

tion. Hence arose his masks and methods of mystery. His great anxiety was to get his thoughts accepted by the public without intruding his own personality, and to put them into the minds of his readers *by anticipation* through lively examples, or, to use his own words, 'ut exempla proponantur inquirendi et inveniendi secundum nostram rationem ac viam'; and this anxiety made him put on masks and adopt many shifty and secretive methods with printers, publishers, and trusted friends, so as to gain a hearing. I believe Bacon adopted this method in the four parts of 'Wit's Commonwealth,' and when they had so served his purpose he tried to suppress them. This may account for their rarity, and for that excision or suppression of prefatory addresses which is a singular feature of more than one of these productions.

Indeed, Bacon tells us plainly of his habit of suppressing his books when they had served their purpose, for we have a letter of his to his great friend Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, where he says of the 'Cogitata et Visa,' which he was then forwarding to the Bishop:—

'I hasten not to publish; perishing I would prevent. These miscellanies I purpose to suppress if God give me leave to write a just and

perfect volume of philosophy, which I go on with slowly.'

These miscellanies ('*Cogitata et Visa*') did not make their appearance *in print* till some years after Bacon's death, and then, in 1653, Gruter published them abroad. But he suppressed certain passages, according to the author's written instructions, and the world would never have known what these passages contained unless a complete manuscript of the '*Cogitata et Visa*,' with corrections in Bacon's own hand, had been discovered, in 1857, in the library of Queen's College, Oxford.

The missing parts were now found to refer to certain Tables of Discovery ('*Tabulæ Inveniendi*') which Bacon had kept back, or, at least, not acknowledged to be his, although, as he says, his friends tempted him 'to secure immediate personal fame in connection with them,' and he adds: 'They are the most useful forms of inquiry that can be employed in the ascertainment of truth.'

It seems pretty clear, from the description that Bacon gives of these '*Tabulæ*,' that he is referring to literary matter connected with the fourth part of his '*Instauratio Magna*,' known as the '*Scala Intellectus*,' which was designed for an inquiry into facts of a mental and moral nature, just as

the third part, the 'Phænomena Universi,' or the 'Alphabet of the Universe,' had been occupied with natural science. In this third part, the 'Sylva Sylvarum,' with its ten centuries of distinct paragraphs, represented the author's collections for this particular branch, but for the fourth part of the 'Instauratio' Bacon apparently left nothing published with his name; indeed, Spedding says, 'of the fourth part not even any fragment has come down to us.'

Now, in accordance with my suggestion, I think that in John Bodenham's works, and in the other works done in collaboration with him by Meres, and also, perhaps, by Anthony Bacon, we have that self-same 'lively and visible' instruction which Francis Bacon thought, in his earlier musings, would prepare the ground for his 'Instauratio' of the mental and moral sciences, just as his 'Sylva Sylvarum' was to prepare the ground for his great interpretation of physical nature.

The instruction of the intellect was to come step by step by means of history and poetry, and by help of collections of similitudes, examples, and wise sentences, and this was the very kind of literary work that John Bodenham patronized and carried out; for besides the series of 'Wit's Commonwealth' we have those rare and famous

books 'England's Helicon' and 'The Garden of the Muses' from this same mysterious author.

Now, since John Bodenham cannot be anywhere clearly traced in the flesh, I think one is justified in saying that the person under the mask of John Bodenham could hardly be anyone else but Francis Bacon.

I would also suggest that, not long after the great idea of Bacon's life had begun to form itself in his mind, he began gradually to think that dramatic representations could be also made very useful in putting forth the 'truth' as to ethics and politics visibly before the people, and thus almost imperceptibly be the means of removing the errors and idola that were so prevalent in this branch of human knowledge.

It does not appear that this thought had so much influence on the composition of the earlier Shakespeare plays, though there are traces of this purpose there also; but I hold it highly probable that in such plays as 'King Lear,' 'Macbeth,' 'Othello,' 'The Tempest,' 'Coriolanus,' and 'Timon,' the author intentionally constructed or revised them with a view to be lively representations and 'visible pictures of invention' which should pave the way for the peaceful acceptance of his great idea—an idea that em-

braced human passions and ethics and politics as well as the vast domain of the natural sciences.

Bacon's idea was a magnificent one, and the methods he used in the 'Novum Organum' and the 'Magna Instauration' were on an equally grand scale, but as Professor Fowler aptly says: 'Bacon overstretched the sphere of his method.' He thought it would apply to ethics as well as physics, and he proposed to construct tables of Anger, Hatred, Fear, Love, etc., which he thought would be instruments of discovery equally as valid and valuable as tables of Density, Heat, Cold, etc., in the physical sphere. But he was quite mistaken on this point, and perhaps the discovery of his failure here had something to do with his keeping the secret of his Bodenham series so very strictly, and may have also induced him to leave instructions with his executors not to reveal certain passages in his manuscripts. An order which Gruter obeyed.

But before I sum up my views on these 'Tabulæ Inveniendi,' which Bacon seemed to consider of such great importance and so useful for introducing his philosophical schemes to the world, it is best to let the reader hear what Bacon *did* say in his 'Cogitata et Visa' concerning these 'Tabulæ,' and also what Gruter and Bacon's executors felt

justified in keeping back from the public. After saying that the scheme he was planning was 'a practical undertaking of a great and far-reaching benefit to mankind,' Bacon added that it was important to find out how best to communicate it to the world without raising opposition. And now comes his project :—

'So he thought best, after long considering the subject and weighing it carefully, first of all to prepare "Tabulæ Inveniendi," or brief forms of properly-directed investigation concerning certain subjects ; and that these should be laid before the public as a series of examples, and as, in a manner, a visible delineation or bird's-eye view of the matter in hand.'*

Now we come to the portion withheld from publication, and discovered about the year 1857 in a manuscript at Queen's College, Oxford, of whose genuineness there could be no doubt, as it had corrections in Bacon's own hand.

'But when these "Tabulæ" have been presented to the public and viewed, he [Bacon] has no doubt there will arise a certain hesitation in the less

* 'Atque diu et acriter rem cogitanti et perpendenti, ante omnia visum est ei, "Tabulas Inveniendi," sive legitimæ Inquisitionis formulas in aliquibus subjectis, proponi tanquam ad exemplum, et operis descriptionem fere visibilem.'

daring intellects, amounting almost to a despair of the possibility of doing similar work in other subjects; and so the keen interest they bestow upon the subject-matter or example put before them makes them miss the useful lessons intended. But still he thinks that the desires of a great many would be aroused with a view of finding out the final purport of the "Tabulæ" and the key of their interpretation, and all the more eagerly on account of the new view of Nature, in some respects, which this key opens. But his intention is neither to yield to his own personal inclination nor yet to the earnest request of others, but acting in the best interests of his project, he thinks it best, after having, with the assistance of others, given forth his "Tabulæ," to hold back the rest of his plans, until his popular treatise is published.'

He ends thus (which Gruter does not suppress):—

'Finally it has seemed to him, that if any good be found in what has been or shall be set forth, it should be dedicated as the fat of the sacrifice to God, and to men in God's likeness who procure the welfare of mankind by a healthy regard for their interests and a universal love for the race [*charitas*].'

This ending certainly reminds me strongly of the *finis* or back-door of the last of the Bodenheim series, viz., the 'Palladis Palatium,' which

is printed boldly thus : *NASCIMUR IN COMMUNE BONUM.*

But do these 'Tabulæ Inveniendi,' on which Bacon set such a high value as useful popular helps to further his great plans—do they refer to the Bodenham series of similitudes, examples, and precepts, or to the immortal plays, where the finest similes, examples, characters, and precepts, were presented visibly to the public that the world had ever seen ?

This is a question which must occur to all who have read the previous evidence that has been gathered from different parts of Bacon's works, and have also read the curiously worded remarks which were suppressed by Gruter and Bacon's executors and lost to us for so many years. The more this question is examined, the harder it seems to decide definitely for the Bodenham book or the plays. My own view is that Bacon's new philosophical ideas as finally developed in the 'Novum Organum' and the 'Instauratio' were sketched to some degree in his mind at a much earlier date than is usually supposed. He began, I think, to gather the literary material of the Bodenham series methodically into his note-books, under those heads of Ambition, Anger, Bounty, Content, Deceit, Envy, and numerous other

qualities of human nature, which appear in the tables at the end of each volume of the series. He began early, and had several helpers in the work—Meres, Nicholas Ling, his brother Anthony, and possibly Robert Allot.

‘Politeuphuia, or Wit’s Commonwealth,’ had the greatest success and ran through many editions, and was greatly used as a school-book, which would suit Bacon’s plan of quietly gaining the attention of the people and the next generation. But after this excellent start the series seemed less acceptable : editions are very few and copies very rare ; prefaces and dedications are missing from the vestibule, and it looks as if the books were suppressed or called in.

Shortly after this were written that wonderful series of plays in which the passions and virtues and varieties of human nature are so masterfully delineated, and placed so clearly before the eyes and intellects of the spectators. They appear just at that period of Bacon’s life when his new philosophy was nearly ready for the press, they all revolve round some great human attribute or passion, the moral is finely pointed, and the tale beautifully adorned, with a view, as it would seem, of enticing the spectators to come without opposition or contention to that habit of mind

which Bacon thought a prerequisite for the acceptance of his philosophical ideas. The early plays, such as 'Love's Labour's Lost' and 'The Two Gentlemen of Verona,' show little of the moral or philosophical purpose.

So the conclusion I arrive at is that Bacon's first 'Tabulæ Inveniendi,' or silent pioneers of his great philosophical plans of middle and later life, were contained in the Bodenham books, of which he was the leading spirit and prime mover, helped, as usual, by 'instruments' and himself under a mask. That later on he came to the conclusion that stage plays and dramas of human passion were better pioneers for his aims, and afforded more effective and more living 'Tabulæ' for his great purpose. But he wished all these pioneers to be silent ones, and above all he abhorred the contention, opposition, and envy, which would have been aroused if his name had come openly before the public, and so throughout all Bacon thought more of the quietly gained success of his undertaking than of his own name and fame. Indeed, he died without any sign as to Bodenham, or to Shakespeare, or to any other mask or instrument of his, partly, no doubt, because, as he himself tells us, a man's fame came best after his death, and partly because,

as far as the plays and poems of some of his masks were concerned, it was better for his own name and fame that the masks should not be removed until at least some generations had passed away. Hence his instructions to his executors, and hence Gruter's omissions.

But perhaps the most interesting part of the suppressed passages is that wherein Bacon speaks of having colleagues or co-workers in his great plan. The Latin is 'Tabulis cum aliquibus communicatis,' and whether we take the 'Tabulæ' to be the Bodenham series of pioneer books or the immortal plays, in either case we have the confession that Bacon did not work absolutely alone, but that his secret plan was confided to and shared by some co-workers. In the first case it would be his brother Anthony, Nicholas Ling, the publisher, and Francis Meres, who was certainly responsible for the greater part of the second Bodenham book, the 'Palladis Tamia,' because the greater part of the extracts in it were taken from a Spanish spiritual mystic, whom Meres had translated into English previously, and had frequently praised. And, besides, we may be sure that Bacon was *not* responsible for all the Bodenham books, because his brother Anthony, who, as I contend, was the 'A. B.' of the sonnet in the

vestibule of 'England's Helicon,' never mentions the 'Palladis Tamia' among the works which 'his loving kind friend Master John Bodenham' had produced.

So all this admirably agrees with Bacon's tacit admission that he had workers privy to his secret. If by the 'Tabulæ' of the suppressed passages the immortal plays are meant, then again we have the admission that he either worked in co-operation with certain writers or had masks who shared his secrets and fathered his productions, and this we now know is also true.

But Bacon's hope of making either the Bodenham stores or the immortal plays useful aids to the reception of his philosophical projects failed altogether of its desired consummation.

In the 'De Augmentis,' Book VI., chap. ii., Bacon deals with the methods of teaching and transmitting useful knowledge.

There are different methods which he touches upon in order, and especially notices, as 'of great consequence to science,' the method of delivery of knowledge in aphorisms.

His last method is in accordance with his favourite scheme of not creating opposition in men's minds by trying to force upon them new and strange assertions. The much better

plan is to regulate the teaching 'according to the informations and anticipations already infused and impressed on their minds.'

'For it is a rule,' he ends, 'in the art of transmission, that all knowledge which is not agreeable to anticipations or presuppositions must seek assistance from similitudes and comparisons.'

Now, this special Baconian plan is carried out as fully as possible in the four parts of 'Wit's Commonwealth.' There is not a single *argument* of any kind throughout the whole series, and all who have studied Bacon's works and letters know well how utterly repugnant to him was the thought of anything like *contention* in the work of that reform which he had so much at heart. This characteristic, then, of the Bodenham series is, I think, strong evidence in Bacon's favour, apart from other internal and external evidences given elsewhere. For this dislike of contention and opposition was one of the leading features of Bacon's personal character, and, as I have already said, he often used to refer with approbation to the saying of Pope Alexander about Charles VIII.'s bloodless invasion of Italy, where the conqueror came with chalk in his hands to mark up lodgings, but not with weapons to break in.

The idea of the fourth part of the 'Magna

Instauratio' was grand and comprehensive, but was found to be a failure as far as certainty of result was concerned. The uniformity of Nature does not hold good in the same degree in the moral world as in the physical world. The freedom of the human will is an element that cannot be ignored in the moral problem, and Bacon's method virtually did ignore it; and consequently Pallas, though she had sprung fully armed from the head of Jove himself, could give nothing either from her store-cupboard or from her royal mansion that was absolutely perfect and unchangeable.

But enough has been said to show that the literary matter of the mysterious Pallas-Bodenham books is exactly in accordance with what we should expect from Bacon. And there is yet one more piece of evidence which seems to me to point to the likelihood of such a moral or ethical purpose being intended by Bacon in his immortal dramas. It is this:—Sir Philip Sidney, whose reputation was so high with Bacon and all his great contemporaries, had worked out his famous 'Arcadia' on this very plan. Bacon would doubtless be privileged to see the 'Arcadia' in manuscript, but in any case he would see the romance sooner or later, and we may be sure he

would be impressed by it. Now, Sidney, according to his friend Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, had the highest moral and political purposes in writing his 'Arcadia.'

'In all these creatures of his making, his interest and scope was to turn the barren philosophy precepts into pregnant images of life; and in them, first on the monarch's part, lively to represent the growth, state, and declination of princes, changes of government and lawes. . . . Then again in the subjects, the state of favour, disfavour, prosperitie, adversity . . . and all other moodes of private fortunes or misfortunes, in which traverses, I know, his purpose was to limn out such exact pictures of every posture in the minde, that any man might see how to set a good countenance upon all the discountenances of adversitie!'

We know, too, that Francis Bacon and Fulke Greville were great friends and frequent correspondents; how next to impossible it is to imagine that this great subject would never be mentioned between them!

Nor is this by any means all that can be said. It can be well shown from Bacon's first great philosophic work, written when he was over forty,

* 'Life of Sidney,' London, 1652, p. 18.

that by that time he had begun to feel that lively dramatic images were much more powerful incitements to practical effort than mere collections of examples such as were the Bodenham books. He says ('Advancement of Learning,' Book II.),—

'It hath much greater life for practice when the discourse contendeth upon the example, than when the example attendeth upon the discourse. . . . For when the example is the ground, being set down in a history at large, it is set down with all circumstances, which may sometimes control the discourse thereupon made, and sometimes supply it as a very pattern for action; whereas the examples alleged for the discourse's sake, are cited succinctly, and without particularity, and carry a servile aspect toward the discourse which they are brought in to make good.'

Now, this obviously means that Bacon thought that, if you want to impress upon your fellow-men the principles and effects of any great human passion, such as, for instance, *jealousy*, then to put before them on the stage, with all its circumstances and details, the tragedy of 'Othello' is a far more powerful means than to write an elaborate discourse or essay on Jealousy, and illustrate by numerous historical examples in the notes or text, or even to make an alphabet of the passions, as

was done in most of the Bodenham books, where the tables at the end are all strictly divided according to the letters of the alphabet.

Nor is this the only reference by many. In the same book he lays special stress on 'a notable example in Tacitus of two stage-players, Percennius and Vibulenus, who by their faculty of playing put the Pannonian armies into an extreme tumult and combustion.' It appears there had arisen among the soldiers a mutinous feeling against Blæsus, one of the commanding officers, and that these two ex-actors, getting an opportunity to address the men, concocted together a feigned tragic and pathetic incident calculated to throw odium on Blæsus, and acted it so well in 'lively image' that it moved the army in a way no discourse or address could possibly have done. And the same views concerning the lively representations of history and the passions occur in Bacon's later philosophical works. Perhaps in his more youthful days he may have written 'conceited' plays to please the bent of his own genius, but I feel convinced that in the later period, which produced 'Lear,' 'Macbeth' and 'Coriolanus,' Francis Bacon wrote with 'a purpose' as well, viz., that his own great views might gradually be instilled into the thoughts of men, and

his great work thus quietly furthered without the envy, publicity, and opposition, which he knew to be so terrible a hindrance to it. An anonymous man or a mask can raise no private odium or scandal. This is certainly *one* of the reasons Bacon was a concealed poet and dramatist. All the Bodenham books end with an alphabet—that is, the passions of our human nature are arranged under the letters of the alphabet. It might be supposed that when Bacon, in writing to his dear friend Toby Matthew, referred to certain ‘works of the alphabet’ which he was sending to Toby for his private reading, he was really referring to some of the Bodenham books under that name. I do not think so myself, and Rawley in his ‘Life of Bacon’ tells us of ‘an Abecedarium Naturæ, a metaphysical piece which is lost.’ This would be a more likely book.

But surely I need not insist further or endeavour to pursue less certain pieces of evidence. I hold that I have given many sufficient reasons for supposing that Bacon had a considerable share in the patronage and production of the Bodenham books.

CHAPTER XV

'ENGLAND'S PARNASSUS' AND ROBERT ALLOTT

I MUST not leave John Bodenham and his peculiar series of semi-educational books, with such remarkable vestibules, without saying somewhat of 'England's Parnassus,' that valuable 'collection of choice flowers and descriptions,' as Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, calls it.

It is a book running on the same lines as the 'Belvedere, or Garden of the Muses—I.,' was published in the same year (1600), and seems to proceed from the same publishers. I think I have given valid proof that 'Belvedere' was due to the help and patronage of Francis Bacon, but I cannot attribute the somewhat similar 'England's Parnassus' to the same illustrious author with anything like the same confidence, because A. B., or Anthony Bacon, does not include this work among the other Bodenham books commemorated by him in the vestibule of 'England's Helicon,' as already

quoted. Therefore it looks as if 'England's Parnassus' was a compilation of poetical extracts by another hand—a choice posy plucked and arranged somewhat as 'Belvedere' and the prose collections of Master John Bodenham were, but plucked independently of them. The man who has the credit for gathering them is R. A., who signs the two dedicatory sonnets in the vestibule. And this R. A., as we are told on the authority of a preface to Hayward's 'British Muse,' 1738, believed to have been written by Oldys, was in one or two of the copies printed in full—R. Allot.*

Now, this rather mysterious personage being heretofore connected with one at least of the Bodenham publications, and now so prominently set forth in 'England's Parnassus,' where he

* This naturally calls to mind the same kind of literary artifice which was used *by the same man* in the third Bodenham book, entitled 'Wit's Theater of the Little World.' Here nearly all copies of the address to Master J. B. in the preface are unsigned, but in one copy the name of Robert Allot is introduced in print at the foot of the address. This introduction of a name, and the same name, in two cases in two following years, as an after-thought, printed only in the few copies that had not yet, perhaps, left the publishers, looks certainly as if designed for some purpose of concealment or deception.

occupies the whole vestibule to himself, leads us naturally to inquire whether this latter book may not come from the same source as the 'Belvedere' and 'England's Helicon,' although Anthony Bacon omitted to mention it in his poetical list of Bodenham's productions.

'England's Parnassus' is not unworthy of such an origin, as far as we may judge from its contents. Though critics were unable to say anything about the supposed author, they had high praises for the work itself. Mr. Warton, an excellent judge, thought the extracts were made 'with a degree of taste,' and Sir Egerton Brydges considered the selection as 'very curious and valuable.' That it is 'valuable' is undoubted, for it has preserved several fine pieces of verse which would have otherwise been totally lost, one being that very fine fragment attributed to Christopher Marlowe, beginning :—

'I walked along a stream for pureness rare.'

And other extracts were 'valuable' since they had their author's name attached to them, and thus enabled critics to discover the author of the play or poem from which they were taken, who had in some cases been quite unknown, as the play was published anonymously. The author of

'England's Parnassus' is also thought to have had access to unpublished or manuscript sources, for several of his extracts are nowhere to be found in the extant literature of the Elizabethan age. Anyhow, it did not deserve the harsh remarks which it had to share with Bodenham's 'Belvedere' when the clever academic author of the 'Returne from Parnassus' (*circa* 1601) stigmatized both works as English 'Flores Poetarum' 'which have been filched from the nest of crows and kestrels.' Be that as it may, the dedication and the other poem of the vestibule were not 'filched'; they clearly had never appeared before, and, as they are perhaps in a Baconian vestibule, I will reproduce them.

'England's Parnassus' was dedicated to the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Mounson, Knight.

Now, we find that Sir Thomas was a member of Gray's Inn in Francis Bacon's time, being admitted in January, 1583, when he was eighteen, or about four years younger than Francis. This Sir Thomas Mounson was a gentleman belonging to the Court, being Master of the Armoury and Master Falconer to the King, and created a Baronet in 1611. He was twice tried as accessory before the fact in the case of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. Coke declared him guilty on the evidence, but for some reason the King remanded him for a time, and on

his second trial he was freed from the charge mainly through Bacon.

This does not look unpromising for a beginning, for Bacon was throughout his life much attached to Gray's Inn and to such men as were known to him through their connection with that ancient foundation.

But we will read what R. A. (apparently a literary hack, who afterwards, it seems, became a stationer) has to say to Sir Thomas about the present book :—

'English Mæcenas! Bounties elder brother!
 The spreading wing whereby my fortune flies:
 Unto thy wit and vertues, and none other,
 I consecrate these sacred Poesies:
 Which whilst they live (as they must live for ever),
 Shall give thy honour life, and let men know
 That those to succour vertue who perseuer,
 Shall conquer Time and Læthes overflow.
 I pick'd these flowers of learning from their stem,
 Whose heavenly wits and golden pens have chac'd
 Dull Ignorance, that long affronted them;
 In view of whose great glories thou art plac'd,
 That whilst their wisdoms in these writings flourish,
 Thy fame may live, whose wealth doth wisdom norish.
 'Your Worships humbly at commaund,
 'R. A.'

R. A.'s second attempt is still better, and is addressed :—

'TO THE READER.

'I hang no ivie out to sell my wine,
 The nectar of good witts will sell it selfe ;
 I feare not what Detraction can define,
 I saile secure from Envies storme or shelve :
 I set my picture out to each man's vewe,
 Limd with these colours, and so cunning arts,
 That, like the Phœnix, will their age renewe,
 And conquer Envie by their good desarts.
 If any cobler carpe above his shoo,
 I rather pitie then repine his action ;
 For Ignorance stil maketh much adoo,
 And Wisdom loves that, which offends detraction.
 Go fearles forth, my booke ! hate cannot harm thee,
 Apollo bred thee, and the Muses arm thee.

'R. A.'

Surely these are too good for an unnoticed man like Allot, who seems to have made no mark in literary annals, and eventually appears to have settled down as a plain business-like stationer.

We are reminded of another stationer or publisher who, in Bodenham's 'England's Helicon,' addressed a high-born lady in equally fine, if not finer, verses, and ended them by 'Your honour's ever to command, Richard More.' I feel sure that More never wrote *them*, and it strikes me as quite possible that Allot never wrote these ; but the evidence is far less cogent. However, it is well to hear all we know about this editor and collector

of such a notable Elizabethan repertory of good poetry as we are now considering. I have called him editor and *collector* advisedly, because most, if not all, who mention R. A. speak of him as editor only, whereas he tells Sir Thomas Mounson plainly that he collected them :

'I pick'd these flowers of learning from their stem.'

All we can say for certain about this R. Allott is that he was a minor poet mainly connected with the stationers and publishers, and most likely a London man by birth and residence. Apart from the productions to which his name was rather suspiciously appended in the Bodenham books and 'England's Parnassus,' we have very little indeed from him. Neither Oldys nor Warton recognised him as an author, and his remains consist of little more than two sonnets prefixed to Markham's 'Devereux' (1597), and another sonnet and a copy of Latin hexameters before Middleton's 'Legend of Duke Humphrey' (1600); and he seems nearly always to appear in books published by Nicholas Ling. So we may, I think, infer that he had friendly or business relations with that publisher specially, and would supply him with a copy of occasional verses, if required. His Latin attempt would point to a man of some culture and

education, and, indeed, there was a Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, of that same name about the year 1596. There is also an Alderman Allott mentioned in 1582 and 1584 in the Stationers' registers, and in 1597 John Allott is referred to as Lord Mayor. This may have been Robert's father or some relation.

The next piece of information is that a Robert Allot took his freedom (as a Stationer) on November 7, 1625. There is no proof or evidence that this was the man already mentioned; but it does not seem unlikely, although he must in this case have taken his freedom and become a Stationer at a period considerably beyond the usual age. However, on December 4, 1626, just before Bacon's death, there was assigned to him from Master Budge, 'The Sorrowful Soul's Solace,' and some other books originally published by Francis Burton.

I have recently traced the history of the Robert Allot, who was Fellow (1596) of John's, more accurately, and it is evident that he was not the man we are in quest of; for this Johnian was a college Don in residence later than 1626, when our R. A. had taken his freedom as a Stationer, and was transferring books to himself from other stationers.

Robert Allott was admitted Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, on March 30, 1599, and is described in a footnote as 'Medicinæ professor longè experientissimus ac peritissimus (e notis Joan Bois). Cf. Peck. 'Desiderata Curiosa,' lib. viii., p. 54, § 14.

In 1624 he was one of the senior fellows, standing second in order of precedence. Between 1624 and 1642 he is mentioned several times as fellow and tutor. His burial is noted in All Saints' register on September 30, 1642. So he and Robert Allott the stationer are clearly different men.

I have in my library a very creditable piece of work, due to the business capabilities of Allott, the publisher. It is a copy of Hakewell's 'Apologie,' dated 1630, with a finely-engraved frontispiece by Cecill, on which appears:—
'London. Printed for Robert Allott at the Beare in Paules Churchyard.'

A few years before this, Edward Blunt hailed from the 'Black Beare in Paules Churchyard.' It looks as if Blunt, Allott, Ling, Thorpe (T. T.), and perhaps Markham (I. M.), were all workers together in literary ventures, and in some way occasionally procured access to Bacon's manuscripts.

The following lines are printed on a blank page after the 'Finis' of 'England's Parnassus' (1600):—

'Fame's windy trump blew up this haughty mind
 To do, or wish to do what here you find :
 'Twas ne'er held error yet in errant knights ;
 Which privilege he claims to dress their fights
 In high hyperboles : for youth's example
 To make their minds, as they grow men, grow ample.
 Thus such achievements are essay'd and done,
 As pass the common power and sense of man.
 Then let high spirits strive to imitate,
 Not what he did, but what he doth relate.'

This page is found in only one or two copies of the book, and there has been a suggestion made that it is a leaf inserted by a binder's error, and really belongs to another book. However, no one has yet discovered 'another book' with these same lines in it.

I believe the connection between this 'England's Parnassus' and the 'Belvedere' is closer than has been supposed. Since the latter has manifest signs in its vestibule of Bacon's influence and patronage, our interest in the authorship of 'England's Parnassus' is naturally much increased. The books were published, as we know, in the same year (1600), and on a very similar plan, the extracts in both cases also being ranged under certain heads of a similar kind, as, for instance, Love, Ambition, and other mental and moral qualities, and such general heads as Women, War,

etc. Now, as we know that this plan was most probably due, in the case of 'Belvedere,' to the philosophical and philanthropical ideas of Francis Bacon, we may surely reasonably infer that no other man was so likely to produce another book of collected verse in the same year, on the same plan, as was Francis Bacon, the contriver and patron of the other. And if it be answered that we have already an author for it, viz., Robert Allott, it may be replied that this very name points towards Bacon rather than away from him; for this is the very man who had allowed his name to be inserted in certain copies, or in one copy at any rate, of the third book of the Bodenham series, entitled 'Wit's Theater of the Little World' (1599), and this book was undoubtedly connected with Maister John Bodenham: for A. B., or Anthony Bacon, the editor of 'England's Helicon,' tells us this in the vestibule of his book. Moreover, these two books, composed of extracts from various poets, or 'Flores Poetarum,' as they were called, do not clash one with another, as they would be so likely to do if two independent minds selected suitable illustrative extracts without any collaboration. There is virtually no repetition in the various extracts given to the public in 1600 in the two books 'Belvedere' and 'England's Par-

nassus,' and so we may fairly conclude that they do not come from independent pens, but from one and the same compiler—in all probability Francis Bacon himself, who in the year 1600 thus emptied his various note-books and manuscript collections of poetry, and committed them to the press. And that Bacon had note-books and did take interest in poetry is evident enough from his 'Promus' and other memoranda referred to by Spedding, and from what Sir Thomas Bodley said of Bacon's earlier days—that he had wasted much time on 'toys and such poetical pursuits. In any case, these ten lines written about 'this haughty mind,' and so curiously preserved on the blank leaf of a book of which there is a reasonable probability that it was given to the public under Bacon's patronage, cannot fail to be of interest to students of the Baconian theory, and the fact that so many copies are without this particular page points again to Baconian methods of secrecy and suppression which we meet with in other works connected with this illustrious man.

To sum up, I allow that I have not been able to throw much more light on the dark personality of R. A., whom, I am inclined to think, was *not* the stationer Robert Allott; for I cannot think it probable that there should be a lapse of twenty-

five to thirty years between the writing of the poems in the Bodenham series and the taking of the freedom of the Stationers' Company. I think it more likely that R. A. stood for someone else, and that Robert Allott the stationer, getting the books, or some of them, in his stock, printed his name in full in the blank space of the vestibule in the few copies he had; for in the single instance I have examined the type used seems different, and could easily have been inserted some time after the book had been published.

I also believe that Nicholas Ling did help Bodenham in these collections, for some passages from the two anthologies are taken from 'The Epistle of Lady Jane Gray to Dudley' (1599), and this was one of Ling's books, just published by him, and handy to get at or refer to on his shelves.

But putting aside these minor details of Allott and Ling as too much matters of conjecture, I hold that I have given strong reasons for supposing that it was Francis Bacon who had taken the chief part in this laborious work of the Bodenham series, and will conclude with some words of his own, in which Bacon seems almost to confess the facts which I have been trying to establish:—

'I often advisedly and deliberately throw aside the dignity of my name and wit (if such thing be) in my endeavour to advance human interests ; and being one that should properly perhaps be an architect in philosophy and the sciences, I turn common labourer, hodman, anything that is wanted, taking upon myself the burden and execution of many things which must needs be done, and which others though an inborn pride, shrink from and decline' ('De Augmentis,' VII. : Works, vol. v., p. 4).

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