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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.

Portrait of Henry VII in the British Museum.
The subject of Bacon's only prose history, he was the one omission from Shakespeare's Histories of the English royal succession.

BACONIANA

VOL. LVI (87th Year) No. 173 DECEMBER, 1973

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

A feature of *Baconiana* over the last twenty years has been the notable series of articles by Martin Pares, our President. These contributions have been exceptionally well informed, and written in a polished style which has never failed to please. We know from experience that M.P., to use his pseudonym, is a perfectionist, and in illustration of this, he has now re-written his article *Othello*, which appeared originally in *Baconiana* 164. We are printing the revised version in this issue.

We are very pleased to announce that a seleotion of seven of his articles has now been printed privately under the title of *Mortuary Marbles*, at the author's expense. A short Preface precedes *Othello*, which is followed by:—

Francis Bacon and The Utopias,

The Tempest,

Imagery, Thought Forms and Jargon,

The Hidden Music,

Elizabethan Fun and Games,

Plants and Weeds.

The book runs to nearly 100 pages and we recommend it without reserve to our readers. A limited number of copies has become available for sale through the generosity of Commander Pares, who has expressed the desire that the proceeds should go to the Society. We very much hope that Members will buy the

book at the reasonable price of £1, as a tribute to our President and for their own libraries.

* * * *

The policy of the Council of the Francis Bacon Society is to maintain as high a literary standard as possible in *Baconiana,* besides printing the results of research carried out by Members and, where appropriate, outsiders. In this way it has been possible to enhance the reputation of the Society, and this has been considered sufficient reward. Attempts to " popularise " our cause are unlikely to be successful.

Nevertheless, a feature of our membership, now as in the past, has been the overseas content. American members, perhaps, deserve special mention, and the well-known composer, Alan Hovhaness, has dedicated his Symphony No. 1 to Francis Bacon. This has now been re-written, and is due for publication this year. A measure of Alan Hovhaness' standing in American musical circles is indicated by the presentation of a programme of his own composition by the Billings Symphony Society last March, featuring his Symphony No. 22, opus 236, " City of Light ", Concerto No. 2, Opus 89, for violin and string orchestra, and Cantata for voices and orchestra, Opus 227, " Lady of Light ". Most of the twenty-three symphonies he has composed have been published. The first was performed initially by Leslie Howard on the B.B.C. Birmingham programme in 1936, and was followed by a London broadcast: the first and third movements are unchanged in the new version, a copy of which will be presented to the Society.

* * * *

In our last issue we printed a series of letters written by Mrs. Gallup demonstrating, clearly enough, her sincerity of purpose and painstaking labour using the Biliteral Cipher method of decipherment, over an extended period of years. Prior to this, Mrs. Gallup had learned the Word Cipher from Dr. Orville Owen, and Mrs. Alan Hovhaness has now kindly sent us a photostat copy of *The Nurse's Tale* which tells in delightful and moving fashion of Anne Boleyn's girlhood and betrothal to

Henry VIII, before moving on to the divorce and final tragic climax. Once again this decipherment has the ring of authenticity. Mrs. Hovhaness has acquired two of Mrs. Gallup's notebooks revealing "her meticulous and exhaustive studies", and including, among other things, a deciphered letter from Essex to Anthony Bacon in which Essex tries to justify himself for his aggression against Spain, advocating hostilities as the safest way of protecting England and her Protestant allies from Spanish machinations.

In one of these notebooks Mrs. Gallup mentions that she was submitting *The Nurse's Tale* for publication. However her correspondence with Colonel Fabyan, besides a letter from the Howard Publishing Company to Orville Owen, indicated that they both preferred Mrs. Gallup to continue with the Biliteral Cipher which, they felt, had more definite and demonstrable rules. Unfortunately these have not so far been discovered—possibly a genuine intuitional faculty came into play on occasion. Certainly Colonel and Mrs. Friedman paid tribute to Mrs. Gallup's honesty in their book, *The Shakespearean Ciphers Re-examined.*

Mr. and Mrs. Hovhaness now possess the correspondence, and are hoping that in due course they will be able to acquire the unpublished sixth volume of Owen's cipher story containing the trial of Margaret of Navarre, who so attracted the young Francis Bacon when he went to France in the train of Sir Amyas Paulet, the newly-appointed English ambassador. This volume also tells of the proposed divorce of Henry and Margaret, and a peremptory refusal by Queen Elizabeth to allow Francis to marry Margaret.

* * * *

Bacon's Belated Justice is an unusual article but, in our view, well worth printing. Joan Ham, our contributor, has clearly put in a great deal of research covering two aspects of her subject involving the Play *Richard III,* and Francis Bacon's prose work, *Henry VII.* Mrs. Ham points out that Bacon drew on Sir Thomas More and Polydore Vergil for some of his source material. The latter, according to Sir Henry Ellis, editor of the Camden Society

Reprint, was well known to the *literati* of the time, having an impressive list of works to his credit, even before arriving in England. He was a friend and colleague of Erasmus, a commendation in itself — and his reputation was established as early as 1499. After the publication of his second work *de Inventoribus Rerum* in about 1508, Vergil came to England with excellent credentials and was commissioned by the King, Henry VII, to write on Richard. If, as most of our readers believe, Bacon wrote Shakespeare's Play Joan Ham's explanation for his acceptance of the Tudor bias against this king is fully understandable.

The National Portrait Gallery Richard III exhibition which opened last June appeared to disprove the hump-back theory. The earliest known portrait of the King, now in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle, was X-rayed and evidently had been altered. The painting, thought to be contemporary, showed no abnormality originally, but the shoulder line was changed later, possibly in the Tudor period, to give the appearance of deformity. Subsequent portraits repeated the abnormality. This new evidence certainly backs our contributor's views, and also of course those of the Richard III Society.

Curiously, the wild boar was included in an early seal used by Richard: it was also the emblem of the Bacon family.

Mrs. Ham was interviewed by the *Worthing Gazette* (18th July) and was reported as saying; " I don't *think* Bacon wrote the Plays, I *know* he did ". She explained that her absorption began about ten years ago, when " someone had the effrontery to tell me that Shakespeare did not write his own plays ". It did not take long for her to realise that the friend was right, and she has now written four books (unpublished) and many articles in support of this view. Our contributor is also an expert binder and repairer of old books. Other accomplishments include handicrafts, horticulture, and painting, with a working knowledge of radio astronomy thrown in!

Later, a B.B.C. reporter visited Mrs. Ham and made two tapes. These were edited into a short interview, with special

emphasis on the authorship controversy, which was broadcast on a Radio Brighton programme. At the time of writing there is a possibility that the tape will be used by Radio 4 as well.

* * * *

Another lively correspondence followed an article by Dr. A. L. Rowse in *The Times* last winter. This time the controversy centred on the identity of the Dark Lady of Shakespeare's Sonnets. Several historical personalities contemporary with Shaksper were suggested, although Dr. Rowse himself remained convinced that an otherwise obscure lady, Emilia Lanier, was the one in question.

Our Chairman wrote to point out that to seek historical personalities, either for the Dark Lady or the poet's Friend, might be wrong, or at least a more abstract interpretation might be involved. If so, this would be more pertinent to unravelling the mysteries of the Sonnets. As anticipated, the Editor of *The Times* was interested only in publishing letters in the historical context, despite the parallels with Ovid and Horace quoted in R. L. Eagle's excellent book, *The Secrets of the Shakespeare Sonnets*, and our Chairman's letter (see correspondence section, page 118).

Last year our impression was that Dr. Rowse's well-known intransigence and apparent disinclination to consider differing viewpoints was detracting from his reputation as an authority on Elizabethan history. Unfortunately his articles in *The Times* this year reinforce the view that his reputation even in orthodox academic circles has dwindled to a near low level. The appearance of an adulatory letter from Richard Buckle, who was responsible for a number of inaccuracies (and erroneous implications) in the 1964 Shakespeare Quatercentenary Exhibition,† held in Stratford-on-Avon and London, did not help his cause. Rowse's own *William Shakespeare, A Biography* published in 1964, and the subject of a scathing review by R. W. Gibson,* had merely high-lighted the lack of hard information on Will

† See *Baconiana* 166, pp. 87/9.
* See *Baconiana* 164, pp. 88/91.

Shaksper's career and background. In this context, a letter in *The Times* from Professor J. P. Kenyon of the University of Hull controverting Dr. Rowse's claim that " very little has survived " from the Elizabethan Age, was intriguing. Yet Shaksper apparently left no books and no letter or other holograph of his is known or has been discovered. Dr. Rowse's case for Emilia Lanier, Professor Kenyon wrote, is not even an intelligent guess, just an idle surmise. *Verb sap.!*

* * * *

In our correspondence section we reproduce letters from R. L. Eagle and our Chairman which were published last July in *The Spectator*. Christopher Sykes' attempted comparison between Descartes and Corneille on the one hand, and Shakspere and Bacon on the other, is effectively discredited by Mr. Eagle, who would also have liked to have mentioned the satirical epigram in *The Scourge of Folly*, which appeared in 1610 under the name of John Davies of Hereford. It contained an epigram to " our English Terence Mr. Will Shake-speare ". The hyphenated name, and the title of the book, draw our attention to another inappropriate comparison, since Terence only wrote six comedies, whereas Shake-speare, by 1610, had written several tragedies, including *Hamlet*.

Several well-known Roman authors suspected that this former Carthaginian slave, who had been freed by his master Terentius and re-named Terence, was a cover for Scipio and Laelius, both consuls and friends. Cicero, Quintilian, and the historian Seutonius, all wrote that Terence could not have written such elegant Latin, and Montaigne, an acquaintance of Bacon, states in one of his Essays that Scipio and Laelius wrote the comedies.

Sir George Greenwood, a doughty opponent of Shakespearean orthodoxy, though not a Baconian, in Appendix A to his *Is There a Shakespeare Problem?* discussed this question at length (pp. 539 - 562).

* * * *

We print an article by T. D. Bokenham, containing several controversial expressions of opinion by the late Professor Cantor, including the unorthodox suggestion that Francis Bacon may have been Roman Catholic by conviction — at least in later life. The opposite viewpoint was put before our readers in a review of Hugh Ross Williamson's book *The Day Shakespeare Died,* in *Baconiana* 164. Indeed, if Bacon's involvement in the 1611 Authorized Version of the Holy Bible is conceded, Professor Cantor's opinion becomes that much more difficult to accept, particularly when Bacon's strong belief in the English Protestant Succession is remembered. It may well be significant that Bacon's Roman Catholic friends were known for their moderation, in an age of religious intolerance, and it seems wisest to assume that the great philosopher and statesman was aloof from sectarian loyalties, preferring to exert his great influence in quenching the fires of bigotry. Professor Farrington's lucid article, *Francis Bacon After His Fall,* in our last issue, certainly confirms ihts conclusion, and, once again, points a moral and adorns a tale for the better instruction of post-Elizabethan ages, and not least our own.

Professor Cantor's belief that ciphers "according to the principles of kryptography" were contained in 17th century books is sound and far sighted, and amply vindicated by the cipher finds in The *67th Inquisition,* and other important finds since Professor Cantor's day. There is, in fact, ample justification for bringing this article to the notice of our readers, and we are grateful to our popular Treasurer for a useful piece of research. We would add that Charles Killigrew, mentioned in the penultimate sentence of the last paragraph, and Master of the Revels in 1680, married into the Bokenham family. His wife, Jemima Bokenham, whose mother was a descendant of Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper, by his first wife, was a granddaughter of Sir Henry Bokenham, who was knighted at Whitehall in 1603 in company with Francis Bacon!

* * * *

Mr. Austin Hatt-Arnold wrote to the Dean of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, in October, 1972, requesting permission for the Society to examine Robert Burton's tomb. This request was made in pursuance of the search for the " Bacon-Shakespeare MSS ", in accordance with the High Court Judgement in favour of the Francis Bacon Society, in 1964. The full text of the letter to the Dean, and the submission to the Dean and Chapter, together with the letter conveying the final rejection of the request, are printed on pages 11-16. Details of the Robert Burton Tomb and its surroundings in Christ Church Cathedral were given in *Baconiana* No. 170, page 6, *et sequitur.*

* * * *

Mr. Walter J. Annenberg, the present American ambassador to the Court of St. James, published a profusely illustrated book, *Westminster Abbey,* in 1972. The caption to the picture of Shakespeare's Monument in Poets' Corner, states that one of the three pedestal busts represents Richard III (1452 - 85), the others being Henry V (1387 - 1422) and Queen Elizabeth I (1558 - 1603). The Monument was sculpted by Peter Scheemaker, erected in 1740 under the auspices of the 3rd Earl of Burlington, Dr. Richard Mead, and Alexander Pope, and is said to have been paid for by public subscription.

* * * *

Last December the Press reported the alleged discovery of " Shaksper's " handwriting in the British Museum MS. *The Birth of Hercules.* Since the only guide to his handwriting is in the six signatures to legal documents of the time—including three of doubtful authenticity on the Will — the claim was at least premature, and the questions arise as to why there is no contemporary reference to the play, why there has been no previous suggestion that the handwriting was Shaksper's, and why it was not included in the First or three following Folios.

On enquiry at the British Museum, we were informed by the Department of the Keeper of Manuscripts that *The Birth of Hercules* MS. had been edited twice previously, in Chicago and London, in 1903 and 1911 respectively. The handwriting is difficult to decipher, but this is not in itself a proof of Shaksper's authorship! In fact, the Museum thinks that the MS. is the work of an anonymous copyist. It was purchased in the 19th century, and has even less claim to a connection with Shaksper than the *Sir Thomas More* MS.

* * * *

We are sorry to record the passing of the sixth Earl of Verulam in April last. John Grimston was a direct descendant of Sir Harbottle Grimston who bought the family estates from Sir Thomas Meautys, Francis Bacon's faithful secretary, in 1652, and through shrewd management fought to ensure continuity of tenure, despite inflationary pressures. To our loss Lord Verulam was not so interested in the authorship controversy as his brother, the preceding Earl. Nevertheless we knew him as a man of considerable personal charm, and genuinely pleased to allow the public free access at all times to the roads which traverse his estate, at Gorhambury, just outside St. Albans. His administrative ability was amply proved by his business interests, and his endeavours to ensure continuity of tenure of his estate, are likely to have been successful.

* * * *

A preliminary announcement promising a television production on the life of Shakespeare appeared in the Press last February. Twelve one-hour programmes are planned, and these will be culled from the bizarre and largely fictional "biography" by Anthony Burgess. Luigi Squarzina, "an Italian Shakespearean authority", will help Burgess to write the script.

The Chief Executive of Associated Television, the I.T.V. company responsible, was reported as saying: "Nobody can

prove anything much about Shakespeare's life, but this will be the way we see it and we intend to make these programmes for posterity. He did not only write plays and sonnets; his own life was exciting ". We trust that our forebodings are unjustified, but we fear that the current tendency to give sexual overtones to Shakespeare's life story will again be too strong for Mr. Burgess, especially perhaps, in connection with the Sonnets. We are not enamoured of the venture, in the belief that showmanship and unconventional moral standards will be deployed in order to " give the public what it wants "—and so extract a commercial profit even after the planned expenditure of £2,500,000.

CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, OXFORD

Dear Dr. Chadwick,

Further to the discussion between yourself, Commander Pares and myself last December, I am enclosing a submission to the Chapter of Christ Church Cathedral concerning examination of Burton's tomb.

You will observe that we are proposing initially an electronic survey. This will cause no damage and we hope it may be possible to accede to the request. Any further decision by the Chapter could be taken in the light of the electronic survey results.

I am copying this letter to Commander Pares.

Yours sincerely,

A. M. HATT-ARNOLD

Dr. Henry Chadwick,
The Deanery,
Christ Church,
Oxford OX1 1DP.

REQUEST TO THE CHAPTER OF CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, OXFORD, FOR PERMISSION TO EXAMINE ELECTRONICALLY, AND POSSIBLY THEREAFTER TO EXCAVATE, THE BURTON TOMB

1. *Introduction*

One of the objects of the Francis Bacon Society is to encourage the general study of the evidence in favour of Bacon's authorship of the plays commonly ascribed to Shakespeare, and to investigate his connection with other works of the period.

In 1964 a High Court judgement delivered by Mr. Justice Wilberforce in favour of the Francis Bacon Society upheld a legacy of approximately £6,500 left to the Society by Mrs. E. M. Hopkins, to be used in the search for the "Bacon-Shakespeare Manuscripts". Details of the judgement can be found in *Baconiana*, vol. XLVIII No. 165, October 1965. In addition to Mr. Justice Wilberforce's judgement the affidavit of Professor H. E. Trevor-Roper is significant, in that he does not consider the question of the Shakespeare authorship to be closed. The affidavit of Mr. E. Pyddoke of the University of London Insti-

tute of Archaeology is also relevant, in that he considers the preservation of manuscripts in tombs to be perfectly possible. The Francis Bacon Society is therefore required to use the above-mentioned sum to search for manuscripts that might in any way help to throw light on the authorship of the Shakespeare plays.

A large amount of research has been carried out and published by members of the Society since it was created in 1885. Research results have been published in the Society's journal *Baconiana*, and in numerous books written by Society members or others who believed in the Bacon-Shakespeare connection. It would hardly be possible now to put forward all this evidence, which would be equivalent to reproducing a small library. But we can highlight some of the more interesting and relevant items of information.

2. *Did Bacon have a secret literary activity?*

In Archbishop Tenison's *Baconiana or Certain Genuine Remains of Sr. Francis Bacon* (1679), on page 79, we read: "And those who have true skill in the Works of the Lord Verulam, like great Masters in Painting, can tell by the Design, the Strength, the way of Colouring, whether he was the Author of this or the other Piece, though his Name be not to it". This is clear evidence that Bacon wrote anonymously or under a pseudonym.

In a letter to Mr. Davys dated 28 March 1603, Bacon says: "So desiring you to be good to concealed poets, I continue . . . " The burden of the letter is that Davys should speak well of him to King James who had just assumed the throne. (Spedding *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon* vol. III p. 65. In a footnote Spedding admits he cannot explain the allusion to "concealed poets").

Howes in his *Annales* or *General Chronicle* (1615) includes Sir Francis Bacon in his list of excellent poets of the time of Elizabeth (page 811).

In *Memoriae Honoratissimi Domini Francisci, Baronis de Verulamio, Vice-Comitis Sancti Albani Sacrum* (London 1626)

thirty-two of Bacon's friends and admirers honoured him with panegyrics after his death. Frequent reference is made to him as a muse, as well as a philosopher. Some relevant quotations (translated into English) are given below. They are taken from *Manes Verulamiani*, edited by W. G. C. Gundry (1950).

Poem No. 2 by S. Collins, R.C.P.: " . . . a muse more rare than the nine Muses . .."

Poem No. 4 by R.P.: " . . . nor did he with workmanship of fussy meddlers patch, but he renovated her walking lowly in the shoes of Comedy. After that more elaborately he rises on the loftier tragic buskin . . . "

Poem No. 9 by R.C., T.C.: " . . . the golden stream of eloquence, the precious gem of concealed literature . . . "

Poem No. 12 by Williams: " How has it happened to us, the disciples of the Muses, that Apollo, the leader of our Choir, should die ? "

Poem No. 15 by Robert Ashley of the Middle Temple: " Why should I mention each separate work, a number of which of high repute remain ? A portion lies buried . . . "

Poem No. 20: " . . . ah ! the tenth Muse and the glory of the Choir has perished. Ah ! never before has Apollo himself been truly unhappy ! Whence will there be another to love him so ? Ah ! he is no longer going to have the full memory; and unavoidable is it now for Apollo to be content with nine Muses ".

Poem No. 22 by James Duport: " . . . enriched the ages with crowds of books . . . "

Poem No. 24 by C.D., King's College: " You have filled the world with your writings . . . "

Poem No. 32 by Thomas Randolph, Trinity College: " . . . Phoebus withheld his healing hand from his rival, because he feared his becoming King of the Muses . . . They begot the infant Muses, he adult . . . But my song can bring you no praises, a singer yourself you chant your own praises thereby ".

In his *Apologie in Certaine Imputations concerning the Late Earle of Essex*, Bacon wrote: "About the same time I remember

an answer of mine in a matter which had some affinity with my Lord's cause, which though it grew from me, went after about in others' names. For her Majesty being mightily incensed with that book which was dedicated to my Lord of Essex, being a story of the first year of King Henry the fourth, thinking it a seditious prelude to put into the people's heads boldness and faction, said she had good opinion that there was treason in it, and asked me if I could not find any places in it that might be drawn within case of treason: whereto I answered: for treason surely I found none, but for felony very many " (Spedding *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*, Vol. III pp. 149 - 150).

There is also the enigmatic phrase in Bacon's Prayer or Psalm: " I have (though in a despised weed) procured the good of all men ". (Spedding *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*, vol. VII p. 230). The " despised weed " cannot refer to Bacon's scientific writings or to his legal work: it could refer to his possible rôle as a playwright.

3. *Possible links between Bacon, Shakespeare and Burton*

What reason would there be to link Bacon and Shakespeare with Burton? Again we will not give this question lengthy treatment, though a number of articles in *Baconiana* have been devoted to it. Brownlee in his book *William Shakespeare and Robert Burton* (Mitre Press 1960 and 1965) attempts to show that Burton wrote some of the works attributed to Shakespeare. Some members of the Francis Bacon Society take a somewhat different line, viz. that Bacon wrote the Shakespeare works, and that *The Anatomy of Melancholy* is basically a compilation taken from Bacon's notebooks.

The five editions of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* published in Burton's lifetime, together with the sixth edition published after his death, all bear the name of Democritus junior on the title page. Burton himself never claimed the authorship and the original manuscripts have never been found. Like Shakespeare Burton shared an almost complete immunity from contemporary gossip.

A lead towards the Burton monument was given to the Bacon Society by Mrs. Gallup in *The Bi-Literal Cypher of Sir Francis Bacon, Part III—The Lost Manuscripts—Where They Were Hidden* (Howard Publishing Co. 1910). Mrs. Gallup deciphered in accordance with the method described by Bacon in *De Augmentis Scientiarum* (Spedding, Ellis and Heath *The Works of Francis Bacon* Vol. I pp. 659 - 661). The result of her decipherment was to find numerous references to Bacon having authored Burton. In *The Lost Manuscripts*, on page 5, Mrs. Gallup records her decipherment of the Latin inscription on the Burton monument; " Take heed; In a box is MS.Fr.B."

The Burton monument has some mysterious elements. The Latin inscription: Paucis notus paucioribus ignotus hic jacet Democritus junior (" Here lies Democritus junior, a man known to few, unknown to fewer ") is paradoxical. The line of longitude (22° 0′) given for his birthplace is manifestly false, bringing you either to the mid-Atlantic or Poland according to whether you go East or West of Greenwich.

4. *Request for an electronic survey and possibly thereafter an excavation of the Burton tomb*

It is suggested that in the first instance an electronic survey be carried out by a reputable institution. We would suggest that the Oxford Research Laboratory for Archaeology under Dr. Martin Aitken be requested to undertake this. This method has already been used successfully in locating the lost tomb of a famous condottiere in Venice. Its advantage is that it creates no damage and would enable the pinpointing of any existing metal box of manuscripts.

What might be gained from such a search ? Naturally the Francis Bacon Society would hope to find manuscripts that would link Bacon with Burton and/or Shakespeare. If a link only between Bacon and Burton was proved—still better if notes for the *Anatomy* were found in Bacon's handwriting—it would establish that Bacon did write under other people's names. This would facilitate further excavations in key places. As for the

Cathedral Chapter, which could not be expected to follow Baconian ideas, the motivation would be to try find Burton's manuscripts, which would be of value for historical and literary research.

The Bacon Society, as Trustees of the above-mentioned legacy, would defray any expenses connected with this project. It would respectfully request that any work be carried out quietly, in a spirit of scholarly enquiry, and without informing the Press.

The Deanery
Christ Church
Oxford, OX1 1DP

17 November 1972

Dear Mr. Hatt-Arnold,

Your memorandum concerning the proposed examination and excavation of the Burton tomb at the cathedral has been very carefully considered, and advice obtained from professional historians. I am sorry to tell you that the cathedral Chapter is not willing to accede to your request. The Chapter would be wholly unwilling to have an excavation, and therefore sees no useful purpose in an electronic survey designed to discover whether excavation might be useful. In any event it is fairly probable that there could well be perhaps some metal there, but it is thought so improbable that there is any significant evidence to discover, that the Chapter does not think it would be justified in agreeing.

Yours sincerely,

HENRY CHADWICK

A. M. Hatt-Arnold Esq.
17 route de Soral
1232 Confignon
Geneva
Switzerland

OTHELLO

By M. P.

It is the very error of the moon
She comes more near the earth than she was wont
And makes men mad.†

The play, of course, is the thing, and criticism . . . well, critics, in Lord Bacon's words, are more like brushers of noblemen's clothes ! However, it is perhaps by a process of criticism and interpretation that we may sometimes come closer to an author who writes under a pseudonym. A rigid examination of the text will show clearly that the additions and improvements to the play of *Othello* in the First Folio of 1623—as compared with the first Quarto of 1622—were composed and interpolated by the author himself.

Broadly speaking the Shakespeare Plays can be divided into two groups; those printed during Will Shaksper's life, and those which first appeared in the Folio of 1623, seven years after his death in 1616. *Othello* falls into neither group. It was first printed in 1622, six years after William's death, and was re-printed next year in the Folio of 1623, completely revised, with 160 new lines, 70 lines deleted, and with trifling verbal alterations throughout. The re-arrangement of the lines required no little skill and reveals the hand of the author in almost every scene.

Stratfordians maintain that all the shortcomings of the quarto text are due to stage "cuts". The word "all" is too sweeping and inhibits further enquiry. Cuts for the stage were probably made, but in this case there is clear evidence of extensive revision. Some of the new lines are the author's substitutions for lines deleted; some restore omissions which lead to an obvious *non sequitur*; some are more polished elegancies of speech. Most important of all, some are really fine passages, newly interpolated, which no competent editor or producer would omit.

The Shakespeare quartos are more than mere play-house scripts; their printed form, title-pages and dedications are charm-

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† *Othello*, 5/2/109.

ing, and they often show where the author wavered between two happy thoughts. The First Folio, however, is the pearl of great price; it gives us the author's final verdict on his work; it gives us 19 new plays never before printed, and it includes superb passages which would never have been omitted except at the author's express desire. On what other authority could the prologues in *Henry V* and *Troilus and Cressida* have been omitted if these had been available? These and other golden passages went quite unrecorded while Will Shakspere lived.

On the title page of the 1622 quarto we are told that *Othello* had been "diverse times acted at the Globe and the Black Friers, by his Majesties Servants", but unfortunately the dates of these performances are not known. There is a forged entry in a MS. in the Record Office purporting to show that a play called "The Moor of Venis" was played by the King's Players on November 1st, 1604. The entry has been exposed as a modern forgery, but some Stratfordians claim that it must be a more or less exact copy of a "genuine entry which once existed"! The play, however, does seem to owe its first inspiration to about that period.

The story of Othello was taken from the Italian of Cinthio's *El Capitano Moro* of which there was then no translation. Like *Cymbeline* it was drawn from an Italian source. A curious proof that the author of *Othello* had recourse to the original Italian, even when an English translation existed, has been pointed out by Mr. Grant White. Othello, when chiding Desdemona for losing the handkerchief, tells her:

> . . . there's magic in the web of it.
> A sybil that had numbered in the world
> The sun to course two hundred compasses
> In her *prophetic fury* sewed the work.

Mr. Grant White draws our attention to a passage in *Orlando Furioso* about a tent which Cassandra gave to Hector, from which the expression "prophetic fury" is evidently taken. It was translated by Rose as "prophetic heat", but Othello lifts the identical words "furor prophetico" straight from the Italian. Here then is a strong indication that the author of *Othello* had read *Orlando Furioso* in Italian, and this supports the theory,

accepted by many, that the author of Shakespeare had travelled in Italy.

Mr. Grant White gives another instance. When Iago utters the well known lines "Who steals my purse steals trash", etc., he repeats with little variation but with heightened dramatic vigour, a stanza of Berne's *Orlando Innamorato*, then untranslated, but which he renders thus:—

> The man who steals a horn, a horse, a ring,
> Or such a trifle, thieves with moderation
> And may be justly called a robber-ling;
> But he who takes away a reputation,
> And pranks in feathers from another's wing,
> His deed is robbery, assassination . . . .

Clearly this is the source of the well-known Shakespearean passage . . . .

> Good name in man and woman, dear my lord,
> Is the immediate jewel of their souls:
> Who steals my purse steals trash; 'tis something, nothing;
> 'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;
> But he that filches from me my good name
> Robs me of that which not enriches him,
> And makes me poor indeed.

The subject of this speech—good name and reputation—was anticipated by Francis Bacon in 1594. It is entered in his note-book *The Promus* in the form of a French proverb "Bonne renommé vent plus que ceinture dorée". (*Promus* 1501).

In the folio text of *Othello* there is a passage which certainly seems to betray a Baconian origin. In 1615, the year before Shaksper's death, George Sandys published his *Journey*, in which he says "The Bosphorus setteth with a strong current into Propontis". In 1616 Bacon, who knew Sandys well, wrote a Latin tract *De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris* and used the words *Pontus* and *Propontis* when describing the weak tidal ebb and flow in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. The passage is as follows:—

> At mare Mediterraneum, quod est sinuum maximus, et hujus partes Tyrrhenum, Pontus, et Propontis, et similiter mare Balticum, quae omnia reflectunt ad orientem, desituuntur fere, et fluxus habent imbecillos.

In the Folio text, Othello, in describing his own relentless and implacable nature, is made to compare it to the strong one-way current at the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, which overcomes the weak diurnal movement of the Mediterranean tides. And he anglicises the very words " Pontus " and " Propontis ", used by Bacon. Here is his speech which is entirely missing from the quarto text . . .

> Never, Iago. Like the *Pontick* sea,
> Whose icy current and compulsive course
> Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on
> To the *Propontic* and the Hellespont,
> Even so my bloody thoughts, with violent pace,
> Shall ne'er look back, ne'er ebb to humble love,
> Till that a capable and wide revenge
> Swallow them up . . .

This striking analogy owes something to Sandys, but much more to Bacon. Although technically the word "ebb" is wrongly used, the underlying thought must be referred to Bacon's speculations about the conflict of currents with tidal streams. It seems incredible that William could have anticipated Bacon's treatise, or have made this distinction between currents and tides.

Some of the lines which make their first appearance in the Folio text of *Othello* rectify obvious defects in the quarto. The following lines are necessary to the action of the play, or to the syntax, and should never have been omitted:—

1/2/65

Brabantio. If she in chains of magic were not bound

1/3/123

Othello. I do confess the vices of my blood

3/4/193

Bianca. . . . Why, I pray you ?

Cassio. Not that I love you not.

4/1/183

Iago. Yours, by this hand; and to see how he prizes the foolish woman your wife ! She gave it him, and he hath given it his whore.

4/2/99

Desdemona. Who is thy lord!
Emilia. He that is yours sweet lady.

4/2/187

Roderigo. With nought but truth . . .

The interpolation in the Folio text of the following passages represents an improvement rather than the supply of an omission in the quarto.

1/2/72

Brabantio. Judge me the world, if 'tis not gross in sense
That thou hast practis'd on her with foul charms,
Abus'd her delicate youth with drugs or minerals
That weaken motion: I'll have't disputed on;
'Tis probable, and palpable to thinking.

1/3/24

First Sen. For that it stands not in such war-like brace,
But altogether lacks the abilities
That Rhodes is dress'd in: if we make thought of this,
We must not think the Turk is so unskilful
To leave that latest which concerns him first,
Neglecting an attempt of ease and gain,
To wake and wage a danger profitless.

1/3/194

Brabantio. Which, but thou hast already, with all my heart.

2/1/36

Montano. Even till we make the main and the aerial blue
An indistinct regard.

3/4/8

Clown. To tell you where he lodges is to tell you where I lie.

4/2/72

Othello. . . . . .
Committed! O thou public commoner!
I should make very forges of my cheeks,
That would to cinders burn up modesty,
Did I but speak thy deeds. What committed!

5/1/83

Iago. Lend me a garter. So. O! for a chair,
To bear him easily hence!
Othello. . . . . Being done, there is no pause.

5/2/49

Emilia. O mistress! villainy hath made mocks with love.
My husband say that she was false!

Othello. He, woman; I say, thy husband: dost understand the word?
My friend, thy husband, honest, honest Iago.

5/2/244

Emilia. What did thy song bode, lady?
Hark, canst thou hear me? I will play the swan.
And die in music:—
Willow, willow, willow.

Many fine passages in Shakespeare would have been lost to us for ever, but for the First Folio. In *Othello* the following passages, which are also in Shakespeare's later style, are missing entirely from the quarto . . .

1/1/121

Roderigo. If't be your pleasure and most wise consent,—
As partly, I find, it is,—that your fair daughter,
At this odd-even and dull-watch o'the night,
Transported with no worse nor better guard
But with a knave of common hire, a gondolier,
To the gross clasps of a lascivious Moor,—
If this be known to you, and your allowance,
We then have done you bold and saucy wrongs;
But if you know not this, my manners tell me
We have your wrong rebuke. Do not believe,
That, from the sense of all civility,
I thus would play and trifle with your reverence:
Your daughter, if you have not given her leave,
I say again, hath made a gross revolt;
Tying her duty, beauty, wit and fortunes
In an extravagant and wheeling stranger
Of here and every where. Straight satisfy yourself:

3/3/384

Othello. By the world,
I think my wife be honest and thinks she not;
I think that thou art just and think thou art not.
I'll have some proof. Her name, that was as fresh
As Dian's visage, is now begrim'd and black
As mine own face. If there be cords or knives,
Poison or fire or suffocating streams,
I'll not endure it. Would I were satisfied!

3/3/453

Othello. Never, Iago. Like to the Pontick sea,
Whose icy current and compulsive course
Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on
To the Propontic and the Hellespont,

Even so my bloody thoughts, with violent pace,
Shall ne'er look back, ne'er ebb to humble love,
Till that a capable and wide revenge
Swallow them up.
Now, by yond marble heaven

4/1/40

Othello. To confess, and be hanged for his labour. First, to be hanged, and then to confess: I tremble at it. Nature would not invest herself in such shadowing passion without some instruction. Is it not words that shake me thus. Pish! Noses, ears, and lips. Is it possible? — Confess! Handkerchief! — O devil.

The ejaculation "Is't possible?", which occurs so many times in Shakespeare, is entered in Bacon's notebook in his own handwriting.† It occurs five times in Othello. Why would Bacon want such a note if not for some dramatic purpose?

Desdemona. Here I kneel:
If e'er my will did trespass 'gainst his love,
Either in discourse of thought or actual deed,
Or that mine eyes, mine ears, or any sense
Delighted them in any other form;
Or that I do not yet, and ever did,
And ever will, though he do shake me off
To beggarly divorcement, love him dearly,
Comfort forswear me! Unkindness may do much;
And his unkindness may defeat my life,
But never taint my love. I cannot say 'whore':
It does abhor me now I speak the word;
To do the act that might the addition earn
Not the world's mass of vanity could make me.

And that so charming and so Elizabethan elegancy with which Cassio ends his talk with Emilia . . . "I am much bound to you" . . . would any actor cut that? Surely it is the polish of the final revision for the Folio. Then there is the willow song. Nowadays the song might be cut for the stage. But such songs were a feature of the Elizabethan drama, and this, like that of Ophelia in *Hamlet*, is a kind of swan song. Quite apart from the song itself, the newly interpolated lines which introduce it seem to lend an atmosphere of impending tragedy.

† *Promus* 274

4/3/31

Desdemona. I have much to do.
But to go hang my head all at one side,
And sing it like poor Barbara. Prithee, dispatch.

Emilia. Shall I go fetch your night-gown?

Desdemona. No. unpin me here.
This Lodovico is a proper man.

Emilia. A very handsome man.

Desdemona. He speaks well.

Emilia. I know a lady in Venice would have walked barefoot to Palestine for a touch of his nether lip.

Desdemona. The poor soul sat sighing by a sycamore tree,
Sing all a green willow;
Her hand on her bosom, her head on her knee,
Sing willow, willow, willow;
The fresh streams ran by her, and murmur'd her moans;
Sing willow, willow, willow;
Her salt tears fell from her, and soften'd the stones:—

Lay by these:—
Sing willow, willow, willow;
Prithee, hie thee; he'll come anon.
Sing all a green willow must be my garland
Let nobody blame him, his scorn I approve,
Nay, that's not text. Hark! who is it that knocks?

Emilia. It is the wind.

Desdemona. I call'd my love false love but what said he then?
Sing willow, willow, willow;
If I court moe women, you'll couch with moe men.

The homely phrase "Shall I go fetch your night-gown?" and the casual "No, unpin me here"', coming just before Desdemona is to be cruelly murdered, would hardly be omitted by any competent producer. They recall another Folio addition, the "Come, unbutton here" of King Lear, not in the quarto of 1608. In the Folio text of *Othello* there is yet another thoughtful interpolation in Shakespeare's later vein. The passage, which was noticed by Hazlitt, comes just before the last fatal scene, where Emilia and Desdemona converse so charmingly about the general behaviour and attitude of wives towards their husbands.

4/3/89

Emilia. But I do think it is their husbands' faults
If wives do fall. Say that they slack their duties,
And pour our treasures into foreign laps,
Or else break out in peevish jealousies,
Throwing restraint upon us; or, say they strike us,
Or scant our former having in despite;
Why, we have galls, and though we have some grace,
Yet have we some revenge. Let husbands know
Their wives have sense like them; they see and smell.
And have their palates both for sweet and sour,
As husbands have. What is it that they do
When they change us for others? Is it sport?
I think it is; and doth affection breed it?
I think it doth; is't frailty that thus errs?
It is so too; and have we not affections,
Desires for sport, and frailty, as men have?
Then, let them use us well; else let them know,
The ills we do, their ills instruct us so.

The insertion in the Folio text of such thoughtful and philosophical passages as these, the substitution or addition of occasional lines, and most of all the skill with which all this is managed, are my grounds for believing that the author of *Othello* was alive in 1623. Granted the opportunity may well have been taken to restore a few omissions or cuts, the whole play was evidently most carefully revised.

* * * *

In the play of *Othello* certain remarks concerning the dual nature of the "self" have led me to a comparison of Shakespeare's two most notorious villains—Iago and Richard III. There is a difference in quality in the casual remarks made by these two widely different characters on this question. Those of Richard seem to be quite in character, and are many times repeated on the eve of his death. Those of Iago, the vilest of all Shakespearean creations, seem to come directly from the dramatist himself.*

* The historical character of Richard III has become a debatable question. But the play of *Richard III*, regarded as a brilliant piece of pro-Tudor hack-writing, bears no comparison with *Othello*—one of the greatest Shakespearean plays.

Coleridge, in an entry in H. C. Robinson's diary, is recorded as saying "Shakespeare delighted in portraying characters in which the intellectual powers are found in a pre-eminent degree while the moral qualities are wanting, at the same time that he taught the superiority of moral greatness". Bacon, too, was equally concerned with the growing predominance of the intellectual over the moral qualities. The following extract from one of his prayers shows this clearly, " . . . neither that, from the unlocking of the gates of sense and the kindling of a greater natural light, anything of incredulity or *Intellectual Night* may arise in our minds towards the Divine Mysteries ".§

Richard and Iago are both brilliant villains. Each is endowed with an intellect superior to his fellows; each, without any scruple, dedicates that intellect to evil purposes. But there is a wide difference psychologically between them. Richard, unlike Iago, is not so much interested in evoking evil in others, as in lust for the power of Monarch and Dictator. He is a cruel tyrant, motivated by extreme selfishness and ambition. His conscience, unlike that of Iago, disturbs him at times and, as we shall see, he is especially troubled by the problem of "self and not self ".

Iago, on the other hand, has no conscience and is quite unscrupulous. He not only practises evil for its own sake, but evokes it in everyone he meets except Desdemona, in whom there is nothing base enough to respond to him. Even she calls him " slanderer " (2/1/113) and chides him for " praising the worst best " (2/1/185) when everyone else calls him " honest " ! Iago's reaction to any form of goodness is annoyance and irritation. His creed is well expressed in the following lines . . .

> Virtue ? A fig ! 'tis in *ourselves* that we are thus or thus. Our bodies are our gardens, to the which our wills* are gardeners . . . 1/3/320

Iago's vulgarity and obscene language are the natural products of an obscene mind. But much of the lascivious imagery

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§ From *The Student's Prayer.* Francis Bacon (Spedding, Works Vol. vii).

* by "wills" in this sense, Shakespeare means "desires".

in his words is cunningly devised to find its mark subconsciously in the mind of Othello. As an instance of how Iago goes to work, the following passage is an excellent example. His victim, Othello, wrought to ungovernable rage by Iago's false suggestion of illicit intercourse between Desdemona, his wife, and Cassio, ends his outburst of indignation in the following passage:—

Othello.	I'll not endure it. Would I were satisfied !	3/3/391.
Iago.	And may, but how ? How satisfied, my Lord ? Would you, the supervisor, grossly gape on Behold her tupped ? . . .	3/3/395

And a few lines later:—

Iago.	It is impossible you should see them Were they as prime as *goats*, as hot as *monkeys*.	3/3/408

In the next Act these obscenities seem to have taken root in Othello's mind.

Othello.

(after abruptly dismissing Desdemona . . .)
Cassio shall have my place . . .
You are welcome, Sir to Cyprus, *Goats and Monkeys !*
4/2/272

" Diseased Intellectual Activity " is the description given to Iago by Hazlitt: as if in Iago the Divine gift of Active Intelligence was used in dark reverse.

Both these notorious villains—the witty and fascinating Richard and the repulsive Iago—allude repeatedly to this problem of " self ".§ Richard, although a ruthless tyrant, is also very much a hypocrite. His sense of showmanship is superb, but his ostentation in religious observance betrays an element of superstition. He is continually handling sacred things without feeling; so that, in Bacon's words, " he must needs be cauterized in the end".† Richard is also much given to hard swearing

§ See *In the East my pleasure lies*, by Beryl Pogson, 1950.
† *Of Atheism;* Francis Bacon.

(especially by St. Paul!)* But his conscience leads him in the end to question the dual nature of his "self" as if blindly groping for something unrecognized. There is a revealing passage in the play of *Richard III* in which Elizabeth taxes him with the emptiness and vanity of his oaths . . .

K. Richard. I swear . . .
Q. Elizabeth. . . . By nothing for this is no oath
Swear then by something that thou has not wronged
K. Richard Now by the world . . .
Q. Elizabeth . . . 'Tis full of thy foul wrongs
K. Richard My father's death . . .
Q. Elizabeth. . . . Thy life hath that dishonoured
K. Richard Then by *myself*
Q. Elizabeth. . . . Thy self is *self* misused.

Richard III, 4/4/369

Richard, in spite of his vaunted self-assurance, becomes increasingly haunted with this question of "self". Shortly before his death he uses the word "myself" nine times in nine lines, including the phrase "I am I" . . .

What! Do I fear *myself?* There's none else by:
Richard loves Richard; that is I *am* I.
Is there a murderer here? No. Yes I am:
Lest I revenge. What! *myself* upon *myself?*
Then fly: What from *myself?* Great reason why;
Alack! I love *myself*. Wherefore? For any good
That I *myself* have done unto *myself?*
O! no; alas! I rather hate *myself*
For hateful deeds committed by *myself* . . .

And a few lines later:—

And if I die, no soul will pity me:
Nay, wherefore should they, since that I *myself*
Find in *myself* no pity to *myself?*

Richard III, 5/3/184

Some hours later Richard, the last of the Plantagenets, was slain on Bosworth Field and his corpse was dragged to Leicester by Henry Tudor's men.

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* Richard, oddly enough, is the only Shakespearean character even to mention St. Paul.

Now while Richard's wit is fun and his sparkle enjoyable, Iago's discourse is obscene and vulgar. He is consumed with jealousy, hatred and revenge. " He that studies revenge ", wrote Bacon, " keepeth his own wounds green ".† But Iago is far worse than an embittered man seeking revenge, he is a willing channel through which evil and foul thoughts propagate themselves in the minds of others. Yet, in a moment of truth (rare to him) Iago can say of Cassio:

> He hath a daily beauty in his life
> That makes me ugly . . . (5/1/20)

In the very first scene of this play Iago makes himself known to us by the following remarks . . .

> I follow him to serve my turn upon him (1/1/42)
> In following him I follow but *myself* (1/1/58)
> ..... I am not what I am (1/1/65)

The first may simply be an admission that Iago seeks revenge. The second and third lines concern the problem of "self". But (as the late Beryl Pogson has pointed out*) the third remark (" I am not what I am ") could well be interpreted as a deliberate corruption of the divine Word " I am that I am ". Later in the play Iago returns to the problem of " self and not self " in reference to Othello:—

> He's that he is—I may not breathe my censure
> What he might be—if what he might he is not—
> I wish to heaven he were . . . (4/1/281)

This ambiguous allusion by Iago to the dual nature of the " self " in Othello is hardly in character for Iago as we know him. There is even a hint of redemption in these lines. For, when the ordeal is over, Othello sees his former self as if in a glass, and exclaims . . .

> That's he that *was* Othello. Here *I am* (5/2/282)

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† Essay *Of Revenge:* Bacon.

* *In the East my pleasure lies.*

Are we to take this as a kind of transfiguration of the "self"? And, if so, was it intended by the author to be accomplished by the vilest and most repulsive of Shakespeare's villains ? This is the real Iago question; and it is left unanswered in the play. For when Othello poses the question:—

> Will you, I pray demand that demi-devil
> Why he hath thus ensnared my soul and body ? (5/2/300)

Iago's reply is hardly that of a penitent:—

> Demand me nothing: what you know you know
> From this time forth I never will speak more. (5/2/302)

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by Noel Fermor

Can the professional historian fit the Rosicrucians into the historical scene, or must the field be left to "vaguely occultist studies?" Dr. Yates, formerly Reader in the History of the Renaissance at the University of London, and author of the *Art of Memory, Theatre of the World,* and *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition,* has adopted a new approach* believing that the Rosicrucians were connected with John Dee's followers in Bohemia during the reign of Elizabeth I of England, and with contemporary movements in South Germany which came to a head under Frederick, Elector Palatinate. Frederick's wife, Elizabeth, was of course, the daughter of James I, and known as the "Winter" Queen of Bohemia.

The Rosicrucians first became known through the famous Manifestos, the *Fama* and *Confessio,* tracts published at Cassel in 1614 and 1615. Not the least of the merits of this interesting book lies in the printing of the full versions of these as translated into English by Thomas Vaughan in 1652 (pages 238 - 260).

In 1616, a third publication, an alchemical romance, *The Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosencreutz* by Johann Valentin Andreae, added to the excitement already created by the Manifestos. An interesting sidelight is that Andreae "thought highly of the theatre as a moral and educative influence". Indeed his *Christian Mythology* (1618) contains numerous references to drama and the theatre, but always as a positive influence. Thus one section states that Comedy can teach decorous modesty and truth, whilst another advocates the construction of public theatres to show plays that train the young, instruct the people, and sharpen the mind. We are inevitably reminded of Bacon's Essay *Of Masques and Triumphs,* his references to the theatre in *The Advancement of Learning,* and Shake-speare's Plays. Andreae refers to the Fraternity of the Rose Cross in his book as an

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* In *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment;* Routledge and Kegan Paul, £4·50.

admirable Fraternity which plays comedies throughout Europe,† and Ben Jonson, in his masque *The Fortunate Isles* (1625) suggests a connection between Rosicrucians and actors. Since Dr. Yates mentions that Andreae was influenced by travelling English actors, the link with Bacon's philosophic thought becomes startingly clear. Indeed, the Manifestos in attacking Aristotle, were echoing Bacon's own teaching, as Professor Benjamin Farrington and others have shown.

The brothers R.C., according to Robert Fludd, also urged the improvement of natural philosophy, alchemy and medicine, and Dr. Yates whilst convinced of the influence of John Dee's Preface to Euclid on Fludd, concedes that his plea for the reform of the sciences has a Baconian ring, and may have been influenced by *The Advancement of Learning.* Although Fludd was an Englishman, his works were published in the Palatinate, where encouragement from Frederick and Elizabeth could safely be assumed. His *Utriusque Cosmi Historia,* a history of the Macrocosm and Microcosm, is based on Pico della Mirandola's philosophical scheme, which relied largely on Hebrew Cabala and Hermetic philosophy, all being reconciled with Biblical authority. Fludd and his mystical friend Count Michael Maier, the Rosicrucians and Bacon, all insisted that true philosophers must study the footprints left by Nature and avoid the strife of religious sects . . . Possibly the dedication of Maier's *Lusius Serius* (1616) to Francis Anthony, described as an Englishman in London, and two others, may have significance. In the preface Maier stated that he was at Frankfurt, on the way from London to Prague . . . It may be remembered that William Harvey's *De Motu Cordis* was published in Frankfurt in 1628, and strong evidence is available pointing to Bacon's collaboration in this work.*

It is intriguing to note that Dr. Yates is impressed by the importance of printers and publishers in the Palatinate. This is an especially apt comment to those who believe that ciphers were

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† VI, 13, p.290.

**cf.* Dr. Harvey, Robert Fludd, and Francis Bacon, *Baconiana,* 158.

introduced in the 1623 Shake-speare Folio and other works of the period in England and abroad.

In a chapter headed " Francis Bacon 'under the shadow of Jehova's wings' " the author of this fascinating book points out that Bacon's works were dedicated to James I, the monarch in whom the religious reformers allied with the Rosicrucians pinned their hopes. The fact that James' daughter married the Protestant Elector Palatinate aroused widespread hopes of a new religious tolerance, but the Thirty Years War and the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620 destroyed these hopes, and re-established the power of the Hapsburgs.

In *The Advancement of Learning* Bacon had called for a *fraternity* " in learning and illumination ", and Dr. Yates shows that his " instauration " of science was directed towards a return to the state of Adam before the Fall, a state of pure and sinless contact with Nature, and knowledge of her powers. The *De Augmentis* was printed in 1623, but his major philosophical works were contemporaneous with the Rosicrucian Manifestos. Frederick and Elizabeth of Bohemia took a copy of Raleigh's *History of the World* with them to Prague, though it has now found its way back to the British Museum, and Carole Oman has pointed out that Elizabeth was interested in Bacon's works.* For the first time, in our experience, a professional historian has had to admit that *New Atlantis* makes " it certain that Bacon knew the Rosencreutz story ". It is a pity, however, that in repeating a conclusion already put forward by F. W. C. Wigston, Dr. Yates calls him a crank whose book‡ is otherwise nonsense. This comment simply confirms, as seems evident from her book, that Dr. Yates is not conversant with mysticism—Rosicrucian or otherwise—though she is aware that Ben Jonson alludes to an " invisible " Rosicrucian Order in one of a number of references to them.

We were pleased to find that Comenius and Hartlib, both self-confessed devotees of Bacon's teachings, are adequately acknowledged. She notes that Comenius adopted the theatre analogy

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* *Elizabeth of Bohemia* (1964), page 14.
‡ *Bacon, Shakespeare and the Rosicrucians*, London, 1888.

which is so prominent in these philosophical writings, although it should be said that Dr. Yates believes—and here we beg to differ—that Dee was the source of inspiration rather than Bacon. Perhaps awareness of Bacon's tribute to his school " of good pens ", and the existence of the Twickenham scrivenry, might have changed her view. Even so she gives generous praise to Bacon's influence on the formation of the Royal Society, and this is culled from Margaret Purver's book, *The Royal Society: Concept and Creation** which was reviewed in *Baconiana* 168.

John Wilkins in his *Mathematical Magick* (1648) alluded to " the sepulchre of Francis Rosicrosse ". Was this, in fact, an error? We doubt this since Wilkins mentioned Lord Verulam frequently in this very same book, and was himself a Member of the Royal Society. Interestingly enough Isaac Newton, the mathematical genius of a later generation, owned Thomas Vaughan's English translation of *The Fame and Confession of the Fraternity R.C.* Indeed, according to Dr. Yates:

> It would thus not be historically fantastic to entertain as a hypothesis basis for future study, the possibility that a " Rosicrucian " element, in some revised or changed form no doubt, might enter into Newton's interest in alchemy.

His own belief in ancient wisdom, the true philosophy behind mythology, and his system of the universe shadowed forth in Apollo's lyre with its seven strings, and apocalyptic prophecy, is at one with Rosicrucianism.

Perhaps we may end by reproducing from this book a quotation from Comenius:—

> If a light of Universal Wisdom can be enkindled, it will be able both to spread its gleams throughout the whole world of the human intellect . . . and to awaken gladness in the hearts of men and to transform their wills. For if they see their own destiny and that of the world clearly set before them in this supreme light and learn how to use the means which will unfailingly lead to good ends, why should they not actually use them?

* London, 1967.

BACON'S BELATED JUSTICE

by Joan Ham

My intention in this article is twofold. Firstly, I wish to present evidence to show that the accepted portrait of Richard III bears little relation to historical facts, and is, in reality, the result of a positive programme of vilification. Secondly, I wish to discuss Bacon's two writings concerning Richard III, the earlier based on official history sources, and the later drawing on more detailed evidence. This shows I think, how his thinking underwent radical changes during his lifetime. The discussion accepts the premise that Bacon wrote the play of *Richard III* using the pen-name Shake-speare.

* * * *

In the year 1621, Bacon was at the height of his fame and fortune. In this same year, Fate reserved for him one of her cruellest blows. He was impeached on a patently trumped-up charged, and toppled into ignominious retirement. The great Lord Chancellor had been accused of accepting bribes. Bacon, accustomed to dispensing the King's justice, now found that same justice denied to himself. Despite his conviction on this charge, not one of the judgements which he had made were ever reversed—except one.

It was a judgement made in his younger days: made in haste upon false evidence. It was a judgement coloured by personal circumstances. The year after Bacon's fall from office provided him with time to delve more deeply into such matters. He also had fresh evidence to hand and the years had added a more mature reflection to bring to his studies. Bacon's sense of justice obliged him to go some way towards putting the record straight.

The victim of Bacon's original injustice was King Richard III. Richard was the butt of Tudor propaganda. Henry VII and his paid historians had done a job worthy of the late Dr. Goebbels upon the character and reputation of this last Plantagenet king. They *needed* the contrast of a black villain, in

order to cast the first Tudor into the mould of a shining crusader, rescuing his hapless country from a tyrannical reign of anarchy and terror . . . . The reality was very different.

Edward IV had restored a warring country to stable government, prosperity and thriving trade, as well as a cultural resurgence. The feudal system had given way to municipal, regional and central government. England was efficiently divided into large administrative blocks, of which the whole of the North was almost a principality under the benevolent rule of Edward's youngest brother—Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Edward trusted and listened to this young brother, who shared his ideas on the government of the realm. This attitude was in sharp contrast to his other brother, the treacherous George, Duke of Clarence, who would change allegiance with his hose. Richard was reliable, a stout prop to the throne. Parliament endorsed the King's opinion with the most glowing and remarkable enactment, giving him powers in the North second only to the King's. Under Richard's seal as Lord of the North, Scots could be made denizens of England, armies could be raised for defence or attack, and justice dispensed. Richard was adored by the men of York, who welcomed every visit to their city with feasting and gifts. Richard's justice took no account of a man's purse or importance—it was applied to the humble and to the mighty alike.

Richard of Gloucester loved the North. His home and his serenity lay there, and he was uneasy at Court. Richard's marriage to Anne Neville was a blissfully happy and faithful one, for his nature was quite unlike that of his lecherous brother, Edward IV, who could have given lessons to Henry VIII, concerning the pursuit of women. Richard had grown up in the Earl of Warwick's castle at Middleham, and Anne Neville, one of Warwick's daughters, was a constant friend and companion of his childhood.

When Warwick had changed his allegiance from York to Lancaster (a mark of his disgust when Edward IV married Elizabeth Woodville against his wishes) the occasion was sealed, rather unwillingly by the principals, by the betrothal of Anne

Neville, then aged 15 years, to the 16 year-old Prince Edward, son of Henry VI. The final arrangements including the wedding ceremony were to take place when, and if, Henry VI was restored to the throne. It is doubtful if the young pair ever shared the same bed, for history was fast accelerating towards the battle of Tewkesbury, and the final defeat of the Red Rose. Prince Edward fought in the battle, and when the day was lost, fled towards Tewkesbury. He was overtaken by the Duke of Clarence and a body of troops. Clarence, who had recently changed sides again, was eager to prove his new-found loyalty, and so slew the Prince, ending the direct male line of the House of Lancaster. Anne Neville thus became a young " widow ". Her father was an attainted rebel and her great estates were forfeit to the Crown. Richard was rewarded by the King for his part in the battle with part of Warwick's estates, including Middleham, Sheriff Hutton and Penrith.

Richard's heart lay in the North. Anne Neville and he had spent a happy childhood in Middleham, and the lady was now in great distress, her future bleak. Richard obtained the King's permission to marry her. After many vicissitudes, originating in Clarence's outrageous greed and jealousy (details of which have no place in this account) Richard and Anne were able to marry, and lost no time in setting up home in Middleham. Richard also persuaded the King to allow the Countess of Warwick, now his mother-in-law, to leave sanctuary and make her home with them. It was typical of his kindness and concern for the family of the dead Warwick, and represented true disinterested friendship. Indeed, Richard's lack of animosity to defeated enemies was to prove his eventual downfall.

Edward IV died in 1483, after a reign of more than 20 years, leaving his realm and his children, including the 12 year-old heir to the throne (Prince Edward) to the sole protectorship of his faithful brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Richard set out from the North to fulfil his obligations with the same devotion to duty that characterised his whole life. Before he could finalise arrangements to have the young king crowned, some grave information was conveyed to him from an unim-

peachable source. He learnt that his nephews were bastards, owing to the pre-contract of Edward IV to Lady Eleanor Butler. She was no less a person than the Earl of Shrewsbury's daughter—the great Lord Talbot! This could not be dismissed as a casual affair, for the pair were betrothed before witnesses, and in the eyes of the Church and the law, betrothal and marriage were equally binding.

Edward's children, then, were bastards, and referred to as such in official documents. This barred them from the throne. George, Duke of Clarence was the next in line, but he had died an attainted traitor. Under the law, his son Edward, Earl of Warwick, was also barred from the succession by the attainder, although Richard had protected some of his estates from forfeiture. The next in the succession was Richard himself — the undoubted heir to the throne.

A state paper of the Royal Title embodying these facts was prepared. It was called "Titulus Regius". Richard's first parliament made its very first business the embodying of "Titulus Regius" in an Act of Parliament. It is also an interesting sidelight to learn that the statutes of Richard III were the very first ever to be published in *English.* This open dealing contrasts strongly with what we shall learn about Richard's successor!

Richard's assumption of the Crown was a much-desired and popular event. Henry VI's long and degenerating reign had taught people the evils of a long Royal minority, and the resultant power struggles. Richard's benevolent and firm government of the North had shown the people of England what kind of ruler they might hope for in Richard of Gloucester. The coronation of Richard and his Queen showed clearly the massive support for his kingship. It was a glittering and glorious affair, attended by almost the entire peerage of England (Henry Tudor's mother even carried the Queen's train!). Richard had the wholehearted support of all ranks of people.

The last Lancastrian hope was centred upon a refugee at the Court of Francis, Duke of Brittany. His name was Henry Tudor and *he had no other,* although he persisted in calling himself Earl of Richmond. He had no right to this title. Both

Jasper and Edmond Tudor had been attainted and deprived of their newly-acquired Earldoms, and Edward IV had created his brother Richard, Earl of Richmond. With his coronation, the title merged with the Crown. Henry Tudor was *not* the Earl of Richmond.

Henry claimed maternal descent from John of Gaunt, who was certainly his great-great-grandfather, but this was overlooking not only a bend sinister, but also a positive bar to the succession imposed during the reign of Henry IV in the year 1407. The lineage on his father's side was also flawed.

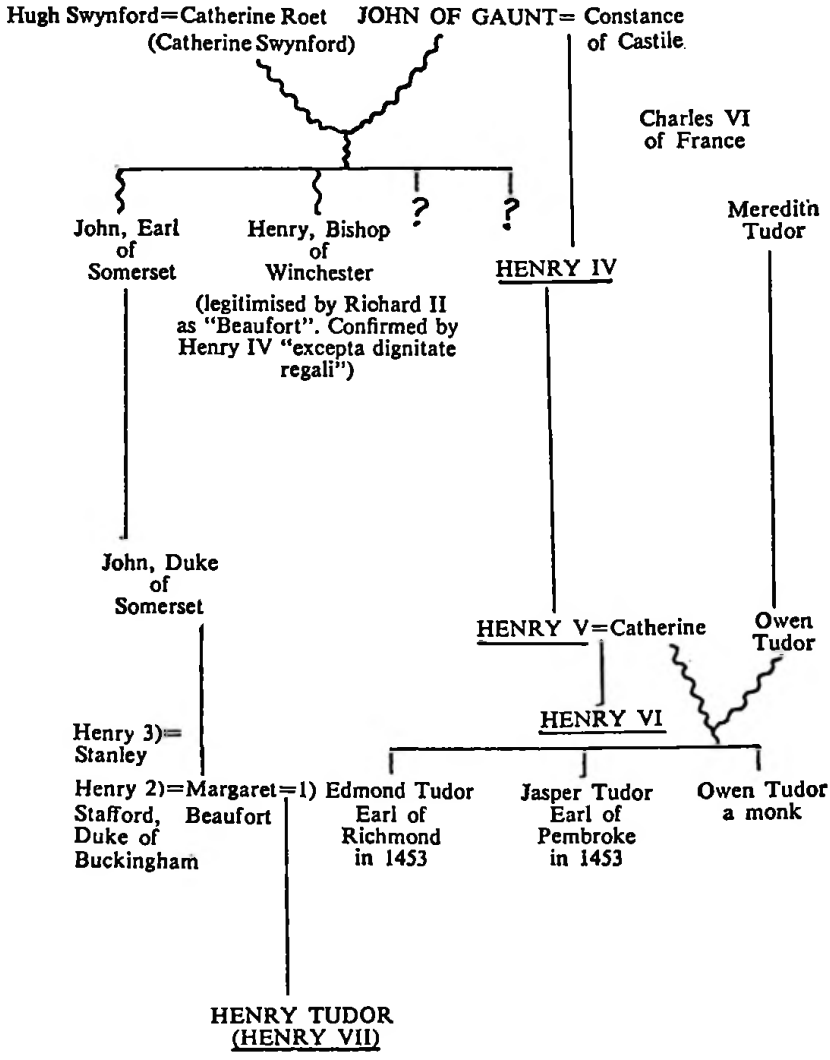
Soon after the death of Henry V, a certain Owen Tudor appeared at Court. He was quite unknown. His father had been butler to the Bishop of Bangor. Owen Tudor obtained a post in the Wardrobe of Henry V's widow, Queen Catherine. The widowed Queen lived in close retirement, and nothing was known publicly about her household, so it was with considerable surprise that her son, Henry VI learned *after her death* that he had three half-brothers. They were the children of Owen Tudor and Queen Catherine. No proof existed that a wedding had taken place, and a clandestine ceremony would have had no legality concerning the dowager Queen. In the Morgan Colman genealogical MSS, prepared for Francis Bacon as material for his chronicle plays and history, Edmund and Jasper Tudor are described as " sonnes of Queen Catherine by Owen Tudor ". There is no indication of marriage.

Henry VI was feeble-minded, but kind, and he welcomed his new-found half-brothers at Court. In 1453, he created Jasper, Earl of Pembroke and Edmund, Earl of Richmond. The third brother, Owen Tudor was a monk at Westminster. Edmund was the father of Henry Tudor, although he did not live to see his son.

On such fragile threads as these hung the hope of the House of Lancaster, and so Henry Tudor waited in Brittany to claim the throne to which he had no shadow of right. Thus, the stage was set for the Battle of Bosworth.

Henry's invasion force consisted of the sweepings of French goals (all that he could persuade the French to supply!) and

GENEALOGY OF HENRY TUDOR (simplified)



some Welsh followers. He was able to drum up alarmingly little support as he marched through Wales. Lord Stanley, Henry's new step-father was not prepared to commit his troops until the battle showed him its winning side. He was not prepared to risk attainder for his step-son, and his wife, Margaret Beaufort was a powerful enough Lancastrian card to play to ensure his future from Henry, if necessary.

Richard's whole life had been built around his own motto, " Loyaultie me lie ". It was by the thin thread of loyalty that he sought to bind his followers. He had abolished the hated " benevolences " by which his brother Edward had raised money in times of need, and would not now ask Parliament for taxes. Instead, he appealed for loans for the sums he needed, offering adequate security and a fixed term of repayment. It is a measure of the regard and trust he commanded, that in a very short time, a very large proportion of the loan had been advanced from the people. Unfortunately for Richard, he had pardoned too many former enemies, and they were now to betray him. He knew that the men of Yorkshire were unquestioningly loyal, but his Commissioner of Array in the North was Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. During Richard's time as Lord of the North, his passion for impartial justice had trodden on the Percy's feudal toes, for which he had never been forgiven. Wounded pride could now apply soothing balm, and with all his authority, Percy now " worked to rule ". He delayed as long as possible in calling out the loyal Yorkshiremen, leaning heavily on the excuse that there was plague in the city of York. When he arrived at the field of battle, he explained to Richard that his men were weary with forced marches, and were unfit for immediate battle—would it not be wiser for them to remain in the rear so that they might rest, and also so that they would then be in a defensive position if things went badly ? Richard was not deceived, but it was very necessary that his front-line troops should be fresh and utterly dependable. The men of York would certainly follow *him*, but what would happen to morale if he assumed personal command of Percy's levies ? The men of York, under their reluctant commander, were placed to safeguard the rear.

So it was that the last Plantagenet died, gallantly and bravely trying to decide the final outcome by personal combat with Henry Tudor. Now it was, that the cautious Stanley threw his whole force into the scales to save his step-son, and Richard went down against impossible odds. Stanley handed Henry his crown. Now began the task of gaining a reputation and a firm grip on the kingdom which had fallen into his grasp.

One of the first orders of Henry VII in all the power of his new authority, was to repeal the Act of Parliament embodying "Titulus Regius". He caused it to be utterly destroyed, and anyone keeping a copy of it would do so under threat of fine and imprisonment during the King's pleasure (by the merest accident, the original draft was not destroyed. It was found among the Tower records many years later!). Systematically and ruthlessly, Henry now set about character assassination. His adherents had already been responsible for a crop of rumours concerning the whereabouts and well-being of the sons of Edward IV, "the princes in the Tower". There was no hard evidence that they were dead.

One of the first things that fell into Henry's hands was the Tower of London and everything in it. Nothing was despised that would serve as a stick with which to beat the dead Richard III. If Henry found no trace of the two princes in the Tower, why did he not shout the fact from the rooftops of London? What better weapon could he possibly have used, to arouse the desired revulsion towards his dead predecessor? Yet in all his efforts to vilify Richard, Henry never called him the murderer of his young nephews! In the Act of Attainder against Richard there is no attribution of this terrible deed that can be identified.

Richard's reign had lasted for just over two years. When Henry came to the throne, he became responsible for the lives of the surviving members of the House of York. These were, possibly, Edward IV's sons (and daughters), certainly Edward, Earl of Warwick (Clarence's son), John of Gloucester—the illegitimate son of Richard III who had a better claim to the throne than Henry—and the family of Elizabeth, Duchess of Suffolk,

who was Edward IV's sister. Even Elizabeth of York, Edward's daughter, was a virtual prisoner until Henry could no longer put off the wedding.

* * * *

In the year 1597, a play called *Richard the Third* was published anonymously, as were all his early historical plays though title-paged to Shakespeare or Shake-speare. It is necessary first of all, to examine the prevailing circumstances when the author wrote this play. He had been pursuing a steady object in publishing historical plays, mostly dealing with the " long jarres " of York and Lancaster. Their purpose has been discussed before in these pages, and doubtless will be discussed in the future. I have given details and examples of the methods used by Bacon in the preparation of historical material *(Baconiana* 167) and shown how he relied heavily upon the second edition of *Holinshed's Chronicles* for material. His habit was to read the appropriate reign in Holinshed, annotate the margins, *prêcis* the matter which interested him, and sometimes save himself labour simply by noting the page references of particular descriptions. These notes were written out " fair " for him by Morgan Colman, who also added a beautiful genealogical table of Royal Descent (already referred to on page 39).

Raphael Holinshed (Bacon's source material) was a Tudor historian of the approved pattern, and his material was merely an echo of Thomas More and Polydore Vergil. Edward Hall's account, published in 1548, was also used, but Hall in his turn drew inspiration from More and Vergil. These two would seem to be the very foundation stones of Tudor history. Both must be treated with grave suspicion.

Polydore Vergil is accused by other writers of destroying " wagon loads " of source material which did not fit in with the desired impression of Henry VII. One only has to read his spiteful and blinkered account of Richard III's reign to know without question the identity of his paymaster. Vergil's Richard can do no right. Richard's malicious plotting and foresight could only originate in the mind of a historian exercising his hindsight from the pedestal of secure Tudor employment ! Richard's gen-

erosity and kind acts are always construed to have evil motives. His friendships are suspect. His friendly overtures to Edward's widow are " wicked and foul " plots. Apparently the widowed Queen was so unutterably stupid and " mutable ", that she believed the "murderer" of her small children, and despite the fact that she was "scarce able to be comforted in her grief", allowed herself to be talked into releasing her daughters into Richard's protection, besides writing to her son the Marquis of Dorset (perfectly safe from Richard in Paris !) to desert Henry Tudor and come home, for Richard to advance him. This the Marquis attempted to do, but was pursued and brought back by Henry's friends. (Shortly after Henry became King, he clapped this young man into the Tower, and was only persuaded to release him upon promises that he would not endanger Henry).

Credulity really does revolt, when we are asked to agree that Richard, in attempting to free himself from his marriage with Anne Neville, spread rumours of her death in the hope that she would die of melancholy on hearing them ! Vergil says just that ! Apparently, Richard's public demonstrations of conjugal affection were " lest he might seem hard-hearted " ! These examples will give the general flavour of Vergil's history.

Thomas More's *History of Richard the Third* was first written in 1513, and appeared in various other historians' published works at intervals, eventually being printed in Holinshed's *Chronicles* of 1587. It begins on page 711 with the chapter heading

> The historie of King Edward the fift, and King Richard the third unfinished, written by maister Thomas More then one of the under shiriffes of London, about the year of our Lord 1513, according to a copie of his owne hand printed among his other workes.

Holinshed has done no more than lift More's account completely ! Thomas More's history is not above suspicion, for he was put into the service of Cardinal Morton as a boy. Many scholars attribute More's history to Morton himself, and even

those who do not are agreed that his information came from Morton. More, after all, was a small child at the time of Bosworth ! Henry Tudor had no more faithful servant than Morton, a dyed-in-the-wool Lancastrian. Henry rewarded his devoted service with the Chancellorship in 1486, and made him Archbishop of Canterbury in 1487, eventually obtaining for him a Cardinal's hat. His services to Henry continued thereafter since he was the instrument of the King's financial extortions, and universally detested. Yet this man provided historians of the next century-and-a-half with their information concerning the last Plantagenet. We will know how to regard history from such a source. Bacon might have referred to it as, " Water from the hands (such doctrines as are polluted from custom) " . . .*

Bacon, however, was a man in a hurry. He was interested at this time not so much in historical accuracy — he was living under the reign of Henry VII's grand-daughter and history was much too dangerous a subject for that !—as in using the stage as a school wherein the unlettered multitudes were taught. Bacon read his Holinshed (*i.e.* More/Morton) and made his notes. In 1597, Bacon had spent weary years suing for and waiting for office and employment that never came. His patron Essex was headed on a collision course with disaster — Bacon could see that as clearly as a spectator at a play — but his cautionary advice was not heeded. His own affairs were at a very low ebb, and the obstacle to his progress was the ageing Lord Burleigh, busily creating a niche for his own brilliant and crippled son, Bacon's cousin Robert Cecil. Nothing was allowed to hinder Cecil's advancement.

Reading Holinshed, Bacon made the following notes:—

> EDWARD THE FFIFTE
>
> . . . The pitifull life, and most tragicall death of this vertuous Prince (of great hope) I leave to Sr Thomas Mores historie, who effecuallie, and most eloquentlie hath sett it Downe.

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* *Promus;* Aphorism 859.

RICHARD THE THIRD

> Wo, be to this man; In whome the foule monster of Ambition and Crueltie, maie be seene, in most Lothsome shape, then in anie other; This Richard of Glocester (not worthie the name of a Kinge,) hath murthered his innocent nephewes, And with the consent of manie shameles hartes possesseth not the Royall Throne, but the Tragicall Stage; not a Kinglie state; but a sea full of horrible and most Owglie Monsters, wherein no persone is more overracked, with Stormes wreachednes, then is this bloodie man himselfe. And like as ye ragious desire (thirstinge for the Kingdome,) was in the house of Yorke most Bloodie, then the usurpation of the same, had bene in Lancaster, so nowe behoulde (to make the Justice of God improvable) wee shall have the blood of this Richarde (wth the innocents Distruction) to shew the Lords vengeaunce, by so much the more in this house, then in thother. This Done, behould an ende, Godes wrathe is pacified, the Tyraunt is Dead, iniuries are plagued to the full, and the Kingdome is shifted to the presserved mann, who slewe his usurper in the fielde, one mondaie, the 22 August, 1485; when he had raigned 2 yeares, 2 moneths, and 5 dayes. The Discription of his person, and condicons, I leave to Hollinshed, in Folio 712 & 760.
>
> Transcript from the *Morgan Colman* MS.

The description which Bacon had seen in Holinshed, and of which he carefully records the page numbers, reads as follows:—

> Richard the third sonne, of whome we now intreat, was in wit and courage equall with either of them, [his brothers] in bodie and prowesse farre under them both, litle of stature, ill featured of limmes, crooke backed, his left shoulder much higher than his right, hard favoured of visage, and such as is in states called

> warlie, in other men otherwise; he was malicious, wrathfull, envious and from afore his birth ever froward. He was close and secret, a deepe dissembler, lowlie of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardlie companionable where he inwardlie hated, not letting to kisse whome he thought to kill; despitious and cruell not for evill will alway, but often for ambition, and either for the suretie or increase of his estate. (p.712).
>
> As he was small and little of stature, so was he of bodie greatlie deformed; the one shoulder higher than the other; his face was small, but his countenance cruell, and such, that at the first aspect a man would iudge it to savour and smell of malice, fraud and deceit. (p.760)

I invite readers to *look* at the portrait of Richard III.* Does this face *really* savour of " malice, fraud and deceit "? I suggest that the eyes portray deep tragedy. It is the face of a man carrying a heavy burden of cares. Does Richard look hunch-backed? There is no obvious sign of spinal deformity in this picture . . . Bacon, however, was not looking at this picture.

He was looking at the *description* of a man he knew very well indeed. This man was a perfect Robert Cecil, even to the ruthless ambition. Now he had a model for what he wanted to bring out on the stage! The Richard III of the Play is his own cousin — the man who stood athwart his own path to advancement. The star of the play is not Richard Plantagenet but Robert Cecil. The Robert Cecil - Richard III comparison did not escape the notice of others, as the libellous verse below demonstrates.

> Heere lieth Robin Crooktback, unjustly reckond
> *A Richard the third,* he was Judas the second,
> In their lives they agree, in their deaths somewhat alter,
> The more pitty the pox soe cousend the halter
> Richard, or Robert, which is the worse?
> A crooktback great in state is Englands curse.

* See illustration facing page 81.

The plot of *Richard III* is pure Thomas More alias Morton. To read the Play is to read More's history in blank verse. Every scene is lifted straight out of the history book; sometimes even the words are the same!

Young Thomas More was highly intelligent. When writing out his master's (Morton's) revelations, he felt that the unrelieved villainy of Richard III did not seem quite creditable. He began, ever so cautiously, to temper his account. We find him allowing that the York claim to the throne was lawful. Parliament itself entailed the Crown to the Duke (Richard's father), rejecting entirely the son of Henry VI, Prince Edward. Having taken the first brave step, he was troubled by the death of the Duke of Clarence, and wrote:—

> . . . at the lest wise heinous Treason was there layde to his charge, and finallye wer hee fautye were hee faultlesse, *attainted was hee by parliament and judged to the death* and thereupon hastely drouned in a Butte of Malmsey, whose death kynge Edwarde (*albeit he commaunded it*) when he wist it was done, piteously bewailed and sorrowfully repented.

There is no mention of any involvement by Richard in this *judicial execution*!

More is equally unhappy about the official version of the death of the Princes. Quite early in the story, when little York was in sanctuary with his mother, Edward's widowed Queen, and every effort was being made to urge her to allow him to join his brother, he gives as one of the Queen's many reasons for opposing this.

> . . . I merveile greatly that my lord protectour is so desirous to have him in his keping where *if the child in his sicknes miscaried by nature*, yet might he runne into slaunder and suspicion of fraude.

For a woman allegedly afraid for her son's well-being in the evil protector's care, the Queen is expressing considerable alarm for Richard's reputation in the event of the child dying.

Children *did* die of natural causes, and in those days infant mortality was an accepted fact of life. It happened too often for surprise . . .

. . . Look at the genealogy of the House of York. Richard Plantagenet and Lady Cecily Neville produced 12 children, of whom five did not survive infancy. Richard III's own little son died young, despite all the love and care lavished upon the heir to the throne.

Although More gives the traditional details of the murder of the Princes, he is not entirely convinced that this is what really happened. One can sense the juryman's " reasonable doubt " troubling his mind as he writes;

> Whose death and final infortune hathe natheles so far comen in question, that some remain in doubt wither they wer *in his dayes* destroyde or no.

But having offered that sop to his conscience, the faithful Tudor servant then devoted pages of openly admitted " hearsay " to the infamous murder.

> I shall rehearse you the dolorous end of these babes, not after every way that I have heard, but after that way yt I have so hard by suche men & by such meanes as me thinketh it wer hard but it should be true.

His master's voice! Whatever More's private doubts, he knew better than to be nice to Richard in the sight of Henry Tudor; so, however good or innocent the man, let him be placed in the shadow of villainy, let his every action be construed in the worst light.

Richard pleaded for Clarence's life (the only person to do so!) but " more faintly then he yt wer hartely minded to his welth ". Well, he could have held his peace with more effect!

Richard as king announced pardon for any offences committed against himself—but this is " deceitful clemency ". Had Henry been as clement, the House of York would have survived

better! Richard we are told, never ceased to wreak death or slaughter, but More conveniently omits to tell us who was slaughtered and put to death. There is safety in generalisation.

Bacon, with More as his pattern, was also forced to apply double standards. He badly wanted the Robert Cecil image of devilment and grasping ambition, but the lawyer is forever prodding his mind, pointing out incongruities that would be thrown out of court. Consequently, Shake-speare's *Richard III* never quite adds up! He is so villainous as a stage character, that it is as though we are looking at a political cartoon. Party bias over-rides reality, but in the morass of calumny, shreds and tatters of truth are to be seen.

Richard in the Play tells Anne Neville quite positively, "I did not kill your husband". Later, he says that he did!

Clarence in the Tower, in the throes of a nightmare, sees the ghost of this same Prince Edward, who accuses:—

> . . . false, fleeting, perjured Clarence,
> That stabbed me in the field by Teuxbery.

This same persistent ghost appears to Richard before the battle of Bosworth, to point its accusing finger in a different direction:—

> Think how thou stabst me in my prime of youth,
> At Teukesburie . . .

Whoever was guilty, it should be remembered that the Prince died in battle, and it is difficult to see how it could be called murder. Richard or Clarence or Edward himself could just as easily have met their end at Tewkesbury. The youth of Prince Edward is often cited in order to arouse pity, but Richard himself and his brothers were all battle-hardened veterans in their 'teens. This was not an unusual situation for scions of the nobility.

Let us see how this peculiar double vision interprets the death of Clarence. One murderer states quite plainly that, " . . . my voice is now the Kings," and later,

What we will doe we doe upon command,
And he that hath commanded, is the King.

Yet, these two men are referred to by Gloucester as " my executioners ". Gloucester provided them with the warrant to enable them to have access to Clarence in the Tower, and when one of them had qualms, he was reminded of the reward to be paid to them by Gloucester.

Now this will not do! If Clarence is condemned to death by the King, and the executioners are sent by him, then what had Gloucester to do with warrants and rewards? If it was his wish that Clarence should die, then all he need do was allow the law to take its course unhindered; yet even Thomas More allows that Gloucester was the one to plead with the King to spare his brother. It is interesting to note *why* Clarence was condemned to death in the Play. Forgotten is the " false, fleeting, perjured Clarence " and his treasons pardoned and repeated afresh. In order to paint Gloucester in still darker hues, the opening scenes show that Clarence is imprisoned at his younger brother's instigation, merely because he fits into a preposterous prophecy concerning his name! The relationship between Clarence and Gloucester will bear even closer study. Clarence attainted, meant that his family suffered with him. The usual penalty was that his son would have no claim to the throne, or even to his father's estates. Even in this portrait of blackness, Richard made no attempt to kill off young Warwick, but merely had him in custody. That word has more meanings than one, as Warwick found out when committed first to his uncle's custody, and afterwards to Henry Tudor's.

The imprisonment of Clarence is not the only time when emphasis was shifted from uncomfortable truth to something that was easy to prove false.

The bastardy of Edward's children is the major plank in Gloucester's claim to the throne, " Titulus Regius " published the details for all to see, and the pre-contract of Edward to Lady Eleanor Butler was the reason why his later marriage to

Elizabeth Woodville was bigamous. Lady Eleanor was still living at the time. There was no evading this uncomfortable fact, or the serious legal implications involved. Thomas More (Morton) followed by Shake-speare, solved this problem by ignoring the lady, and shifting attention to another Edward's of liaisons against which arguments could be more easily advanced (Edward IV did not starve his chroniclers of suitable material!).

Buckingham, in publicly urging Richard to accept the Crown, states the situation with regard to Edward's children. Of Edward, he says;—

> . . . first he was contract to Lady Lucy,
> Your mother lives a witnesse to that vowe,
> And afterward by substitute betrothed
> To Bona sister to the king of France,
> These both put by a poore petitioner
> A Care-crazed mother of many children
> A beauty-waining and distressed widow . . .

How did Lady Lucy come into the story? Elizabeth Lucy was a mistress of Edward IV. He did not offer her marriage, although she had two children by him, and when questioned about her liaison with him, the lady positively *denied* marrying the King. This proved to be a heaven-sent red herring to Tudor historians, and Shake-speare copied them. The reasons are not hard to work out. Queen Elizabeth I had spent her young life alternately branded with legitimacy and illegitimacy. She could remember very well the burning shame of the change from being the petted Princess to merely being one of the King's bastards. The Tudor dynasty did not bear investigation into its respectability, and it was most unsafe to draw attention to the illegitimacy of Edward's children. His eldest daughter, Elizabeth of York eventually married Henry Tudor, and was the grandmother of Queen Elizabeth I.

Bearing in mind that the true source of Shake-speare's material was Morton, Bishop of Ely, it is interesting that he should say in summing up Richard's position:—

Ely with Richmond troubles me more neare
Then Buckingham and his rash levied armie.

One might quote Hamlet, and say, "Oh my prophetic soul!". Richard wou'd never owe thanks to Morton.

* * * *

It should be borne in mind, that Bacon had many ways of using the medium of drama. It has been my experience when working on his ciphers, that he is likely to speak out directly at his reader, and this is sometimes made clear by taking a passage out of its context, and reading it in isolation. Does Shake-speare adopt this stratagem in the Play *Richard III*?

Buckingham, reporting his speech to the citizens back to Richard, says:—

Withall I did inferre your lineaments,
Beyng the right Idea of your father,
Both in your forme and noblenesse of minde,
Laid open all your victories in Scotland:
Your discipline in warre, wisedome in peace:
Your bounty, vertue, faire humilitie:

Yes, he *is* referring to that unnatural crook-backed monster, Richard of Gloucester!

Listen to Richard's oration to his army before the battle of Bosworth.

What shal I saie more then I have inferd?
Remember whom you are to cope withall,
A sort of vagabonds, rascols, and runawaies,
A scum of Brittains and base lacky pesants,
Whom their orecloied country vomits forth
To desperate adventures and assured destruction,
You sleeping safe they bring you to unrest,
You having lands and blest with beauteous wifes,
They would restraine the one, distaine the other,
And who doth lead them but a paltry fellow?

> Long kept in Brittaine at our mothers cost,
> A milkesopt, one that never in his life
> Felt so much colde as overshoes in snow:

Yes, he *is* referring to Henry Tudor and his glorious conquering army—the saviour of his country!

Perhaps Shake-speare reveals the true reason for writing his Play in the final two lines:—

> Now civill wounds are stopt peace lives againe,
> That she may long live heare, God say Amen!

Let the sleeping dogs of war lie. The peaceful *status quo* is preferable to the uncertain chance of better days after violent upheaval!

* * * *

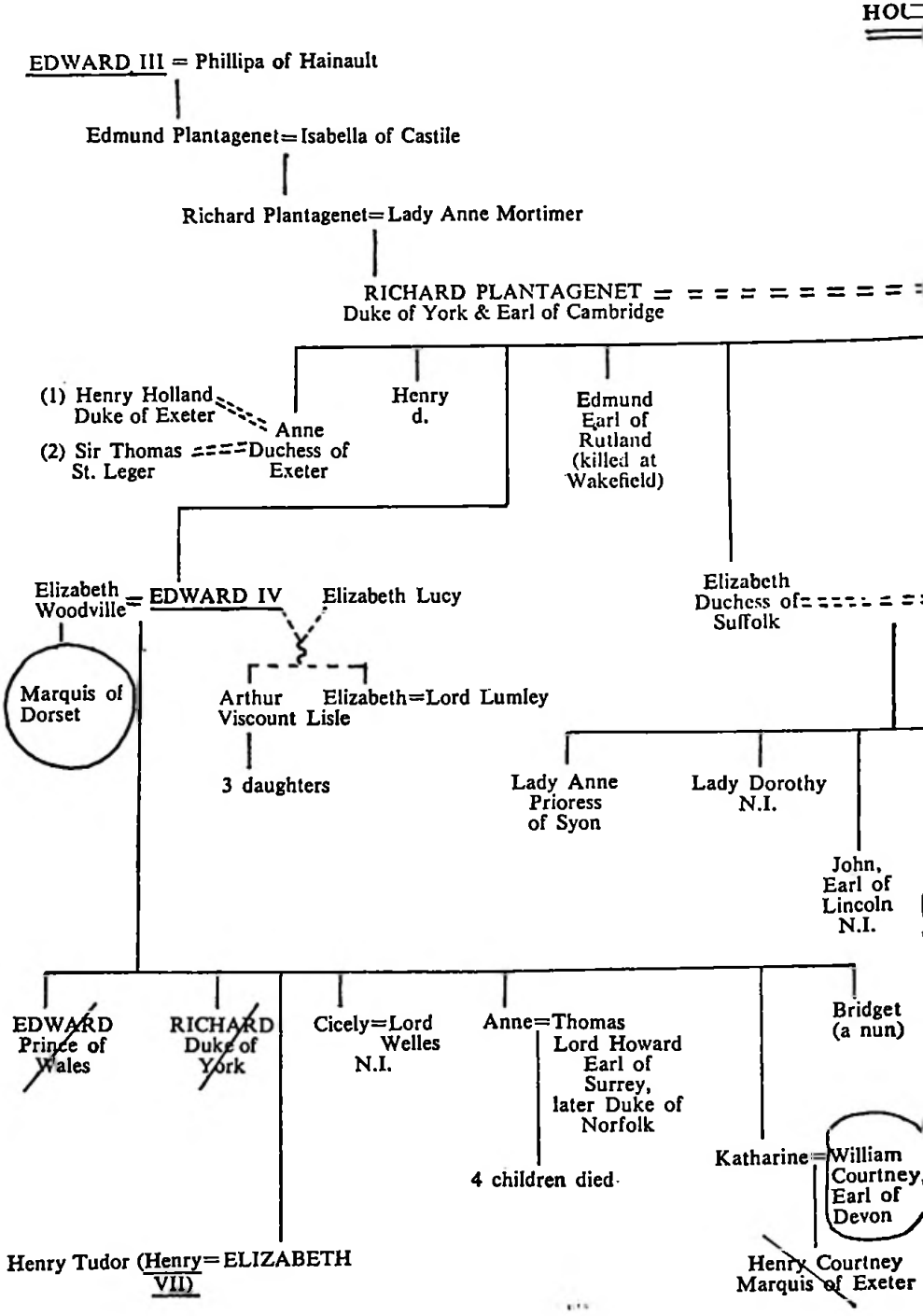
We now move forward in time—a quarter of a century in fact. Bacon has known the triumph of a brilliant career and the bitterness of disgrace. He seeks work for his idle pen, and turns to a long-desired project: civil history. It is history with a purpose. He seeks to influence the King to employ him once again in another sphere. To the King who united kingdoms, Bacon presents a portrait of the King who united the Roses. Thus he decided to write the prose history of Henry VII, and in his retirement and leisure, he could call upon other sources than More and Vergil.

As Lord Chancellor, Bacon had handled State papers. He had seen historical records. He had learned and scholarly friends who collected books and manuscripts, and were only too happy to lend him whatever he needed; the fine libraries of Bodley and Cotton were at his disposal. He actually acknowledged in a marginal note in his book of *Henry VII,* that "the originall of this Proclamation remaineth with Sir Robert Cotton, a worthy preserver and treasurer of rare Antiquities: from whose Manuscripts I have had much light for the furnishing of this work". With all this material to hand let us watch the judicial mind of Francis Bacon, as he weighed his new evidence.

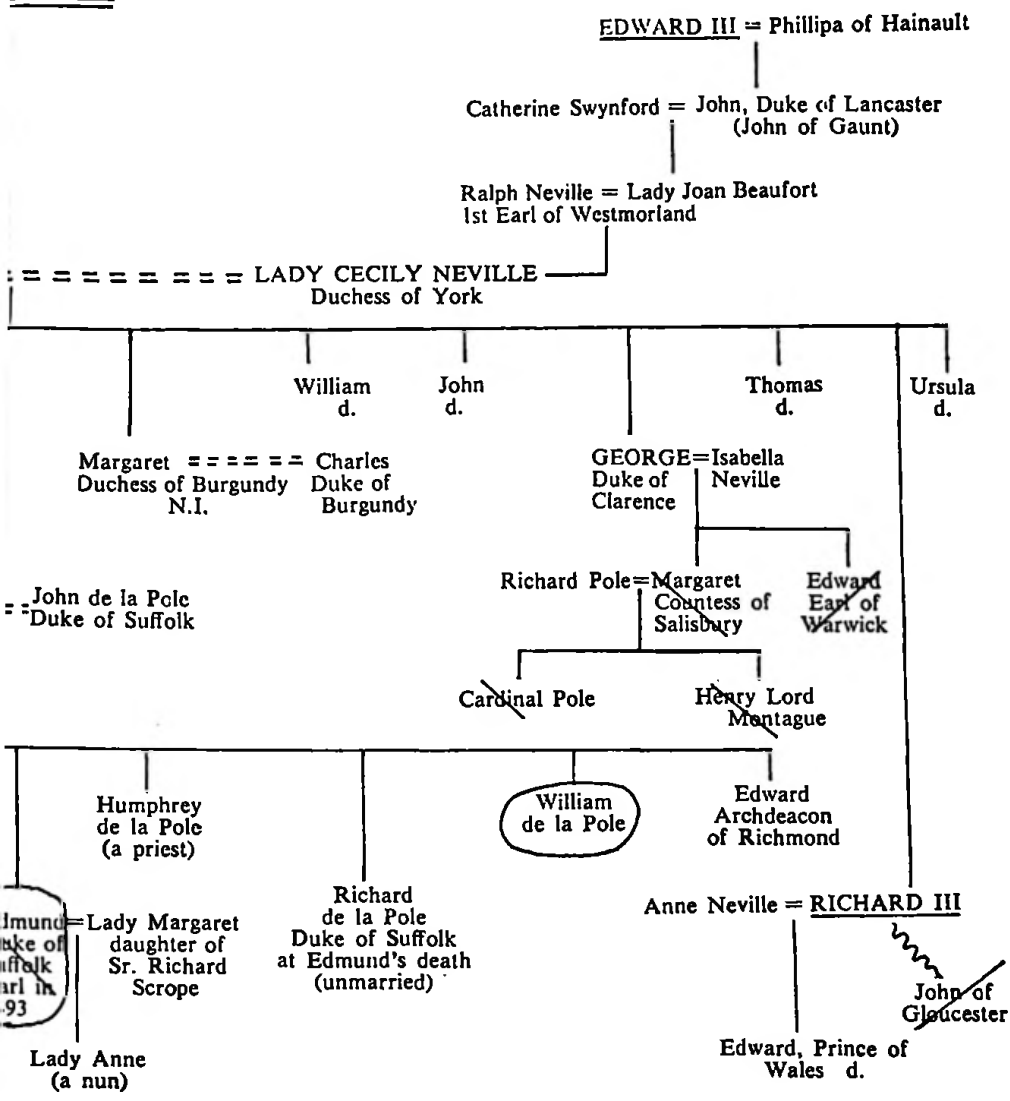
His preface, addressed to the Prince of Wales, states that he is endeavouring to honour the memory of his ancestor. We will not, therefore, expect a sudden and complete switch, but a tempering of opinion. The evidence presents a reasonable doubt, rather than a clear proof of innocence for Richard, but this alone is very different from the picture of unmitigated villainy of 25 years before. If the picture of Henry becomes a little greyer with suspicion, then the load of guilt must be lifted from Richard in a similar degree. They cannot both be equally guilty, or equally innocent.

Bacon begins his history where the Play left off the tale, saying that Richard was *commonly termed and reputed a tyrant* since his times. Well, since his times, there was one person responsible for what was said or not said of Richard! Bacon recites again the crimes *suspected* of Richard (shades of the counsel for the defence!) but adds to the list, his virtues: military prowess, fierce patriotism, the making of good laws for the commonalty. Richard, he says, stood out for honour at the meeting with the French King, when the highest nobility were glad to exchange theirs for rich gifts. His reputation rose high owing to that action, even as the popular King Edward's sank for his part in the affair.

Bacon goes on to point out the serious problem posed by Henry VII's title. He devotes some space to this question, and admits that the strongest and best claim was through the House of York. This was intolerable to Henry, who had to be absolute in his own right. Even at that early stage, Bacon reports that there were rumours and reports that the two sons of Edward IV were alive, and safely conveyed away. When we read later, that Elizabeth of York and Edward, Earl of Warwick, were safely bestowed at Sheriff-Hutton by Richard, it does not seem improbable that the Princes also were in safe custody at this troublesome time. He would not wish to broadcast their whereabouts, for security reasons, and their absence from the Tower would account for many tales. It is also significant, that one of Henry's very first moves was to send for Edward, Earl of Warwick, and have him shut up a "close prisoner" in the Tower. Bacon


HOU
EDWARD III = Phillipa of Hainault
Edmund Plantagenet = Isabella of Castile
Richard Plantagenet = Lady Anne Mortimer
RICHARD PLANTAGENET
Duke of York & Earl of Cambridge
(1) Henry Holland
Duke of Exeter
(2) Sir Thomas St. Leger
Anne
Duchess of
Exeter
Henry
d.
Edmund
Earl of
Rutland
(killed at
Wakefield)
Elizabeth
Woodville
EDWARD IV
Elizabeth Lucy
Elizabeth
Duchess of
Suffolk
Marquis of
Dorset
Arthur
Viscount Lisle
Elizabeth = Lord Lumley
3 daughters
Lady Anne
Prioress
of Syon
Lady Dorothy
N.I.
John,
Earl of
Lincoln
N.I.
EDWARD
Prince of
Wales
RICHARD
Duke of
York
Cicely = Lord
Welles
N.I.
Anne = Thomas
Lord Howard
Earl of
Surrey,
later Duke of
Norfolk
4 children died
Bridget
(a nun)
Katharine = William
Courtney,
Earl of
Devon
Henry Tudor (Henry VII) = ELIZABETH
Henry Courtney
Marquis of Exeter

OF YORK



KEY
O=Imprisoned by Henry VII
/ =Killed by Henry VII
\ =Killed by Henry VIII
N.I.=No Issue d.=died young

is obliged to comment that this action showed " a little more of the partie, then of the King ".

Although he also required Elizabeth to remove herself to the Tower, he showed no haste to marry into the House of York. When eventually he did so, it gave his Kingship the Heart of the people, which had previously only managed to command their Knee. This is the King who is supposed to have defeated a detested tyrant. This " popular " King then entered his capital city in a closely sealed-up chariot, not on horseback as a welcomed conqueror, but "as one . . . having beene sometimes an Enimie to the whole State, a proscribed person . . . " says Bacon. He insisted on his own Coronation and a parliament before marrying Elizabeth of York, thereby emphasising the importance of his Lancastrian claims. He persuaded Parliament to entail the Crown upon himself and his heirs, with no mention at all of Elizabeth. Henry's actual coronation does not even rate a description by Bacon, in marked contrast to the popular splendours of Richard III. The new King then made history by the creation of the Yeomen of the Guard, " for the better securitie of his person ". He was the first King of England to feel the need of a personal bodyguard. Even the " tyrant " Richard had felt perfectly safe without one !

Henry's first parliament had its legal problems. Henry's supporters had no right to sit to pass laws, because a great many of them were outlaws—attainted persons. The Exchequer Chamber decreed that they should not come into the House until their attainders had been reversed. Henry's own attainder was simply assumed not to exist once he became King. Moreover, all records and mentions of it were ordered to be "defaced, cancell'd and taken off the file ".

At the same time, Parliament attainted Richard III and thereby his supporters. This was virtually making loyal men traitors in the eyes of the law; all the more hard because Henry never made any claim to the throne before Bosworth ! Men therefore became traitors overnight, for not supporting an invading rebel, a man outside the law ! All of these shady

expedients could not hide the fact that the North was *still* solidly Yorkist, and had been devoted to Richard. Henry visited the northern parts of his new Kingdom but when rebellion flared up under the leadership of the Stafford brothers, he was obliged to send a nucleus of his own train to oppose them. So unwilling was he to rely on northern levies, that bribes and pardons were sent ahead of his recruiting officers in order to be sure of raising men! Two years after Henry's coronation, " the general body of the realm " *still* affected the House of York, and Henry was " not without hatred through the realm ". Elizabeth of York, mother of his son and heir, was still uncrowned.

Bacon admits that reports of what follows " are so naked as they leave it scarce credible ". Rumour had it that Henry wanted to put to death his prisoner, the young Edward Plantagenet. It was also still being whispered that at least one of Edward IV's sons was alive. " The King's nature was rather to create doubts than assurances ", says Bacon. The stage was thus set for the Lambert Simnel affair. The oddest part of this clumsy half-hatched story is Bacon's comment: " Not that a *false person* (his italics) should be assumed to gaine a Kingdome, for it hath beene seene in ancient and *late* times ". Is Bacon beginning to show Yorkist sympathies?

Henry's next act defies innocent explanations. He shut up Elizabeth Woodville, his mother-in-law, in a nunnery, *depriving her of all her lands and estates.* This was done without any pretence of a legal proceeding, on the " farre-fetcht Pretences " as Bacon calls them of having " delivered her daughters out of Sanctuary to King Richard ". Bacon suspects great matters, but omits to say what they are. Could she perhaps have started asking if and when she might see her little sons? When one recalls how Richard treated *his* mother-in-law, the comparison becomes intriguing. Elizabeth was " upon darke and unknowne reasons and no less strange pretences banished the world, into a nunnerie: where it was almost thought *dangerous* to visit her, or see her; and where not long after she ended her life " (how convenient!). For allowing her daughters out of Sanctuary into

the protection of their uncle Richard? And after two whole years when it had not seemed to be a crime worth noticing? After the King had been married to one of those daughters, and had a son by her? The unfortunate woman was not even permitted to witness her daughter's belated coronation.

Bacon does not even pretend to believe Henry's story.

The examinations of the priest who instigated the Lambert Simnel impersonation were suppressed, and he was never brought to public trial. No wonder then, that rumours flew thick and fast about the Kingdom, and the people's love of the House of York remained more powerful than their allegiance to Henry. Simnel was actually crowned "Edward the Sixth" in Dublin, and not a sword was drawn for Henry, who was forced to produce his prisoner Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, alive and well to public view. The boy was processed through the streets of London to hear Mass at St. Paul's.

The suppression of the Lambert Simnel plot was not the end of such schemes, which demonstrates how deep-seated was the belief that Edward's sons were still living. There now appeared on the scene, Perkin Warbeck. Once again, Henry comes badly out of the business, as his manner of "shewing things by pieces and dark lights, hath so muffled it, that it hath left it almost as a Mysterie to this day".

One is forced to ask why, if an imposture was easily proved, Henry should want to leave such unsolved mysteries. The plot started well, with a god-son of Edward IV as its star performer —possibly the youth was even a bastard son. Edward was certainly known to pursue the wives and daughters of merchants and tradesmen.

Bacon points out the two courses open to Henry—both simple enough. He could either prove the real Duke of York to have been murdered, or prove that Perkin Warbeck was a fake irrespeotive of the fate of the Duke of York. There were four people able to testify to the murder of the Duke (if indeed he had been murdered). These were Sir James Tyrrell, alleged to

have been employed by Richard, John Dighton and Miles Forrest, alleged to have actually committed the foul deeds, and the unnamed priest who was supposed to have buried the boys. The only two still living were John Dighton and Sir James Tyrrell, both of whom Henry quickly committed to the Tower. Their tale, " as the King gave out " agreed and Bacon relates this. " Thus much was then delivered abroad, *to be the effect* of those examinations. But the King nevertheless *made no use of them* in any of his Declarations; whereby . . . those examinations left the business somewhat perplexed ". One can well imagine that it would! Could Henry not persuade one of these men, whose tale agreed so well, to set his name to a document? It does not help us to understand how satisfactory the confessions were to Henry, to learn that Sir James Tyrrell was afterwards beheaded in the Tower Yard " for other matters of Treason ". Or to learn that Dighton, " who it seemeth spake best for the King " was set at liberty at once to be the principal source of the tradition! What are we supposed to infer from this government-by-rumour? What were the people of England supposed to believe, when rumours of the Princes being alive were countered in the highest circles by rumours that they were dead?

The Perkin Warbeck business touched Henry to his trembling core. He seems to have been terrified of what might come to light. Concerning his (Perkin's) confession, Bacon says that " an Extract was made of *such parts of it as were thought fit to bee divulged* which was Printed and dispersed abroad, wherein the King did himself no right ". The whole thing, in fact, was " classified ", and Henry was exercising the Tudor equivalent of a "D" notice! What Bacon finds odd, is that the conneotion between the Duchess of Burgundy (sister to Edward IV and thereby aunt to the princes) and Perkin Warbeck was not mentioned, although " all the world " knew of it. Neither were his designs and plots touched in the broadside tract, which contained only a laboured tale of his humble origins, with a wealth of irrelevant detail about his plebian family. Bacon says that it left men more in doubt than ever before; " But the King chose rather not to satisfie then to kindle coales ". What coals was he

afraid of kindling? The pamphlet does not appear to have named any other person of quality involved in the rebellion, but once again, "The King's closenesse made that a Doubt-Dormant". The skeletons in Henry's closet seemed to be hammering on the door to be let out!

Sir William Stanley, the Lord Chamberlain, the same man who had decided the battle of Bosworth when his troops were flung into the balance to help Henry, was the only person of note condemned of high treason in connection with Warbeck, and beheaded.

"His case was said to be this," says Bacon, "That in discourse . . . hee had said; That if hee were sure that that young man were King Edwards sonne, hee would never beare arms against him". Just that! *If* he were sure, and not that he would assist him, but that he would not oppose him! Sir William Stanley must have known that Richard died leaving his nephews alive, or he would have had no doubt at all. The post of Lord Chamberlain is a high one, the peak of a successful career: what kind of doubt would make a man put it at risk? Bacon sums up by saying that this great and favoured man suffered for little more than saying in effect "That the Title of Yorke was better than the title of Lancaster". He goes on to say that men were afraid to talk to one another, there was a general feeling of insecurity and general diffidence, all of which made the King more absolute than safe. This was the man who branded Richard III a tyrant!

During the following Parliament, Bacon notes "a law of a strange nature" which was passed:—

> That no person that did assist in Armes, or otherwise, the *King for the time being*, should after bee impeached therefore, or attainted, either by the course of the law, or by Act of Parliament. But if any such Act of Attainder did happen to bee made, it should bee voide, and of none effect; . . .

This was to prevent enquiry into the justness of the King's title or quarrel. Such a law defies our reason. Bacon, despite trying to

point out the desirability and the purposes of such a law, is obliged to remark that it had no force. He compares it to a man making a Will, and declaring in it that if he makes any later Will, the later one will be void! What kind of King would desire a law that safeguarded people supporting his quarrel? The point should never come in question between monarch and subjects.

If Perkin Warbeck at liberty was enough to give Henry sleepless nights, Perkin Warbeck in the Tower could serve his ends and solve a long-standing problem which Henry had found insuperable. Henry was detaining another prisoner in the Tower —Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick. The story of Edward's entanglement with Perkin Warbeck is well known. Henry could at last have his head together with every support of the law, and it could be done openly. As Bacon notes, " This was . . . the end . . . of the line-male of the Plantagenets, which had flourished in great Royalty and Renowne from the time of the famous King of England, King Henrie the Second ". The people of England were well aware of the significance of this execution.

> But it was neither guilt of Crime, nor reason of State, that could quench the Envie that was upon the King for this execution. So that he thought it good to export it out of the Land.

In other words Ferdinando of Spain " understanding at halfe a word " made the Earl of Warwick's execution the price of his daughter's (Katharine of Arragon) marriage to Prince Arthur to make safe the succession. This took place in the 15th year of Henry's reign. He *still* did not feel safe from the defeated Plantagenets!

When he was honoured by the French King, Henry grabbed at the publicity value of the occasion with both hands, making sure that the Mayor and Aldermen of London were informed. " Though hee could not entertaine the good will of the Citizens, as Edward the Fourth did; yet by Affabilitie and other Princelie Graces, did ever make very much of them and apply himselfe to them ". Much good it seemed to do him. One gets the distinct

impression that Henry was about as popular in England as an army of occupation!

It was in this year that Henry lost his greatest protagonist. John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Chancellor of England, died. Bacon, with all the documentation now at his disposal, has this to say of him ". . . . much accepted by the King, but envyed by the Nobilitie, and hated of the People . . . he wanne the King . . . also for that (in his affections) hee was not without an inveterate malice against the house of Yorke, under whom he had been in trouble". *This* was Henry's paid chronicler!

Henry had not finished with the House of York. He had merely extinguished the direct male line, but there remained lateral connections. Edward IV had a daughter named Katherine, who had married the Earl of Devonshire, one William Courtney. He became implicated in the plot which had furnished the excuse to behead Sir James Tyrell.

Bacon notes that "The Earl of Devonshire, being interessed in the bloud of Yorke, that was rather Feared than Nocent; yet as one that *might be* the Object of others Plots and Designs, remained prisoner in the Tower, during the King's life. William de-la-Pole was also long restrained, though not so straightly". Examination of the genealogical table of the House of York will show that the de la Poles were descended from Edward IV's sister Elizabeth. York blood flowed strongly in their veins.

Henry had reigned for 19 years when the House of York threatened him from the grave itself. The very first problem confronting Henry as he took up the reins of office, was the validity of his own title. He settled the matter as has already been discussed, but an event on the Continent brought the whole problem to the surface once more. Queen Isabella of Spain died. Her husband Ferdinando, had been King of Spain in the right of his wife. What would be his case now? Would he be King in his own right, or would the throne belong to his daughter and heir? The parallel with Henry's own circumstances was alarming. Elizabeth of York had died in giving birth to their last child, and Henry looked at his heir, Prince Henry with new eyes.

"Although his owne case had both Steele and Parchment, more than the other (that is to say a Conquest in the field and an Act of Parliament) yet notwithstanding, that Naturall Title of Descent in Bloud, did (in the imagination even of a wise-man) breed of Doubt, that the other two were not safe nor sufficient".

One almost begins to feel sorry for Henry VII. Nineteen years a king, the House of York dead, executed or under lock and key, then his own son poses a threat! It is interesting to note that when Bacon sums up his history, he says that the only thing to be added to the achievements of his reign was an opportune death to preserve him from any future blows of fortune!

> Which certainly (in regard of the great hatred of his people, and the Title of his sonne . . . that gayned upon the people by his very aspect and presence) had not beene impossible to have come upon him.

* * * *

Bacon has given us a judicial and detailed account of Henry VII, his reign and his actions. Whilst turning a favourable light upon him in order to please Henry's descendants, he faithfully records all the doubts and anti-Tudor feelings of Henry's subjects. In doing so, he comes as near as it was possible for him to restore the balance in favour of Richard III. It took Francis Bacon 25 years, but justice prevailed eventually, and the black portrait of the last Plantagenet King was touched with humanity, and the same benefit of doubt accorded to lesser men.

FRANCIS BACON'S PICTORIAL HALLMARKS

By Elizabeth and Mary Brameld

In our previous article in *Baconiana* 172, we discussed Baconian watermarks. Now we propose to share with you the conclusions that we have reached as a result of our researches into the subject of emblems, endeavouring to show the characteristic features in Baconian title-pages and headlines.

There seem to have been three separate categories of pictorial designs chosen by Francis Bacon and his close associates.

1. Those used as watermarks.
2. Those employed in title-pages.
3. The emblems incorporated into the headlines and tailpieces.

You may remember that the watermarks came under four main headings and were known respectively as the pot, the grape, the pillar and the shield watermarks.

The design used for the pot watermark is never used in this particular form in headlines or tailpieces, and very rarely in title-pages. The concept of a pot as a receptacle for storing the liquor of knowledge or the water of the spirit is also conveyed in the vase of flowers, a variant that is used in headlines.

Occasionally a naturalistic branch of grapes appears in a headline or tailpiece, as can be seen, for example, near the feet of the cross-legged boy who occupies the central position in the headline in the 1620 edition of Bacon's *Novum Organum* and the 1623 Shakespeare Folio. Often a bunch of grapes is included with the fruit and flowers in a cornucopia. In the title-page of *Henry VII* (1622 edition) clusters of grapes are easily discernible in the intricate design. But in none of these examples are the grapes in a diamond or triangular formation, whereas, in the watermarks, they are invariably depicted in these geometric shapes.

Pillars appear in the title-pages of five editions of Bacon's acknowledged works, namely his *Novum Organum* (1620), *Henry VII* (1638), *De Augmentis* (1638), *The Advancement of Learn-*

ing (1640), and *Sylva Sylvarum* (1651). Nevertheless, there is a marked difference between the design used in the title-pages, and the form in which the pillars are shown in papermarks. Whereas the pillars in the watermarks are nearly always joined to each other, and bear initials and symbols of the Divine, these features are absent in the title-pages. Furthermore, pillars hardly ever appear in headlines and tailpieces.

Similarly, the design of the shield watermark is never repeated in exactly the same form in title-pages, or in headlines.

The selection and the dissemination of certain emblems in Bacon's books formed part of his concealed work, and were regarded by him as an important aspect of this. The objects which comprise the components of these designs seldom vary in themselves, although the arrangement and combination of them does differ from book to book—with a few exceptions.

Although there are innumerable flowers, leaves, fruits, animals, birds and insects which lend themselves to artistic designs, the few that have been chosen from each category, have obviously been selected by reason of their underlying symbolism, and not, basically, because of their artistic value. Thus each emblem bears a significance, indeed a train of ideas is often associated with it, and the reader is intended to search for the symbolism and work out the interpretation of each until the inner meaning has been revealed. By this method many Baconian, Masonic, and Rosicrucian doctrines have been transmitted. A wealth of information concerning their ideals can be gained from an analysis and interpretation of these emblems.

One of the recurring themes in Rosicrucian poems and allegories is the wooing and marriage of Truth, and it is therefore not surprising to find that the head of Truth is chosen as the central device in many headpieces.

The *fleur-de-lys* and amaranth are two flower emblems which are particularly associated with the Rosicrucians and are frequently included in the headpieces. Other flowers and leaves which appear in the headlines naturally include the rose, but also

the carnation, marigold, and poppy, and sprays of olive, bay, laurel, and palm leaves. These can be seen, together with apples, pears, pomegranates, and grapes, in a cornucopia or as an arrangement in a vase.

The creatures which are chosen include squirrels, rabbits, hounds, dolphins, fishes, serpents, snails, and butterflies, and all these symbols are usually arranged in pairs, one on each side of the central emblem. This is sometimes a human figure or head. This bilateral arrangement demonstrates the cosmic principles of dualism, symmetry, and equilibrium.

The emblems in a Baconian headpiece are all joined to each other in an interlacing device, producing thereby a most beautiful design of curves and graceful embellishments. This feature occurs with such regularity that it assumes the function of a hallmark. This interlacing is a pictorial allusion to the Masonic bond of fellowship and brotherhood, but also depicts Bacon's references to the chain of natural causes, and Homer's chain of nature, which was tied to the foot of Jupiter's chair.

The use of the image of a chain conveys the idea of a series of innumerable links all joined together. If we think of each link as being a cause or an effect, we can see that no effect is without cause, and *vice versa.* This in turn brings us to the realisation of the interdependence and the interrelation of these links. This image also evokes the conception of the affinity which exists between heaven and earth, as is borne out by the fact that in classical mythology one end of the chain of Nature reached the Earth, while the other extremity was tied to Jupiter's chair—Jupiter being the supreme deity.

In the watermarks the chain was represented as a pictograph (*i.e.* a real chain) whereas in the headlines it was an ideograph, the concept of a chain being suggested by connecting the foliage and each emblem together.

In some cases the interweaving of the emblems has the appearance of being wrought in wood, metal or stone, while at other times it is achieved entirely with leaves and flowers. Where

fringes are incorporated, symbolising the embellishments of truth, they are either slotted through the framework or tied on with bows. Cords and tassels can also be seen hanging from part of the frame in some cases. These tassels are Masonic emblems.

Francis Bacon believed that of all creatures man was the most composite, possessing both an inferior and superior ego. As he said in the Fable of Pan: " There appear to be no simple natures, but all participate of two: thus man is somewhat of the brute, the brute somewhat of the plant, the plant somewhat of the mineral, so that all superior bodies have really two faces ".

This concept is expressed pictorially in the bi-form figures which are sometimes displayed as the top half of a human figure terminating in a flower or leafy scroll, as exemplified in the headlines in *Manes Verulamiani,* the Shakespeare Folio, and the 1620 edition of Bacon's *Novum Organum,* respectively. In the Pan tailpiece we have an example of the mixture of human and animal—a human face, chest and arms, and goats' legs and feet. The figure of Time in Bacon's *New Atlantis* is bi-form too, half human (the human shoulders depicted bearing wings) and half animal, the hairy legs and feet of a goat.

In some headlines the author's name was subtly suggested in pictorial form. The wits of the 16th century took great delight in creating name devices which, as we know, were called rebuses. The Oxford English Dictionary defines rebus as: "An enigmatical representation of a name, word or phrase, by figures, pictures, arrangement of letters, which suggest the syllables of which it is made up ".

In his *Remaines of a Greater Worke concerning Britaine and London* (1605), William Camden tells us that this wit-craft was " a dalliance or playing with words, like in sound, unlike in sense, by changing, adding or subtracting a letter or two; so that words nicking and resembling one the other, are applicable to different significations ".

If, for instance, we draw the letter "S" and the picture of a hawk in the middle of it, we have designed a simple rebus for

the name Hawkins, *i.e.* Hawk-in-S. Suppose we were asked to create a rebus for the name Bacon it is probable that we would draw or paint some slices of streaky bacon. This would be quite appropriate, but so undisguised and simple that it would be immediately recognisable by everyone. A far more subtle, and therefore more satisfactory example would be to depict a pig with a halter round its neck, the interpretation being that when a pig has been killed and hung it becomes bacon. This particular name device was actually used by Francis Bacon himself.

In his book *Strange Signatures*, the late Professor Gerstenberg put forward the theory that the headline of the 1623 Folio edition of the Shakespeare Plays contains some examples of a Bacon rebus. The central figure of a boy, sitting cross-legged, can be said to be holding two birds "at bay". According to Professor Gerstenberg this is a hunting phrase relating to the position of a hunted animal, or a bird unable to fly further. There are also two archers who bend their bows at imaginary prey. The obsolete word for this is " bey their bows ", Gerstenberg explains. The first part of Bacon's rebus is thus suggested in these two examples for, as Camden tells us, the sound of each syllable is the important requisite, while the spelling is immaterial. We should expect to find a pictorial allusion to "con" to complete Bacon's name device, and Professor Gerstenberg shows us quite clearly that there is one. He points out that there are a number of ornaments closely resembling commas which have been incorporated into the design of the headline, particularly in the amaranth flower, and that at one time this symbol was used to denote the syllable "con" in English official documents and records. Thus a complete rebus for Bacon's name has been depicted. This little symbol representing the syllable " con " is not to be confused with the Latin word " con " meaning " with ".

The presence of two rabbits with their backs to the archers, and to the central figure, at once assumes significance, Gerstenberg explains, when we remember that the Elizabethan word for rabbit was cony. This furnishes us with yet another example of

a device to suggest the name of Bacon, namely Back-cony. The additional letters are quite permissible, as Camden tells us, and we need only to regard them as "nulles", subtracting the letter k in the word back and the letter "y" in the word coney to arrive at the customary spelling of Bacon's name.

In view of the fact that in England and in Europe rebuses were frequently employed in family mottos and seals as well as on book plates and that this playing with words became such a fashionable art, it is rather surprising that we do not find more examples of them in Bacon's works. He did, of course, use pictorial devices a great deal on title-pages, and at the beginning and end of chapters, or at least some sections, of all his books, but Francis St. Alban chose to use a more spiritual and intellectual type of pictorial allusion. His form of emblemata was similar to the picture writing employed by the Ancients where each emblem represented an idea or principle, usually of an elevating nature, and was known as an ideograph. The headline of the *Novum Organum* (1620), identical with the one used in the Shakespeare Folio (1623), is one of the few examples where ideographs and rebuses are combined in one and the same design—even in the same emblem. For example, the birds form part of the Bacon rebus, yet they are also an ideograph since they represent aspiration.

There seems to be quite a distinct difference between the early emblem books and Bacon's emblematic head and tailpieces. In Alciat's emblem book *Emblematum Libellus* and Whitney's *A Choice of Emblems* a moral is first pointed out in a verse and motto, and then the emblem picture illustrates the particular motto or fable. A Baconian headpiece, on the other hand, does not have a verse or motto, each individual emblem forming a separate ideograph. Furthermore, within a single headline there are a series of ideographs, as many as eight in the elaborate ones, and roughly three or four in the simple headpieces. For example, on page 98 of Whitney's *A Choice of Emblems* the motto runs *Virescit vulnera virtus* (virtue gains strength from wounds). The verse consists of only two lines.

> The docks though trodden grow, as it is daily seen
> So virtue, though it be long hid, with wounding waxeth green.

The picture shows a man trampling on the growing dock leaves which, in spite of this rough treatment, continue to thrive.

On page 160 there is a picture of a satyr standing by a table spread with food at which a man is sitting, eating. The verse runs thus:

> A satyre and his host, in mid of winter's rage,
> At night, did hie them to the fire, the cold for to assuage.
> The man with cold that quaked upon his hands did blow;
>
> Which thing the satyre marked well, and craved the cause to know;
>
> Who answer made, herewith my fingers I do heat;
> At length when supper time was come, and both sat down to eat,
>
> He likewise blew his broth, he took out of the pot;
> Being likewise asked why (quoth he) because it is too hot.
>
> To which the satyre spake, and blowest thou hot and cold;
>
> Hereafter, with such double mouths, I will no friendship hold.
>
> Which warneth all, to shun a double tongued mate;
> And let them neither sup nor dine nor come within thy gate.

As you will see from this example the verse is based on one idea alone, in this case pointing the moral that it is advisable to keep clear of anyone who first blows hot, then blows cold, for such a one would prove to be an unreliable friend. This picture, because it illustrates a moral founded on one idea alone,

is simple and contains very little detail. The same can be said of the other example, and indeed of most of them. Thus the verse helps the reader to understand what the picture is meant to convey.

Baconian headpieces, on the other hand, are unrelated to the text. They are therefore far more subtle and difficult to interpret, since their emblems are only comprehensible to those who have studied symbolism as exemplified by the Ancients.

As a result of our researches, it has become evident what a high percentage of symbols, incorporated into Baconian head and tailpieces, frontispieces and title pages, are elevating in nature, referring directly, or indirectly, to God or the Holy Spirit, or to the attributes of God, or to the tenets of the Masonic or Rosicrucian Fraternities.

For instance the light of God and the Holy Spirit is exemplified by the symbols of the lily or *fleur-de-lys*, which at the same time serve as an allusion to the Order of the Rosie Cross, since the principle of triplicity was one of its tenets. Francis Bacon also considered that the lily—the flower of light —was analogous to men with receptive minds which, like the lily, had deep sockets.

The rose is another flower which is often seen in the headlines, known by the church as the Mystical Rose, and usually regarded as representing love, fidelity and secrecy. It is also likened by some to the Church oppressed, since roses flourish amidst thorns, and this presumably was the reason why Martin Luther elected to include a cross rising from a rose in his coat-of-arms. Similarly the Order of the Rosie Cross was a fraternity which chose a rose at the centre of a cross as one of its main emblems. These brethren often hallmarked their books with a Tudor rose, a heart, and a cross, combined in one emblem.

According to Harold Bayley this device can be seen in the 1638 edition of Bacon's *New Atlantis* thereby continuing the Baconian tradition. An identical emblem was used ten years earlier as a watermark in Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melan-*

choly, thus revealing to future generations the Rosicrucian origin of this work.

The crucified rose represented the transmutation of man, the perfecting of his nature through the government of self, developing spiritual faculties and gaining transcendent wisdom. The cross is generally interpreted as a symbol of self-sacrifice, and the rose, in this instance, that of love, compassion, beauty and fragrance. Thus the two emblems combined create the concept of transmutation and attainment.

Another flower which is so frequently depicted in Bacon's emblematic designs is the amaranth. This mythological flower was much used by the poets and typified immortality, since it was reputed never to wither but to remain perpetually fresh and fragrant. Furthermore, in many of the headpieces the amaranth and the lily are the only flowers represented. For instance, in the *Manes Verulamiani* headpiece this is the case, and in the 1623 Shakespeare Folio although there is a vase of flowers incorporated into the emblematic design, it is the lily and the amaranth that occupy a more prominent position. When a rose is depicted it is often in the centre of a vase of flowers; however a vase does not invariably include a rose, and never a crucified rose.

Sometimes a spray of leaves is the only species of nature introduced, either of palm, laurel, bay, or olive leaves. Bays, sometimes confused with laurels, express ardour mingled with endurance. The olive has always been recognised as a symbol of comfort, nourishment, healing, and above all, peace. The palm is an emblem not only of eternity but of strength, and of the ability to stand upright under any pressure. We can see how all these qualities can be related to Bacon himself.

Of the creatures which are used in headlines, serpents, squirrels, and birds, appear to be favourite examples.

The serpent seems to have borne different connotations. Sometimes it represented the serpent of ignorance or base animality, and when this is the case there is nearly always depicted a spear-shaker endeavouring to destroy it. According to Alciatus

in the 1581 edition of his book of emblems the serpent is also a symbol of Dialectus or Logic, the barren philosophy of the schools, to overthrow which Francis Bacon devoted himself.

On other occasions the serpent was regarded as an emblem denoting materialism, since snakes creep along the ground. Because these creatures slough their skins they are also referred to as a symbol of regeneration. And in the ancient mystery schools serpents were regarded as symbols of wisdom.

Because of its tendency to keep to the tops of trees the squirrel typifies human aspiration, man's ability to keep his thoughts aloft, elevating the mind to a higher level of consciousness. The other characteristic feature of the squirrel's disposition is its habit of cracking away the outer husk of nuts until it reaches the kernel. This action was considered by Bacon to be an admirable symbol to denote the goal for seekers after truth, who must ever attempt to pierce through the outer covering of materialism before they can feed on the spiritual or inner meaning. They must therefore learn to aspire and discriminate.

Just as we find two different emblems used to represent the same ideograph, *i.e.* archers and hounds, suggesting the idea of a hunt and the pursuit of knowledge in the headline of the Shakespeare Folio, so are there two separate symbols employed to emphasize the importance of spiritual aspirations, namely squirrels and birds. Manly Hall tells us that all birds, because of their ability to leave the earth and fly aloft towards the source of light, are associated with purity and aspiration. The Rosicrucian emblematists therefore chose to include in the design either squirrels or birds if they wished to pinpoint this particular ideograph.

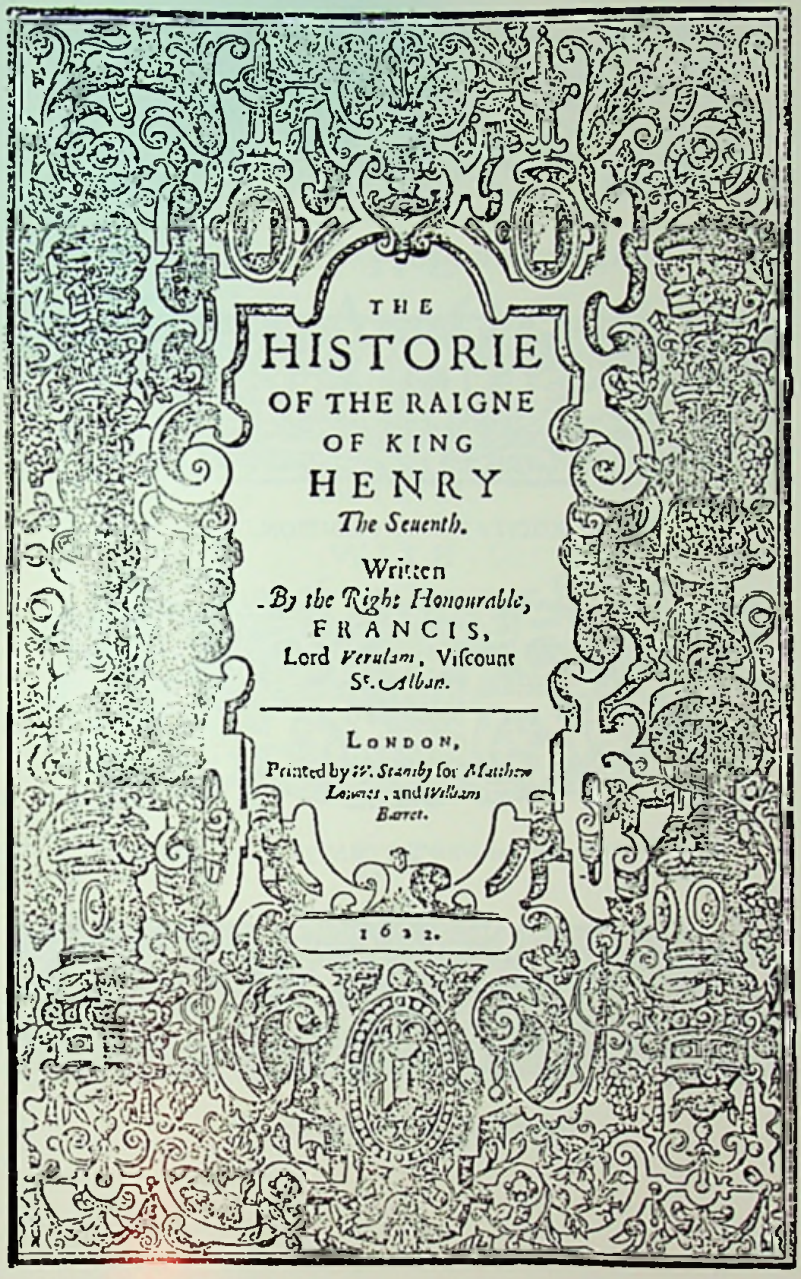
* * * *

Having discussed the emblems which appear in the headlines and tailpieces, we now turn to title pages and frontispieces. It is interesting to note that in some of the later editions of Bacon's works a different collection of emblems was chosen to adorn

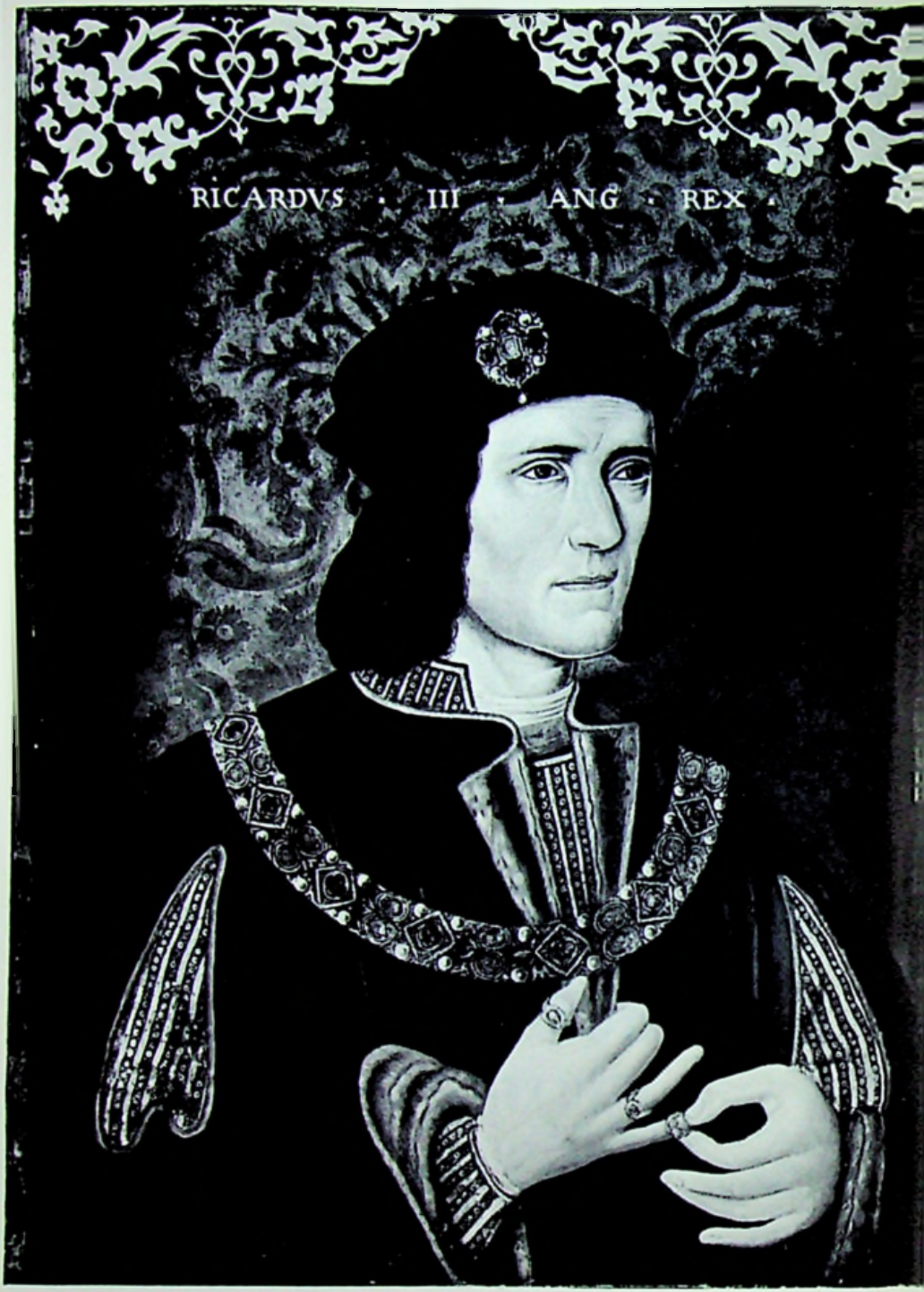
title pages and frontispieces, although here again the ideographs which they evoked were also of an elevating nature. In many of the early editions of his works head- or tailpieces were included in the titlepage but later on the style changed and developed. Where a headline *was* used there was always one emblem in the centre, with other emblems in pairs arranged one on each side, so that the grouping of the emblems on the left side was identical with that on the right. The only difference was that the figures, the animals, fishes, and birds, etc., faced in opposite directions, usually towards the central emblems.

Later on, when a headline was no longer incorporated, the design of a title-page changed and became different in character. Instead of emblems being connected to each other, forming the concept of a frame, in a horizontal formation, the shape of the frame changed and was either a square, rectangle, circle, or oval, with the "con" motif, double SS, and cornucopia, in greater prominence. The frame often gave the appearance of being moulded or carved. The emblem of a fringe, chain, or cord and tassel, was frequently depicted slotted through a hole in the carving or moulding. A motto was sometimes included in this type of design, and inside the frame a figure depicted with scenic background, as exemplified in Bacon's *New Atlantis* and the *Resuscitatio*. The 1622 edition of Bacon's *Henry VII* is the most elaborate of all the title-pages, containing not only the moulded frame and numerous examples of the "con" motif, but the addition of two pillars around which are entwined clusters of grapes, as well as fringes, tassels, candles, mirrors, the amaranth, lily, and rose. The interlacing feature of the headlines is reproduced again but with even greater intricacy and covering the entire page, the lettering of the title taking up less space on the page than the emblematic design.

A third category of design can be seen in the 1620 edition of *Novum Organum*, the 1640 edition of *The Advancement of Learning*, and the 1627 edition of *Sylva Sylvarum*. In all three of these title pages the concept of a frame is omitted, the design being much nearer to an ordinary picture containing background



Emblematic title page from 1622 *Henry VII* Edition.



Portrait of Richard III. Reproduced by kind permission of the National Portrait Gallery.

and foreground, with the title in fairly small letters. Each of these editions depicts a horizon with sky and sea, and each design introduces two large pillars covering two-thirds of the picture in height. A ship in full sail is shown between the pillars in the *Novum Organum* and *The Advancement of Learning*, while a large "intellectual" globe is depicted between the pillars in *Sylva Sylvarum*. The "con" motif, though present in the lower foreground near the lettering is much smaller, and double SS and the cornucopia are also omitted.

Whereas the head- and tailpieces and the titlepages of early editions usually contain symbolic ideographs revealing Bacon's beliefs and precepts, and Masonic and Rosicrucian doctrines, many of the frontispieces and some of the title pages of the later editions of his works are more enigmatic, conveying secret information about himself. The frontispiece and title page of the 1651 edition of *Sylva Sylvarum* and the 1640 edition of *The Advancement of Learning* are examples which come readily to mind. Both frontispieces appear at first glance to be perfectly normal portraits of Francis Bacon, but we maintain that certain details have been purposely inserted which are highly enigmatic. The lack of shading behind his head, for instance in the *Sylva* frontispiece, is reminiscent of a halo, and is surely meant to indicate that this author was an illumined being, one who possessed the light of knowledge—exoteric and esoteric.

Similarly, stars or flaming points of light are discernible embroidered on the sleeves of his doublet. Mrs. Gallup tells us that "star" is the guide-word in the word cipher for Shakespeare, to which Ben Jonson openly refers at the end of his dedicatory poem. Six lines from the end we read:—

> But stay, I see Thee in the Hemisphere
> Advanced and made a Constellation there!
> Shine forth, thou Star of poets.

There are various covert allusions to Bacon himself being a light-bearer and in *Manes Verulamiani* one contributor goes so far as to call him the Verulamian Star. Stars, as we all know,

are a source of natural light, which can be seen only in the darkness of the night sky. Hence the inclusion of stars embroidered on his sleeves in this portrait of Bacon could be a subtle way of suggesting that Francis of Verulam stood out as a light amidst the darkness of his own times.

The oval frame of the portrait appears to be fairly conventional, but an analysis of the design on this frame reveals, in our submission, the presence of a series of small compasses. Compasses being an unmistakable Masonic symbol this detail is surely telling us that Francis Bacon was himself a Freemason. Harold Bayley tells us that they are said to represent spirit and matter, life and form. This concept reflects Bacon's interest in the principle of dualism.

The frontispiece of most editions of the *Advancement of Learning* contains in one corner of the portrait of Bacon a curtain. In nearly every book displaying a portrait of him there is depicted a looped-up curtain. Because of the numerous appearances of a curtain one feels that it must have been included in the picture for a special reason for it never has a functional purpose, *e.g.*, as part of a window. We presume, therefore, that it is an example of symbolism out of which emerges a hint concerning Bacon himself, for we have only to recollect his own words concerning secrecy to arrive at a likely interpretation.

> The concealed or enigmatical method . . . the design of it seems to have been by the veil of tradition to keep the vulgar from the secrets of sciences, and to admit only such as had by the help of a Master attained to the interpretation of dark sayings, or were able by the strength of their own genius to enter within the veil.
>
> *De Augmentis;* Book VI

Thus we can suppose a curtain to be a reference to the enigmatic veil which Francis Bacon and his followers used, to conceal both sacred truths, and secrets about Bacon himself.

A cursory glance at the frontispiece of Rawley's edition of Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum*, 1651, and his *Rescuscitatio* of 1657 suggests the omission of the customary curtain, but a careful study of every detail reveals that after all it has been included, but so subtly as to pass unnoticed by the casual observer. You will see that Francis Bacon's armorial bearings have been displayed at the top of the portrait, but with an unusual difference. The shield, the helm, the crest, the crest-wreath, the supporters and the motto, are all present. The helm,however, does not have the traditional form of mantling, *i.e.* the jagged-edged mantle floating out sideways on either side of the helm. Instead, there is a small plain curtain stretched out behind the achievement of arms, with the boar crest above.

Thus we can see from these examples that a frontispiece can be enigmatic, for surely we can deduce from the presence of the curtain in both these portraits that not only did Bacon use the enigmatic method of writing in his own works, but that he was able to lift the veil himself and comprehend symbols and ambiguous statements as did the ancients of bygone ages.

Let us now summarize.

1. There is no detail introduced into the emblematic designs which has not a well-defined meaning and place in Bacon's mode of instruction. The employment of emblems was one of the methods which Francis Bacon and his Rosicrucian and Masonic engravers used to hand on the lamp of knowledge and tradition. Bacon gives us a hint as to how to decipher his code in this statement: "All philosophy begins in wondering ". Thus we need to think about the association of ideas evoked by each symbol, find out its origin and meaning and then relate this information to man the microcosm. Then, and then only, can we come near to a possible interpretation. Only then will a headline, a tailpiece, a frontispiece or title-page, become a " talking picture ", and a corner of the enigmatic veil be lifted.

2. Bacon's emblems were used, as well, as a form of communication between all the members of his secret fraternities,

reminding them not only of God and of sacred truths, but of his precepts.

3. The emblems served also as hallmarks helping the reader to recognise Baconian works—acknowledged or pseudonymous—books that were carefully prepared to add to the common stock of knowledge; thereby overcoming ignorance, which the shaker-of-the-spear described as " the curse of God ", by providing knowledge, " the wing wherewith we fly to heaven ".

> Archbishop Tenison truly wrote in 1679:—
> Those who have true skill in the works of the Lord Verulam, like great masters in painting, can tell by the design, the strength, the way of colouring, whether he was the author of this or the other piece, though his name be not to it.

This remark suggests that there were many ways of identifying Francis Bacon's pseudonymous works, and those of this group. Undoubtedly one of these ways was through the use of emblems.

FROM THE ARCHIVES

By T. D. Bokenham

Between the years 1889 and 1901 Professor Cantor, an ardent German Baconian, was in correspondence with Alicia Leith of the Francis Bacon Society, whose transcript of his letters still survives. In one of these he gives us some words of advice which reflect Bacon's own approach to controversial subjects:

> I agree entirely with you, that it is opportune that the world should now be enlightened as to the connection of Bacon with the poetical productions of his times, particularly with the works of Shakespeare. This has to be done slowly and carefully, without violence but with perseverance, moderation and a strictly scientific method, proudly disregarding the worthless polemics in the corrupt daily and periodic Press.

In this correspondence Dr. Cantor also wrote on the subject of cipher. This was, of course, not long after the publication of the highly controversial book, *The Great Cryptogram,* by the American Ignatius Donnelly.

> Nothing has done so much harm to the Bacon theory as the two volumes of Donnelly's *Cryptogram*—I am sure the publishers of the 1623 Folio would have burst with laughing if they had lived to see Donnelly's writings. On closer inspection, you will agree with me if I say that all this is so trivial and childish or, as the French say, " mesquin ", and that Bacon should be thought to have inspired it ! ! !

To me, the point of this is the undoubted fact that a few scientifically substantiated " finds " are far, far, more impressive than two whole volumes of sensational but unproven decipherings, which a cipher expert could expose in a few utterly damning phrases. On the possibility of cipher in 16th and 17th century books, Dr. Cantor wrote,

I have no doubt whatever that *secret texts*, according to the principles of Kryptography, have been inserted in many, perhaps in most, of the books of the 16th and 17th centuries; it is not impossible that in one and the same work, besides the open text, there are contained any number of secret texts on one or several principles (cipher systems). How could we otherwise explain the formation of a whole literature on "stenography" which is accessible to everybody in the larger libraries? The necessity of Kryptography is easily explained by the character of religious community and, in a general sense, Kryptography is as old as religion itself. In times of religious eruptions and evolutions like the beginning of the 16th century, this science was bound to be carefully nourished and developed. Francis Bacon found the system as well as the system of disguised authorship, already in existence (*e.g.* the work *De Imitatione Christe* which was *not* written by Thomas à Kempis.

No wonder that he, with his immensely acute mind, made use of it and developed it in the most manysided and comprehensive manner, for his own sacred ends, *viz.* the so called "Counter Reformation". It is therefore likely that he fixed and confided to future times all his secrets cryptographically.
But there is, to my thinking, an infinitely small prospect for our contemporaries to decipher them and least in the manner adopted by Donnelly. The greatest difficulty seems to me to consist in this; *if* Bacon put secret texts, or entrusted friends to put them in his publications, he is sure to have used the utmost care and cunning to protect and hide his disclosures and prophecies from the professional cryptographers. For if he had used the ordinary principles contained in the books on Kryptography, his secrets would have been soon discovered, perhaps in his lifetime, and he would most likely have lost his head (like Charles I later) and what for him

> would have been more important still, the cause which he had at heart would have been choked and crushed in its infancy. The necessary policy was, therefore, to meet and make concessions to the professional crytographers in small things, to give them, to speak figuratively, boxes of bonbons and fruit to lead them astray and keep them away from those things that were not meant for them.

Dr. Cantor, writing about the 16 volumes of Bacon correspondence in the Lambeth Palace Library, suggests that it is probable that the cipher used there by Anthony Bacon is similar to or identical with the one we suppose to exist in the 1623 Folio. " I suggest " he writes " you should ask Mrs. Pott to have a few of the ciphered letters accurately copied. Perhaps you would then succeed in deciphering Scene 1, Act 4, of *Merry Wives* and Scene 2, Act 3, of *Titus Andronicus.* I have no doubt that these scenes, which are not found in any of the Quartos, have been invented for cipher purposes for the 1623 Folio".

It is interesting to note that Dr. Cantor, at one time, felt strongly that Anthony and not Francis Bacon was the author of the Shakespeare Plays. He did not believe that the praises bestowed on Anthony Bacon in the Lambeth MSS. were intended for Francis. He also recommended that the articles on Nicholas and Anthony Bacon by Leslie Stephens in *The Dictionary of National Biography* (1885) be studied. He thought that the " Shakespeare Dead-Mask " at Darmstatt was of Anthony and not Francis Bacon, and asked, " does any portrait of Anthony Bacon exist ? " In August, 1890, he wrote:

> . . . " my belief that Anthony was the author of Shakespeare's Plays becomes stronger and stronger ".

Dr. Cantor refers to Toby Matthew and Francis Bacon's other Roman Catholic friends and expresses his belief that Bacon, in his later years, became a " moderate " member of the Roman Catholic Church, like his friends Father Paul (Pietro Sarpi), Father Fulgentius and Father Baranzano. By the term " moderatus " he implies that these men reserved to themselves the right

to criticise some of the aspects of the Roman Faith and, like Father Paul, did not accept the " exaggerated pretentions " of the Pope. This explains, according to Cantor " how justified such eminent representatives of the Roman Catholic Church as Cardinal Wiseman and Archbishop Whately (who published a splendid edition of Bacon's essays) are in claiming the poet Shakespeare for themselves ". In one letter the question is raised as to whether Sir Toby Matthew and Dr. William Rawley (Bacon's Chaplain) became members of " the illustrious Company of Jesus founded by the Spaniard, Ignatius de Loyola. Dr. Rawley after St. Alban's death was " Serenissimae Majestate Regine a Sacres " *i.e.* Chaplain of Charles I of England. Now you must know that very probably Charles I and his father James I were crypto-roman Catholics ".

In a later letter Dr. Cantor stated that Rawley was Chaplain to the Roman Catholic Queen, Henrietta Maria. In 1891 he wrote:

> I return to my opinion, which I communicated to you confidentially two years ago, that Francis Bacon became a Roman Catholic in his later years. The deep and tender friendship for Toby Matthew (who, as I'm quite certain, received in Rome the priesthood from the hands of Cardinal Bellarmin, S.J., in 1614, and became also a Member of the Order Jesu) seems to favour this opinion, also the fact that Francis, when he felt that his end was near, hurried to the " Villa Highgate " to the family of the Roman Catholic Count Arundell, where eight days later he found rest for ever. Is it not strange that Dr. Rawley has nothing to say of the last hours of Francis ? Does it not seem peculiar that Rawley wishes (in his life of Bacon) the *Confesso Fidei* (written in the Summer of 1603) to be considered as the definitive religious opinion of the man who lived another 23 years and experienced so much, inwardly and outwardly ?

Other points from this correspondence include a recommendation to examine the 1765 Edition of Bacon's Works by Rev. John Gambold.

> In Vol. II, pp. 158, 213, 282, 331 and 469, you will find a most peculiar and remarkable vignette representing an ugly mask with a serious hurt in the cheek. The profile is evidently that of the man who is represented on the title page of the 1623 Folio *en face*, and the head is adorned with a rich laurel wreath. The Shaxpereans are likely to refuse to take this as a proof for the Baconian theory, but your brother, who is a Baconian, will admit that at least in 1765 there must have existed a deeply instructed Baconian.

In a subsequent letter Dr. Cantor writes that the vignettes must be looked at and studied from all sides and directions, especially vignette 3 which is a remarkable mixture of masks. In Vol. III the title page represents Bacon as a speculating philosopher and in Vol. IV the figure is shown as blind and therefore as a poet. Another letter refers to an interesting find made in Stuttgart—the Album of a Prince Friedrich, a contemporary of Bacon. In this Album are to be seen on the same page close together, " Gorge Rosenkrantz and P. Guildenstern " in two different handwritings, each with a Latin sentence over it and dated " Hafnia (Copenhagen) 1574 ".

In 1892 Dr. Cantor recommended the inspection of the Shakespeare Bust at the Garrick Club. This bust was found in 1845 amongst the debris of the Duke's Theatre, erected in 1662 for Sir William D'Avenant, and bought for the Garrick Club by the Duke of Devonshire in 1855 for three hundred guineas. He later sent to Miss Leith a copy of the Crispin de Pas print of this bust which he considered " to be the best of all he has seen of Francis Bacon ". He then asked for a portrait of Sir William D'Avenant. This information intrigues as evidently he was interested in D'Avenant's personality. Tradition, evidently encouraged by D'Avenant himself, once suggested that this man was a natural son of William Shakespeare. In 1660 he and Thomas Killigrew were granted a patent to build a new playhouse which was to be independent of the censorship of the Master of the Revels. This resulted, in 1663, in the original Theatre Royal in

Drury Lane. Killigrew (1612 - 1683) who, as a boy (according to Pepys) satisfied his love of the stage by volunteering at the Red Bull to take the part of a devil and thus see the play for nothing, became a dramatist and courtier to Charles II. He was a son of Sir Robert Killigrew, and was of the same family as Sir Henry Killigrew whose first wife was Catherine, a sister of Lady Bacon. His son Charles was also connected with the stage and became Master of the Revels in 1680. It would be strange indeed if that bust, which so closely resembles Francis Bacon, was at one time in the possession of the Killigrew family.

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HAWK VERSUS DOVE: FRANCIS BACON'S ADVOCACY OF A HOLY WAR BY JAMES I AGAINST THE TURKS

By J. Max Patrick

(Reprint)

As James Spedding observed, the writings of Francis Bacon before 1617 contain no hint of his project for a holy war against the Turks.[1] In March of that year, shortly after he became Lord Keeper, Bacon suggested that the projected marriage of Prince Charles to the Infanta of Spain could "be the beginning and seed . . . of a holy war against the Turks."[2] He again addressed himself to the scheme in the third week of March, 1622, less than a year after the House of Lords sentenced him for accepting bribes,[3] when he wrote his fragment, *Advertisement Touching an Holy Warre*.[4] Moreover, in its epistle dedicatory to Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, he echoed his previous statement, asking rhetorically, "who can tell whether there may not be an *Exoriere aliquis?* Great matters (especially if they be religious) have (many times) small beginnings; and the platform may draw on the building."[5]

Bacon left the *Advertisement* incomplete, unpublished, and unpresented to the King, and he scarcely proceeded in it beyond

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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), VII, 4; hereafter cited as *Works*.

[2]"A Remembrance Additional to the Instructions to Sir John Digby" (*Works*, VII, 4; XIV, 158).

[3]Spedding establishes the date of composition, *Works*, XIII, 348.

[4]The preface and text fill twenty-five pages in Dr. William Rawley's edition of *Certaine Miscellany Works* (1629), and the Latin version, *Dialogus de Bello Sacro*, occupies nineteen pages of the *Operum Moralium et Civilium Tamus* (1638). The English was republished in *The Second Part of the Resuscitatio* (1670 and 1671), and the Latin reappeared in *Opuscula Varia Posthuma* (1663) and in *Opera Omnia* (1665 and 1694). Since the seventeenth century the work has been kept available in reprints and in Antoine de La Salle's French translation (*Oeuvres, Dijon*, 1800), which is reprinted in *Oeuvres*, ed. J.A.C. Buchon (Paris, 1836). Spedding based the standard edition (*Works*, VII, 1-36) on Rawley's edition which he compared with the Latin and the manuscript partial copies in the British Museum and Cambridge University Libraries.

[5]*Works*, VII, 15.

discussing how the nature, problems, and implications of such a holy war could be judiciously explored; but he valued it enough to have it translated into Latin and included among his *Opera Moralia et Civilia.*[6] After his fall he composed and, in October, 1621, sent to James I his *History of Henry VII,*[7] following which he continued to work on *De Augmentis Scientiarum* and made a proposal "for bringing into better order and frame the laws of England".[8] Both of these projects were worthy of welcome acceptance by the king: the accomplishment of the first gained universal acclaim for Bacon, and the non-accomplishment of the second is still regretted. But Bacon apparently regarded his discussion of a holy war as so important that, in order to pursue it, he temporarily abandoned both of these major enterprises.

Bacon's reasons for thus giving priority to the *Advertisement* were complex; and hitherto they have never been properly explored. Their determination will throw light on his character, his thought, and his relations with King James.

As a political realist, Bacon was inevitably aware of the impracticality of his 1617 proposal for an Anglo-Spanish crusade against the Turks. He had hatched it in connection with the opening of negotiations for the Spanish marriage. And although he does not specifically advocate an Anglo-Spanish holy war alliance in the *Advertisement,* he clearly intended to do so. For its immediate occasion was the resumption of those negotiations in 1622, and, as Spedding points out, "the utter and final breach with Spain which followed soon after sufficiently accounts for his not proceeding further with it".[9]

The scheme as originally propounded envisaged a war which would be both holy and Machiavellian, piously idealistic and ruthlessly realistic, at once impossibly utopian and selfishly pragmatic. It suggested that the Spanish and English kings could

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[6]Cf. *Works,* VII, 5n.
[7]*Works,* XIV, 357.
[8]*Works,* XIV, 556.
[9]*Works,* VII, 5.

"make the difference in religion as laid aside and almost forgotten" and that the union of the two royal families could "be a beginning and seed . . . of a holy war against the Turks, whereunto it seems the events of time doth invite Christian kings in respect of the great corruption and relaxation of discipline of war in that empire; and much more in respect of the utter ruin and enervation of the Grand Signor's navy and forces by sea; which openeth a way without congregating vast armies by land to suffocate and starve Constantinople, and thereby to put those provinces into mutiny and insurrection".[10] In other words, English Protestants, unified by *realpolitik*, piety, and dynastic intermarriage with their old enemies the Spanish Roman Catholics, would take advantage of declining infidel imperialism. This notion is a baroque fantasy not only in its yoking of antitheses but in its grandeur of conception and its rousing expectations left unsatisfied. It is also typical of Bacon's amazing fusion of saintly idealism with cool political opportunism. Moreover, his recurring to it when he was fallen from great place is characteristic evidence of his optimism, of his courage never to submit to outrageous fortune.

That courage has been insufficiently recognized. Cut off in his teens from opportunities commensurate with his station, because of his father's death; denied opportunities commensurate with his genius, under Queen Elizabeth; and denied high office until he was well into middle age, Bacon nevertheless persisted with heroic resilience. Resisting the impulses of his times which reduced other men to melancholy or induced them to retreat to academic or pastoral seclusion, he remained indefatigably sanguine. Even in 1622, though disgraced and aged (61 was old in the seventeenth century), like Marvell's Cromwell and Milton's Satan, restless Bacon would not cease: there is something admirable about how he tried by means of his *Advertisement* to serve his king and country, rehabilitate himself, and grasp the garlands of fame. For, as will be shown below, despite the preposterousness of the proposed Anglo-Spanish crusade and the immediate self-

[10] *Works*, XIV, 158.

interested goal of regaining royal favour, power and office, there was a serious and sincere purpose behind this proposal. Superficially the *Advertisement* was the audacious effort of a discarded courtier-statesman to regain the good will of a dovish monarch by seducing him with a fiction into a war of the Cross against the Crescent. But at its heart there was a lesson and a warning to the king concerning an impending threat to the monarchy and the nation and how to avert it.

Bacon was quite aware of the partially fantastic nature of his proposal. The *Advertisement* is an imaginary dialogue; and one of its six characters, the courtier Pollio, is assigned the role of trying to crush the others' arguments for a holy war by contending that it is "but a bladder" or partly "vain and not sperable"; and he frankly states his opinion "that the Philosopher's Stone, and an Holy War, were but the *rendez-vous* of cracked brains . . . "[11] The facts—that Bacon couched his scheme in fiction, that in his prefatory letter he provided a lengthy rationalization for composing the *Advertisement* as an oblation, and that he failed to complete it—all indicate his recognition of its absurd aspects; and they make it all the more necessary to ask why he picked on so unlikely a subject during his forced retirement when he was no longer directly involved in politics and wanted "to have Leisure without Loitering, and not to become an abbey-lubber . . . but to yield some fruit of my private life", as he wrote to the Queen of Bohemia.[12]

As an introit to a solution, it will be helpful to survey Bacon's remarks about the Turks. While praising Queen Elizabeth in 1592, he twisted facts to flattery when he alleged that they were led "only by the beams of her reputation" to abandon an invasion of Poland.[13] The facts were that some two years previously the Sultan had refrained from attacking Poland when he learned that Elizabeth needed naval equipment from it in order to resist Spain, their common enemy.[14] And Bacon again mentioned this

[11] *Works*, VII, 24.
[12] April, 1622. *Works*, XIV, 365.
[13] "Discourse in the Praise of his Sovereign", *Works*, VIII, 135.
[14] *Works*, VIII, 135n.

cooperation when he defended Elizabeth against charges that she was "confederate with the Great Turk".[15] But neither of these tracts reveals real knowledge of the Turks or interest in them; and his next reference was general in nature. In 1607, contending that great monarchies were founded in poverty, he instances Persia, Macedon, and Rome, and then "the Turks, a band of Sarmatian Scithes, that in a vagabond manner made impression upon that part of Asia, which is yet called Turcomania; out of which . . . spring the Othoman family, now the terror of the world".[16]

The last phrase was a commonplace description of the Turks. Bacon probably owed it to Richard Knolles, *The General Historie of the Turkes,* which was first printed in 1603; but Knolles derived both the phrase and the notion of the Turks as a divinely imposed scourge from Ogier Ghuselin de Busbecq, better known as Busbequius. In 1544-62, when he was emperor Ferdinand I's ambassador to the Sultan at Constantinople, Busbecq wrote a series of letters which was published at Antwerp in 1581 and at Paris in 1589 as *Legatione: Turcical Epistolae Quatuor.*[17] According to him, the end of the world was to come in his own generation: it was aging, and signs of senescence were pervasive —aversion from goodness, a lust to dominate, reluctance to obey, overcuriosity in the arts, and the addition of new vanities to old ones. But the clearest evidence of the impending end was the increase and longevity of Turkish power and the threat to the civilized world from their assiduity in fighting and persecuting.[18]

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[15]"Certain Observations upon a Libel" (1592), *Works,* VIII, 204.

[16]"Speech on General Naturalisation", *Works,* X, 324.

[17]By 1660, Busbecq's' writings were sufficiently of interest in England that they were published in Oxford as his *Opera quae extant.* More available are his *Life and Letters,* trans. C. T. Forster and F. H. B. Daniell, 2 vols. (London, 1881) and *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghuselin de Busbecq,* trans. Edward S. Forster (Oxford, 1927).

[18]There is a convenient brief account of the terror in Latin Christendom caused by the advance of the Turk in Chapter XX, "The Turk, the Comet, and the Devil", in Edward Maslin Hulme's *The Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution, and the Catholic Reformation* (New York, 1915), with relevant bibliography on pp. 574-75 and 597.

In the 1625 text of the essay, "Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature", Bacon specifically refers to "Busbechius" for proof of the Turks' "kindness to beasts";[19] but the absence of this passage from the 1612 version of this essay suggests that at that time he had not yet read Busbecq. And Bacon's observation in 1613 that Turks opposed duelling because the Sultan needed their services and because "there are Christians enough to kill",[20] owed no debt to Busbecq.

Bacon's other references to the Turk indicate that in connection with the 1617 proposal for a holy war, or as a result of it, he became acquainted with Busbecq's work. In the final version of the essay "Of Empire" but not in the 1612 *Essaies*, Bacon mentions the dire results which ensued when jealous Turkish rulers killed their relatives who might seize the throne.[21] In the fragment "On Fame", he relates how the Great Turk's death was concealed so that his soldiers would not sack Constantinople, "as their manner is".[22] And in his last work, *Sylva Sylvarum* (1627) Bacon reveals both his increased interest in Turkey and its main source, George Sandys' *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610. Foure Bookes, Containing a Description of the Turkish Empire . . .* [23] In it he found corrective to Busbecq's apprehensions, for Sandys recognized that Turkish power was waning. From his account Bacon derived the Turkish material in paragraphs 704-05, 738, and 741 of the *Sylva*. They treat the strength of Turkish bows; confections called "servets", the need for a brewery in Constantinople; Turkish coffee's ability to comfort brain and heart and to help digestion; and the Turks' art of "chamoletting" or marbling paper.[24] Bacon also dealt with their cosmetic use of black

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[19] *Works*, VI, 403.

[20] "The Charge of Sir Francis Bacon . . . touching Duels", *Works*, XI, 404-05.

[21] *Works*, VI, 421, 552-53.

[22] *Works*, VI, 520.

[23] 1st ed. 1615; Bacon probably used the 2nd, 1621.

[24] *Works*, II, 564-65, 576-78.

powder under the eyelids, their poisoning of water in time of war, and their bathing practices.[28] But it is another reference to the Turks, in "Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates", which is related to his 1617 proposal for a holy war.

On military matters, Bacon was a hawk, outspoken except for some cautiousness when he was addressing the dovish James I; and even then he did not cravenly cater to the king but advocated wars which he believed would be in the national interest and useful to the monarchy. In the 1612 edition of the *Essaies* Bacon had voiced the conventional view: exercise is essential to the health of both the human body and the body politic; "an honourable forraine warre is like the heate of exercise . . . For in a slothful peace, both courage will effeminate, and manners corrupt".[29] But the 1625 edition expanded these reflections in "Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates" by involving the Turks. There Bacon asserts that "for empire and greatness, it importeth most, that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study and occupation", and he lists the nations who held "the greatest empire in the world". Then, turning to his own times, he concludes: "The Turks have it at this day, though in great declination". However, he recognizes that militarism alone is not enough: "no nation which does not directly profess arms, may look to have greatness fall into their mouths"; but states which "continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders". To be such a great power, nations need not only arms but also "laws and customs which may reach forth unto them great occasions (as may be pretended) of war. For there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars . . . but upon some, at the least specious, grounds and quarrels". Here again the Turks serve as an example; and it becomes clear that it is in part from their example that Bacon learned some of the precepts and practices which he advocates. The Turk, he observes, "hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect; a quarrel

[28] *Works*, II, 646, 578.
[29] *Works*, VI, 588.

that he must always command". Accordingly Bacon advises nations seeking greatness to be sensitive to wrongs concerning borders, merchants, and politics. By such means they will be ready to ensure their own martial longevity and national health; for "a just and honourable war is the true exercise" which maintains such health.[27] In short, to achieve imperial greatness, King James should entertain a holy war against the Turks or something equivalent to it.

The essay, "Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates", contains yet another reference to the Turks, and it is a clue, hitherto unnoticed, to why Bacon put aside the *De Augmentis* in 1622 in order to readdress himself to the holy war project. In discussing whether naval supremacy is essential for great monarchs, he comments that "The battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk"; and in *De Augmentis* he repeats the statement in Latin.[28] In the *Advertisement*, treating "noble and memorable actions upon the infidels, wherein the Christian hath been the invader", he reverted to "that famous and fortunate war by sea that ended in the victory of Lepanto" which "hath put a hook into the nostrils of the Ottomans to this day".[29]

Lepanto is the key to Bacon's holy war project. In March 1622 his problem was to cut through the iron curtain which separated his sovereign from him. The *History of Henry VII* had partially overcome that barrier, for Bacon knew that James would be fascinated by an account of his "progenitor of famous Memory".[30] But the king might defer giving attention to *De Augmentis*, and for Bacon to codify the laws would require many helpers and several years. The desideratum was another composition certain to pique the royal interest. Ever studious in flattery,

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[27] *Works*, VI, 449-50.

[28] *Works*, VI-451; V, 86.

[29] *Works*, VIII, 19. Two years later in "Considerations touching a War with Spain", Bacon again mentioned the battle: "Don John of Austria lost the fruit of the victory of Lepanto by breaking the confederacy against the Turks upon the private ends of Spain" (*Works*, XIV, 503).

[30] *Works*, XIV, 357.

Bacon was inevitably aware that as James VI of Scotland (but not yet ruler of England) the king had written " The Lepanto ", a heroic poem on holy warfare against the Turks. It celebrated their defeat in 1571 by an uneasy alliance of Venetian, Spanish, and Papal forces commanded by Don John of Austria, who was the bastard son of the Emperor Charles V and the natural brother of the Spanish king, Philip II. (In this choice of subject James seems to be rivalled by no other English-speaking poet except for G. K. Chesterton). The royal verses were composed in the summer of 1585 when James was nineteen years old. After some revision they were first printed as "The Lepanto of Iames the sixt, King of Scotland" in *His Maiestic Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres* (Edinburgh, 1591). This volume also included a grandiloquent redaction prepared by Guillaume de Salluste Sieur Du Bartas, "La Lepanthe de Iames VI, Roy D'Escosse, Faite francoise". The English text was separately printed as *His Maiesties Lepanto, or, Heroicall Song* (London, 1603). Both as it was written by James in fourteeners and as it was printed in 1591 with each verse broken into two short lines (eight and six feet in length), it is admirably edited by William Craigie in *The Poems of James VI of Scotland.*[31] Thomas Moray (or Murray) completed a Latin rendering in 1588, which was published as *Naupactiados, sive Lepantiados* (London, 1604).

The king began his "Heroicall Song" by declaring that he would sing "a wondrous worke of God . . . a cruell Martiall warre . . . Betwixt the baptiz'd race,/And circumcised Turband

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[31]2 vols., Edinburgh: Printed for the Scottish Text Society by William Blackwood and Sons, 1955. Du Bartas, who had visited James in Edinburgh at his invitation in 1587, seems to have penned his redaction in France after that date; cf. Craigie's ed., 1,282. The French text, first published in France in 1591, is reprinted in the *Works of Guillaume de Salluste, Sieur Du Bartas*, ed. Urban Tigner Holmes *et al.*, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill, 1940), III, 506-26. Du Bartas' poetic activities were known to Bacon: while he was in Bordeaux in 1584. Du Bartas wrote to him, enclosing his *Advertisement . . . sur sa premiere et seconde Sepmaine* (rpt. in his *Works*, ed. Holmes, I, 19). This title may have influenced Bacon's choice of *Advertisement* for his holy war fragment, just as his choice of *Essaies* as a title was probably influenced by its use for James' first publication, *The Essays of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie* (Edinburgh, 1584).

Turkes".[32] He relates that "craftie Satan" came into God's presence and was at once accused by Christ of inflaming the Turks against his followers. Turning to God, Christ then asked, "How long ô Father shall they thus, / Quite under foote be tred . . . ?" Satan answered that their faith was too small; moreover, "Hast thou not given them in my hands" to use "as best doth seeme to me . . . ?" Then "from thundering throte' the Father replied that these Christians would no longer be "With Infidels opprest". He sent Gabriel to Venice who, disguised as a man, found the citizens there howling and weeping because Cyprus had fallen to the Ottomans. According to lines perhaps imitated by Milton in his Piedmont sonnet, "Thair carefull cries to Heaven did mount / Resounding in the aire". Inspired by Gabriel, they formed a "holie league" which convened "to consult" and, after due oratory, gathered a huge fleet. James versified the statistics about the numbers of its men and ships. Rumor reported to the Turks that "divers Christian Princes" were resolved to "mell" with them; but their spies failed to ascertain facts correctly: "in Arithmetique (as / It seemd) they were not good". When the navies met in the Gulf of Lepanto, God "sitting on his pompous throne" weighed the Christians' faults in a balance with those of the Turks and, finding that they were heavier "upon the faithlesse side", he frowned "with awfull face". Meanwhile "the SPANIOL Prince", "DON IOAN d'AUSTRIA" rowed among the Christians, "Remembering them how righteous was / Their quarrel, and how good", and on the other side Ali-Basha exhorted courage against "caitif Christians" and promised the conquest of Europe. A detailed and stirring account of the battle follows. After the news of the victory reached Venice a chorus of its citizens sang a hymn of praise (imitated from Psalm 150). It moved the royal poet into a trance-dream in which he heard a song "Of all the fethered bands / Of holie Angels". This he provided, taking care to have the angels point to the Roman Catholic errors of the victors. He concluded by urging Christians to be courageous; for God will help those who serve his name

[32]My quotations from "The Lepanto" are from the 1591 text as edited by Craigie, I, 197-259.

against "the Antichristian sect". In his preface to the poem James also took care to attack the erroneous notion "that I should seeme . . . to penne a worke . . . in praise of a forraine Papist bastard". And the king also explained that he "compiled this Poeme" as an "exhortation to the persecuted", that is, those persecuted by the Catholic League, which was a threat to Protestantism.[33] From this Bacon seemed to have taken inspiration for his advocacy of an ecumenically Christian rather than a Roman Catholic holy war against the infidels.

Bacon's aim in writing the *Advertisement* on a subject once poetically treated by King James was not merely to reingratiate himself with that monarch. Indeed, Bacon deserves credit for daring to put the best interests of the nation and the crown (as he understood them) above his selfish concerns. By suggesting war to a war-hating ruler as a healing, curative, and preventative medicine for an England sickening under that ruler, Bacon ran considerable risk of aggravating royal disfavour. It was as a lover of England and as a loyal subject that he intended to exploit James's interest in Lepanto; and he wrote his dialogue-fiction on a holy war as a stratagem for persuading his king to entertain a policy which could save the monarchy and the state from its growing dissensions and impeding troubles. By 1617, when he first suggested a holy war, Bacon, being more perceptive in this respect than most men of his times, had become alarmed by the increasing divorce between crown and parliament—a divorce which culminated sixteen years after his death in the Puritan Revolution. This is not to claim that he had clear forebodings of so drastic an upheaval. But he did recognize that the dependence of the king on the Commons for money was threatening the balance of powers in the English constitutional system: Parliament was in a position to become overpowerful.[34] This per-

[33] *Works of James VI*, ed. Craigie, I, 198.

[34] Cf. the penultimate paragraph of Bacon's 1617 proposal for a holy war waged by James and Philip II (*Works*, XIII, 159): "whereas there doth as it were creep upon the ground a disposition in some places to make popular estates and leagues to the disadvantage of monarchies, the conjunction of the two kings will be to stop and impedite the growth of any such evil".

ception was one of the reasons why Bacon consistently sought in his writings and actions to strengthen the royal prerogatives. His very obedience to the king in not defending himself when he was impeached is an earnest of his fidelity to this principle; and his recognition of the need to ensure that more revenues would be available to his sovereign is one key to the nature of his major works on philosophy and science. A consequence of the advancement of learning or of the encouragement of natural science along the lines extrapolated in *New Atlantis* would have been increased national prosperity, consequent political stability and economic growth, and, as their result, an augmentation of royal revenues sufficient to maintain a sovereign not unduly dependent on votes of supply from the House of Commons.

The advancement of learning and the translation of Britain into a New Atlantis were long-range projects; but the need to prevent a wide rupture between crown and parliament was immediate. Fissures between them had already been emerging under Queen Elizabeth. In her times the pressures of foreign perils, especially the Armada, had made cooperation of sovereign and Parliament essential. Once James had safely succeeded to the throne, however, England enjoyed a far greater security. But freedom from strong external pressures left factions free to compete with each other internally; so security begat insecurity, and the dissensions were aggravated by rapid economic, social, and religious changes. In Bacon's view, all this was enabled by the pacifist policies of King James: they threatened the nation and the monarchy itself if only because they conduced to the over-aggrandizement of the power of the Commons. The cure, in Bacon's judgement, lay in finding some grand cause to which both Crown and Commons would subscribe and dedicate themselves. Given a choice he would, no doubt, have preferred the broad advancement of science; and to that end he was later to compose the *New Atlantis*. But in the immediate circumstances he urged consideration of the time-tested practical cure for internal dissensions—a popular external war which would unite all in common endeavour and enthusiasm. Such a struggle with Spain, Elizabeth's aggressive, imperialistic, Roman Catholic enemy,

was the first and obvious choice of the hawks: it strongly appealed to English patriotism and to both Protestant prejudice and idealism; it also offered good prospects for victories, plunder, and revenge, especially because Spanish power was waning. But in 1622 while negotiations for the Spanish match were being renewed, Bacon had to couch his case otherwise. He neglected to complete and submit it because the negotiations lagged, his personal circumstances improved for other reasons, and prospects of a war with Spain increased.

Though abortive and laid aside, the *Advertisement Touching an Holy Warre* is universally significant and more worthy of consideration than it has received. With the exception of James Spedding, scholars have generally ignored it or have given it cursory attention—partly because he gave it such excellent basic treatment in his five-page preface and essential annotations in volume VII of the Spedding, Ellis, and Heath edition of the *Works*. Writing in the nineteenth century, he found the *Advertisement* "still interesting", worthy of "a conspicuous place among Bacon's writings" because it is the only specimen of his skill in handling discussion in dialogue form. But Spedding found the argument over a holy war impertinent for Victorians "except as indicating a stage in the history of opinion; and even for that . . . it is not carried far enough . . . "[35] In the same period Edwin A. Abbott assigned one paragraph to the *Advertisement*, remarking that "the conversation is life-like and the characters well-sustained".[36] More recently A. Wigfall Green's three paragraphs on it scarcely go beyond Spedding except for two undeveloped comments which make Bacon a sort of Janus. The first, alleging that the *Advertisement* "is in a way a forerunner of Swift's *Tale of a Tub*", gives Bacon a forward face; the second eclipses it by relegating the work to backwardness: "Moss-covered with medievalism, it is the last literary voice of the Crusades".[37] How-

[35] *Works*, VII, 5-6.

[36] *Francis Bacon: An Account of his Life and Works* (London, 1885), p. 426.

[37] *Sir Francis Bacon: His Life and Works* (Denver, 1952), pp. 259-61.

ever, the conflict of West with what was then regarded as East, and the conception of that conflict as a holy war, belong quite as much to the Renaissance, to Bacon's lifetime, and to the rest of the seventeenth century up to at least the abortive Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683, known to historians as "the Year of the Turk". Moreover, the idea of a holy war and Bacon's discussion of it remain highly relevant to the 1970s, for modern concepts of crusading or Christian militancy are not confined to Billy Graham, the Salvation Army, and the Dutch Roman Catholic clergy. In 1948, inspired by the Lord's promise in Psalm 105.11 to give the Hebrews the land of Canaan as their portion for an inheritance, the Jews established their national home in Palestine, and they maintain it precariously by means of a war which they regard as holy; and it is the rhetoric of a holy war which provides such unity as is possessed by the Arabs ranged against them. In *The Shadow of the Crescent: the Renaissance Image of the Turks*, Robert Schwoebel comments: "It is not surprising to find writers sometimes comparing the confrontation of our so-called communist and free worlds with the clash of East and West in the Renaissance period . . . In both cases one finds not only a struggle between competing powers but a conflict of ideologies, and contrasting social, economic, and political systems".[38] Accordingly it is easy to translate into modern terms the points

[38](New York, 1967), p. ix. Schwoebel in the rest of this paragraph developes the similarities and notes essential differences. His book treats the history and sources of Turkish-European relations and attitudes in the earlier Renaissance. James may have found a precedent for "The Otranto" in the lines which Schwoebel quotes (pp. 169-70) from the "Hymn to Plato" prefixed by Mark Musurus to his Greek edition of Plato (1513), in which Musurus mingles concern for his fatherland (Greece), with scholarship and the crusade. Schwoebel also mentions a work which set a precedent for Bacon's use of dialogue in treating Turkish expansionism, Poggio Bracciolini's *De miseris conditionis humanae* (printed in his *Opera*, [Basel, 1538], pp. 88-131; Schwoebel, p. 17). See also C. A. Patrides, "The Bloody and Cruell Turke: The Background of a Renaissance Commonplace," *Sewanee Review*, 10 (1963), 126-35, and Louise R. Loomis, "The Fall of Constantinople Symbolically Considered," in *Essays in Intellectual History Dedicated to James Harvey Robinson* (New York, 1929), pp. 243-58. Albert Howe Lybyer provides an excellent survey of Renaissance and seventeenth-century sources and standard works concerning the Turks in his *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Harvard Historical Studies (New York, 1966), Appendix V.

raised for discussion by Bacon concerning holy warfare. As some men of his day assumed that it was lawful to fight to propagate Christianity, so some today justify warring with communist states in order to spread democracy and/or capitalism, while others support war with capitalist societies in order to impose communism. In Bacon's time some believed wars lawful if their end was recovery to the Church of countries which had once been Christian, even if the Christians there had been extirpated; so today opposing sides fight to recover the Holy Land or to regain for capitalism lands which were once capitalistic or vice versa. As Bacon would have men discuss whether it was obligatory and not merely permissive for Christian princes to fight such "holy" wars, so today there is discussion whether humanity requires rather than permits war for or against communism. In the *Advertisement* and, more succinctly, in "The Lord Bacon's Questions about the Lawfulness of a War for the Propagation of Religion",[39] Bacon raised these and other major discussion points of this kind. But their applicability to modern circumstances is too obvious to need statement here.

What does need to be emphasized is that in the fragment that he completed touching a holy war, Bacon brilliantly demonstrates the methodology of cool, rational, receptive, fertile discussion; and thus he provides a lesson on how an issue may be treated with tolerance and fairness to all. The procedures of discussion are gradually and cooperatively reformulated by the speakers in his dialogue until efficiency and clarity are achieved. For example, having begun on a level of somewhat abstracted theory, the speakers induce Poggio to attack their proposals, and after he has done so, they decide "not to speak peremptorily or conclusively touching the point of possibility" until they have deduced "the means of execution". For "it is a loose thing to speak of possibilities without particular designs". Similarly they agree that it is misleading to "speak of lawfulness without particular cases".[40]

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[39] *Works*, VII, 27n.
[40] *Works*, VII, 25-26.

Bacon's account is also tempered by humanism. Despite his acceptance of the notion that honourable wars may conduce to the health of a sickening society, he was careful to have one of his speakers warn his fellows that the holiness of a war is no excuse for inhumanity, that Christians should not forget that others are men, that war is "the sentence of death upon many". Men must not make a Moloch of Christ "in sacrificing the blood of men to him by an unjust war".[41] And Bacon is also careful to draw important distinctions: what Christians regard as "the idolatry of the Jews" is of a far different nature from "the idolatry of the Heathen".[42] And the fact that pirates may have "*certas sedes* or *lares*", seats of government or fixed homes and gods, does not except them from the rule that "a war upon pirates may be lawfully made by any nation, though not infested or violated by them".[43]

Indeed, it is that Bacon is so careful to examine real cases, to distinguish among them, to apply his own cautious scientific methods, and to explore significant differences that he is able to make so powerful an argument for consideration of a war against the Turks. Ultimately it is less a war made holy because of theological doctrines that he intended to propose to King James than one made holy because the Turks with their slaves, tribute boys, eunuchs, and despotism had deviated from the laws of nature, defacing the image of God in man.[44] He grants that objections might be raised against the wars of the Spanish against the Peruvians, for the Incas had "strict and regular justice . . . obedience to their kings . . . a kind of martial justice with their enemies". But "if things be rightly weighed, the empire of the Turks may be truly affirmed to be more barbarous than any of these".[45]

Bacon's conception of the Turks was no doubt overcolored by the Renaissance image of them as barbarous infidels; more-

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[41] *Works*, VII, 27-28.
[42] *Works*, VII, 31.
[43] *Works*, VII, 32.
[44] *Works*, VII, 30.
[45] *Works*, VII, 22; the Inca's human sacrifices are condemned on p. 34.

over, because of the fragmentary nature of the *Advertisement* it is impossible to be certain of exactly what he would ultimately have advocated or that he would have taken a firm position. But he probably agreed with his character Zebedaeus "that a war against the Turks is lawful, both by the laws of nature and nations, and by the law divine, which is the perfection of the other two".[46] And it is clear from modern historical studies such as those by Schwoebel and Lybyer that the Ottoman despotism involved such a denial of humanity as to justify its overthrow by war. In any case, it is important to remember that Bacon wrote a fiction, a mere "advertisement" or turning of attention to consideration of a holy war. If he seriously thought that his "platform" would be "an *Exoriere aliquis*", the seed of some future development, what he hoped for was surely not a war in Europe's furthest corner, but that James I, enchanted by a discussion pertinent to the "Heroicall Song" of his youth, might be led to recognise not that he should crusade against the Turks but that he should take steps to heal the widening fissures between crown and parliament which threatened both the monarchy and the nation.

Reprinted from *Studies in Literary Imagination, The Legacy of Francis Bacon;* April 1971; Vol. I. Published by the Department of English, Georgia State University; with grateful acknowledgements.

[46] *Works*, VII, 28.

BOOK REVIEWS

Shakespeare + The Lawyers, by Professor O. Hood Phillips: Methuen, £3.

The author is Barber Professor of Jurisprudence at Birmingham University, Queen's Counsel, and Doctor of Civil Law, and is, therefore, suitably qualified to discuss the legal allusions in the Plays. This he sets out to do, with a final chapter on the playwright's own legal attainments.

The subject has been widely convassed in the past, but the treatment is different this time in that the author has attempted to collate all previous expressions of opinion by lawyers—even, occasionally, by Baconians—such as the late Edward D. Johnson, who was a Birmingham solicitor. Judge Webb is ignored, and Sir George Greenwood's views only briefly discussed, the latter, unable to swallow the Stratford legend, not being a Baconian.

Unfortunately, the publishers cut out three chapters on the authorship question as the Preface notes, so the author is not responsible for these omissions.

Several interesting points emerge from the publishers' "blurb" to the book, perhaps without they or Professor Hood Phillips quite appreciating their relevance to Baconians. We would summarize these as follows:—

(1) The law figures prominently in the Plays, the writings abounding with legal terms and allusions, with the concept and working of the law a significant theme in many.

(2) In the history Plays, notably *Richard II* and *Richard III*, the legal and constitutional rights of kingship form "a pivot for the dramatic conflict".

(3) Characters such as Justice Shallow, Dogberry, and Elbow "are ironic reflections of a real concern with the status and authority of law".

(4) The playwright's connection with the Inns of Court is reviewed at some length, the author himself being a Gray's Inn man.

Bacon was, of course, the most distinguished *alumnus* of Gray's Inn, perhaps the greatest of English lawyers, Lord Chancellor to boot, and a strong believer in the English monarchy —from a religious as well as a constitutional point of view. The author of the Shakespeare canon wrote a play on each monarch from King John to Queen Elizabeth I, with but one exception. The gap was filled by Bacon's prose work on Henry VII (who succeeded Richard III).

The Law of Probability teaches us that there is a point when coincidence ends and proof begins. Has not this point been reached, or is it just that the unbiased investigator has at least to concede that a reasoned case may be made out for Bacon and his school of good pens " ? On either premise, the Stratford position is no longer inviolate. Yet despite his own legal training, the author of this book evidently assumes the orthodox position. Publication of the missing three chapters later in a separate book may rectify this.

Nevertheless, within this brief, Professor Hood attempts an impartial assessment of the legal implications of the material contained in the Plays, even recording the doubts as to the authenticity of the present Shakespeare Monument in Stratford Parish Church (page 1, note 3) and the Birthplace in Henley Street, and the fact that "no record" of Shaksper's marriage has been found, although the church register entry for the birth of his daughter Susanna, was about six months later. We have no cavil to his comment that *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* were printed by Richard Field, the son of a Stratford man, but it is relevant to add that both were printed under licence from the Bishop of Worcester, an acquaintance of Francis Bacon. On the same page, we are told that the quartos of a number of the Plays were published in the lifetime and in the name of William Shakespeare. We are not told that there is no known instance of Shaksper spelling his surname thus, nor that

eighteen Plays were not published until the 1623 Folio, *i.e.* seven years after Will's death.

It is true that "more information is contained in Court accounts for plays and revels", but does not this point to Bacon ? As for *Henslowe's Diary,* why is it that no mention of William *in persona* is made therein, if he was really the best known contemporary playwright ?

Professor Hood appears to place some credibility on Lord Campbell's opinions, including the suggestion that Shaksper composed his own will. The author himself states boldly that "each of the three pages bears his signature", which seems surprising in a book written merely to record necessarily diverse opinions expressed by members of the legal profession.

Later passages in the book give long and dubious explanations as to why Shaksper mentioned no books or MSS. in his will, and the connection between the Plays and the Inns of Court. It would have been easier and more logical to have stressed that Francis Bacon was a Bencher of Gray's Inn from 1586 and Treasurer from 1608 - 1616, besides being responsible for the production of masques there for the Court.

On page 52 Professor Hood rightly makes the point that mention of Magna Carta was omitted from *King John* because to show a sovereign bowing to the will of his barons might have been dangerous. Quite so, but the point is more relevant to Bacon than Shaksper in view of Queen Elizabeth's suspicion that Bacon had a hand in the writing of *Richard II.* Furthermore, we know that Bacon had strong views on the sacrosanctity of the monarchy, and the Magna Carta would have conflicted with his religious beliefs. To make this very important point clear, we quote the following passage from page 54 of the book, discussing the "King's Two Bodies".—

> The body politic was also called a " mystical body ", and Kantorowiz shows that English jurists not only developed a "theology of Kingship", but worked out a " Royal Christology ", which Maitland had remarked,

> might be set beside the doctrine of the Trinity contained in the Athanasian Creed. Shakespeare made the metaphor not only the symbol, but the very substance and essence of the play: *The Tragedy of King Richard II* is the tragedy of the king's two bodies.

The whole of the chapter, Problems of Law, Justice, and Government, is worth perusal but, we may justly ask: who is more likely to have feared " disruption of the social order", and regarded "the ideal of the Commonwealth" as "an ideal of justice, of duty, of unity rather than freedom to differ, of the manifestation of God", than Bacon? It is surely inconceivable that the utterer of these firmly held and lofty convictions could have been the Stratford man, or that the contemptuous references to the rabble in *Julius Caesar*, for example, could have been his. The playwright's attitude to the mob is just the same in the classical as the historic Plays. In pointing this out Professor Hood Phillips comments that the literary source for *Julius Caesar, Antony and Cleopatra,* and *Coriolanus* was North's translation from Amyot's translation of *Plutarch's Lives.* North was a member of Gray's Inn . . .

In the footnote to page 74, Richard Sullivan's categorical statement that "three pages of 150 lines have been identified as the actual composition and handwriting of Shakespeare" in the play *Sir Thomas More* should surely have been counter-balanced by opposing opinions such as Sir George Greenwood's, where this supposition is effectively disproved.

We found the chapter, The Trial in *The Merchant of Venice* of considerable interest, particularly since nearly two-thirds of the Shakespeare Plays contain a trial scene, compared with half that amount in English plays extant at Shaksper's death in 1616. In the welter of legal arguments on this theme, we believe that two Americans, M. E. Andrews in *Law Versus Equity in The Merchant of Venice,* and F. L. Windolph in *Reflections on the Law in Literature* were nearest the mark. The former sees the trial scene as a treatise on the attributes and qualities of mercy, and the latter suggests that the dialogue between Lorenzo and

Jessica suggests that we are neither in England or Italy, but in an enchanted country with an ethical and legal system all its own. It seems significant that Portia, though technically a judge, appeals to Divine Law as superior to human law, whilst Shylock tries to take the "law" into his own hands—his offence was not the bringing of individual proceedings, but the attempt to exact the penalty *by force himself*. Portia's "quality of mercy" speech is in direct contrast, and surely we have in *The Merchant of Venice* another example of Bacon's moral teaching. He observed in the *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum* (Book II, Chapter 13) that dramatic poetry had "the theatre for its world" and that the discipline and corruption of the theatre were "of very great importance". Adding that "many wise men and great philosophers have thought it to the mind as the bow to the fiddle". Yet we are asked to believe that he wrote no plays !

Delia Bacon's *Philosophy of Shakespeare's Plays Unfolded*, 1857, is mentioned late in this book, and we were glad to note Professor Hood Phillip's remark that "she did not claim any relationship to Francis Bacon", as was falsely alleged in a recent popular work on Shakespeare.*

Despite our criticisms *Shakespeare and the Lawyers* is well worth studying, but the case for claiming Shaksper as the author of the Plays remain unproven. Certainly he did not make the claim himself. N.F.

I, Prince Tudor Wrote Shakespeare, Margaret Barsi-Greene; Branden Press, $10.

This book could not have been printed in the United Kingdom. No publisher would have accepted the author's thesis, derived from Mrs. Gallup's cipher writings, that Francis Bacon, natural elder son of Queen Elizabeth I, wrote the Shakespeare Plays.

Out of a total of just over 300 pages nearly 250 are devoted to Biliteral decipherments, if the Preface and the author's Introduction are included.

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* Schoenbaum's *Shakespeare's Lives.*

Margaret Barsi-Greene has arranged the Gallup extracts in many cases accompanied by poems culled from Dr. Orville Owen's Wheel Cipher decodings, as far as possible in chronological order, and into three sections. The summation of these provides an autobiography by Francis Bacon, or Tudor. The result is exciting; and although the ciphers may have been collated and arranged before, the present rendering represents a challenge to those who doubt the sincerity and competence of Mrs. Gallup. The quotations given in the twenty-three chapters of this book were gathered from sixty works here attributed to Bacon, whether "masked" or not. The artistic and intellectual beauties of style and depth of thought and emotion would seem to indicate the genuineness of this secret chronicle of contemporary events. Homer and Virgil were two of Bacon's favourite authors, and many fragments of the *Iliad* and other classical works have been noted in the Shakespeare Plays and contemporary literature by R. L. Eagle and others.

The author may have accepted the ciphers of Ignatius Donnelly and Dr. Orville Owen a little too readily, but is on stronger ground with Mrs. Gallup, since Colonel and Mrs. Friedman admitted the validity of the Biliteral Cipher in theory although denying that it was ever used by Bacon in practice.*

Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote that all men are impressed in proportion to their own advancement in thought by the genius of Shakespeare, and the greatest minds value him most. In this context the following poetical decoding from Orville Owen is relevant:—

> But let all men who in pursuit of their passions,
> Care not what price they pay for the indulgence of them,
> Know this, that whatever the object be,
> Of their pursuit—be it honour, or fortune,
> Or Love, or glory, or knowledge, or what it may—
> They are but paying court to things cast off—
> Things which men in all times have tried, and upon trial
> Rejected with disgust.

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* *The Shakespearean Ciphers Re-examined.*

This has a Baconian ring and the following decipherment from the 1623 Folio adds force to this point:—

Francis St. Alban descended from the mighty heroes of Troy, loving and revering these noble ancestors, hid in his writings Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in Cypher, with the *Aeneid* of the noble Virgil, Prince of Latin poets . . .

We cannot resist giving a final quotation, from Orville Owen, namely:—

> . . . Not Jove himself
> With awful bending brow—the nod that shaketh
> The firm foundation of the solid globe,
> With feverous earthquakes, maketh Heaven tremble,
> In terror and affright, and hurleth back
> The secret ocean cave a frightened horde
> Of cowering waves—had power to give to gods,
> Or unto mankind, decree more fixed.

We urge Members to read this highly interesting work.

N.F.

PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor,
Times Literary Supplement

SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS

Sir,—No literary work in the English language has caused more perplexity and controversy than the quarto published in 1609 entitled *Shake-speare's Sonnets* (the author's name is so hyphenated on every page). No attempt to unravel or question what they mean was made until 1817, when Nathan Drake suggested that the Earl of Southampton was the unnamed addressee in the first 126 sonnets of the 154 printed.

In 1832 an article appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* by James Boaden on behalf of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. Of these two candidates preference has been given to Southampton, and he has remained the favourite. However, the arguments for and against these two theories were summed up by Professor R. M. Alden, of Stanford University, California, in his Variorum Edition of the Sonnets, his conclusion being that "plausible objections are raised at every step, and the whole body of evidence is seen to be circumstantial and inferential". It can now be said, therefore, that unless some fresh approach and discovery is made nothing valuable can be advanced on the subject.

Shakespeare's "dear love" or "better angel" is promised immortality throughout many of the sonnets but, since nobody is named, only the poet himself could live in them. I find that both Ovid and Horace had expressed confidence in the imperishable nature of their lines and that their names would live. At the end of the fifteenth and last book of *Metamorphoses* Ovid wrote a majestic epilogue which has impressed me greatly by the obvious influence it had on the author of the Sonnets. The parallels of thought and expression are too close for coincidence. I give this literal translation:

> And now I have completed a work which neither the anger of Jove, *nor fire, nor sword, nor devouring Time, will be able to destroy.* Let that day, which has no

> power but over my body put an end to my uncertain life when it will. Yet in the better part of me (*parte tamen meliore mei*) I shall be raised immortal above the lofty stars and indelible shall be my name.

If we consider that Shakespeare is addressing a personification or representation of his own mind or genius the resemblance with Ovid is apparent, as in Sonnet 81:

> Or I shall live your epitaph to make,
> Or you survive when I in earth am rotten;
> From hence your memory death cannot take,
> Although in me each part will be forgotten.
> *Your name from hence immortal life shall have*
> *Though I, once gone, to all the world must die:*
> The earth can wield me but a common grave,
> When you entombed in men's eyes shall lie.
> Your monument shall be my gentle verse,
> Which eyes not yet created shall o'er read.

There is another echo of Ovid in Sonnet 55:

> *Nor* Mars his *sword, nor* war's quick *fire* shall burn
> The living record of your memory.

Ovid's "devouring Time" occurs at the beginning of Sonnet 19.

But what is even more exciting and important was the discovery that Ovid should call his mind, muse or genius "the better part of me", for twice Shakespeare uses that identical phrase for the "friend" addressed, who I had already suspected was not a contemporary person but an image created as representing his poetic genius—the immortal part of him. The first occurs in No. 39:

> O how thy worth with manners may I sing,
> When *thou art all the better part of me?*
> What can mine own praise to mine own self bring?
> And what is't but mine own when I praise thee?

Even for this let us divided live,
And our dear love lose name of *single one*
That by this separation I may give
That due to thee which thou deserv'st alone.

This sonnet clearly states that his love is for what he calls, like Ovid, "the better part of me". For this he promises immortality in one sonnet after another, but he cannot praise it with "manners" (modesty) because, by doing so openly, he would be guilty of self-praise and self-love. He, therefore, makes an imaginary separation between himself and his genius so that he can express his affection and admiration for his creative art whilst seemingly bestowing it upon another. It is such a thin disguise that I am astonished that learned commentators have, so far, failed to see through it. In his plays Shakespeare consistently condemns self-praise as in *Troilus and Cressida* (I, 3):

The worthiness of praise distains his worth
If that the praised himself bring the praise forth.

Again in *All's Well that Ends Well* (I, 3): "Then we wound our modesty, and make foul the clearness of our own deservings when, of ourselves, we publish them". The Ovidian phrase is repeated in Sonnet 74:

The earth can have but earth, which is his due,
My spirit is thine, the better part of me.

The Elizabethan poets were steeped in the classics, and it is not surprising to find that those splendid lines of Ovid inspired others. Thus the poet Daniel calls his muse his "better part" in *Cleopatra* (594) and Peele in *The Arraignment of Paris* writes:

And look how much the mind, the better part,
Doth overpass the body in desert.
Drayton in his *Idea* Sonnet 44 declares:
Ensuing ages yet my rhymes shall cherish
When I entombed my better part shall save;
And though this earthly body fade and die,
My name shall mount upon eternity.

The source here seems to have been the last two lines of Elegy (Book I, 15) of Ovid's *Amores:*

Ergo etiam cum me supremis adederit ignis,
Vivam, parsque mei multa superstes erit.

The first scene of Ben Jonson's *Poetaster* presents Ovid, who should be studying law, surreptitiously composing this elegy and these two lines are translated:

Then when this body falls in funeral fire,
My name shall live and my best part aspire.

The relationship between the Mind, Muse or Genius with "the better part" and its eternal survival is also to be found in the best known of Horace's *Odes* (Book III, 30) which clearly inspired Sonnet 55, beginning:

Not marble, nor the gilded monuments of princes
Shall outlive this powerful rhyme.

Every educated person of those times would be familiar with the *Odes,* and Shakespeare would remember this particular one:

Non omnis moriar; multaque pars mei vitabit Libitinam,

—which may be translated "I shall not wholly die for the better part of me shall escape Libitina" (the goddess of death). Both the Elegy and the Ode have for their subject "the poet's immortal fame".

In his Sonnets Shakespeare divides his mind into two opposites naming them "my better angel" and "my worser spirit" (Sonnet 144). The latter is personified as "a woman coloured ill"—the so-called "dark lady"—a title which the poet nowhere bestowed on her. She is the *material* side of his mind which he confesses he pursued for a time finding her false and fickle. Indeed, he invests her with all the evil attributes of Fortune so often to be found in Shakespeare and in Elizabethan literature generally.

Finally, I would recommend a study of Sonnet 62 in which Shakespeare confesses that he is possessed body and soul with the "sin of self-love". There is no concealment here:

And for myself mine own worth do define,
As I all other in all worth surmount.
'Tis thee (myself) that for myself I praise.

RODERICK EAGLE

27 Avenue Road, Falmouth, Cornwall.

The above letter represents a breakthrough, since it is the first time, in our experience, that the insistence of Dr. Rowse and other orthodox writers on an interpretation of the Sonnets based on historical personages, has been challenged in the Press. Mr. Eagle's references to Ovid and Horace are, in the main, culled from his book *The Secrets of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, advertised on our back cover. Dr. John Carey, M.A., Lecturer in English Literature and Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford University, commented unfavourably on Dr. Rowse's theory that Emile Lanier was the "dark lady" of the Sonnets in *The Listener*. Subsequently he wrote to Mr. Eagle as follows:—

I was fascinated by your theory about the Sonnets. The repetition of the *pars melior mei* phrase is extremely striking —yet has not I believe been noted before. As you will see from this week's *Listener*. Dr. Rowse has admitted misreading the Forman manuscript, so Emilia Lanier's case really evaporates, as you predicted it would. I shall certainly get your book out of the Bodleian, and look forward to reading it.

The Editor,
The Spectator.

ROWSE ON SHAKESPEARE

Sir,—Contrary to popular belief the *first* object of the Francis Bacon Society is to study Francis Bacon's works "as philosopher, statesman and poet". The second object is to study "the evidence in favour of his authorship of the plays commonly ascribed to Shakespeare."

As Dr. Rowse in his article (June 2) specifically commends Francis Bacon for his qualities as "lawyer and scientist, politician and philosopher", he may perhaps agree that to label Baconians as "crackpots" is being unfair. Nevertheless I have to tell him that as a result of long years of research, most of our members now and in the past (the Society was founded in 1886) have been forced to the conclusion that Bacon was the genius who wrote or at least inspired the Shakespeare plays.

Dr. Rowse is hardly in a position to argue as he has not troubled to visit our office to acquaint himself with our views, or to study our literature. Nevertheless, if he or any other academic would care to come to see us even now, we should be delighted. One thing I will promise, there will be no dogmatism, only a wish to pool ideas, and to arrive at the truth. Surely this is not "sheer lunacy", but sheer commonsense.

NOEL FERMOR

Chairman, The Francis Bacon Society, Canonbury Tower, Canonbury Place, London N1.

The Editor,
The Spectator.

BACONIANS

Sir,—As one who has had to suffer unwelcome acclaim as a fellow-Baconian by Baconians, allow me to offer a defence of Dr. Rowse's recent action in paining members of the Francis Bacon Society by describing them as crackpots.

If there were a Descartes Society which devoted its energies to a study of his works, it would be grossly discourteous of Dr. Rowse, were he to describe them as crackpots. But if the members of this society were led by their enthusiasm to propagate a theory that Descartes was the manifest author of the works ascribed to his contemporary, Pierre Corneille, then Dr. Rowse's use of the term crackpot could only be blamed as unnecessarily mild.

CHRISTOPHER SYKES

Swyre House, Swyre, near Dorchester, Dorset.

The Editor,
The Spectator.

SHAW AND SHAKESPEARE

Sir,—Christopher Sykes and your readers may like to know that at Birmingham in 1904, Bernard Shaw proved he had written the works of William Shakespeare and not Francis Bacon.

Further, in the *Clarion* 1929, Sidney and Beatrice Webb

were similarly proved to have written the works of Bernard Shaw.

By deduction the works of Francis Bacon must have been written by William Shakespeare although the cipher cryptogram method of proof used to demonstrate the other claims is not to hand.

I suppose that learned literary societies are allowed a little mental relaxation? As Shaw so aptly put it, to act as " a rallying point for the co-operation and education of kindred spirits and a forum for their irreconcilable controversies " as well as the main function of promoting a wider and clearer understanding of an author's life, work and thought.

ERIC F. J. FORD

General Secretary, the Shaw Society, 125 Markyate Road, Dagenham, Essex.

The Editor,
The Spectator.

THE BACONIANS

Sir,—I agree with Mr. Christopher Sykes that if there were a Descartes Society like The Francis Bacon Society then Dr. Rowse might well call them " crackpots " if they ascribed the works to his contemporary Corneille. No authorship problem exists, for Descartes had every qualification for writing his masterpieces. On the other hand we know practically nothing as to John Shakspere's eldest son. It is mere assumption that he attended the little school at Stratford but had he done so it would not have provided a fraction of the learning displayed even in his early works such as *Venus and Adonis* and *Love's Labour's Lost,* nor the command of " the speech of the gods ". In those days the dialects of the different shires were so marked that the militia were unable to understand their orders unless given by an officer from their own district. It is impossible to accept the six illiterate scrawls of signatures (the only known specimens of his handwriting) as being those of a cultured man.

No mention of books appears in his will nor provision for the sixteen plays unpublished, and which were not printed until seven years after his death.

R. L. EAGLE

27 Avenue Road, Falmouth.

The Editor,
The Spectator.

Dear Sir,—I am very sorry that Christopher Sykes should have followed Dr. Rowse in descending to personal abuse in an attempt to discredit Baconians. It is 99% certain that Mr. Sykes has not studied the authorship problem either, and even if he has, he has not visited us to acquaint himself with the results of recent research. As, for example, *The 67th Inquisition,* a book of which he is doubtless totally unaware.

Nevertheless I am still prepared to ask Mr. Sykes to join us in this very important literary study. All must acknowledge that old ideas are breaking up, and fresh discoveries are being made in new fields of knowledge — even Einstein's Theory of Relativity is being looked at anew. Readers of *The Spectator* may think that their intelligence is being insulted when they are asked to accept old hat dogma without any reasons being vouchsafed. As to Mr. Sykes' " unwelcome acclaim," I can only say that to the best of my knowledge no Member of the Society has been responsible for this.

NOEL FERMOR

Chairman, Francis Bacon Society, Canonbury Tower, Canonbury Square, Islington, London, N.1.

* * * *

The Editor,
The Times.

Sir,—Where the experts disagree all but one must be wrong, and there is even a possibility that they all are. It may be more dramatic to search for personalities, but in my view it is more sensible to seek principles, in seeking to interpret the Sonnets, and so raise the interpretation to a more spiritual level.

I suggest, therefore, that the Dark Lady may be the poet's own personality, and the Friend may be his higher self. The Sonnets abound in parallels of thought and expression with Ovid and Horace, and the following free translation from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (the 15th and last book) has striking similarities with Sonnet 81.

"And now I have completed a work which neither the anger of Jove, *nor fire, nor sword, nor devouring Time* will be able to destroy. Let that day, which has no power over my body put an end to my uncertain life when it will. Yet in the better part of me (*parte tamen, meliore mei*) I shall be raised immortal above the lofty stars, and indelible shall be my name."

The relation between the mind and "the better part" is expressed well in Horace's *Odes* (Book Three, 30) beginning *Exegi monumentum aere perennius.* This passage appears to have inspired the opening of Sonnet 55;

> Not marble, nor the gilded monuments of princes
> Shall outlive this powerful rhyme.

I hope that scholars, better qualified than I will give further consideration to this thesis.

NOEL FERMOR

Chairman, Francis Bacon Society, Canonbury Tower, Canonbury Square, Islington, London, N.1.

(Not published. See Editorial).

* * * *

The Editor,
Birmingham Post.

Dear Sir,—My attention has just been drawn to the article in your Saturday Magazine, "The First Steps in the New Lease of Life for Shakespeare's Birthplace," by Keith Brace, accompanying your issue dated September 9th.

I note that Dr. Levi Fox, the Director of the Birthplace Trust does not mention that John Shakespeare, William's father, owned two houses in Stratford, one in Greenhill Street and the other in Henley Street. We do not know at which house William was born, although it has been assumed since Garrick's day that

the Henley Street site is the correct one. It is disingenuous of Dr. Fox therefore, to have omitted mention of this important point.

In any case, it is apparent from the illustrations you printed of the 1847 house and the present building, that drastic reconstruction has taken place. Indeed none of the original dwelling remains except for the cellar. I suggest that a new lease of life for the Birthplace can only be achieved by slanting the available evidence.

It may be argued, with some justification, that the location of William Shakespeare's birthplace is a comparatively trivial matter, but this ignores the vested interests involved. No wonder disquiet continues concerning Anne Hathaway's cottage, William's schooling, and indeed the authorship of the Plays.

NOEL FERMOR

Chairman, Francis Bacon Society, Canonbury Tower, Canonbury Square, Islington, London, N.1.

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor,
Baconiana.

Dear Sir,—On page 79 of *Baconiana* 172 (paragraphs two and three) reference is made to a book recently published, *The Sixty Seventh Inquisition.* In this reference a completely erroneous suggestion is made concerning Bacon's use of the phrase Triplex Tau. The writer of the article infers that the true significance of this phrase is in the use of two capital T's, in spite of the fact that these words mean Triple T or T.T.T. Not only that, the writer has given only part of Bacon's text for Inquisition 67 which should read as follows:—

Inquisitio Sexagesima Septima
Triplex Tau sive de Terra

It does not need a computer to tell us that there are three capital T's in Inquisition 67. That Bacon intended the three T's to be specially noted is clear and unambiguous and it would be defeating his purpose entirely if any secondary meaning were suggested here. Furthermore, who is to say that he wrote capital

T's in his original MS. now lost? One thing is certain, he wrote Triplex Tau—not Duplex Tau. The capitals referred to appeared fifty years later in the 1679 *Baconiana,* published by Tenison.

As far as I can see the only reason that attention has been drawn in this article to TT is that two T's are in some way connected with Masonry and also with a crudely scratched TT between the feet of the Shakespeare monument in Westminster Abbey, erected in the 18th Century. Another argument put forward is that TT appears as the signature to the Dedication of the first edition of Shake-Speare's Sonnets 1609, but no mention is made that TT also appears in the imprint below the printed title of this edition, as follows:—

AT LONDON
By J. Eld for TT and are to be solde by
John Wright dwelling at Christ Church Gate
1609

In the Stationers Hall Register TT is listed as Thomas Thorpe and I see no reason to doubt the authenticity of this entry.

This same device of using initials (a most common practice) was used by Tenison in his *Baconiana* of 1679, the book in which Bacon's *Abecedarium Naturae* first appeared. It is this work which contains the Inquisition 67 referred to by the writer of the article. After a long preliminary introduction Thomas Tenison signs his book " TT novemb 30 1678 ".

Finally, may I suggest an interesting experiment for the Reader? Look at Scene 2, Act 5, of *Love's Labours lost* in modern editions, or the 2nd Actus Quartus of the Folio Edition, 1623, and read Berowne's (or Biron's) speech beginning " This fellow pickes up wit as Pigeons pease ". Look at the initial letters of lines ten to eighteen and you will see, yet again, Bacon's insistence on *Triple T* which, in his alphabet, so clearly shown in his *Abecedarium Naturae,* he went out of his way to number 67, the count of his Christian name Francis. The initial letters of these lines read " T T T I A M T T T ". Could Bacon have made it much clearer?

The anonymous Author of *The Sixty Seventh Inquisition*
February, 1973

Our reviewer writes:—

My reference to *The 67th Inquisition* in the review of Christopher Butler's *Number Symbolism,* was made to encourage readers to study both works, because of their importance to cipher students. The writer of the letter above makes a characteristically forceful criticism of my allusion to T T, but I must stress — and I had hoped this was clear — that the description by the author of *The 67th Inquisition* of the use made by Francis Bacon of the Triple Tau, or T T T, is of the utmost significance. Indeed, the study of Bacon's ciphers has been transformed by this remarkable book, which has not received the publicity it deserves.

This being understood, perhaps I may add that it is generally accepted that Bacon was connected with, and may have revived, freemasonry. His acquaintance with Rosicrucianism is well known to your readers*, and the mystical element in his writings — acknowledged or unacknowledged — is unchallengeable. Now the letters T T, I am informed by Masons, stand for the Thirty-Third Degree, and are linked by mystics with the Temple to form The Trinity. The word "Temples" is specifically picked out by the author of *The 67th Inquisition* in the course of his cipher interpretation of a squared passage in the Dedication to the Sonnets (page 67). Of course he is entitled to his opinion that T T is without significance, except as a signature by Thomas Thorpe, but is he so sure, for instance, that the dating 1609 in the first edition of Shake-speare's Sonnets, is not also a blind?

Nevertheless, once again, I urge readers to ponder Bacon's insistence on Triple T, and not to be distracted by this note.

To the Editor,
Baconiana.

Dear Sir,—Occasionally Shakespeare would make a mistake. In *Richard II,* 1, 1, we have the following lines:—

> Since the more clear and crystal is the sky
> The uglier seem the clouds that in it fly.

**cf. The Rosicrucian Enlightenment,* by Francis A. Yates, 1973, pages 121, 125 ff.

This is, of course, nonsense. There are no ugly clouds in a clear and crystal sky. Moreover, as a sky becomes clearer and more crystal the fleecy little clouds become lovelier. Why then did Shakespeare say " uglier "? Could it be that as he penned the lines his mind was occupied with little olouds in an otherwise perfect gemstone, and in transposing the metaphor he neglected to check the sense — and got it all wrong?

Dr. Melsome discussed the derivation,* and pointed out that the idea comes from *Ecclesiastes*, X, 1.

> Dead flies cause to stinke and putrifie the ointment of the apoticarie: so doeth a little folie him that is in estimation for wisdom and for glorie. (Geneva Bible).

Bacon was fond of comparing a noble character to a costly jewel, and little human weaknesses to tiny flaws in such a jewel Thus:—

> But as in the fairest crystal every little gram or little cloud catches and displeases the eye which in a duller stone would scarcely be noticed. *De Augmentis*, 1623.

The quotation from *Richard II*, as given by Dr. Melsome, is:—

> Now, Thomas Mowbray, do I turn to thee . . . Thou art a traitor and a miscreant, too good to be so and too bad to live. Since the more fair and crystal is the sky, the uglier seem the clouds that in it fly.

Mowbray was a nobleman of excellent character who was taken prisoner whilst defending his lawful king. He was the " clear and crystal sky ". But Bolingbroke, the usurper, was at pains to point out his faults, and to do so transposes Bacon's metaphor with unexpected effect! The quotation from *De Augmentis* was not published till seven years after Shakespeare's death. Dr. Melsome seems not to have noticed Shakespeare's blunder!

I suggest that the Stratford faction cannot possibly know what the passage is all about.

GEO. H. SMITH

**Bacon-Shakespeare Anatomy.*

The Editor,
Baconiana.

Dear Sir,—If we look into Shakespearean commentary before the question of the authorship of the plays and poems assumed importance, it will be found that, in general, the writers credit Shakespeare with a wide range of knowledge such as no orthodox men-of-letters would dare to admit today for fear of confirming the truth of the disclosures made by Baconians and others who oppose the Stratford tradition. The Preface to *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers* by Henry Green, M.A., published in 1870 is a notable example:

> Shakespeare possessed great artistic powers so as to appreciate and graphically describe the beauties and qualities of excellence in printing, sculpture and music. His attainments, too, in the languages enabled him to make use of the Emblem books that had been published in Latin, Italian and French, and possibly Spanish.
>
> In everything, except in the actual pictorial, Shakespeare exhibited himself as a skilled designer — indeed a writer of Emblems; he followed the very methods on which this species of literary composition was conducted, and needed only the engraver's aid to make perfect designs.

About the same year, Mary Cowden Clarke became occupied with the immense work of compiling her Concordance to the Plays. In her Preface, published in 1879, she proclaimed Shakespeare as " the most universal genius that ever lived." Her years of work had, as she wrote, found him to be the *Divine*, the *Astronomer*, the *Naturalist*, the *Lawyer*, the *Botanist*, the *Philosopher*, the *Musician*, the *Painter*, the *Orator*, the *Humanist* — all of which were attributes of Bacon. Mary Cowden Clarke found the Plays to be a "A rich mine of intellectual treasure ". Substitute " mind " for " mine " and it fits Bacon admirably!

R. L. EAGLE

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