many thanks. Love to each and all.

Your own

ELIZABETH W. GALLUP.

6 Grove St., Oxford
10.4.1908

Dearest Kate,

Of course you know the pleasure I have had in meeting Mr. and Mrs. Fiske. They are so fine, and were so courteous and kind to me, it seemed as though I had always known them. Mrs. Fiske asked when I was last in Boston and said in such a nice way "Next time you come you must remember you have another friend in Boston".

My work has disappointed me somewhat but I do not wish to say much about it until I find out a little more. Bacon broke off in the midst of the work, Rawley finished with very much such protests as he made in the *De Augmentis,* and I am anxious to take something else ciphered by Rawley. Am looking at the *Baconiana* of Archbishop Tenison but that is after Rawley's date —1679. Mrs. Kindersley and Mr. Cuningham think the cipher is there.

Don't let Mr. O'Brien get the idea that Bacon's biliteral is in everything where two forms of Italic type was used. If he will study his *Mercury* and *Traicte des Chiffres* he will see there were other ciphers that were based on differences in the letters.

Parker Woodward—and brother—were here to see me Tuesday and I consulted with him as to the best way to proceed. He advises more deciphering in Rawley's time since he does not in the least believe that Bacon did not die in 1626. I dare say I shall try both periods, but depend really upon Mr. Moore's judgement, because it is for him to decide what he wants me to do. (If) the biliteral was in the inscription it has been changed. I never succeeded in deciphering either that or Bacon's but I found that Bacon's had been re-cut on the same stone.

I am eager to get at the *Miscellany Works* again but must finish the *Essays* for Mrs. Kindersley. When both these are finished I shall try *Resuscitatio* and I think I wrote you Mr.

Woodward will do the same at the same time. I should not be surprised if Mrs. K. did that work too for she is intending to spend the winter in England and said that for her own sake she was sorry I was leaving.

Am delighted with Robert's photo. I had none except the one in long dresses and of course I want to show him to my friends as a big boy. How fine he is. Wish I might see him and give him fifty hugs.

I think I must tell you my neighbour over the way says I have grown ten years younger in my absence. I think that a good indication that I am likely to hold out until my work is done.

I am going to tell you an odd thing but you must not think I give it credence. I opened my Bible one morning and read these words (Ezekiel 12 - 5).

" Dig those through the wall in their sight and carry out thereby."

How pertinent it seemed. I told Kate I thought it indicated the exterior as the point of attack rather than the interior but really I am not foolish enough to think it means *anything* to me.

How pleasant it must be at the island with all those dear people. Give much love to Frl von Blomberg and to Miss Coop as well as to all the dear children.

Regards too to Dr. Dane and regrets that I am not where I can receive him. I am afraid Mr. Moore will feel coming home was ill advised.

Much love for your dear self and Billy from both Kate and Elizabeth and the hope that we may meet before long.

Your own

ELIZABETH WELLS GALLUP

38 Prentice Ave., Detroit.
Mon. Aug. 24, 1908.

Dear Sister Kate,

The sad news your letter brought was not unexpected after Fraulein von Blomberg wrote me of your dear mother's illness. You could not wish her to live and suffer, but you will feel the loneliness and sorrow always. I am so glad I became so well acquainted with your mother that winter I was with you. She was so sweet and bright she helped me feel that one may be very useful and necessary to one's friends though neither young nor strong.

You are surprised, I am sure, to know that I am home. Mr. Woodward sent me the *Essays* 1625, The *Miscellany Works* 1629. *Resuscitatio* was given me as you know and *Sylva Sylvarum* and *Baconiana* (Tenisons) so I could just as well bring my work home; and I came when I could have the company of my cousin and his wife from London to New York. I thought there was no use returning *via* Boston when you are all away for the summer. But I did want very much to accept your invitation to the island. However I could not very well do so and must wait until some future time.

I am not speaking of MSS. except to the few most interested because I want to get my directions more definitely and explicitly given than have yet found. The reason I am taking the late works is because I found it necessary to see what Rawley did after 1626 and I spent so much time with Mrs. Kindersley my own work has been at a standstill since the first week in May. Of course I have what has come out of the *Essays* but it does not tell me anything new.

I shall love to have the pictures of Robert. How are the dear girls? Has Alice forgotten me? She was such a *little* girl she might I suppose but I hope she hasn't.

Poor Dr. Dane. He has our sympathy. Life has many sorrows.

Love to each dear one,

Your own

ELIZABETH

38 Prentice Ave.
Detroit
August 31, 1908

Dearest Kate,

The first thought when I read of Dr. Dane's intended trip was that I should have to return sooner than I intended so that I might see him before he comes back, if not upon his arrival. Then I remembered how he and Billy thought it better I should not be there with them last year and perhaps have the same opinion still. I should be very glad indeed to see him, however, and discuss the situation. I feel that much deciphering must be done before I find what was finally done with the MSS. we want so much to see. As you say—" time will tell what must be done next ".

We do not leave Prentice Avenue until October 1st, and our address after that will be 98 Pitcher Street. I am still deciphering the *Essays* but Mrs. Kindersley and I broke off after a few pages and took it up again at p. 266 and went on to the end. He was still talking of monuments and tombs so I am confident he did not change his plans but I do not know that Rawley carried out Bacon's wishes. In the *Apophthegmes* he said some were at Canonbury.

The date of my *Resuscitatio* is 1657—the first edition. It would be well to see whether the cipher was in the 1671 edition, but Rawley died in 1667.

I saw Greenwood's book and looked up all I could find about the changes made in the monument and when. Dugdale's book was ready for the press in 1636 and was delayed twenty years because of the Civil War. It was printed in 1656 with the same illustrations prepared for the work at the first named date. The monument was restored in 1746 - 48. If Rawley had succeeded in placing them there is a possibility of the stone having been thrown in the rubbish pile without ever having been unsealed. The abbreviations of words in the inscription differed from the forms now there. Consequently if . . .

38 Prentice Ave.
Detroit
November 2, 1908

Dearest Kate,

How nice of you to ask me again to visit you. I should enjoy it more than I can say, and may yet arrange to go, but just at present Mr. Moore wants me to work along quietly where I am for he thinks I would get very little ready for publication if I went away.

I go to the office every day so that I can have my type writing done for me and for several days past have been occupied with the work I did in Oxford and London. It had never been copied and Mr. Moore wanted to get it all together so that it could be put out promptly should he wish to do so. Just now there is nothing we really want to print you know because of the MSS.

Has Dr. Dane returned to Europe ? I am so anxious to know whether he found anything new and interesting this time.

I am at work on the " Miscellany " now. I think you could do the *Holy Warre* without having the first part, for I got my alphabets for the large type from that dedication. There are four letters in the first group, but you must watch for dots on the line of writing that changes groups.

The small "h" and "d" of the "B" font do not come down to the line. They are easy to differentiate. The small "o" is very slanting; the oval of the "g" is set on obliquely; the "m's" and "n's" are neat and sharp at the beginning of the stroke.

I am going to send this poor little letter because I am so tired I can scarcely sit up, and I am sure you will pardon.

Many thanks for the invitation and much love from both Kate and myself.

Your own

ELIZABETH.

On the other sheet she sends thanks for your letter which she will ans. when not too tired.

38 Prentice Ave.
Detroit
December 23, 1908

Dearest Kate and Doctor Dane,

Just a word of Xmas Greeting and lots of love. When I left the office I had in my mind a long chatty letter that I should write and send you for Christmas but there was the Teachers supper at the Church, the study class, prayer-meeting and an unusually long wait for Kate to finish her bulletin and that makes me very late home.

I wonder whether you received the booklets of *The Essays.* It is too bad the deciphering happened to be such a dull part but I think the thing itself very good form don't you ?

I am getting along very well with *Resuscitatio* and Mr. Moore has brought a beautiful *facsimile* copy of the third folio Shakespeare. It doesn't look as though I should get out of work very soon does it ?

No end of love to you both and to the children from Kate and self.

Your own

ELIZABETH W. GALLUP

Detroit, 12 Campan Bldg.
February 11, 1909

Dearest Kate,

Your very interesting letter is here and another I regret to say is unanswered, but I am sure you will forgive. Thank you for the slip. It is very good. The last n(P 106) is changed by dot.

Small e's are difficult bisecting the top ovals, the angle made with the line of writing is greater in a: $\frac{\phi}{\alpha}$, $\frac{\phi}{\beta}$, and the lower part differs too.

I was wrong if I thought it divided at that point for $\overline{\text{ongst}}$ is the group. And it continues in fives to the point or dot after r which makes a short group $\overline{\text{thr}}$. This is followed by $\overline{\text{eetha}}$.

Mr. and Mrs. Moore go South today to return about the first of April.

You will see from my writing how tired I am. I went out to the country for ten days rest but it was not half what I require. One can hardly realize how taxing it is to work so constantly on type.

Kate is busy as ever and as happy in her calling. I have her with me about three evenings a week since I haven't felt equal to going out.

I have nice letters from the Woodwards. Mr. Frank Woodward and Mrs. Woodward are spending the month at Mentone. Mr. Parker Woodward writes that he is enlarging his book to about 350 pp.

Mrs. Kindersley is in St. Petersburg, Mary in England. I am fraid they will not do much deciphering together.

Please give lots of love to all in your home and remember me to Mrs. Fiske with many thanks for her persistent work. I am grateful to you both for giving it so much time and am sure you will succeed.

Once more with love, your sister

ELIZABETH WELLS GALLUP

38 Prentice Ave.
Detroit
March 3, 1909

Dearest Kate,

Somehow I cannot make up my mind that it would be quite right to go away now. Mr. Moore has left it to me to decide and that makes it much harder for me, for I know he would rather I should work on steadily here.

Then, too, Kate has just had a bad fall and I should worry for fear she would not get on all right. A shock like that is so

bad when one is well and her nerves are in a very bad state. One knee is badly bruised.

There is still another reason. I want to see Dr. Dane when in Boston and could not stay until he is expected.

So I do not let myself think any more of the delights I have been picturing—of being with you and Billy and the dear children seeing Robert and winning a little of his love perhaps. Helen, Katherine, Alice are magic words. Oh, there are a thousand things to draw one and only a stern sense of duty makes me say " wait ".

Lots of love to each and all and many thanks for the invitation.

Your own,

ELIZABETH

Howard Publishing Co.,
Publishers of the Cipher Writings of
Sir Francis Bacon.
Detroit, Mich., U.S.A.

April 24, 1909

Sat. morning

Dearest Kate,

Pardon a little delay. I am always busy through the day as you know and in the evenings too tired for letter-writing but I must take up the unexplained points in your last.

Mrs. Fuller wrote me such satisfactory expressions of appreciations of my work and of the spirit of my replies to criticism that I enjoyed it greatly and felt an interest in her at once. Naturally I regret to hear that she is now skeptical but I feel sure she is too sensible and too honest herself to believe I would spend my time upon a work that was not genuine and right. The very slowness of my progress shows it is not marked in the reckless way that the man in question asserts.

The *Novum** was chosen for illustration because the publishers thought it would be interesting to the general reader to see a book, or rather " reproduced pages of a book ", not found in most modern libraries. I never recommended that large type for a beginner because the size made differences so conspicuous that it was necessary to take many precautions and provide many safeguards. As you know there are differences that are not the distinctive differences, and I always tell the would-be decipherers to *learn* the *b* font and give no heed to differences in *a's* except of course to watch for dotted letters. Bacon speaks of his multiform letters—his reasons were good. There are sometimes groups of six or four or even less. Is it any wonder Bacon made an occasional error in grouping when the great and wonderful Mallock of our own day had a group of three in his illustration and two or three *a's* for *b's* in close proximity? I worked out Mallock's cipher passage, located the short group, pointed out the printers errors, &c, &c. A decipherer must know how to find such things by striking in beyond this difficult part and working backwards.

There should have been a group of six where the *S* was omitted. An example of such a group is in the 1624 ed. of *De Aug:*§ where in the Cicero epistle the word *parati* is substituted for *pauci.* Other things are shown in that example: The law of tied letters, printers errors, and the capital E of the *a* font having the characteristic (c) mark of the *b* font.

The 2nd Edition was issued after we went to England the year you were with us and we had such a pleasant time—remember? I had marked words containing the letters the expert was to draw for the two alphabets, and had examined the proof sheet he submitted. Of course I saw the distinctive differences I looked for and approved the alphabet. By the way has Mrs. Fuller applied the script letters on that sheet to the title page? She might find that interesting. And if she has *Resuscitatio* 1657, I wish she would try assorting the letters into two classes, regardless

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* *Novum Organum;* Bacon, 1620.

§ *De Augmentis Scientiarum,* Bacon, London, 1623. *Qui pauci sunt.* *De Augmentis Scientiarum,* Bacon, Paris, 1624. *Qui parati sunt.*

of whether they would be called *a* or *b*—simply classifying them. Just on p. 1—2nd part the " letters " to different people.

Does she know that I worked months to get my alphabets in the *Henry the Seventh every day* with a good many hours in my days at that ? I spent between two and three weeks on the alphabets of the *Resus*‡ when it changed to the 2nd part. It is not so very difficult to find the fonts a printer would pick out, but it is a work of time to find out the arrangement that was used in that particular work for while you might get something that would make a word or two, it would not apply to the work and make sentences unless it were the correct arrangement.

I do not claim any special faculties for deciphering but I have assuredly had long practice and know what difficulties one must expect. Instead of disproving the work, or making it impossible to do, it is the best guarantee of its genuineness and it is proven *possible* with patience, time, and accurate vision.

You verified my work sufficiently I think when we were working together at the Boston Public Library—you and Kate on Essex I think.

Sometimes you two would need my judgement on the doubtful letters and then you would go on very well. And Mrs. Kindersley. Would I have spent months teaching her to do the work if I had not known the cipher was there and could be deciphered ? Such a thing is inconceivable ? Even Mallock verified so large a part of the alphabet that he attested it could not be chance. Although he afterward refused to be quoted presumably for the unpopularity of the whole Baconian question.

There is one part of your letter, Kate, I don't quite understand. You say, " Mr. Moore cannot afford to hold back anything now that will make converts and sell the books ". Do you mean the decipherment from 1623 *De Aug.* and passages about the MSS ? I know of nothing else that is withheld and that only until we can learn what Rawley really did after the matter was in his own hands as it was three years after the publication of the first

‡ *Resuscitatio*, 1657.

ed. of *De Aug.* Besides we must have sufficient matter for a book. Now I must run away to my work but I must not forget to say we intend to *fill* the next publication with explanatory notes.

Lots of love to each and all,

ELIZABETH

Editor's Note: Mrs. Gallup's reference to the Latin word *pauci* in the *De Augmentis* (London Edition, 1623) will serve as a reminder of the inscription on the Robert Burton Tomb at Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, *viz.*:—

PAVCIS, NOTVS, PAVCIORIBVS, IGNOTVS

(*Baconiani*, 171, p.11)

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PLANTS AND WEEDS

by M.P.

Darnel and all the idle *weeds* that grow
In our sustaining corn. *King Lear* 4/4/5

Bacon's essay on gardening is one of the most charming of his writings. It is, as he calls it, "the purest of human pleasures", and to him even the planning and writing of this essay must have been a work of sheer creative joy.

He is describing an ideal garden, and weeds, as such, are not even mentioned. Classical allusions have no part in this essay and the names of the flowers are so familiar as to take us straight into the heart of our English countryside. Like the beautiful essay *Of Truth,* the essay *Of Gardens* first came into the world in the final edition of 1625, unheralded in any of the earlier editions of 1597, 1609, and 1612. Many of the flowers and plants listed by Bacon are also named by Perdita in *The Winter's Tale.*

However our subject is "weeds"—a word which, in Shakespeare, is more often used in the political sense than in the botanical sense; namely that of dealing with unruly and disorderly groups of people who require to be weeded out. In the Play of *Richard II* both these concepts are skilfully intermingled. The head-gardener at Langley—"Old Adam's likeness" as he is affectionately called by Richard's Queen—loves the living organisms and plants in his garden, although soon led by his undergardener to moralise on the subject of weeds . . .

Gard. Go, bind thou up yon dangling apricocks
Which, like unruly children make their Sire
Stoop with oppression of their prodigal weight:
Give some supportance to the bending twigs,
Go thou, and like an executioner
Cut off the heads of too-fast growing sprays
That look too lofty in our Commonwealth:
All must be even in our Government.
You thus employed, I will go root away
The noisome weeds, that without profit suck
The Soil's fertility from wholesome flowers.

Richard II 3/4/29 - 39

It seems a little unusual that a head-gardener should prefer the task of rooting away the noisome weeds while his servant is given the more constructive work of propping up the heavy fruit and giving more "supportance to the bending twigs"! But the under-gardener, as we shall see, is anxious to discourse on the subject of Law and Order, and to take the word "Weeds" in a political sense.

First Serv: Why should we in the compass of a pale
Keep law and form and due proportion
Showing, as in a model, our firm estate
When our sea-walled garden, the whole land,
Is full of *weeds*, her fairest flowers choked up,
Her fruit-trees all unpruned, her hedges ruined,
Her knots disordered, and her wholesome herbs
Swarming with caterpillars?

Richard II 3/4/40 - 47

The conversation between the two gardeners now turns to the deposing of Richard II and the growing strength of the usurper Bolingbroke. When this Play was written, the deposing of a former reigning monarch as a performance on the stage was an outrage to Queen Elizabeth 1st. She complained to Lambarde, Keeper of the Records, that the Play was seditious. She suspected Bacon and interrogated him. She sent Haywarde (who wrote the prose version*) to the Tower for treason. The name "Shakespeare" was omitted entirely from the Essex inquiry and trial; and in the Northumberland MSS., which belonged originally to Francis Bacon, the two plays, *Richard II* and *Richard III*, were significantly removed from the docket, although still listed as part of the contents.§ But we must let the old gardener at Langley have his last word about Richard II and his weeds.

The *weeds* that his broad-spreading leaves did shelter
That seemed in eating him to hold him up,
Are pulled up root and all by Bolingbroke

Richard II 3/4/51

---

* See *The First Part of the Life and Reign of King Henry IV*, by I. H., 1599.

§See *The Northumberland Manuscript* in full photo-facsimile edited by Richard Burgoyne, 1904. The original MS. is at Alnwick Castle, and is the property of the Duke of Northumberland.

Bolingbroke himself has a brief word to describe King Richard and his accomplices:—

> The caterpillars of the Commonwealth
> Which I have sworn to *weed* . . . *Richard II* 2/3/16

In the following Play the Archbishop of York strikes a note of caution . . .

> . . . for full well he knows
> He cannot so precisely *weed* this land *2 Henry IV* 4/1/205

And the King himself becomes a little despondent about the Prince (the future King Henry V) who is surrounded by rascals,

> Most subject is the fattest soil to *weeds*
> And he, the noble image of my youth
> Is overspread with them . . . *2 Henry IV* 4/2/54

Bacon, according to his biographer James Spedding, had nothing to learn from Will Shakspere on the subject of gardening. But some of Bacon's experiments in botany were significantly echoed in the Plays.* One of these parallels occurs in *Henry V*, and in Bacon's *Natural History.*

In the *Sylva Sylvarum* (S 441) Bacon tells us that "Shade to some plants conduces to make them large and prosperous more than the Sun", and that accordingly, if you sow borage among strawberries "you shall find the strawberries under those leaves far more large than their fellows". This is simply a question of botany.

In *Henry V*, Act I, the Bishop of Ely, using the curious analogy of "strawberries" for purely political reasons, expounds on the large and luxuriant development of the Prince's nature, on his emerging from the shade of low company:—

> The strawberry grows underneath the nettle
> And wholesome berries thrive and ripen best
> Neighboured by fruit of baser quality
> And so the Prince . . . *Henry V* 1/1/101

In this case, the "strawberry" analogy whichever way you take it, is far too close to be accidental. King Henry V, just before Agincourt, makes a happier allusion to weeds:—

---

* See *The Mystery of Francis Bacon;* Judge Webb, 1902.

That we should dress us fairly for our end,
Thus may we gather honey from the *weed*
And make a moral of the devil himself.

Henry V 3/1/64

In *Henry VI* Queen Margaret, who sees through the plots and stratagems of Richard, Duke of Gloucester (later to become Richard III) utters a word of warning . . .

Now 'tis the spring and *weeds* are shallow-rooted
Suffer them now and they'll oregrow the garden
And choke the herbs for want of husbandry . . .

2 Henry VI 3/1/31

Richard of Gloucester also has something bitter to say about weeds:—

. . . "Ay" quoth my uncle Gloucester
"Small herbs have grace, great *weeds* do grow apace".

Richard III 2/4/12

In the Comedies, as in the Histories, we find the word "weed" is seldom used in a botanical sense. In *Measure for Measure* it is obviously used in a moral sense.

Twice treble shame on Angelo
To *weed* my vice and let his grow

Measure for Measure 3/2/283

In *Love's Labours lost* Longaville, one of the Lords attending the King, also makes a purely moral observation:—

He *weeds* the corn and still lets grow the *weeding*

Love's Labours Lost 1/1/96

In the same Play a most telling rebuke for my Lord Berowne comes from Rosaline, one of the ladies attending on the Princess of France. Berowne is a man with a sharp tongue "replete with mocks . . . and wounding flouts", and this is what he gets from Rosaline . . .

To *weed* this wormwood from your fruitful brain
And therewithall to win me if you please—
Without the which I am not to be won—
You shall this twelvemonth term, from day to day
Visit the speechless sick, and still converse
With groaning wretches; and your task shall be
With all the fierce endeavour of your wit
To enforce the pained impotent to smile.

Love's Labours lost 5/2/858

To spend a year "weeding" scoffs and gibes from his "fruitful brain" is the penalty allotted to the sharp-witted Berowne. The play then closes with one of Shakespeare's most beautiful songs . . .

> When daisies pied and violets blue,
> And lady-smocks all silver white
> And cuckoo-buds of yellow hue,
> Do paint the meadows with delight.
>
> *Love's Labours Lost* 5/2/904

This lovely song takes the form of a dialogue between Spring and Winter, but the Play ends abruptly with the strangely enigmatic line spoken by Armado:—

> The words of Mercury are harsh after the songs of Apollo.
> You that way: we, this way.
>
> *Love's Labours Lost* 5/2/940

Is the Bard suggesting by this that he proposes to intermingle a little more philosophy with his verse ?

In *As You Like It,* Jaques, whose only wish is for a motley coat under cover of which he can freely speak his mind, is also well aware that an inflated opinion of one's own wisdom is a dangerous *weed* that can easily grow rank . . .

> . . . It is my only suit
> Provided that you *weed* your better judgements
> Of all opinion that grows *rank* in them
> That I am wise . . .
>
> *As You Like It* 2/7/44

The word "weed" is also used for a garment (as in widow's weeds) and thus as a form of habit, costume or disguise. Bacon and Shakespeare both use this word in this sense.

> Why write I still all one, ever the same,
> And keep invention in a noted *weed.*
>
> *Sonnet* 76/6

> I have, though in a despised *weed,* procured the good of all men.
>
> *Bacon's Prayer.*

To Hamlet the ghost of the murdered King is visible and articulate. But to his mother, the incestuous Queen, the ghost is invisible and inaudible. So to the Queen Hamlet can only address himself as follows:—

. . . Confess yourself to Heaven
Repent what's past; avoid what is to come
And do not spread the compost on the *weeds*
To make them *ranke.*

Hamlet 3/4/149

To Bacon custom and habit are among the most powerful influences in Nature.* They govern the entire animal kingdom and most of the human kingdom too. The Queen cries to Hamlet . . . "Oh, Hamlet! thou hast cleft my heart in twain!" To which Hamlet replies . . .

O! throw away the worser part of it
And live the purer with the other half.
Goodnight; but go not to mine uncle's bed;
Assume a virtue if you have it not,
That monster, Custom, who all sense doth eat,
Of Habits devil, is Angel yet in this,
That to the use of actions fair and good
He likewise gives a frock or livery,
That aptly is put on. Refrain tonight
And that shall lend a kind of easiness
To the next abstinence; the next more easy;
For use can almost change the stamp of Nature . . .

Hamlet 3/4/157

The last line is so applicable to gardening and so Baconian in character that in quoting this passage I have digressed a little from the subject of weeds.

Mark Antony—already caught by the attractions of Cleopatra—still tries to be loyal to his wife Fulvia. Just before the news of Fulvia's death at Sicyon is announced, Antony speaks as follows:—

Speak to me home, mince not the general tongue
Name Cleopatra as she is called in Rome;
Rail thou in Fulvia's phrase; and taunt my faults
With such full licence as both truth and malice
Have power to utter. O! then we bring forth *weeds*
When our quick minds† lie still . . .

Antony and Cleopatra 1/2/114

* * * *

* See *Baconiana,* 169.

† The word "minds", given in the Bartlett Concordance, is preferred to the word "winds" which seems to be a misprint in the Folio.

As recorded by Plutarch the Egyptian Soothsayer in this Play appears on two occasions, once in Alexandria and later in Rome. Charmian, Iras and Alexas are at first disposed to make merry with him; but he meets them with the following lines:—

> In Natures infinite Book of Secrecy
> A little I can read . . .
>
> *Antony and Cleopatra* 1/2/10

On his second appearance he gives the same warning to Mark Antony that is given by Bacon in his *Sylva Sylvarum* (S 939). According to this story the Soothsayer made Antonius believe that his genius (which was otherwise brave and confident) was, in the presence of Octavius Caesar, "poore and cowardly" and therefore "*advised him to remove from him*".

In *Antony and Cleopatra* the story is the same and the Soothsayer is brought boldly on to the stage in the Shakespearean lines:—

> Therefore, O Antony, stay not by his side
> Thy demon*, that's thy spirit that keeps thee, is
> Noble, courageous, high, unmatchable,
> Where Caesar's is not, but near him thy Angel
> Becomes a fear as being overpower'd; therefore
> Make space enough between you.
>
> *Antony and Cleopatra* 2/3/17

In all three versions of the story the premonition of the Soothsayer is justified in advising Antony to " keep away " from Caesar.

This curious example of how one man can exert a psychic influence over another is common to Plutarch, Bacon, and "Shakespeare".

In Shakespeare the term "weeds" is sometimes used in reference to plants and sometimes to people who need to be uprooted. But there are many herbs and simples which, though not classed as flowers, can be valuable for medicinal use. The Doctor in *King Lear* advises the distraught Cordelia to prescribe

---

* daemon or genius.

sleep in order to calm and quieten Lear's mania. Cordelia finds her poor father . . .

> As mad as the vex'd sea; singing aloud
> Crowned with rank fumiter and furrow *weeds*
> With burdocks, hemlock, nettles, cuckoo-flowers
> Darnel and all the idle *weeds* that grow
> In our sustaining corn.
>
> *King Lear* 4/4/2

To this the Doctor replies:—

> Our foster-nurse of Nature is repose,
> The which he lacks; that to provoke in him
> Are many simples operative, whose power
> Will close the eye of anguish.
>
> *King Lear* 4/4/11

In the *Sylva Sylvarum* Bacon notices a number of so called weeds which have medicinal uses. The weed "fumiter" with which the distracted Lear is crowned, is one of those which grow naturally in corn without being sown. In corn Bacon also finds "Blue-bottle, a kind of yellow Marigold, with Poppy and Fumitory." (*Sylva Sylvarum* 482). Some of these colourful weeds, may be among the sedatives with which the good Doctor was able to "close the eye of anguish" in King Lear.

Bacon was always experimenting with herbal remedies—"puddering with physic" as he used to say. But I believe his greatest joy was in the fragrance and perfume which only the vegetable kingdom can yield, and which Art may induce it to yield in greater measure in centuries to come. It was not only in the hand that Bacon was so sensitive to perfume, but in the air and underfoot.

> And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the Air (where it comes and goes like the warbling of music) than in the hand . . .
>
> * * * *
>
> But those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three; that is Burnet, Wild-Time and Water-mints. Therefore you are to set whole Alleys of them, to have pleasure when you walk or tread.
>
> Essay: *Of Gardens*

This beautiful planet Earth, with its unmatched flora and fauna, is unique for its moisture, electricity, and its limited range of temperature. Other planets in our Solar System go far beyond this range in white heat or perpetual cold. Truly this Earth is our garden. Bacon begins his essay with the noble words "God Almightly first planted a garden". "Planted" is the operative word, and Beauty in Bacon's eyes, is the object. But the primrose and the cowslip will outlast the pylon, and the weeds, too, will always be with us. The works of Nature will continue, God willing, until the last harvest is home and the last cascade of petals is scattered on the wind.

Editor's Note: Most references to acts and scenes are taken from *Works of Shakespeare*, Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford. The remainder are taken from Charlton Hinman's Folio photostat edition.

FRANCIS BACON AFTER HIS FALL

By Benjamin Farrington

"This lord was religious,"[1] reports Rawley, chaplain and first biographer of Lord Chancellor Bacon. It was a fact neither to be taken for granted nor underestimated. Being, then, in Rawley's phrase, "conversant with God,"[2] Bacon, after his disgrace and fall in 1621, examined his conscience and recorded his findings in the form of *A Prayer or Psalm*, which he did not publish but left among his papers.

> Remember, O Lord, how thy servant hath walked before thee: remember *what I have first sought, and what hath been principal in mine intentions.* I have loved thy assemblies, I have mourned for the divisions of thy Church, I have delighted in the brightness of thy sanctuary. *This vine which thy right hand hath planted* in this nation, I have ever prayed unto thee that it might have the first and the latter rain: and that it might stretch her branches to the seas and the floods. *The state and bread of the poor* and oppressed have been precious in mine eyes: I have hated all cruelty and hardness of heart: *I have (though in a despised weed) procured the good of all men.*[3] (Italics mine.)

Here we have a chance to look with Bacon's own eyes into the state of his mind at this crisis. Since we shall be more concerned in this paper with what he was than what he accomplished, the opportunity is priceless.

What I have first sought, and what hath been principal in mine intentions: these two things are not identical. The first recalls the scriptural injunction, *Seek ye first the kingdom of God*, a text repeated over and over again as the governing principle of all his endeavors. *What hath been principal in mine intentions* has a narrower reference, namely to the new philosophy of works, which he calls in his *Masculine Birth of Time* "my only earthly wish."[4] *The Vine* is the reformed church

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[1]*The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath, 14 vols. (London 1858-74), I, 14. Hereafter cited as *Works*.

[2]*Works*, I, 14.

[3]*Works*, XIV, 227-30.

[4]Benjamin Farrington, *The Philosophy of Francis Bacon* (Liverpool, 1964), p.62.

already established in Britain, hopefully planted in Ireland, and poised for flight to the new American colonies. As George Herbert, Bacon's close friend, put it:

> Religion stands on tiptoe in our land
> Ready to pass to the American strand.[5]

The state and bread of the poor reminds us of what R. E. Ellis, Spedding's collaborator, wrote: "A deep sense of the misery of mankind is visible throughout his writings . . . Herein we see the reason why Bacon has often been called a utilitarian: not because he loved truth less than others, but because he loved men more."[6] One field in which Bacon could serve this cause was parliament, where his zeal brought him into trouble. *I have (though in a despised weed) procured the good of all men*: this phrase I find obscure. I can only interpret it as a reference to the theatre, the "despised weed" being the actor's garb.

With this multiplicity of interests it is not surprising that Bacon regarded his dismissal from office as a blessing in disguise. At the close of his *Prayer* he regrets that he has "misspent his talent in things for which he was least fit," and remarks, not for the first time, that while in office his "soul had been a stranger."[7] In this mood he began at once to make the best use of whatever time was still left to him. "The last five years of his life [1621-1626]," says Rawley, "being withdrawn from civil affairs and from an active life, he employed wholly in contemplation and studies . . . in which time he composed the greater part of his books and writings."[8]

Of these works, the *History of Henry VII* stands by itself as the only work on civil history completed by Bacon. It is a *tour de force*, written immediately after his fall in the space of some three or four months, from June to October 1621. Obviously the work had been long meditated. As early as 1605 in his *Advancement* Bacon had picked out the period from the

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[5] *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. F. E. Hutchinson (Oxford, 1941), p.197.
[6] *Works*. I, 58.
[7] *Works*, XIV, 230.
[8] *Works*, I, 8 - 9.

union of the Roses to the union of the Crowns as the key to the understanding of the emergence of England as a great power, and within that period the reign of Henry VII was the decisive moment. Others also had broken the soil. To help him he had Edward Hall's *Chronicle* and the work of Polydore Vergil, whom Henry VII had himself commissioned to write the history of England, not to mention the source materials in Robert Cotton's library. But the real preparation had been his long meditation on the history of his country and the many state papers he had prepared. Moreover, Bacon had the kind of poetic genius that could see the larger design in a world of concrete action. As Anne Righter observes, his style is "much less elaborate and implacably *written* style than many of the period, and it possesses some of the directness and immediacy of dramatic speech," for "Bacon seems to have adjusted his English style anew in every major work, fitting it as perfectly as possible to the subject matter, the purpose and the audience addressed."[9] By some coincidence Bacon's history fills the empty space in the series of Shakespeare plays from Henry IV to Henry VIII, and it challenges comparison with them. Miss Righter is a sound critic when she calls it "the blood-brother of Shakespeare's history plays."[10] Before he put pen to paper Bacon had pondered the character of the king and of the times in which he lived, and how, in his own words, "his fortune wrought upon his nature, and his nature upon his fortune."[11] Like a Sophoclean hero, or heroine, Henry is introduced in the moment of making a crucial decision, and the whole action is determined by his choice.

> But King Henry, in the very entrance of his reign and the instant of time when the kingdom was cast into his arms, met with a point of great difficulty and knotty to solve, able to trouble and confound the wisest king in the newness of his estate; and so much the more because it could not endure a deliberation, but must be at once deliberated and determined.[12]

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[9]Anne Righter, "Francis Bacon", *The English Mind: Studies in the English Moralists.* Presented to Basil Willey, ed. Hugh Davies and George Watson (Cambridge 1964) pp.29, 30.

[10]Righter, "Francis Bacon," p.24.

[11]*Works,* VI, 244.

[12]*Works,* VI, 29.

The situation showed Henry gifted with the insight to extricate himself from his immediate predicament but not with the foresight to avoid the remoter consequences of his choice, "which did spin him a thread of many seditions and troubles."[13] Thus the stage is set, and we are prepared to accompany a wise and sufficient but not supremely great king through the varied labors and fortunes of his reign, to wit, the enactment of many wise laws and the pursuit of some foolish policies; rebellion in York and revolt in Cornwall; and the high comedy of the two pretenders to the throne. Analysis is varied with narrative. The rotund oratory of Archbishop Morton contrasts with the abrupt, soldierly eloquence of the King, who, in the final analysis, is praised but not flattered. He is ranked with Louis the Eleventh of France and Ferdinand of Spain as one of "the *tres magi* of those ages,"[14] but there is added the dry final verdict: "If this king did no great matters, it was long of himself: for what he minded he compassed."[15]

When the manuscript was finished it was submitted to the King, who sent it to Fulke Greville for his approval before passing it for the printer. It was dedicated to Prince Charles; and a copy of the book, when it appeared, was sent to the King's daughter, Elizabeth of Bohemia, a special favorite with Bacon, who ten years earlier had spent much time and money contriving and producing the plays and masques which had graced her marriage to the Elector Palatine. The letter which accompanied the gift would be worth quoting for its own sake, as a tribute to the intelligence of the young and beautiful queen; but it has also the interest of giving us Bacon's own judgment on his work:

> Having written the reign of your majesty's ancestor, King Henry VII, and it having passed the file of his majesty's judgment, and been graciously also accepted of the Prince, your brother, to whom it is dedicate, I could not forget my duty so far to your excellent Majesty (to whom, for what I know and have heard, I have been at all times so much bounden as you are ever present with me in affection and admiration) as not to make unto you

[13] *Works*, VI, 31.
[14] *Works*, VI, 244.
[15] *Works*, VI, 244.

> in all humbleness a present thereof, as now being not able to give you tribute of any service. If King Henry VII were alive again, I hope verily he could not be so angry with me for not flattering his as well-pleased in seeing himself so truly described in colours that will last and be believed.[16]

Bacon knew what he intended to do. He was also pretty sure that he had done it, as witness the exquisite conclusion of the history itself:

> He was born at Pembroke Castle, and lieth buried at Westminster, in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe, both for the chapel and the sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly dead in the monument of his tomb than he did alive in Richmond or any of his palaces. I could wish he did the like in this monument of his fame.[17]

By way of contrast let us now pass from *Henry VII* to *New Atlantis*, from the world as it is to "the world as it might be if we did our duty by it,"[18] to quote Spedding's perceptive phrase. For Bensalem is emphatically not simply a technological paradise; it is a moral one. It imagines what Christendom might have been if it had followed the Hebrew tradition rather than the Greek. Its central institution, Salomon's House or The College of the Six Days' Works, "the noblest foundation that ever was upon the earth,"[19] is the creation of a people which had "sought first the Kingdom of God."[20] Having got their priorities right the men of Bensalem had avoided the sin of intellectual pride, which was the rock on which Greek philosophy had foundered; they had, like little children, taken the alphabet of nature into their hands; they had governed their quest for knowledge by the law of charity, thus making science the servant, not the master, of man; and, as their reward, they had won their utopia.

This theme is expounded many times by Bacon but nowhere more simply and more passionately than in the Preface to the

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[16] *Works*, XIV, 365.
[17] *Works*, VI, 245.
[18] *Works*, III, 122.
[19] *Works*, III, 145.
[20] *Works*, III, 137.

History of the Winds, another work written after his fall. Here Bacon lists the names of no less than eighteen philosophers, twelve Greek and six modern, each of whom, driven by intellectual pride, had committed the folly of spinning a system of philosophy out of his own head, thus obstructing the creation of a genuine natural philosophy. He then rams the lesson home:

> Without doubt we are paying for the sin of our first parents and repeating it. They wanted to become like gods; we 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 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.[21]

Having seen how closely *New Atlantis* and the *History of the Winds* cohere, we can now better understand what Bacon was about when, at this same time after his fall, he devoted the enforced leisure of a severe illness to making a rhymed version of eight of the *Psalms*. The Governor of Salomon's House, concluding his recital of their activities, adds: "We have certain hymns and services, which 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."[22] Bacon saw himself in the role of the Governor. Indeed, at this period of his life, he earnestly sought the headship of some school, like Eton or Winchester, or of a college at Oxford or Cambridge, not, of course, in order to perpetuate the old education, but to inaugurate the new. Apppropriate to this purpose are the *Student's Prayer* and the *Writer's Prayer* found among his papers,[23] imploring

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[21] *Works*, V, 132.

[22] *Works*, III, 166.

[23] *Works*, VII, 259 - 60.

God's blessing on their researches. " Control of wits and pens,"[24] was a need expressed much earlier in a letter to his uncle, Burleigh. For such an institution, we may suppose, the version of the *Psalms* was also made. They should be read in connection with the *Prayers.*

If such was their purpose, if they were intended for congregational use, Bacon may be allowed here also to have made a suitable adjustment of his style. He himself was obviously satisfied with them, as may be seen both by his haste to get them into print and by his selection of his esteemed friend, George Herbert, for the dedication. The psalms chosen were determined by this end. *Psalm CIV,* the supreme Hebrew hymn to the Creation, was foreordained as the most appropriate vehicle of " thanks to God for his marvellous work."[25] *Psalm XC* is, by the zeal of the translator, made more appropriate to his purpose than it really is. Where the *Book of Common Prayer* says simply: *Show thy servant thy works and their children thy glory,* Bacon in his paraphrase, expands and points it up into a prophetic foreshadowing of the success of the Great Instauration:

> Begin thy work, O Lord, in this our age,
> Show it unto thy servants who now live:
> But to our children raise it many a stage,
> That all the world to thee may glory give.[26]

It was characteristic of the age to search the Scriptures for prophecies: the verse from *Daniel* printed on the title-page of *Instauratio Magna* is the most conspicuous example of Bacon's conformity with this practice. But it is worth saying that there is nothing in his works to be compared with the extravagance of Newton's interpretation of *Daniel.* On this subject Bacon shows all his usual caution. Prophecy, both pagan and Christian, had a long history which, he thought, deserved study. This study, he

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[24] *Works,* VIII, 109.
[25] *Works,* VIII, 283.
[26] *Works,* VII, 280.

adds, " I find deficient," but " it is to be done with great wisdom, sobriety, and reverence, or not at all."[27]

In turning now to consider Bacon's greatest book, *De Augmentis Scientiarum,* my first concern must be with the ethical theories Bacon derived from the Bible. There was, to quote a phrase of Arnold Toynbee's, " a hollow place at the heart of Hellenic culture."[28] This the Reformation filled up when it dethroned Aristotle and put the Bible in the empty place. " Judaism," writes a modern authority, " is not a science of nature, but a science of what man ought to do with nature."[29] Bacon's conception of this ethic of science is one of the great themes of *De Augmentis.* The error of the Greeks, according to him, lay in their most general conception of the relation between God, Man, and Nature. They supposed the universe (or macrocosm) to be an image of the divine, and Man (the microcosm) to be an image of the universe. Man was thus subordinate to Nature and his highest perfection was to live according to Nature. This view Bacon sets aside. " The heathen opinion," he writes, " differs from the sacred truth; for they supposed the world to be the image of God, and man the image of the world; whereas the Scriptures never vouchsafe to attribute to the world such honour as anywhere to call it the image of God, but only the work of his hands; but man they directly term the image of God."[30]

This Biblical doctrine of Man as the image of God carries with it a distinction between the human or rational soul and the animal or irrational soul, which is fundamental for Bacon's system of thought. The rational soul springs:

> . . . from the breath of God, the other from the womb of the elements. For touching the first generation of the rational soul, the Scripture says, *He hath made man of the dust of the earth and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life*; whereas the generation of the irrational soul, or that of the brutes, was effected by the words: *Let the water bring forth; let the earth bring forth.* Now

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[27] *Works,* IV, 313.

[28] Arnold Toynbee, *Civilization on Trial* (New York, 1948) p.84.

[29] Abraham Heschel, *God in Search of Man* (New York, 1955), p.292.

[30] *Works,* IV, 341.

> this soul, the irrational, as it exists in man, is only the instrument of the rational soul, and has its origin, like that of the brutes, in the dust of the earth . . . But yet, as hitherto I handle philosophy only, I would not have borrowed this division from theology, if it were not consonant with the principles of philosophy also. For there are many and great excellences of the human soul above the souls of the brutes, manifest even to those who philosophise according to the sense. Now, wherever the mark of so many and great excellences is found, there also a specific difference ought to be constituted; and therefore I do not much like the confused and promiscuous manner in which philosophers have handled the function of the soul; as if the human soul differed from the spirit of brutes in degree rather than in kind: as the sun differs from the stars, or gold from metals.[31]

In our age, say in the last hundred years, there have been two contradictory developments in the conception of the nature of man. Evolutionary biology has had the effect of plunging man more deeply, and fixing him more firmly, in the animal kingdom. On the other hand, archaeology and anthropology tell a different story. They tend to widen the gap between man and animal. Francis Bacon would be in the second camp. "We must observe," he says, " that the light of nature is used in two several senses: the one, as far as it springs from sense, induction, reason, argument, according to the laws of heaven and earth: the other, as far as it flashes upon the spirit of man by an inward instinct, according to the law of conscience, which is a spark and relic of his primitive and original purity."[32] The notion of a primitive and original purity may be out of fashion; nevertheless many would agree with Bacon's pronouncement in the *Advancement* that " a great part of the moral law is of that perfection, whereunto the law of nature cannot aspire."[33]

I dwell on this point because ignorance of Bacon's position is now so common. For C. S. Lewis, Bacon was a mere empiricist, virtually a magician, with a contempt for all knowledge that is not utilitarian.[34] Professor Danby follows suit, telling us that

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[31] *Works*, IV, 396 - 97.

[32] *Works*, III, 479.

[33] *Works*, III, 479.

[34] C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (Oxford, 1954), pp.3, 14, 525.

Bacon's plan was to study nature " in order to discover how he ought to behave,"[35] unaware of Bacon's formal declaration that " if any man shall think by view and enquiry into these sensible and material things to attain to any light for the revealing of the nature and will of God, he shall dangerously abuse himself."[36] He accuses Bacon of " making his account of Nature's internal structure almost crudely rational,"[37] in defiance of Bacon's general dictum that logic cannot deal with the subtlety of nature.[38] He speaks of Bacon's " naive hypostasis of the logical method,"[39] ignoring Bacon's warning: " It is a false assertion that the sense of man is the measure of all things. On the contrary, all perceptions both of the sense and of the mind are according to the measure of the individual, not of the universe."[40] And all this Lewis-Danby business rests on the assumption that their intellectual operations are conducted at a depth unplumbed by Bacon. Danby is more suave than Lewis, but equally contemptuous: " Bacon is brisk and efficient. He always sounds like the new manager descending on the old firm. We hear the swish of his new broom, and are constantly surprised to recognize the familiar bric-a-brac cleaned up and offered as a new line."[41] This general examination of the works written after Bacon's fall will disprove, I hope, such assertions. But there are better means to challenge such critics.

In the *De Augmentis* of these last years, Bacon divides the whole field of learning into three parts: History, Philosophy, and Poetry, with reference, as he says, to the three intellectual faculties of Memory, Reason, and Imagination. In all three fields Bacon was himself a practitioner. He was historian, philosopher, and, in Sidney's and in Shelley's sense, a poet, that is to say, an imagina-

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[35] John F. Danby, *Shakespeare's Doctrine of Nature: A Study of King Lear* (London, 1949) pp. 20 - 24.

[36] *Works*, III, 218.

[37] Danby, *Shakespeare's Doctrine of Nature*, p.23.

[38] *Works*, IV, 51.

[39] Danby, *Shakespeare's Doctrine of Nature*, p.24.

[40] *Works, IV*, 54.

[41] Danby, *Shakespeare's Doctrine of Nature*, p.21.

tive writer, not necessarily a writer in verse. Indeed, using the word in this sense, we may say that Bacon's career as a writer began with poetry, since even before the publication of his *Essays* in 1597 he was known at Gray's Inn and in Court circles as a writer of masques. The first mention of his name in this connection is in 1588, when the title of his contribution is unknown. But two extant writings, *Mr. Bacon in Praise of Knowledge* and *Mr. Bacon's Discourse in Praise of his Sovereign,* are thought to have formed part of the masque presented to the Queen in 1592. The latter is a panegyric full of substance and fire in which the roles in world affairs of Spain and England are contrasted with passion and imagination. The former, the first formal publication by Bacon of the reform of knowledge which was later to become *The Great Instauration,* is an effort by Bacon to enlist the support of the Queen for the new project forming in his mind. Such was the fanfare which inaugurated the campaign to win the support of the Sovereign for what Bacon always considered *Regium Opus* (King's Business), the restoration of a reformed mankind to his promised dominion over nature.

The story of Bacon's masques does not end here. In the masque called *The Prince of Purpoole,* presented at Gray's Inn in 1594, six counsellors addressed their Prince on the subjects of War, Philosophy, Buildings and Foundations, Reform of the Administration, the Education of a Good and Virtuous Prince, and finally Pastimes and Sports. The speeches were all written by Francis Bacon. The last is in a vein of humor which recalls *Love's Labour's Lost.* "What! Nothing but tasks," protests the speaker, "nothing but working days? No feasting, no music, no dancing, no triumphs, no comedies, no love, no ladies?"[42] The next masque, produced probably in the same year, and known as the *Philautia Device,* takes the masque a long step nearer drama, but is too elaborate for description here. Too little attention has, it seems to me, been directed to the fact that up until the death of the Queen, when Bacon was forty-two, he was known to the public only as the author of a slim volume of

[42] *Works,* VIII, 341.

essays, but to the select circles of the Royal Court and the Inns of Court as a writer and contriver of masques. Masques, presented on occasions when royalty would be present, were the only form in which Bacon had yet publicized the cherished philosophic project which we know from his letters and unpublished writings was his chief concern.

These considerations may help us to solve a problem on which even Spedding said he could throw no light. When King James was on his way from Edinburgh to London to mount the English throne Francis Bacon had occasion to write to Sir John Davies, who had gone some way from London to meet and escort the new King. Sir John Davies, already known as the author of *Orchestra* (a poem to which Bacon makes graceful allusion in his *History of the Winds*), was, like Fulke Greville, a friend of Francis Bacon. They had all been strong adherents of the Essex faction before it turned to treasonable courses. We cannot, therefore, dismiss the significance of the fact that Bacon concludes his letter to Sir John with the phrase: "So, desiring you to be good to concealed poets . . ."[43] The phrase, "concealed poet," seems to have been current at the time. John Aubrey in his *Brief Lives* applies it again to Bacon: "His Lordship was a good Poet, but conceal'd, as appeares by his Letters."[44] In assigning a meaning to the phrase I suggest we should bear in mind Bacon's long devotion to the art of the masque, which won him a high reputation in a restricted circle. But to this it should be added that, if we look about us, it is easier to find evidence of the poetry than of the concealment. Thomas Campion (*Epigrammatum II*) writes:

> Quantus ades, seu te spinosa volumina juris,
> Seu schola, seu dulcis Musa (Bacone) vocat!

And Sir John Davies of Hereford, poet and calligrapher, also celebrates the lawyer-poet. Of Bacon and his Muse he writes in his *Scourge of Folly*:

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[43] *Works*, X, 65.

[44] John Aubrey, "Francis Bacon: Viscount St. Albans," *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. Oliver L. Dick (London, 1949), p.10.

> For thou dost her embosom; and doth use
> Her company for sport twixt grave affairs:
> So utterest Law the livelier through thy Muse:
> And for that all thy notes are sweetest Aires,
> My Muse thus notes thy worth in every line,
> With ink which thus she sugars, so to shine.

I concern myself with Bacon's reputation as a poet, not in order to involve myself in the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy, but in order to protest against the systematic depreciation of the poetical side of Bacon's genius now current. By a fashionable school he is denied the most ordinary sensibility to the appeal of poetry. "There is never any indication," writes L. C. Knights in his *Explorations,* "that Bacon has been *moved* by poetry or that he attaches any value to its power of deepening and refining the emotions."[45] The notion that Bacon was interested only in facts, and in facts only insofar as they could be turned to multiply vulgar satisfactions, makes impossible any fruitful study of his observations on poetry and ethics. For this, if for no other, reason it is pertinent to recall that Bacon in the eyes of his contemporaries was himself a poet, and a good one.

For Bacon, poetry, the medium of expression of the imagination, is an essential activity of man. In the *De Augmentis* of these last years, Bacon defined this activity:

> A sound argument may be drawn from poesy, to show that there is agreeable to the spirit of man a more ample greatness, a more perfect order, and a more beautiful variety than it can anywhere (since the Fall) find in nature . . . So that this poesy conduces not only to delight but also to magnanimity and morality. Whence it may fairly be thought to partake somewhat of a divine nature; because it raises the mind and carries it aloft, accommodating the shows of things to the desires of the mind, not (like reason and history) buckling and bowing down the mind to the nature of things.[46]

This imaginative quality of poetry is at its highest in Parabolic Poesy, which is used by religion "as a means of communi-

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[45] L. C. Knights, "Bacon and the Seventeenth-Century Dissociation of Sensibility," *Explorations: Essays in Criticism Mainly on the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1947), p. 122.
[46] *Works,* IV, 315-16.

cation between divinity and humanity."[47] As a method of teaching, parabolic poetry is found in all ages, whether as ancient mythology or modern allegory. "Poesy seems to bestow upon human nature those things which history denies it";[48] but it is not for this reason false or illusory. "We see that in matters of faith and religion our imagination raises itself above our reason; not that divine illumination resides in the imagination: its seat being rather in the very citadel of the mind and understanding."[49] Such sentences, one trusts, will be remembered when *Explorations* is forgotten.

In order to confute such critics as Knights, therefore, and to show the further effect of these last works of Bacon, one should speak of dramatic poetry as defined in the *De Augmentis.* Here we are at once aware of a change of atmosphere. Of the two aims of the *De Augmentis,* to describe the existing state of knowledge or to alert us as to its deficiencies, the latter now comes to the fore. Bacon's concern is not so much with the history of dramatic literature as with the defects of the contemporary stage.

> Dramatic poetry, which has the theatre for its world, would be of excellent use if well directed. For the stage is capable of no small influence both of discipline and of corruption. Now for corruption in this kind we have enough; but the discipline in our time has been plainly neglected . . . Yet among the ancients it was the means of educating men's minds to virtue . . . And certainly it is most true, and one of the great secrets of nature, that the minds of men are more open to impressions and affections when many are gathered together than when they are alone.[50]

The topic recurs, and gets even fuller treatment in the seventh book of the *De Augmentis,* which is devoted to ethics. Here Bacon observes that the moral philosophers have succeeded well in describing the virtues, but have failed in teaching us how to cultivate them. This branch of knowledge, which he calls the

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[47] *Works,* IV, 316.
[48] *Works,* IV, 315.
[49] *Works,* IV, 406.
[50] *Works,* IV, 316.

Georgics of the Mind, requires a much richer knowledge of the permanent characters and transient dispositions and affections of men than the moralists provide. With some scorn Bacon remarks that the psychology of the astrologers, who distinguish men's natures and dispositions according to the predominance of the planets, is much richer in observation than the moral theory of the philosophers.

To supplement this defect in moral theory, and to show how characters may be overborne or strengthened as the dispositions and affections are excited in the strain and stress of actual life, Bacon calls in the aid of the historians proper and also of the dramatic poets, whose province is " feigned history "; which, as Bacon knew from Aristotle, is even more philosophical than history. As the best source for this kind of knowledge, Bacon directs our attention first to " the wiser sort of historians,"[51] and not so much to the brief character sketches usually inserted on the death of an illustrious personage, but much more to the narrative itself as often as such a personage enters upon the stage; " for a character so worked into the narrative gives a better idea of the man "[52] than any formal review can. Such historians are Livy, Tacitus, Philip de Comines, and Guicciardini. Attention should also be directed to the modifications in the natural character produced by such individual circumstances as sex, age, habitat, sickness or health, beauty or deformity, kingship, nobility or obscurity, riches or want, magistracy or private station, prosperity or adversity. When he gets to this point, Bacon seems to realize that the dramatists will be needed to supplement the historians proper. He therefore concludes:

> But to speak of the real truth, the poets and writers of history are the best doctors of this knowledge, where we may find painted forth with great life and dissected, how affections are kindled and excited, and how pacified and restrained, and how again contained from act and further degree; how they disclose themselves, though repressed and concealed; how they work; how they vary; how they are enwrapped one within another; how they fight and encounter one with another; and many other particularities of this kind.[53]

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[51] *Works,* V, 21.

[52] *Works,* V, 21.

[53] *Works, V,* 23 - 24.

It is historically of interest to bear in mind that this splendid assessment of the contribution of the drama to morality was published in 1623, the same year as the First Folio of Shakespeare.

In the passages we have quoted from the fourth and seventh books of *De Augmentis* we have found Bacon viewing the theatre from two different angles. First, he is interested in the stage as a uniquely effective means of popular education, owing to " the great secret of nature "[54] that men are more receptive to moral influences when gathered together than when alone. In the second place, he considers the drama and history as the best sources of material for an improved science of ethics. Making ethics more scientific was an old concern of his. In *Novum Organum* he had written:

> It may be asked whether I speak of natural philosophy only, or whether I mean that the other sciences, logic, ethics, and politics, should be carried on by this method. Now I certainly mean what I have said to be understood of them all . . . For I form a history and tables of discovery for anger, fear, shame, and the like; for matters political; and again for the mental operations of memory, composition and division; judgment and the rest; not less than for heat and cold, or light, or vegetation, or the like.[55]

Here it should be pointed out that Bacon did not share the modern opinion that the study of animal behaviour is a reliable source of ethical theory. He was not interested in " the hairless ape." His intention was to make ethics more scientific by the examination of the relevant material, namely human behaviour. His originality in the *De Augmentis* was to include dramatic literature among the fruitful fields of research in his endeavour to " form a history and tables of discovery "[56] for human emotions and mental operations.

In conclusion, we may ask ourselves how much Bacon was able to accomplish in his last five years. In 1620, *The Great Instauration,* as we learn from its *Distributio Operis,* was to

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[54] *Works,* IV, 316.
[55] *Works,* IV, 112.
[56] *Works,* IV, 112.

consist of Six Parts, and we shall consider the achievement of Bacon in each after his fall in 1621.

First: A panoramic view of the whole field of human knowledge with special emphasis on the defective parts. This was completed and published in *De Augmentis Scientiarum* in 1623 with its list at the end of no less than fifty important *desiderata.* If he were alive today Bacon would rejoice that so many have been struck off the list. Another smaller, but yet very important, *desideratum* can be briefly described, namely, the collection and publication of a *corpus* of the fragments of the Pre-Socratic philosophers. Bacon was the first to see that, without this, the whole history of Western philosophy is distorted. Two hundred years later the lack was supplied.

Second: A new logic. This was accomplished, so far as it was then necessary that it should be accomplished, with the publication of *Novum Organum* in 1620. For this work, brilliant though it is, remains a fragment and contains the announcement that Bacon has now come to understand the greater urgency of a new aspect of his logical reform. He had carried the reform of the inductive process as far as the times required: what was now needed was a more ample store of information on which the new logic could be set to work.

Third: This more ample store of information was described by Bacon as an *Encyclopaedia of Nature and of Art,* and it now came to occupy the first place in Bacon's mind. Its novelty was the combination in one great collection of the products both of nature and of art, that is, the products of Nature when left to herself (*natura libera*) and those of Nature coerced by man (*natura vexata.*) Bacon thought of it as a work about six times as big as Pliny's *Natural History.* But all that he managed to complete of it before he died, serving, as he said to King James, like a hodman when he might have hoped to be an architect,[57] was a collection of one thousand items, partly at second-hand, from

[57] *Works,* V, 4.

Aristotle, Pliny, Porta, Cordan, and partly from his own observation. Yet if one will forget all he learned at school about Mechanics, and Heat, Light and Sound, and the elements of Physics and Chemistry, which the world did not then know, the modern reader will find much to admire in Bacon's patient toil. Let him choose a limited portion of the book, say Century II, which is concerned with music and sounds, and concentrate on that. He will not only have the pleasure of learning something of Bacon himself, but he will be surprised at the range and perceptiveness of the observations and the shrewdness of the lines of fresh enquiry suggested.

Fourth: A work provisionally called *The Ladder of the Intellect.* This was to be a theoretical work designed to show how the mind, even before the completion of the *Encyclopedia,* could arrive at soundly-based axioms in certain selected fields. Bacon had not time to put such a volume together, but he left a number of what he called *legitimate enquiries,* examples of which are his papers *On Motion, On Heat and Cold, On Sound and Hearing.* These do not show him a gifted experimentalist but he did arrive at some sound insights, e.g., that heat is a form of motion.

Fifth: A work provisionally called *Forerunners* or *Anticipations of the New Philosophy.* In this he intended to go beyond the purely theoretical level of Part Four by including fruitful applications of his results to practical ends. The best examples of this class are (i) *History of the Winds,* in which practical applications to sailing and milling are included with theoretical researches, and (ii) *History of Life and Death,* a medical work, of which the purpose is, not to make Methuselahs of us all (although there is an interesting study of longevity), but to ensure that our threescore years and ten should be healthy and active and death not too difficult when it comes.

Sixth: Of this Bacon says: "The Sixth Part of my work (to which the rest is subservient and ministrant) discloses and sets forth that philosophy which by the legitimate, chaste, and severe

course of enquiry which I have explained and provided is at length developed and established. The completion, however, of this last part is a thing both above my strength and beyond my hopes."[58] By these words, however, Bacon did not imagine that he was postponing the fulfilment of his hopes until the millennium. In one place (*Parasceve*) he is optimistic enough to expect that " the investigation of nature and of all sciences will be the work of a few years."[59]

This expectation of a vast and imminent change in the fortunes of the human race was shared by many of his contemporaries. It is best expressed, with all its religious overtones, in Cowley's *Ode:*

> From these and all long errors of the way
> In which our wandering predecessors went,
> And like the Old Hebrews many years did stray
> In deserts of but small extent,
> Bacon, like Moses, led us forth at last . . .

It helps us to understand the urgency with which Bacon pursued his goal; and, also, if we look closer, the singleness of purpose which underlies the apparent dispersal of his energies. All were parts of the one great plan. Even the new version of the Psalms was meant to take its place, along with the *Student's Prayer* and the *Writer's Prayer,* in the research institute he hoped to guide. His *New Atlantis* is an encouraging anticipation of what our world might be, or even already might have been, if we consented to put first things first. *Henry VII* is a study of the power and responsibilities of kingship, the study of a wise king who yet plundered his subjects; a king who declared in his will " that his mind was, that restitution should be made of those sums which has been justly taken by his officers";[60] a monarch whom, in a mixture of praise and rebuke, Bacon calls " this Solomon of

[58] *Works,* IV, 32.
[59] *Works,* V, 133.
[60] *Works,* V, 237.

England, for Solomon also was too heavy upon his people."[61] As for the *Essays*, especially the new ones written for the last edition, they too have their place in the plan. Number XXIX (*Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates*), translated into Latin, probably by Hobbes, was actually incorporated in *De Augmentis*. Others (XV, *Of Seditions and Troubles;* XXXIII, *Of Plantations;* and XLI, *Of Usary*) might equally well have been. For his aim was not simply a reform of natural philosophy but of society, a truth obscured if we suppose the foundation of the Royal Society to have been a fulfilment of more than a fraction of his plan, but illuminated if we think of Comenius, or Boerhaave, or Vico, or Rousseau, or Milton, or Coleridge, or Shelley, men whose minds had been enlarged by the Baconian conception of a possible new way of life.

It is a modern notion that Bacon ended his days in disgrace. In the midst of his troubles, some public, some private, he seems to have been a happy man. "He that dies in an earnest pursuit is like one that is wounded in hot blood; who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt . . . But above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is, *Nunc dimittis*, when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations."[62] "All that were great and good loved and honoured him,"[63] reports Aubrey, who had his picture of Bacon from his friend Hobbes, whose life spanned the generations. Ben Jonson, a seasoned and candid friend and helper, remained on his old footing, "knowing no accident could do harm to virtue, but rather help to make it manifest."[64] To George Herbert Bacon remained a unique figure, "mundique et animarum sacerdos unicus,"[65] the priest who had brought about the marriage between the universe and men's souls. Indeed, Rawley, in his biography published just after Bacon's death in 1627, is "induced

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[61] *Works*, V, 237.

[62] *Works*, V, 380.

[63] Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, p.9.

[64] Ben Jonson, *Timber or discoveries Made upon Men and Matter*, ed. Felix E. Schelling (Boston, 1892), p.32.

[65] Herbert, *Works*, p.436.

to think that if there were a beam of knowledge derived from God upon any man in these modern times, it was upon him."[66]

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[66] *Works*, I, 6.

WATERMARKS ASSOCIATED WITH FRANCIS BACON

by E. and M. Brameld

The craft of papermaking is nearly 200 years older than that of printing. Papermarks and printers' ornaments are intellectual heirlooms that not only crystallise many beautiful ideas, Bayley tells us, but are historical documents throwing unexpected sidelights on the obscurity of the Middle Ages.* This applies equally to the period of the English Renaissance, and many new ideas concerning Francis Bacon emerge from a study of these papermarks or watermarks.

Readers are reminded that watermarks and woodcuts are not identical in form and nature and the two terms are therefore not synonymous. Watermarks are produced during the manufacture of the paper, the design being impressed on to the soft pulp by a wire mould; whereas wood cuts are stamped on to the dried and finished sheet of paper during the process of printing. After words have been printed on both sides of a sheet of paper, watermarks are only discernible if the page is held up to the light. Woodcuts, on the other hand, are intended to be clearly visible and therefore receive the same amount of ink as the typeset. However, one feature which is common to both processes is the introduction of emblems in Renaissance designs.

A Baconian watermark falls into a specific category and may be referred to as a pillar watermark, a pot watermark, etc., although an emblem may bear one or two further hieroglyphs by way of embellishment to the original outline; a shield, for example, though emblematic itself, may have other symbols bearing a different signification, such as a *fleur-de-lys,* rays or pearls, the number four, a cruciform flower, or a crown. Despite these embellishments the watermark is basically a shield and therefore one category alone.

An emblematic headline or tailpiece on the other hand, will be seen to consist of symbols of more than one category, the

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* *A New Light On The Renaissance*: Harold Bayley.

number of emblems employed varying according to the size and the simplicity or complexity of the design. In Baconian designs each emblem is invariably connected to the next one to form a framework. Baconian watermarks used at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries had a purpose different from that nowadays.

Watermarks then were not used as mere manufacturers' trademarks, as is the case today, but were the means of conveying secret information to the members of some widely spread society, such as the Rosicrucians. This group was moved by motives of religion, and in its highest branches was a Christian philosophical fraternity. It was also bent upon promoting Christian knowledge of an ethical and mystical nature, as well as extending the bounds of all knowledge so that there would be a general advancement in learning. This was, of course, the fundamental aim of Bacon's life. Because of this the subject matter of the books did not necessarily affect the paper marks, which tended to remain on the religious side even though the book itself might be secular. So consistently spiritual in concept were these watermarks that they acted as hallmarks of that fraternity.

The founder of the Francis Bacon Society, Mrs. Henry Pott, made a detailed study of Renaissance books and manuscripts at the British Museum, noting many important details and arriving at valuable and interesting conclusions. From these we learn that the three paper marks, the pillars, the grapes and the pitcher or pot, are essentially Baconian, the pot especially being found in all Bacon's acknowledged works, and throughout the correspondence of Anthony and Francis Bacon. The pot seems to have been in one edition, at least, of every work produced by Anthony and Francis, or published under their auspices.

According to Mrs. Henry Pott, the Baconian pitchers or pots first appeared in a book dated 1580, and ceased to be used after 1680, a period of a hundred years. They, like the rest of the marks, increase in size from about one inch to seven inches. The use of the grapes seems to have begun in about 1600 and to have continued after 1680 only in France. The pillars appeared

later still, after the alleged death of Francis Bacon, and remained in use for about fifty years. The three marks all disappeared in England in about 1680.

After examining at random 39 volumes of the Renaissance period, Mrs. Pott noticed that every one of them contained the pot or pitcher watermark. In addition, the grapes were in 19, the pillars in 12, and shields in 16, the last being another design used by the fraternity. A large number of the pots were inscribed with the letters AB, FB, B, R, RC, or CR, probably referring respectively to Anthony Bacon, Francis Bacon, Bacon, Rosicrucian, Rosi Crosse, Christus Redemptor. The notepaper on which Lady Anne Bacon wrote to Anthony in 1592† bears an example of a pot watermark. More specimens of this watermark can be seen in the 1605, 1640, and 1674 editions of Francis Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, in the 1638 and 1645 editions of *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, in his "Translation of Certaine Psalms", 1625, his *History of Life and Death*, 1637 and 1638, *The Wisdom of the Ancients*, 1638, *History of Henry VII*, 1638, *Sylva Sylvarum*, 1651 and 1658, and *The New Atlantis*, 1669.

Bible students (such as the Bacon family are likely to have been) conceived an image of human life in terms of a pot of clay (asserts Mrs. Pott)—a most "compounded" but a brittle and perishable thing. The clay is but the earthly material into which all the vital spirits of nature are "infused and mixed up with the clay, for it is most true that of all things in the universe, man is the most composite.* The use of the word "composite" can be regarded as an ideograph since it embraces the belief held by the ancients that man was composed, amongst other things, of the four elements, Earth, Water, Air and Fire, in that order. Four of Bacon's "Inquisitions" suggest that he was not only cognisant of this theory but also accepted it.

In an article on "Bacon's Inquisitions and the Sonnets" (*Baconiana*, January, 1907), F. C. Hunt wrote:

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† In the Archbishop Tenison MSS.

* *Fable of Prometheus*, by Francis Bacon.

Shakespeare also appears to have held the same opinion. In *Twelfth Night,* Toby quite suddenly and irrelevantly asks:-

> " Does not our life consist of the foure Elements ? "

Sir Andrew avoids committing himself by a direct answer in reply:-

> " Faith, so they say, but I think it rather consists of eating and drinking "

Two of Shake-speare's Sonnets - 44 and 45 - are based upon and adopt this theory of the four elements. No. 44 deals with earth and water (slow and dense elements) and No. 45 with air and fire (quicker and more rarefied elements) identified with thought and desire. These four elements are said to be " life's composition ".

> Cleopatra exclaims:- " Husband, I come: I am Fire and Ayre; my other Elements I give to baser life ".

That is, to Anthony in the spirit-life she gave the elements of her spirit - her thought and desire; and to the baser life of the earth she returned the elements of earth and water of her material body . . . . .

Since the watermark of the pot or pitcher typifies a receptacle for storing the sacred liquor of knowledge, we can perceive the logic of comparing the pot with man who is also capable of doing this. There are many references in the Bible to a pot or pitcher being used as a container for something useful or nutritious such as oil, water, milk, and honey. Similarly the body of man is a vessel or vehicle containing the soul and spirit, which in turn sustain and vivify the body.

Bacon's reference in the *Fable of Prometheus* to the vital spirits of nature " infused and mixed up with the clay," is reiterated by Falstaff† when he speaks of " this foolish compounded clay-man ". In *Richard II* there is a similar analogy:

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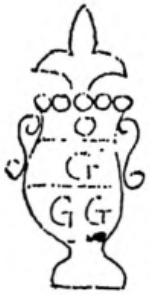
† *Henry IV:* 1/111/6.

" Men are but gilded loam and painted clay ".* Here we get an expansion of this image by the inclusion of the word "painted"—man is painted clay. The fact that it is painted suggests that something is added to the original. According to the manner of the painting, whether it is artistically done or not, so will the prototype be either enhanced or spoilt. If the pot of clay is a symbol for man's physical body and personality, it follows that man can enhance his outward appearance and improve his personality, that is he can develop his potential. If on the other hand the clay is painted badly the original model will be spoilt, and there will be no advance made on the initial potential.

This striking metaphor " men are but gilded loam and painted clay " is an example of the aphoristic style of writing—many thoughts compressed into a few words—much used by Francis Bacon. This quotation from Shakespeare, therefore, not only displays the Baconian aphoristic and poetic style of writing but links up with the watermark of the pot, and the concept of the pot of clay.

Before leaving the subject of pot watermarks let us analyse the component parts of the two examples shown on the page of illustrations. These both appeared in the 1638 edition of Bacon's *De Augmentis Scientiarum*. The one portrayed on the left has the much used " double SS " handles referring to Sanctus Spiritus, and five pearls across the top which represent the celestial regions, both surmounted by a *fleur-de-lys*, the Rosicrucian symbol for The Trinity. The letters G, GG, can be seen in the centre of the pot referring to God, the Grand Geometrician, which is, we believe, a Masonic conception of God. The second pot watermark to be shown is slightly bigger and is more elaborate. It only has one S handle, presumably alluding to Spiritus. The lid of the pot is embellished with five rays, typifying light, and each ray is tipped with pearls. The two outer and the central rays have three pearls on each, and the other two, on either side of the central ray, have one pearl each. The two rays we take to be an allusion to dualism, while the three rays probably refer to the principle of triplicity,

* 1/1/187.

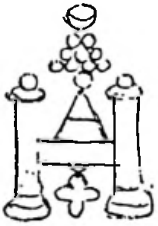


(1)

De Augmentis 1638.

(2)

De Augmentis. 1638.



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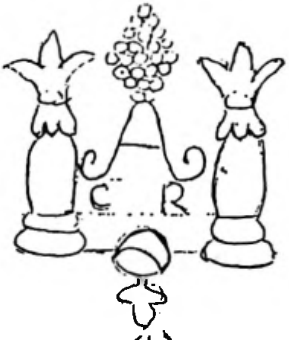
De Augmentis 1638



(4)

De Augmentis 1674.

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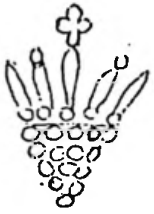
History of Life
And Death. 1658.



(6)

Wisdom of the Ancients.
1638.

Watermarks appearing in Bacon's Works published between 1638 and 1674.

and the sum of the three groups of three pearls totals nine, the number denoting Truth. Above the central ray is the cruciform flower, comprising four petals in the shape of a cross, which does seem to be an emblem connected with the Rosicrucians who either used the rose at the centre of a cross, or else merged these two emblems into one, producing thereby the cruciform flower. Above this emblem is displayed a crescent moon which Harold Bayley tells us* symbolised Thoth, who was regarded by the Egyptians as the pathfinder and awakener of sleeping minds. We can see how this description could also be applied to Francis Bacon.

The pot, as has already been stated, was regarded as a container for storing the liquor of knowledge, which Bacon considered was a most important requisite towards the achievement of his goal for the advancement of learning, not only for his own generation but for posterity. He wrote a most beautiful passage about this:

> The means for the advancement of learning include three things: the places of learning, the books of learning, and the persons of the learned. For, as water, whether it be the dew of heaven or the springs of the earth, easily scatters and loses itself in the ground, except it be collected into some receptacle, where it may consort, comfort and sustain itself, so this excellent liquor of knowledge . . . would soon perish and vanish into oblivion, if it were not preserved in books, traditions and conferences.

Thus the pot watermark symbolises two of the ways of storing knowledge: (1) in books, and (2) the passing of knowledge by oral tradition from generation to generation. Hence the additional allusion to man being like a pot of clay, a container for the vital spirits of nature and the four elements, and the mind of man as being the instrument for storing knowledge.

Having discussed the pot watermark, let us now pass on to the next category of watermarks, namely pillars.

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* *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

The description in *New Atlantis* of the pillar of light which was seen by the early inhabitants of Bensalem rising out of the sea, and which served as a demonstration to them of the powers of God and His supernatural forces, is an indication that Bacon equated pillars with light. Presumably it was for this reason that Mrs. Pott regarded candlesticks as an equivalent symbol to pillars, both possessing an affinity with light. Thus the watermarked emblem which Mr. Bayley designates as pillars she describes as candlesticks.

In an article entitled "The Alchemistic At-one-ment" in *Baconiana*,† Harold Bayley stated:

> Just as the pot (or pitcher) symbolised Man, so this pillar mark is the emblem of man's Renaissance; the two designs are complementary to each other and epitomise the Hermetic Art.
>
> The alchemists held that there was a duality in man. Under the veiling terms "sun and moon", "active and passive", they indicated this duality. Swedenborg expressed this duality by the terms "will and understanding". In Freemasonry the same idea seems to be conveyed by the two Pillars of the Porch—the twin principles of Strength and Beauty which stand on the threshold of the Temple of Man's Soul.

Many mystics use the terms Understanding for Knowledge or Truth, and Will for Love. In 1664 Robert Boyle wrote in his *Natural Philosophy*:—

> There are two things which most ennoble man and make him resemble the Gods—to know the truth and to do good; for that divine part of man—the soul—which alone is capable of wearing the glorious image of its author, being endowed with two chief faculties—the Understanding and the Will—the former is blest and perfectionated by Knowledge, and the latter's loveliest and most improving property is goodness.

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† April, 1907: Third Series.

This passage certainly reflects Baconian concepts with the linking of the terms " will and understanding " and " truth and goodness ".

" The two watermarked pillars or principles are," asserts Harold Bayley, " in every case, connected to each other by symbols of the Divine, either the Grapes, i.e. the True Vine, the Trefoil, i.e. the Trinity, or by an A and an O, i.e. Alpha and Omega." In the 1638 edition of Francis Bacon's *De Augmentis Scientiarum* there are examples of this watermark, the pillars combined with grapes. One has the A and O, a cruciform flower and a bunch of nine grapes (nine representing the Hebrew word for Truth) surmounted by a sun/moon. The same work has a slightly different watermark in the 1674 edition. Although it is still within the category of a pillar watermark the design of the pillars is different for these have been divided into three sections comprising two steps and an oval surmounted by capitals in the shape of *fleurs-de-lys* and three leaves. The pillars therefore emphasise the number three, expressing thereby the Trinity (the principle of triplicity), and the three Kingdoms, the Natural, the Human, and the Divine. Both editions of the *De Augmentis* have the grape clusters, in the 1638 edition in the shape of a triangle, and in the 1674 edition in a diamond formation. According to Harold Bayley a diamond denotes the heavenly jewel of knowledge. Geoffrey Hodson tells us* that grapes and the vine symbolise knowledge, wisdom, and comprehension of the spirit of things. Therefore we suggest that in this emblem there is a double reference to Bacon's goal and the ideal of Everyman: firstly the acquisition of knowledge, both exoteric and esoteric, and secondly the cultivation and raising of the human mind so that it scintillates like a diamond and is capable of comprehending the spirit of things.

Both the 1638 and 1674 editions of the *De Augmentis* display the letter A between the two pillars, the earlier edition possessing a small O above the A, these two letters presumably referring to Alpha and Omega, while the latter has an ornamental

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* *Hidden Wisdom in the Holy Bible.*

A whose sides terminate in curves which, on reflection, can be seen to form the letter C on each side. Twin C's represent the Celestial Twins, which in turn symbolise the divine duality within the soul.

Each of these two watermarks bears an identical emblem, namely that known as the sun/moon emblem. Hodson tells us that " in occult philosophy the sun within man is his higher Spiritual Self. The moon, on the other hand, is used as a symbol of mortal man who derives his light from the spiritual self or sun within and with varying degrees of perfection and in different phases reflects the solar light." Thus this emblem shows us that polarisation between the solar and lunar selves has been achieved. The watermark of the pillars combined with the grapes is also to be seen in the 1641 edition of Bacon's *Henry VII.*

Another category of watermarks associated with Bacon is that of the shield. The example shown on the page of illustrations comes from the 1658 edition of his *History of Life and Death.* The reader will notice that the centre of the shield prominently displays a horn, and Bayley tells us that this symbol is associated with the call of the Spirit, the call of Christ, summoning forth men to do especial service for God and humanity. This is further corroborated by the fact that the horn is attached to the letters SS (denoting Sanctus Spiritus). The cord on which the horn has been strung has been twisted so that it suggests, we think, the figure 8, the number associated with Regeneration. As this figure 8 is between the two S's this is likely to be an allusion to Regeneratio Spiritus.

Within the lower portion of the 8 and resting on the curved part of the horn is a small *fleur-de-lys,* and a much larger one can be seen in the centre of the crown. This emblem is of course the flower of light but it is also an allusion to The Trinity. The sides of the shield are embellished with olive branches. The olive tree was sacred to Minerva or Pallas Athena, Goddess of Wisdom. This in turn reminds one of Francis Bacon's first fraternity, The Knights of the Helmet, who built their Order around the symbols of Pallas Athena. Olive oil was the ambrosia of the Gods and

the ancients were accustomed to anointing their heads with it on festive or ceremonial occasions. The evergreen also symbolised peace and eternity, and we know that Bacon himself ever sought peace and harmony. Although in his youth he may have been somewhat hasty, impatient and impetuous, he triumphed over this by practising self-discipline and self-control, and he certainly became a lover of peace. The sweetness and calm beneficence which pervaded his whole being are the perpetual theme, Mrs. Pott tells us, of authentic records of him. His great desire was to live peaceably with all men, and this made him avoid controversy and disputations. In the *De Augmentis*, Book IV, Bacon calls himself a trumpeter, not a combatant, and writes that he wishes men to make peace. He says:

> . . . I am a trumpeter, not a combatant, one, perhaps, of those of whom Homer speaks: " Hail, heralds, messengers of Jove and men ! " and such men might go to and fro everywhere unhurt, between the fiercest and bitterest enemies. Nor is mine a trumpet which summons and excites men to cut each other to pieces with mutual contradictions, or to quarrel and fight with one another; but rather to make peace between themselves, and, turning with united forces against the nature of things, to storm and occupy her castles and strongholds, and extend the bounds of human empire as far as God Almighty in his goodness will permit.
>
> (*De Augmentis*, Book IV, Chapter 1)

In this quotation we have an allusion to an instrument used for summoning men to listen to the message conveyed by the trumpeter, as well as a reference to peace symbolised by a sprig of olive. We cannot help suspecting that whoever published the 1658 edition of Bacon's *History of Life and Death* remembered this passage.

Another watermark is sometimes used, referred to by Mr. Bayley as Jupiter's Chain, the principal feature being a linked chain surrounding the inward detail. In all probability this is

intended to represent the chain of natural causes alluded to by Homer and frequently mentioned by Rosicrucians. This chain, by which mankind is to be drawn heavenwards, figures in innumerable forms, Bayley tells us, although not in Bacon's acknowledged works. In the most frequently used designs, he points out, the links consist of a series of S.S's. In one of the examples in Bayley's book *The Tragedy of Francis Bacon,* the device consists of a double row of S.S's in an unbroken thread, and these two symbols, the chain and the S.S 's, form a third, the grape cluster. This art of combining two or three symbols into yet another one was a rare gift of which the Rosicrucians of that period became masters.

The watermark device of Homer's chain was quite different to that employed in woodcuts, both head- and tailpieces, whereby each emblem, whatever it might be, was connected to the next one, often in the form of graceful curves and foliage. Thus in the watermarks the chain was represented as a pictograph (a real chain) whereas in the woodcuts it was an ideograph, the concept of a chain suggested by connecting each emblem to the next.

A bunch of grapes is another of the watermark emblems associated with Bacon, the size of the bunches varying from book to book. Sometimes the bunch consists of a small number of grapes carefully drawn so as to show each individual grape and the exact number in the bunch, presumably drawing attention thereby to the significance of the numbers. On other occasions the bunch consists of a series of links. A further inference is suggested, which may have been intentional, namely that a bunch is made up of a collection of individual grapes, clustered together so as to form a whole unit. This concept could be analogous to the combination of qualities which determines a particular personality. In this context one can perceive how the bunches can vary in size and sweetness, some qualities being more agreeable than others. There are a number of passages in Bacon's works referring to grapes, and the watermark is presumably an allusion to them, as well as being a Rosicrucian hallmark, especially when moulded into a triangular or diamond formation.

Here are some examples of these passages:

> I find the wisdom of the ancients like grapes ill-trodden, something squeezed out, but the best parts are left behind . . .
>
> . . . grapes that, being too much pressed, yield a harsh and unwholesome wine.
>
> As wines which flow gently from the first treading of the grape are sweeter than those that are squeezed by the wine-press because these last have some taste of the stones and skins of the grapes, so those doctrines are very sweet and healthy which flow from a gentle pressure of the Scriptures and are not wrested to controversies and common-places.

In all these quotations it is easy to recognise Bacon's dislike of the wrangling and controversy, the bigotry and cruel intolerance prevalent amongst the church dignitaries, together with lack of understanding of the true meaning of the Scriptures. Those who followed the orthodox path, he felt, rarely divined the deepest level of interpretation of Holy Writ, since they took words literally, at their face value, instead of perceiving the existence of more than one stratum contained therein. This is surely what he was hinting at when he wrote: " I find the wisdom of the ancients like grapes ill-trodden, something squeezed out, but the best parts are left behind." The core of truth contained within these teachings is analogous to the sweet juice of the grapes which have been ripened by the sun. This is only extracted by intuitive insight, the acquisition of which is a slow, gradual process.

" Those doctrines ", Bacon assures us, " are very sweet and healthy which flow from a gentle pressure of the Scriptures ", in contrast to the creeds and dogmas of the Church which men were forced to accept, and yielded "a harsh and unwholesome wine ". And in the matter of sciences he tells us that:

> other men have drunk a crude liquor like water, either flowing spontaneously from the understanding or drawn

> up by logic as by wheels from a well. Whereas I pledge mankind in a liquor pressed from countless grapes, from grapes ripe and fully seasoned, collected in clusters and gathered, and then squeezed in the press and then finally purified and clarified in the vat.
>
> (*Novum Organum*, Book I).

In this beautiful extract Francis of Verulum hints at the fact that the knowledge he had imbibed and imparted to humanity was collected, like grapes, in clusters from various sources: from differing religions, from the doctrines held by a variety of groups and sects, from the writings of ancient sages as well as from intuitive insight. If this knowledge is analogous to grapes then, since these are described as being " ripe and fully seasoned ", this philosophy must have consisted partly of the wisdom of the ancients and the eternal verities. This concept is subtly implied by the detail given of the ripeness of the grapes for this at once suggests the sun as being the agent used to bring about this process of development. The sun, in turn, is an emblem used to denote the deity. The ancients were ever mindful of the life-giving properties and effulgence of the light of God, symbolised by the sun. Thus the phrase " grapes ripe and fully seasoned " can be regarded as containing key words forming an ideograph, and is an example of the ingenious way Francis was able to say one thing and at the same time make an indirect allusion to something else which is merely inferred.

The seeker after wisdom will find various aspects of truth at the heart of all great religions if he is able to uncover them. Francis of Verulam, with his vast intellect and superhuman capabilities of mind and soul, was indeed one who possessed the necessary spiritual and mental abilities to penetrate into the arcanum of past religions, and make a synthesis of these for his own use. He was also able to differentiate between the dogmas laid down by the men of learning and by the church which produced, as he said, a crude liquor, and the sacred arts and sciences which he had assimilated from the doctrines of the ancient sages. These, he felt, yielded a purer liquor which was as

stimulating and refreshing as it was sweet and wholesome. He resolved to adopt a selection of these ancient teachings and impart them through the use of symbolism, expressed in the emblems and watermarks displayed in his books, as well as in the text, under the disguise of ambiguity and parable. In *The Hidden Wisdom in the Holy Bible,* Geoffrey Hodson has this to say regarding the language of symbols:

> Certain age-old symbols serve as signposts on the way, each with its meaning constant throughout all time, as the doctrine everywhere revealed is constant also. The hierophants of Egypt, Chaldea, Assyria and Greece, the sages of the Eastern world and the inspired authors of the Bible all made use of these symbols as living, time-free ideographs which questing men of every age might comprehend. Nations, civilisations and religions rise and fall, but these earthly symbols of spiritual truths are ageless and unchanging. By their use an Egyptian hierophant, a Jewish prophet, an Essene monk, an Eastern sage, may speak direct from the remote past to the mind of modern man. The authors who wrote in this allegorical manner wished to reveal macrocosmic and microcosmic truths, and also to describe supersensuous conditions of consciousness. They used history only as weft and warp on which to weave a representation of everlasting verities.
>
> When we open our Bible, then, we should remember that we are reading a special category of literature, foreign to us at first. In order to discover the intention of the authors we need to learn the meaning of the words, to understand the method of writing and to possess the keys of interpretation. Then as we learn to lift the veil of allegory, symbol, imagery, and even incongruity, the light of truth will illumine our minds.

In the 1605 edition of *The Advancement of Learning* the grapes watermark appears no less than eight times in differing sizes and with slight variations.

It is obvious that this watermark has been carefully designed so that in many cases it fits into the formal outline of a diamond or a triangle, rather than its natural shape, thereby creating a secondary allusion. In addition a combination of other symbols can be discerned in some instances. There is a notable example of this in the 1638 edition of Bacon's *Wisdom of the Ancients* (see illustration 6). Here the bunch of grapes is triangular in shape, and when all have been counted the interesting fact emerges that each side of the triangle consists of five grapes. The apex of the triangle points downwards and on its base rests a crown with five rays and five pearls. How fitting that this book of Bacon's, with its deeply enigmatic title *The Wisdom of the Ancients* should bear a watermark which was designed in such a way as to emphasise the number five, since this number takes us directly to the ancients and their numerical symbolism. Not only is this number associated with light but also with ether, the fifth element, and the soul of the world, or *anima mundi*, as it was also called. This doctrine was not only Baconian and Rosicrucian but directly descended from the Ancient Wisdom.

It is fascinating how closely this triangular grape cluster resembles the magic square of the ancient Hindus. The special feature of this mystical square was that it subdivided into nine smaller squares each containing a numeral, the central figure being the number five. When the three numbers on any side of the square were added together they always totalled fifteen. Consequently the numbers three, five, and fifteen were the most significant of them all, three and five being factors of fifteen. We would like to give as our example the three element square mentioned by Jacobite in *Baconiana* 168, page 77. Here it is:

8	1	6
3	5	7
4	9	2

All rows, columns, and diagonals, add up to 15.

In this watermark of the bunch of grapes with five on each side of the triangle, the total number of grapes is fifteen. Thus we

see that here, too, the numbers three (the triangle), five (pearls), and fifteen (grapes) are emphasised.

The fact that the crown in this watermark is embellished with a flower in the shape of a cross also suggests the connection with the Rosi Cross Fraternity, and points to the fact, too, that whoever published this edition was indeed a Rosicrucian and, as such, was simply handing on the torch to future generations.

It is hoped that by now readers will realise that the subject of emblems and watermarks is an important aspect of Bacon's work, and that small though they may be, emblems can reveal some of Francis Bacon's concepts and the doctrines of his secret fraternities.

RALEIGH'S VERSE

By Noel Fermor

The publication of *A Choice of Sir Walter Raleigh's Verse*, by Robert Nye, in January last, reminded us once again of the multiplicity of talents displayed by the great figures of the English Renaissance—and many of the less well-known personalities as well. All appear to have been known to and used by Bacon in his plans for the advancement of learning and they seem to exemplify his own heartfelt wish:—

I would live to study, and not study to live.†

Bacon's remarks in a letter to Lord Burleigh (1592), " I have taken all knowledge to be my province," and in his *Advice to Sir Geo. Villiers*, " I have studied books rather than men," also come to mind. Bacon himself dedicated his work to the Divine Mind above all:—

> They that deny a God destroy man's nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beasts by his body; and, if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature.
>
> Essay *Of Atheism*

Raleigh, poet, philosopher, soldier, colonizer and historian, was a man of like temper. He, like Bacon, would have approved Seneca's saying:—

> It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man, and the security of a God.

Nye's selection of Raleigh's verse is within the range of most purses*—unlike so many recent books of interest to students of the Elizabethan and Jacobean era—and those of our readers

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† *Memorial of Access.*

* 50p: Faber. Fulke Greville wrote poetry and prose, was a statesman, and an architect (he re-built Warwick Castle, his family seat), but Ronald A. Rebholz's biography, running to 384 pages, recently published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, costs £5·50 !

who heard some of these " lofty, insolent, and passionate " lyrics read in a Radio Three broadcast, will treasure them, sharing with the author his belief that:

True Love is a durable fyre.

Raleigh is believed to have been born in 1552, and was 66 when he was executed in the Tower of London. He is perhaps best known for his expeditions to North America. His comment that " There are stranger things to be seen in the world than are between London and Staines " was typical of the man, and his impatience with much contemporary cartography was finely expressed:—

> Geographers in their Maps describe those countries whereof as yet there is no true discovery (by) Head-lands, Bayes, great Rivers, and other peculiarities, though many times controlled by experience, and found contrary to truth.

As the late Dr. R. A. Skelton pointed out,* the map houses of Amsterdam commanded the European market in the 1600's. The older maps of Africa in the Egerton Collection demonstrate Raleigh's point *in excelso*. Skelton's recent book, *The Discovery of North America*,† (containing contemporary accounts of the first explorations up to the early 1600's, with introductory essays to each section) provides a valuable contribution to modern scholarship.

The only known MS. of Raleigh's map of Guiana—to which he made the ill-fated expedition which gave James I the excuse to order his execution—was sold to the Duke of Northumberland for £4,000 in November last year. A previous owner may well have been the Duke's ancestor Henry Percy, the 9th Earl of Northumberland—a fellow-prisoner with Raleigh in the Tower—sharing a keen interest in geography and exploration, though Raleigh's original and autographed map in the British Museum shows differences, containing more place names.

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* Royal Commonwealth Society *Library Notes*, New Series, 176.
† Published by Hamish Hamilton at £3·25.

It was reported in *The Times* in October, 1971, that Raleigh's Commonplace Book with his notes for the preparation of his best-known work, *The History of the World,* was to be sold by auction. It contains his working notes on geography, and thirteen nearly full-page maps. Ten are coloured. The first published edition of *The History of the World* was dated 1614; this date is also given on the title-page of the second edition, but the colophon (1614) confirms the true first edition. Perfect copies are scarce owing to the removal of Raleigh's maps appropriated for scrap books. The Commonplace Book, presumptively dated 1604-8, that is the early years of Releigh's long imprisonment in the Tower, came into the ownership of Dr. Walter Oakshott, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1935, at a cost of £3. Later he decided to sell it, but when visiting the centenary exhibition of Raleigh, and the Hakluyt MSS. at the British Museum, recognised Raleigh's hand, and deferred the sale—at a considerable increase in price—until after the War.

We have mentioned Raleigh's poetical gifts.† In the Book is a poem he wrote to Queen Elizabeth and believed to have been sung at a ceremony *circa* 1597 and 1601 in her honour (the only other extant MS. autograph poem of his is the lengthy Cynthia fragment now at Hatfield.) It is fascinating to note that over 600 titles in five languages are mentioned in the Book. However Raleigh is now known to have had a comprehensive library with him in the Tower and, as would be expected with a man of his temper and accomplishments, occupied his time usefully right up to his untimely end. The famous trunk of books accompanied him in all his voyages, according to Aubrey.*

Raleigh's birthplace, which he tried to buy in later life, is now a well-preserved farmhouse at Hayes Barton near East Budleigh. The house, built in the form of an E in honour of Queen Elizabeth, still stands in the quiet Devon countryside, a mile or so from East Budleigh Church, where the ancient oaken

† It is only fair to say that some authorities do not think that he was the author of all the poems published under his name.

* *Brief Lives*: John Aubrey's MS: published in 1649.

pew-end carved with the Raleigh family arms can still be seen. For those who seek, his memory is preserved . . .

* * * *

A man of Raleigh's stature must have been something of a magnet to talented contemporaries such as his follower Thomas Hariot, mathematician and astronomer. Hariot (1560-1621), was born in Oxford and died in London. He acted as observer to the second Virginia expedition in 1585; afterwards his largely scientific report was published in Frankfurt, where William Harvey's *De Motu Cordis* on the circulation of the blood, eight works from the English Rosicrucian Robert Fludd, and other important books were also printed.

Evidently Hariot, like Raleigh, was an acquaintance as well as an almost exact contemporary of Francis Bacon, and in later life he entered the service of Henry, 9th Earl of Northumberland—the "wizard" Earl mentioned earlier. The title of a recent book, *The Traces of Thomas Hariot,* was inspired by the paucity of biographical material available although it is believed that Hariot belonged to "The School of the Night," with Raleigh, Marlowe, and others, and he is sometimes credited with the "invention" of algebra. The Earl was committed to the Tower in 1606, and his three mathematical *magi*—Hariot, Walter Warner, and Thomas Hughes—were sometimes joined there by Raleigh (*Dictionary of National Biography*). Hariot was granted residence at Syon House, near Isleworth, Middlesex, by the Earl, filling an important niche in his plans.

Hariot's accomplishments were derived from deep religious convictions. The inscription *Dei Triunius cultor piissimus* inscribed on his tomb after death (as recorded in Stow's *Survey of London)* has presented for posterity a moving tribute to his piety.

The depth of his learning also impressed his contemporaries. He had been tutor in mathematics to Raleigh, Surveyor to Sir Richard Grenville's expedition to Virginia in 1585, and author of *A Brief and True Report of the New-found land of Virginia*

(1588), which was included in the Third Volume of Hakluyt's *Voyages* (1600). In addition Hariot was possibly the leading astronomer of his time, and aware of the ellipticity of the planetary orbits. Contemporaries referred to his "great invention of algebra" and modern algebra largely derived from his teachings. Dr. Wallis in *A Treatise of Algebra* (1685) claimed that he laid the foundation "without which the whole superstructure of Descartes had never been". A selection of his MSS. is now at Petworth Castle, the seat of Lord Egremont. Others are at the British Museum, and some form part of the Harleian MSS.

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This article was initially concerned with the publication of *A Choice of Sir Walter Raleigh's Verse*. The strong Devon accent with which Raleigh usually spoke, even at Court, may sometimes have concealed the excellence of his prose. He owed much of his inspiration to Francis Bacon who often conversed with him during his captivity. The opening sentence of the first chapter of *The History of The World*, in which piety and poetry combine, is sublime . . .

> God, whom the wisest men acknowledge to be a power ineffable . . . a light by abundant clarity invisible . . . an essence eternal and spiritual . . . was and is pleased to make Himself known by the Work of the World.

THE DEATH OF FALSTAFF

By R. L. Eagle

The innumerable quarto and First Folio misprints have exercised the ingenuity of Shakespeare editors and commentators since the early part of the eighteenth century. Several of these emendations are still controversial. In 1726, Lewis Theobald wrote *Shakespeare Restored* in which occurs the most famous and lasting of all his emendations, and one which appears to have remained unchallenged. This is to be found in *Henry V*, II, iii, where, in describing the signs of Falstaff's approaching death, the Hostess states that " his nose was as sharp as a Pen and a Table of greene fields ". As this makes nonsense Theobald interpreted it as " and a' babbled of green fields ", and so it appears in all editions since. I feel sure, however, that if Falstaff had "babbled" of anything it would have been of taverns, sack and women. Reading the dialogue which immediately follows the story told by the Hostess we find that this was the case:

Nym. They said he cried out of sack.

Host. Ay, that 'a did.

Bard. And of women.

Host. Nay, that 'a did not.

Boy. Yes, that 'a did, and said they were devils incarnate.

It would seem that Shakespeare intended the Hostess to say that "his nose was as sharp as a Pen on a Table of greene fields." As the word " Table " was printed with a capital letter it must be a noun, thus helping to identify the verbal illustration as an heraldic metaphor. What is meant is that Falstaff's nose was as sharp as a pen on a greenish surface or background. Note that Shakespeare associates a " pen " with the writing surface known then as a " table " (Latin *tabula*). The word " tablet ", for a writing pad, is its diminutive. When Hippocrates in his *Prognosticon*, written about 400 B.C., described the several symptoms of approaching death, he referred to the pallor which creeps

over the face at such a time and used the Greek word which means pale green. This was appropriate to a dying Greek for the ancient Greeks were of a slightly olive complexion. No English translation existed in Shakespeare's time but there were several in Latin. The Greek word χλωρσς puzzled translators and most of them used " pallidus " whilst a few omitted it altogether. The later physicians Galen and Cardan both explained that the word meant a pale green colour. In the quarto of *Henry V* (1600) the description by the Hostess is identical with the First Folio of 1623, except that it omits " and a Table of greene fields ". As every one of the six symptoms in the play is similarly detailed by Hippocrates, there can be no doubt as to their origin. In his translation Galen wrote:

> The ancients assumed that χλωρσς means merely pale; it is rather the colour of cabbage or lettuce.

So, also, that famous physician Cardan (Geronimo Cardano) an Italian of the sixteenth century:

> The difficulty is what does χλωρσς mean? It seems to me that it should be interpreted in the sense of the time in which it was used. Who does not know that in Greece the face of a dying man is of a green colour?

The Greek poetess, Sappho (about 600 B.C.) wrote:

> My face is paler than the grass,
> To die would seem no more.
>
> *(Thomas Davidson's translation)*

With such supporting evidence it must surely be admitted that in using the word " chloros " Hippocrates meant a pale green colour.

Bacon also made use of a Latin translation of the *Prognosticon*, as he mentions in *Historia Vitae et Mortis** five of the six

* A small octavo printed in 1623 which was translated into English by Dr. Rawley in 1638.

points included by Shakespeare. Bacon used a Latin translation which has " pallidus " (" pale ") presumably because the readers of the translator's period would be baffled by the exact translation of " chloros ". Bacon writes of " the face pallid ".

Shakespeare understood the meanings of the peculiar terms used in heraldry, and they often occur in the plays and poems. With regard to " field " we can quote:

> This silent war of lilies and of roses,
> Which Tarquin viewed in her fair face's field.
>
> *Lucrece*

> When forty winters shall besiege thy brow,
> And dig deep trenches in thy beauty's field.
>
> *Sonnet 2*

It may be argued that the Hostess would never even have heard of Hippocrates nor have had any familiarity with heraldic terms, but Shakespeare did not trouble about accuracy of that kind. A good example of this is to be found in *The Winter's Tale* where Perdita, brought up from infancy by two illiterate "clowns ", proves herself to be familiar with classical mythology by talking of Proserpina and Dis (Pluto), Juno and Cytherea, without any opportunity of learning to read, or access to a book.

BOOK REVIEWS

NUMBER SYMBOLISM

by Christopher Butler: Routledge & Kegan Paul, £2·25.

References to Francis Bacon *per se* are rare in this excellent book. Nevertheless the author, apparently working from an exoteric point of view, has written a work of great interest to students of Renaissance literature, and the authorship controversy.

The history of numerological allegory is traced from its assumptive origins with Pythagoras (6th century B.C.) and Plato§ (*obiit circa* 347 B.C.), through early Biblical exegesis to syncretic philosophic, occult, and scientific thought, with the acme of achievement in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From the acceptance of a " symbolic arithmology " to the recognition of ciphers—particularly, we suggest, the mathematical biliteral as detailed by Bacon in his *De Augmentis Scientiarum*—is but a short step, hence the importance of this book to Baconians.

Christopher Butler asserts that numerological exegesis from the time of Philo the Jew (*circa* 30 B.C. to A.D. 50) " must have made the knowledge of number symbolism the possession of every educated Christian in those centuries . . . and will constitute the chief evidence to show that it is plausible to expect an occult number symbolism in Renaissance (and indeed Mediaeval) works of art ".

Macrobius sums up the basis of abstract numerology, as understood in those times, well:—

> One is called Monas, that is Unity . . . itself *not* a number, but the source and origin of numbers.

Pythagoras' dictum was that the Universe consists of number and motion.

A corollary of this widely accepted belief in a Divinely ordered cosmos was the science of astrology, used not to predict

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§ See *Baconiana* 170, page 34; inset quotation from Benjamin Jowett's *Plato*.

a man's life for practical purposes, as is usual now, but to demonstrate the relationship between fundamental orders of being.

The fault is not in our stars but in ourselves, as Shakespeare has it.

Alastair Fowler, in an important book, *Spenser and the Numbers of Time*, had already demonstrated that Renaissance poetry was not only number-symbolic in *content* but in *structure*, and Edmund Spenser's *Shepheard's Calender, Faerie Queene*, and *Epithalamion*, are outstanding examples of this. But the list is extensive, and we find " musical dances " in Davies's *Orchestra*, and " numb'ring of kisses " in *Venus and Adonis!*

Christopher Butler is worth quoting at this point:

> These attempts to make poetry correspond to divine creation did not remain on the level of mere metaphysical aspiration: poets set out deliberately and very practically to structure poems so that they had a hidden meaning . . . in accordance with the Neo-Platonic view of poetry, that it could reveal the structure of reality.

Another striking statement follows, blowing sky-high once and for all the orthodox view that the writings of " Shakespeare ", Bacon, and indeed most other authors of the English Renaissance period, were devoid of " enigmatical, enfolded writings ":—

> the critic aware of the numerological tradition, has to be able to master a quite new technique of critical analysis, under conditions of some difficulty. Perhaps the chief one is the secrecy and esotericism of allegory by numbers. The writers leave no clues, as I shall try to show. But they are never explicit . . . those who wrote numerological poetry seem to have kept a truly Pythagorean silence about their specific methods (page 132).

Fowler, in an astonishing description of the technique of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, went so far as to write that this poem must be one of the most intricate poetic textures ever devised* basing his argument on an unassailable mathematical and astronomical background analysis.

The same structural devices were found by Fowler and Butler

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* *op. cit.*, page 4.

in Spenser's *Epithalamion,* and Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis,** though the latter " is more hidden and complex, calling for a mathematical argument in parallel with the narrative of the poem ".

In a recent book entitled *The Sixty-Seventh Inquisition*† the anonymous author has proved and demonstrated the existence of a numerical and geometrical cipher in one of Francis Bacon's posthumous works (Archbishop Tenison's *Baconiana,* 1679). It is interesting that Bacon used Greek words as his symbols.

The 67th is the first Inquisition and of prime importance, especially as the simple count of the author's name—Francis. The Greek word equivalent is cited as Triplex Tau, but the two capital letters are TT. The significance of those letters is enormous, since they are found under the feet of the Shakespeare Monument in Westminster Abbey, are used as a signature to the Dedication to the Sonnets, and stand for the twin pillars of Masonry—The Truth.

The author of the book has been Research Lecturer at Christ Church, Oxford since 1964, and it is highly significant that academic attention at this ancient university is now being directed to the hidden rhythms of Renaissance poetry, the Authorized Version of the Bible, and early classical writings. We await the results of further research with intense interest, and recommend this book unhesitatingly. We are grateful to Mr. R. L. Eagle for drawing it to our attention.

N.F.

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* *Time—Beguiling Sport: Number Symbolism in Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis in Shakespeare 1564 - 1964.*

† Limited Edition printed by Faulkner-Little, Shoreham, Sussex.

"SHAKESPEAREAN ASTROLOGY"

The Humors & Shakespeare's Characters. By John W. Draper, Professor of English, West Virginia University. 126 pp. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. 1945.

(The above mentioned book was reviewed in *English Studies* by our member Dr. A. A. Prins, from which it is now reprinted with grateful acknowledgements).

* * * *

In this work the author, well-known for his numerous contributions to our knowledge of the psycho-medical background of the Shakespeare Plays, gives a systematic discussion of the various humours and their employment in these Plays. For a proper understanding of the subject it is indispensable that the reader should know something about the humours and their position in the medical science of Shakespeare's days. The medical system of those days, based on Galen, held that " the body has four fluids, or 'humors', a preponderance of any one of which affects the physique and the mind in certain recognized ways; and each of these humors is associated with a certain planet, constellation of the zodiac, hours, day, season, colors, metals, diseases, time of life and special situations and events, professions, vocations, and the like ".

In addition to these there was a fifth, the mercurial humour, which results from a balance of other humours, and is therefore rather unstable. Hence there are five humours: sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, melancholy and mercurial. Two of these were subdivided into two types so as to bring the number into line with that of the traditional number of planets in astrology, between which and the humours there was held to be a certain definite connection. Thus the phlegmatic humour was of two types, one warm under Venus, and one cold under the moon. In the same way there was a choleric humour under the sun and one under Mars. The sanguine humour was under the power of Jupiter, the melancholy under that of Saturn, and the mercurial under Mercury. Not only were all persons classifiable according to this system, but there were also certain connections between

certain ages and certain humours. Children and women were phlegmatic (cold and wet), old men melancholy (cold and dry), middle life was either sanguine or choleric. These influences might of course be counteracted by a favourable nativity or other conditions: Orsino in *Twelfth Night* is expected to be sanguine, his unrequited love for Olivia makes him melancholy.

The social status or profession is also of great importance. Sanguine men were nobles, prelates, rich men; choleric men under Mars, warriors, but also surgeons and cutlers, though the author does not see why. We may take this occasion to point out the reason. Though the author has traced the connection between the humours and astrology, we think he has been mistaken in taking the humours as his basis. The basis is astrology and the humours have been fitted into it in the same way as the seven ' planets ' are said to govern the twelve signs of the zodiac: here the sun and the moon are said to govern one sign each, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn were held to rule two signs each. It is the seven planets which are decisive. The very introduction of a fifth humour (mercurial) to account for the planet Mercury, proves this. Thus Mars in astrology governs anything to do with war; hence among metals, iron, essential in war, among persons all people connected with iron, hence cutlers, but also surgeons, and by extension all physicians, and people connected with war; hence warriors, etc. So surgeons and cutlers do not belong here, as the author thinks, because iron was associated with choler, but because both choler and iron fall under Mars.

Choleric persons under the sun, says the author, were kings and potentates, and so were ' laborers of gold ', not as the author suggests " perhaps because gold was considered a royal metal " but because both categories are under the sun, which is the ruler or royal authority and of gold. The author will find that in modern astrology all these correspondences are still held valid, but the humours have long since been discarded. In fact, they are of secondary importance in this respect, though at the time they rather tended to obscure the infinitely much older astrological basis. Women, children, artists and voluptuaries

were under Venus, hence phlegmatic (not vice versa), queens, prodigals, fishermen and servants under the moon. All menial trades are under Saturn, hence melancholy.

The author then proceeds to discuss the humours in turn and to see which of the characters fall under each head. Under the sanguine type we can classify various lovers such as Ferdinand, King of Navarre, and Orlando. Brutus is another example of this type, as contrasted with the choleric Cassius. So is Duncan. Most of Shakespeare's sanguine men are noblemen. The phlegmatic characters fall under three heads: fat ones (Sir Toby Belch, Falstaff), children and women (Lucius, Ophelia) and lanky, cowardly persons (Sir Andrew Aguecheek, Slender), the first two groups being under Venus, the third under the moon. Some of the characters are rather baffling. Professor Draper is at a loss whether to call Mark Antony phlegmatic, mercurial or melancholy.

The choleric humour was hot and dry, strong, proud, independent. Professor Draper remarks that the age seemed to require such a humour, and that *choler* and *choleric* are mentioned some 40 times in the plays. In those under the sun the influence is temperate and fortunate (Juliet, Biron, Henry V, are excellent examples), in those under Mars less so (Iachimo in *Cymbeline).* Cassius is another excellent example of the choleric type under Mars. A choleric condition might be induced by highly seasoned food or strong drink (Cassio in *Othello*). In *The Taming of the Shrew* Kate presents an example of choler being cured. Misfortune also may engender choler, as is the case in Shylock by Jessica's elopement. *Othello* and *Coriolanus* show the conflict of choleric temperaments. Melancholy is either innate (as in the bastard Edmund and Richard III) or develops in old age (Lear) or under frustration (Hamlet !). It is wholly under the evil influence of Saturn. That magistrates should be subject to it is astrologically not surprising.

The mercurial types show a certain balance, but also vacillation in character. Professor Draper finds one indubitable example in Horatio in *Hamlet.* Others may be found in Gonzalo

in *The Tempest*, Richard II, whose vacillation is marked, Macbeth and the undependable Cleopatra. Shakespeare also presents instances of assumed humours, such as Iago, Prospero and Petruchio.

A study like this gives rise to a good many queries. First of all, one wonders how the consistent application of a medico-psychological principle fits in with the haphazard way of writing attributed by some to Shakespeare. Secondly, does it tally with the 'unlearned' Shakespeare of tradition? The principle is applied too cleverly and markedly to be purely an unconscious application or implication of a current popular belief. That much is clear from its use in *King Lear* alone. Shakespeare must have had a more or less scholarly grasp of the theory and have used it consistently in planning his plots. The use of astrology in *Romeo and Juliet* in this connection is as interesting as its application in Chaucer's *Knightes Tale.*

Another question is whether the astrological categories in psychology do not merit a little more attention than the contempt generally showered upon them. What gives the Shakespeare plays their eternal value and high position in literature is precisely their psychology and delineation of character. And if indeed, as Professor Draper makes sufficiently clear, astrological categories are at the bottom of this, should we not do well to consider the words of the great philosopher Bacon? —

A man shall find in the traditions of astrology some pretty and apt divisions of men's natures, according to the predominances of the planets . . . For the distinctions are found, many of them, but we conclude no precepts upon them: wherein our fault is the greater, because both history, poesy, and daily experience, are as goodly fields where these observations grow; whereof we make a few poesies to hold in our hands, but no man bringeth them to the confectionary, that receipts might be made of them for the use of life. (*Advancement of Learning*).

Leiden. A. A. PRINS

Editor's Note: This interesting attempt to link Shake-spear, Bacon, and astrology, deserves our readers' close attention, and, we trust, will provoke further discussion in our correspondence section. An interesting note in Bacon's handwriting is recorded in his notebook in Italian. Translated into English it reads as follows:—

" Astrology is true, but the astrologer is not to be found ".

Promus, 111

CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor,
Baconiana.

Dear Sir,

CRYPTOMENYTICES & CYMBELINE

The following information has been compiled, almost entirely, from notes kindly supplied by Mr. F. V. Mataraly, whose researches seem to point to the evidence that the pseudonym " Gustavus Selenus " was but another pen-name for Francis Bacon. Elsewhere (*Baconiana* 170, pp.48/9) Mr. Mataraly has shown, that by this same ingenious " count " system, Bacon may have used the pseudonym " The Man i ' the Moone " which occurs frequently in the Shakespeare Plays.§

The cipher manual *Crytomenytices* was published in Germany in 1624 under the auspices of Duke Augustus of Luneburg. Its author's name appears on the title page as " Gustavus Selenus ", who is elsewhere in the book described as " Homo Lunae ". In the oval surround to the Duke's portrait in certain special editions of this work, the name Augustus is printed with V's (AVGVSTVS) and it is reasonable to assume that GVSTAVVS was intended to be taken as an anagram of the Duke's name. The association of the names Selenus, Homo Lunae, and Luneburg is also of interest. There is, however, strong internal evidence that some at least of the contents of this book were contributed by Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban, and that these contributions relate to the Shakespeare Folio, published in the previous year. There are good reasons also for regarding the word *unlesse,* found frequently in this spelling in the Folio, as an intended anagram for " Selenus ".

In *Cymbeline,* the last play printed in the Folio, the name *Augustus* appears five times, on pages 378, 380 (2), 385, and 395. The word *unlesse* appears four times on pages 371, 373, and 395 (2). Nothing of interest seems to occur in connection with the name *Augustus* on page 385, but the other pages are worthy

§ *The Tempest* and *Midsummer Night's Dream.*

of notice. Dealing with these in order, we find that on page 371 *unlesse* is in Column 1, line 35, and that this line consists of *unlesse* + 33 letters.

On page 373, *unlesse* is in column 1, line 40. This line also consists of *unlesse* + 33 letters. The 103rd line back from the *unlesse* line reads, " strange Fowle light upon neighbouring Ponds ". These words seem to be linked with the words " a cunning Thiefe " which appear three lines below, that is, on the 100th line back from the *unlesse* line. The entire passage, starting with " strange Fowle " and ending with the words " appeare otherwise ", consists of 74 lines. The 67th line on from the *unlesse* line contains the words " shak'd; the Agent for his Master ", the complete sentence reading "A slye and constant knave, not to be shak'd; the Agent for his Master ". The words " not to be shak'd " seem virtually to have been dragged in here. Taking the two passages together, the one starting 103 lines back from the *unlesse* line and the other starting 67 lines on from the *unlesse* line, a message has appeared to the effect that " Shak-appeare " (otherwise) a knave and cunning thief who lights on neighbouring ponds, is linked to Selenus (*unlesse*) and is but an Agent for his Master.

Page 378 contains a neat link between the name *Augustus* and the author of this Play. In column 1, line 24 starts with the word "search" and line 33 ends with the word "search". These two words are 74 letters apart. It has been noticed that, across the two columns, line 24 consists of 67 letters and line 33 consists of 33 letters. The name *Augustus* appears on line 56 in column 1, the passage from the first "search" to the name *Augustus* thus consisting of 33 lines. There are, incidentally, 56 Roman letters in the *Augustus* line which is also the 67th line from the bottom of the page (column 2). The 67th word back from *Augustus* is "will", and the 103rd word back from *Augustus* is "me".

On page 380 the name *Augustus* appears twice. Line 36 (column 2) ends with the words "my selfe" the word "selfe" being the 33rd word on from *Augustus* in line 30, omitting twelve words in brackets. *Augustus* also appears on the first line of Act III, Scene 1. The 33rd word of these scene is " Britain " and

the B of this word is the 100th Roman letter on from *Augustus*. This B is also the 52nd letter on from the W of "will" in line 3. The word "Britain" is the last word of line 4 and the first two words of line 5 are "And Conquer'd" with an unnecessary capital C. There seems to be an obvious BACON "signature" here. The 67th letter on from the B of "Britain" and the 39th letter on from the n of "Con", i.e. the first and last letters of this "signature", is the l of "lesse" at the end of line 6. Immediately above this are the letters Vn of the word "Vnkle", again spelt with an unnecessary capital letter. This word is the 39th word of the scene and the line in which it appears consists of 33 letters. There are also 33 words between it and *Augustus* in line 1. AUGUSTUS —BACON—VNLESSE (Selenus).

The first *unlesse* on page 395 appears on the second line of column 1. This line reads "*unlesse* a man would marry a gallowes and be". Is there an intended link here between "Selenus" and a hangman? The name *Augustus* appears in column 2, line 47, i.e. 103 lines after the *unlesse* line. A passage of 67 lines ending with the *Augustus* line starts "There's business in these faces", which could refer to the curious double portrait in the special edition of *Cryptomenytices* and, perhaps, to the even more curious portrait which appears in the Shakespeare Folio.

The other *unlesse* on page 395 is in column 1, line 33. The count of letters across the two columns of this line is 43. The count of letters across the two columns of the *Augustus* line is 57, and 43 + 57 = 100.

All this establishes, that by this fascinating "count" system, *unlesse* (Selenus) and *Augustus* (Gustavus) are linked dramatically to the numbers 33, 39, 52, 56, 67, 74, 100 and 103, the basic numbers in simple cipher for BACON, F. BACON, WILL, FR. BACON, FRANCIS, WILLIAM, FRANCIS BACON, and SHAKESPEARE. It would be extremely interesting if, one day, this evidence was confirmed by another encipherment in a different cipher system. It is not claimed here that these "counts" prove beyond dispute that "Gustavus Selenus" and Francis Bacon were one and the same, but the evidence certainly seems to point

that way. *Cymbeline* is a lovely though curious play. Historically, it is a veritable hotch-potch and it is possible that its title and its setting were chosen deliberately in order to introduce the name of the Roman Emperor, Augustus. King Kimberline, according to Holinshed, is said to have been educated in Rome and to have served under Augustus who knighted him. The Roman descent upon these shores by Caius Lucius on Augustus' behalf was apparently an invention on the part of "Shakespeare". *Cymbeline* is one of the later Plays and it is understandable if the author, at this time, wished to conceal yet another of his pen-names in his gallery of exhibits. It also suggests that Francis Bacon may have been responsible for the book " Chess ", which is said also to contain cryptic matter, and which was title-paged to "Gustavus Selenus" in 1616.

Yours faithfully,

T. D. BOKENHAM

To the Editor,
Baconiana
Dear Sir,

THE MANNINGHAM ALLUSIONS

John Manningham, a barrister of the Middle Temple, made two entries in his *Diary* which are generally quoted in Shakespeare allusion books. The entry of 2nd February, 1601, records a performance of *Twelfth Night* at the Middle Temple " much like the Commedy of Errores, or Menechmi in Plautus, but most like and neere to that in Italian called *Inganni* ".

He was, therefore, familiar with the earlier Shakespeare play which had been performed at Gray's Inn on 28th December, 1594, but the only resemblance is with regard to the twins, Viola and Sebastian, and a confusion of identity.

Manningham would have been familiar with the Italian language to have seen the connection with *Inganni* and probably remembered that in it the disguised girl takes the name of Cesare whilst Viola becomes Cesario. Manningham does not name the author of *Twelfth Night* nor does he mention if the play was per-

formed by professional players or by the gentlemen of his Inn.

Six weeks later he related the only anecdote of the Stratford player which was recorded in his lifetime. Although this is to be found in most of the "biographies" the last three words are often omitted (as Sir Sidney Lee did) for an obvious reason. It is, however, useful to repeat it:

> Upon a tyme when Burbidge played Rich. 3 there was a citizen greue soe farr in liking with him, that before shee went from the play shee appointed him to come that night unto hir by the name of Ri: the 3. Shakespere overhearing their conclusion went before, was intertained, and at his game ere Burbidge came. Then message being brought that Rich, the 3 was at the dore, Shakespere caused returne to be made that William the Conqueror was before Rich. the 3. Shakespere's name William.*

Here we have an undoubted reference to the Shakespeare play combined with Burbage's christian name Richard. Manningham had recently seen that masterpiece *Twelfth Night* and by his remarks on the plot against Malvolio shows that he had been much entertained by the play but the two entries show that he had not the least idea that this "William the Conqueror" was the author whose name had been appearing as the source of matchless poems and plays since 1593. Such a cultured man as Manningham would certainly have been likely to have taken an interest in the authorship of a play he had enjoyed and found worth while recording. From the two allusions it is clear that he had no idea that the player was the author. Indeed he was so little known that he found it necessary to add the reminder "Shakespere's name William". Burbage was better known so it was not thought worth while to add "Burbidge's name Richard".

Yours faithfully,

RODERICK L. EAGLE

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* Manningham's *Diary* is preserved at the British Museum (Harleian MS. 5353).

Editor's Note—In our last issue we printed a letter from Mr. Eagle under the heading "Who Was Shakespeare's Anne?" (Page 116). Owing to an unfortunate error Mr. Eagle was made to say that "Will Shakespere signed a bond to marry Anne Hathaway of Shottery, described as 'maiden'." Shottery should have read Stratford as reference to the Bishop of Worcester's Register makes clear. Stratford does not necessarily refer to the town. The parish of that name included a number of hamlets within a radius of at least three miles from the town.

To the Editor,
Baconiana.
Dear Sir,

ELIZABETHAN FUN AND GAMES

You asked why I did not reply to Dr. A. L. Rowse's allegations of compulsive sensuality in the life of the Bard and secret vice in the lives of the rival claimants to the Shakespearian authorship, through the medium of the correspondence columns in *The Times.*

In the first place it would have required similar space to that occupied by Dr. Prowse's article, and this, I am sure, would never have been granted. Secondly I have a feeling that Dr. Rowse, in spite of his polemics, is an honourable opponent, and that if ever he should happen to discover the real truth about Francis Bacon, his candour as an historian could make him a powerful ally in our search for the truth. For the truth of history is a universal principle, much more potent that any personal opinion conceived by the mind of man.

Yours etc.,

MARTIN PARES

We regret that the above letter was received too late to be included in Baconiana 1971. The tolerance of the writer is notable, especially in the context of *The Times* correspondence—a selection from which we reproduced at the time.—Editor.

PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor,
The Times,
Printing House Square,
Blackfriars,
London, E.C.4.

Sir,

Mr. Stelio Hourmouzios' perfect palindrome is excellent, fulfilling his ideal of expressing a wise precept or axiom.

If I may be allowed to pass on to anagrams, and a Latin one at that, I should like to submit HONORIFICABILITUDINITATIBUS which appears in *Love's Labour's Lost* (V.I.). A variant, HONORIFICABILITUDINE, appears with other scribbles, on the cover page of the Northumberland MS. preserved in the British Museum. One, but not the only anagram, is:—

HI LUDI F BACONIS NATI TUITI ORBI
(These plays born of Francis Bacon are preserved for the world).

This is curious since the MS. belonged to Francis Bacon. Other scribbles include Bacon and Shakespeare (eight or nine times in various forms) the Plays *Richard II* and *Richard III*, and—a real jewel—" by Mr. ffrauncis William Shakespeare ".

Have we here a hint for posterity ?

Yours faithfully,

NOEL FERMOR,
Chairman

(Not printed)

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