and unless these autograph MSS. had been preserved and discovered, we should never have been sure that these parts of the Device were of his work and not by Essex.

Let us consider this important letter from Philautia to the Queen in Essex's Device of 1595 a little more in detail. Now at the very beginning of the letter or address we find that it is Pallas who is the real framer and originator of the advice to the Queen, and consequently Pallas stands for Bacon. Philautia depends upon him, and we may see in Bacon's marginal note for Essex's eye a semi-apology to the noble lord through the proverbial hint, *Frustra sapit qui sibimet sapit, i.e.* It is not always wisdom to trust to your own devices alone. Further on we are told of Pallas that when she resolveth doubtful points she puts her shield before her eyes, which rather reminds us of the thoughtful Francis sitting in his arm-chair and cogitating, with his uplifted arm supporting his head; *sic sedebat.* Then the allusion to the Goddess of Fools, Jupiter's fair daughter, by whom I suppose Venus is meant, is more in the vein of Bacon than it is of the classic Pallas who uses the slighting expression. Bacon was strongly of the opinion of Publius Syrus that *amare et sapere vix Deo conceditur*, or, as he puts it in his Essay *Of Love*, "It is impossible to love and be wise," and elsewhere frequently, as well as in the Sonnets and Plays. Then we are told that Pallas-Bacon "ever terms" her Majesty Queen Eliżabeth "the alone Queen," and that "it is a name of excellency and virginity." Again our thoughts go to that strange poem, *The Phœnix and the Turtle*, written and signed by William Shake-speare, where the best scholars are agreed that the Phœnix = Elizabeth and the Turtle = Essex, and we remember the Threnos:

> "Leaving no posterity—
> 'Twas not their infirmity,
> It was married chastity."

Also the bird, "On the *sole* Arabian Tree," and it looks as if Shake-speare might be the Pallas of the Essex Device. Moreover, the name Pallas was given ἀπὸ τὸ πάλλειν τὸ

δόρυ, that is, because she was wont to *shake* her *speare* as Servius the scholiast in *Æneid*, i. 43, tells us. She was produced from Jove's head, because Wit or Intellect comes from the head, and she presided over the arts because nothing excels wit or wisdom in the supreme rule of all the arts.

Thus Pallas, Bacon, and Shake-speare seem to be intimately connected with each other, and the easiest solution of the mystery is that they are all different names of one man. William Shake-speare first appears in *Venus and Adonis* (1593), and in *Lucrece* (1594), where Bacon shows his head. Pallas first appears in the Essex Device of 1595, where we know Bacon helped, but there was an earlier Essex Device in 1592, where Bacon also supplied speeches, and so Pallas may have appeared earlier and the account of her part in the proceedings may have been lost. Anyhow, we have not sufficient materials to decide whether the pseudonym Shake-speare was borrowed by Bacon from Shakspere the player, or from Pallas the spear-shaking Goddess of Wit, who was the representative of Bacon in early Devices prepared for the Queen. Which appellation was used first we cannot say, but we are justified, I think, in asserting that the remarkable fashion in which Pallas, Bacon, and Shake-speare are all mixed up and connected with the Devices of Essex, now known to be written by Bacon, and with the Poems and Plays attributed to William Shakspere, or Shacksper, of Stratford, all goes to prove that Pallas and Shake-speare were identical names for that one man Francis Bacon who showed "his head" in *Lucrece*, and gave us some peculiar autobiographical selections in *Shake-speares Sonnets*.

I do not think that Baconians are at all acquainted with this little piece of Pallas-Shake-speare evidence, but it is further borne out by some evidence that they know thoroughly, and that is in Ben Jonson's famous lines before the beginning of the first folio, where he speaks of the "well-tornèd and true-filèd lines" of the great poet:

> "In each of which he seems to shake a lance,
> As brandish'd at the eyes of ignorance."

Many Baconians also make much of certain printers' head-pieces in the first folio and elsewhere, in which they see Wisdom under a mask shaking a Lance at Ignorance.

Why Bacon should use the name of Shakespeare for the signature of the dedications of the first and second heirs of his invention, while his own name and cipher was so designedly inserted in the second heir, *Lucrece*, we can only explain by the reason that he wished to conceal his own personality, but yet to keep a proof in the poem itself that it was really his. He had to take some mask, and he took Shake-speare, which would stand for Pallas as well as the Stratford man. There is just a possibility that he did not think of Shakspere the player at all at first in 1591; but in 1597, when scandal and treason were being attached to his name, he may then have seen how useful an *instrument* the man William Shakespere would be, both by name and position, for the purpose of withdrawing attention from himself and fixing it on the Johannes Factotum of the stage plays. This surmise is helped by the fact that Bacon says in one of his Essays (XLVII.): "In choice of *Instruments* it is better to choose men of a plainer sort. . . . Use also such persons as affect the Business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much." *

Anyhow, the peculiar form Shake-speare appears very early. In one of the earliest known praises of Shake-speare the name has the strange and suggestive hyphen. *Lucrece* was entered at Stationers' Hall 9th May 1594, and Willobie's *Avisa* was entered 3rd Sept. 1594. So

* I may here say that this remark of Bacon seems a sufficient answer to what is called "the crucial question which Baconians habitually avoid." The orthodox party puts this boasted *crux* of theirs in the following terms: "How came it that Bacon, of mighty brain power and of universal knowledge, when seeking to conceal his prodigious authorship as a poet, chose for his counterfeit representative the ignorant William Shakespeare, whose weak pretence in the *rôle* would have at once been exposed and ridiculed? How is it possible to suppose that a man like Bacon could have been for a moment such a fool as thus to give himself away in public? Only a giant can wear giants' shoes. How therefore could Bacon have wrecked his own scheme by committing his shoes to the feet of the pigmy Shakespeare?" This is no *crux*. Shakespeare was just the *Instrument* for Bacon, and not such a pigmy after all.

this praise of Shake-speare must have been worked into the *Avisa* very shortly after *Lucrece* appeared. The inference is that the author of the *Avisa* was some one who took special interest in *Lucrece* and its author. What a pity he said so little. He signs himself *Contraria Contrariis Vigilantius: Dormitanus*, a possible key, but I can make nothing of it. I note, however, that A. M. (Anthony Munday ?) translated from the French in 1593 *The Defence of Contraries*, and A. M. was mixed up in literary prefaces and other matters with the Bacons. Was this early notice of Shake-speare from Anthony Munday? He would know about Pallas and Court Devices.

Moreover, Bacon tells us in his Essays that the "monstrous Fable" of Jove "being delivered of *Pallas Armed* out of his Head . . . containeth a Secret of *Empire;* how Kings are to make use of their Counsel of State." Now we know that Bacon when quite a young man in 1584–5, or at about the age of twenty-three, addressed a treatise to the Queen entitled *Advice to Queen Elizabeth*. This was taking the office of Pallas very early, and becoming one of the "Counsel of State" before being called to the office. This early work of Bacon's leads me to think that he assumed or received the appellation of *Pallas before* he adopted the literary disguise of *Shake-speare*, which is so nearly synonymous.

We have no evidence to show that Bacon would be brought into any public connection with Shaksper the player from Stratford much before the *Gesta Grayorum* of 1594, when the players gave a "Comedy of Errors" at Gray's Inn, and there was so much confusion and crowding of the audience upon the stage, that the grand performance turned out a great failure. Bacon was a leading spirit at this function, although his name as usual is singularly kept in the background, and allusion is only made to a certain "sorcerer * or conjurer that was supposed to be the cause of that confused inconvenience," who is taken to be Bacon. As *Venus and Adonis* was

* A side hit, perhaps, at Roger Bacon.

signed William Shakespeare in 1593, Bacon and Southampton, both members of Gray's Inn, would seem to have known the player before the *Gesta Grayorum* incident, and Bacon must have arranged in some way for the use of the player's name to cover such literary work as the rising lawyer of Gray's Inn wished to keep behind a screen. Pallas-Bacon who could not pass a jest then dubbed himself Shake-speare, and sometimes even more pointedly wrote himself down as the hyphenated Shake-speare, which certainly ought to have suggested Pallas to any University man. I have no doubt Meres knew it well enough. But I will not pursue this Pallas-Shake-speare question any further. It will be quite enough for my purpose if I have succeeded in rendering it highly probable that in many cases that magic name Shake-speare belongs to Pallas-Bacon rather than to Shaksper of Stratford.

I have also discovered a large amount of curious evidence connecting Bacon with Pallas, and with some important Elizabethan books where no one has up to the present suspected his intervention. It is already in MS., but is far too voluminous to add to the present work; but if my arguments and views so far meet with a favourable acceptance, I shall venture to offer in a small separate volume these new, and to me most unexpected, revelations.

CHAPTER XVI

SOME NOTABLE MEGALOMANIC FEATURES IN THE CHARACTER OF FRANCIS BACON

ANOTHER favourite argument against the Bacon theory is, that Bacon had not time to write the Plays of Shakespeare even if he had the ability. This argument will hardly stand against the known facts of Bacon's life. He said himself, and he had a right to his boast, "though the world hath taken my talent from me, yet God's talent I put to use." As Professor John Nichol says:

> "An activity so unparalleled neither the cares of office, nor illness, nor vexation of spirit, nor the shadow of disgrace, or of age, could impede. His work as a lawyer and statesman would have filled a life had not his labours as a philosopher and man of letters been sufficient to adorn it. With an energy like that of Scott after his ruin, he set himself to add fresh tiers to his enduring monument."

During the decade 1580 to 1590 we do not know very much how he spent his spare time, and first and last he must have had a great deal of time to himself in these years. He showed himself an amateur and youthful Pallas in giving counsel of state to Queen Elizabeth in his letter of advice, and even as early as this "his Pallas" would put her shield before her face and consider the state of Europe and the national policy of England, and the religious controversies of the kingdom. I would suggest that he occupied his spare time in filling many commonplace books with collections made in the course of his reading; jottings, examples, similes, phrases, &c., which he laid as a kind of foundation for the literary edifices he was afterwards to build, or gathered together

in a storehouse whence they could afterwards be drawn forth to meet his requirements. The *Promus* is one of these which has been fortunately preserved; there is every reason to believe he had others as well. Sometimes I think that part of these collections got incorporated in some way in the *Palladis Tamia* of Francis Meres, and in the *Palladis Palatium* of William Wrednot; but we are not likely to get behind the scenes after this long interval of time. Anyhow, we may safely say that the great Francis was no drone at any period of his life. He was too much of a *megalomane* to be ever inactive, especially in his mind, which was so full of grand projects from his earliest days.

He felt himself to be the Pallas of the age, sprung from the brain of Jove, and equipped for a champion against ignorance, and the defender and adviser, by his well-conceived counsel, of the commonwealth and its policy. Like most great men he thoroughly believed in himself, in his powers and in his projects—all he wanted to make them effective was money and position; they were the sinews of war to him in his philanthropic designs to get the mastery over Nature in the interests of Man, and he damaged his fair fame in the attempt to procure these necessary adjuncts.

In spite of constant failure, he never lost his belief in himself. He thought he could win the Queen for this man, or for that man, or for himself; he thought he could persuade Cecil, and he looked forward to the time when he should be a better man than Coke, his constant enemy. No failure seemed to discourage him—the true sign of a *megalomane*. His Pallas was always ready to advise any great state personage, or to write letters to or for such personages, or to write letters to Kings and Queens, or to devise communications that might most likely come to their knowledge. He seemed always sanguine and confident, and when the great fall came, nothing, as Ben Jonson says, could diminish his true greatness, for *that* "could never fail him." He was magnificent in nearly all his ways and projects—magnificent in his expenditure

and love of show, in his marriage-robes of imperial purple from head to foot, in his *Greatest Birth of Time*, his first work—magnificent in his own estimation of his later philosophical works, which, as he told King James in the preface, had in them that which was "fixed" and "eternal"—a striking echo, as it seems to me, of those magnificent and magniloquent lines of the Shake-speare Sonnets written in the passionate fervour of earlier days:

> "But thy eternal summer shall not fade,
> Nor lose possession of that fair thou ow'st;
> Nor shall Death brag thou wander'st in his shade
> When in eternal lines to time thou grow'st:
> So long as men can breathe, or eyes can see,
> So long lives this, and this gives life to thee."
>
> —*Sonnet XVIII.*

And again:

> "Nor marble, nor the gilded monuments
> Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme.
> . . . . . .
> Nor Mars his sword nor war's quick fire shall burn
> The living record of your memory.
> 'Gainst death and all-oblivious enmity
> Shall you pace forth; your praise shall still find room,
> Even in the eyes of all posterity
> That wear this world out to the ending doom.
> So, till the judgment that yourself arise,
> You live in this, and dwell in lovers' eyes."

And again in Sonnet CXIV.:

> "O, 'tis the first; 'tis flattery in my seeing,
> And *my great mind most kingly drinks it up.*"

Surely such magnificent self-assertion is very uncommon in literature, and, so to speak, marks out a man from his fellows. I know Elizabethan sonneteers often claimed eternity of fame, but never in such lofty phrase as this. But this was Bacon's style exactly; he had the "'Ercles vein" if any man ever had. As Dean Church says of him: "He never affected to conceal from himself his superiority to other men in his aims and in the grasp of his intelligence." Look too at the magisterial and

almost almighty manner in which he begins one of his works: *Francis of Verulam thought thus, and such is the method which he within himself pursued, which he thought it concerned both the living and posterity to become acquainted with.* Surely here is the writer of the magnifical Sonnets. Surely such self-confidence as we find in the Sonnets cannot be the work or utterance of the man of Stratford, or we should have heard more of the Poet-ape asserting himself in the world of letters, and building a niche for himself in the Temple of Fame. Would a man with such a consciousness of eternal superiority over his fellows desert, in the early ripeness of his career, the very stage and theatre of his triumphs to hide himself away in the commonplace society of Stratford, to brew beer and to lend money? No; a man with such an opinion of his own merits would have looked well after the recognition of them, both in the present and in the future, as did that magnificent *megalomane* Francis Bacon, both in youth and maturity.

Consider Francis Bacon on the day of his wedding. He was indeed a great man then—if not born in the "purple" he was married in it. This is what a contemporary letter says:

> "Sir Francis Bacon was married yesterday to his young wench in Maribone Chapel. He was clad from top to toe in purple, and hath made himself and his wife such store of fine raiments of cloth of silver and gold that it draws deep into her portion. . . . His chief guests were the three knights, Cope, Hicks, and Beeston; and upon this conceit (as he said himself) that since he could not have my Lord of Salisbury in person, which he wished, he would have him at least in his representative body." *

Compare this with the more modern description by Hepworth Dixon:

> "Feathers and lace light up the rooms in the Strand. Cecil has been warmly urged to come over from Salisbury House. Three of his gentlemen, Sir Walter Cope, Sir Baptist Hicks, and

* Carleton to Chamberlain, 11th April 1606; Domestic Papers, James I., 1606.

Sir Hugh Beeston, hard drinkers and men about town, strut over in his stead, flaunting in their swords and plumes; yet the prodigal bridegroom, sumptuous in his tastes as in his genius, clad in a suit of Genoese velvet, purple from cap to shoe, outbraves them all; the bride, too, is richly dight, her whole dowry seeming to be piled up on her in cloth of silver and ornaments of gold."

Here we have an amusing specimen of what the journalistic spirit can produce *ex nihilo*, for Carleton's letter above is the only source of information. But even a journalist should be right in his names, and should not libel people gratuitously. It was Sir Michael Hicks, not Sir Baptist Hicks, who was at the wedding, and when Mr. Hepworth Dixon says that Cope, Hicks, and Beeston were "hard drinkers and men about town," it is probably "a mere development of the fact that he knew them to have been once the chief guests at a wedding dinner, and knew no more," as Mr. Spedding humorously remarks.

Would that other *megalomanes* could have adorned their verses with such beauties, and their philosophies with such shrewd solidity as did that magnificent "*Uebermensch*," Francis Bacon.

The more I ponder over what I read of Francis Bacon's life and character, and compare it with what is known of the life and character of William Shakespeare, the more I feel what a tremendous miracle it would be for Shakespeare to have written the Plays and Poems, and how natural and congruous it seems that they should have proceeded in all their world-wide glories from that magnificent and universal genius, the philosopher of Gorhambury. To use a vulgarised adjective, Bacon was "immense" in most things. Consider his far-reaching intellectual aspirations! He had determined at the outset of his career "to take all learning for his province," as he told his uncle Burghley with that absence of all mock-modesty which is so characteristic of the man who is not ignorant of his own parts. And what is more, he justified, as I contend, his boastful assertion in those immortal Plays, where we seem to see, in every subject mentioned,

the master-hand of an encyclopædic and universal genius.

But the best workmen require a good supply of suitable tools, and cannot be expected to produce good results without them. The genius of Pheidias would never have chiselled into divine majesty the chrys-elephantine Jove, nor Gibbon have perfected his monumental history without these necessary helps. Now, we are asked to believe that the player from Stratford executed *his* immortal work almost without any tools, or, at least, with only a few to start with which he procured when a boy at the Stratford grammar-school, and was never afterwards, as far as we know from the uneventful and commonplace history of his life, able to give the proper time to maintain them in good working order at home, nor yet to go to the manufacturers, that is to say, the libraries, to get them properly polished and up-to-date. In fact, such places as libraries were few and far between in Elizabethan days, and the great Oxford emporium was only just being started with a new stock by Sir Thomas Bodley.

It seems thus that Shakespeare the player was badly handicapped in the race for Fame. But how was it with his great competitor, "My young Lord-Keeper"? What choice of tools had he? Why, from the age of eighteen onwards he had, so to speak, his lodgings "over a tool-shop." He could walk into Gray's Inn Library without so much as putting on his beaver, and before that, his father had well supplied him at home, and also sent him betimes to that excellent Cambridge shop at the sign of "The Trinity." So here again there is no comparison between the two; one is competent for the most finished work, the other seems wellnigh disqualified; for, in spite of his two-hundred years' reputation of being the greatest literary workman of his own or any age, he is not known to have possessed a single literary tool, except perhaps a Florio's *Montaigne*, in which some one else apparently scribbled his name; and he is never known to have frequented the *emporia* where the best tools were kept.

Finally, as against those critics who dwell so much on the argument that "Bacon had not time to write the Shakespeare Plays even if he had the ability," I would add, to the considerations already mentioned, Bacon's own remark in his *Cogitata et Visa*. He says, "He finds in his own experience that the art of inventing grows by invention itself;" that is, it becomes gradually easier to produce works of invention of a literary kind (for of these he is speaking) after a little practice. Indeed, when Bacon was well set I am inclined to think he would not have much more trouble in writing one of his immortal Plays, than an able critic to-day in preparing a review for one of the Quarterlies.

Consider, too, the large quantity of matter in the Plays which is really only North's *Plutarch* and Holinshed turned into blank verse. With Bacon's peculiar facility in improving other people's language almost spontaneously, a fact for which Rawley vouches—and Rawley, his private chaplain and executor, should know this better than any one else—he would take very little time in providing the matter for even a five-act play, and he had always plenty of people about him, servants and scriveners, who would save him much time and trouble in transcription. But Rawley's own words settle this matter: "With what sufficiency he wrote let the world judge; with what celerity he wrote them (his works) I can the best testify."

We have no difficulty in deciding to which of the two parties in the Church of England Bacon belonged in 1590 and earlier. He was an Anglican, and of that party to which Whitgift the Archbishop of Canterbury belonged, who indeed almost made and sustained it as against the Puritans on one side and the Roman Catholics with Spanish and Papal leanings on the other. Lady Anne Bacon makes this evident to us, for she writes to her son Anthony when in 1590 he was returning home from his long residence abroad, and urges him to testify his adherence to those who "profess the true religion of Christ" (the Puritans, she means), and to do so boldly and openly. She adds in Latin, I suppose so that the

servants should not by chance see the letter lying about, and it should thus reach the ears of Francis, *in hoc noli adhibere fratrem tuum ad consilium aut exemplum, sed plus dehinc ;* and then goes on to write in Greek that Archbishop Whitgift was the destruction of the English Church. Thus it is pretty clear that Pallas-Shakespeare-Bacon was no Puritan, but a strong Anglican of Whitgift's view of thinking ; and hence we can better explain the licensing of such a book as *Venus and Adonis* by the Archbishop's own signature. Whitgift would pass over in Bacon, his rising pupil, what he would prohibit in men of a different stamp ; for I assume that Bacon in some way did see his first two long poems through the press, for they have every appearance of being carefully revised by the author, and are thus in a very different position from the quarto plays, which are as a rule most carelessly printed, and full of such blunders as might be expected in pirated copies.

Almost directly after *Venus and Adonis* had appeared we hear of Francis Bacon at the age of thirty-four making his very tardy appearance in his first pleading in the King's Bench, and there was considerable excitement and expectation among his friends as to the impression he would make. Fortunately we are able to know the result, since a young lawyer of Gray's Inn who was present at one of these pleadings wrote an account of it to Anthony Bacon. This letter I claim as important evidence in the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy, for it tells us that a marked feature of the new pleader was "the unusual words wherewith he had spangled his speech." In fact, some sentences were almost too obscure for the capacities of his hearers, as it appeared to the young lawyer, but he ended his letter facetiously by remarking that if it please her Majesty to add deeds to words "the Bacon may be too hard for the Cook!"

Now here we have Francis Bacon exhibiting in his own person one of the most marked characteristics of the Shakespeare Plays before the great majority of them were written—I mean the enormous vocabulary and the

many unusual and unique words which are found in the Plays. It has always been a difficulty, indeed almost a miracle, that the Stratford provincial should command such a wonderful stock of words; and when we find that Bacon was the very man who, even when comparatively young, astonished his learned contemporaries by this identical characteristic, it certainly seems a piece of evidence strongly in Bacon's favour as to the disputed authorship. And if any one cares to look further into some of the many unusual words in the works attributed to Shakespeare the player, they will be greatly surprised. I will put down only a few; they are all words used for the first time in the history of our language, many of them have never been used a second time, and they are all invented and used in a strict and proper scholarlike manner.

Antre, from Lat. *antrum*, a cave.—*Othello*, i. 3.

Cadent, from Lat. *cadere*, to fall.—*Lear*, i. 4.

Captious, from *capere*, to receive.

"Yet, in this captious and intenible sieve,
I still pour in the waters of my love."
—*All's Well*, i. 3.

Circummure, to wall round.—*Measure for Measure*, iv. 1.

Conspectuities, from *conspicere*, to behold.

"What harm can your bisson conspectuities glean out of this character?"
—*Coriolanus*, ii. 1.

I doubt whether any question addressed to the court in Bacon's maiden speeches reached quite so high a level as this last:

Empiricutic, from the Greek, meaning tentative.

"The most sovereign prescription in Galen is but empiricutic."

And without going on alphabetically any further, let us take but two more, *incarnadine* and *necessary*. What lover of Shakespeare is there who does not know that wondrous line:

"The multitudinous seas incarnadine."
—*Macbeth*, ii. 2.

Now *incarnadine* is coined by the writer out of Low Latin or some Romance language, and means, according to derivation, tinged with the colour of flesh. And *necessary* is used of a cat :

> " A harmless, necessary cat."
> —*As You Like It*, iii. 3.

But why is a cat " necessary " ? Because it is a domestic animal, and the Latin word *necessarius* means anything or anybody connected with one's household, and so familiar, domestic. But would Shakespeare at any period of his life be likely to call his wife's cat either at Shottery, or at their grander quarters in New Place, a " necessary cat " ?

These instances, like the identities and the parallelisms, can be almost indefinitely multiplied, and are to be found in great numbers in Baconian books, especially those of Mrs. Pott and Mr. Edwin Reed. I think they are good items of evidence, better than the identities and parallelisms, but they need not be alluded to any further here, as Mr. Reed has done them ample justice.

It is known to all acquainted with Bacon's philosophical works that he separated them into two classes :

(1) Those destined to be " publike."

(2) Those destined to be " traditionary."

This word " traditionary " comes from an original MS. in Bacon's own handwriting, entitled *Valerius Terminus*, which contained fragments of a greater work he had proposed to write, and was in fact the earliest type of the *Instauratio*. The title-page gives a list of twelve fragments, and then we have :

> " 13. The first chapter of [the] a booke of the same argument wrytten in Latine and destined [for] to be [traditionary] separate and not publike."

The words in brackets are crossed out in the MS., and the succeeding words placed in their stead.

There is this singular fact to record about Bacon, that from the very first he showed himself unwilling to

allow his peculiar method in Philosophy to be generally known. Like some of the ancient philosophers, he wished it to be handed down only *ad filios* (his intellectual sons), only to those who were willing to receive it and fit to understand it. The exposition of his new method or instrument he wished to be esoteric, and to make its way quietly, without contention or vulgar discussion, into the minds that could receive it—a select audience, acquainted with the Latin tongue in which it was to be presented, for Bacon thought this universal tongue of the learned would alone endure to distant posterities. It does not seem that he was jealous of his great secret, or that he wished to exclude the vulgar from the knowledge of it, but rather that it was too abstruse to be handled successfully by any but the fit and few. All preparatory knowledge tending to make plain the way to understand the new method Bacon wished to be widely spread and propagated among all classes. Here he would much rather find auditors than exclude them; and some curious suggestive evidence of this is known to me, where it seems probable that Bacon used other names to conceal his own. He wanted his great views to be received and understood, but not by means of contentious arguments but rather by chalking the door of those where he was to be received in a peaceful way, without threat of personal violence or entry by force. This curious simile, which he borrowed from one of the Borgias, is several times referred to by Bacon, and was clearly a favourite way of expressing his propaganda. He was willing to efface himself, if only the world would become able to accept his method and profit by it.

And as in Philosophy, so in the Devices and Masques he kept himself in the background, and allowed others to take the credit which solely or chiefly belonged to him. He did not put his name to any literary work till he was nearly forty years old.

But what I chiefly wish to draw attention to here is the curious self-effacement in literary matters of one whose organ of self-esteem was so highly developed.

That is one point, and the other is the two classes of writing or teaching admittedly used by him as occasion required.

Bacon had also, as I believe, and as this book is written to show, a *third* class of writings, viz. :

(3) Those destined by himself to go to posterity by another name, but still bearing the mark, the deep brand of his own vocabulary, his own scholarship, and his own philosophy—a brand, too, that none of the barber-surgeons of the press, the stage, or the higher criticism can ever erase, if they try till doomsday. Besides this unmistakable brand, one of the works that went to posterity by another name, I mean *Lucrece*, certainly bore on its very front his own name as in his early days he signed it ; a " moiety " of his fuller name, but quite enough to show his head where men could prove it.

I can also show plainly from Bacon's own words that he held the unusual view that a man's writings should *follow* the man after he was dead, and that it was to some extent an " untimely anticipation " to let the world have them while he was alive. This opinion of this is given in a letter he wrote to his friend Dr. Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, on the subject of his *Essays :*

> " As for my Essays, and some other particulars of that nature, (Poems? Plays?) I count them but as the recreation of my other studies, and in that sort purpose to continue them . . . But I account the use that a man should seek of the publishing of his own writings before his death to be but an untimely anticipation of that which is proper to follow a man, and not go along with him."

Whoever else among great and ambitious men held this strange doctrine of literary reserve ? Whoever else among men of illustrious intellect did thus efface, as did Bacon, the brightest part of a glorious mind from the praise and acknowledgment of succeeding generations ? Whoever else in all history allowed, of set purpose, the lofty pedestal on which he had every right to take his stand to be possessed by a money-grubbing, facetious

actor-manager whose vocabulary could not have been mentioned in the same breath with his own, to say nothing of much more significant differences.

It is this "literary miracle" that makes it so hard for people to give up the traditional Shakespeare. But surely when we have Bacon's own words in his letter above, and also that memorable testamentary device of his whereby he left his name and memory to "the next ages," we should not allow an apparent miracle to prejudice our examination of a literary problem. Speaking loosely, there are about as many miracles on one side of the problem as on the other, for if Bacon really composed this third class of writings contained in the wonderful first folio, in *Lucrece*, in the Sonnets and elsewhere, and passed them over in complete silence when he died—that is undoubtedly a literary miracle. But if the player from Stratford wrote them, and also passed them over in complete silence when he made his will and left his second-best bedstead to his wife—that is also surely a literary miracle as well; and so

> "Even as one heat another heat expels,
> Or as one nail by strength drives out another,"

we may cancel the first miracle by the second and proceed to judgment unaffected by either.

And now, putting aside the disturbing miraculous element, what are we to say about the proof from *Lucrece?* Did Bacon really show his head there, both at the beginning and at the end? Did he sign that fine poem cryptogrammatically on its first page and its last and let the real author lie there latent, while the letters of the name William Shakespeare were blazoned to the world at full length at the foot of the dedication? Let us not waste time by arguing whether it was *likely* or not—the signature is *there*, and we are to pronounce upon it. Is it an intricate arithmetical, multi-literal cryptogram like Donnelly's, of which the man in the street can make neither head nor tail? Certainly not; a man need not be a Sherlock Holmes to detect both the head and tail of this evidence. And slight and foolish as it

may seem to some, it is a point of prime importance, for if we accept this evidence as sufficient to show that Francis Bacon certainly wrote *Lucrece*, unless he bribed Shakespeare to hide his initials and full name at the beginning and end, then the whole controversy is practically settled. For whoever wrote *Lucrece* wrote *Venus and Adonis*, and whoever wrote that poem wrote the Sonnets and the earlier plays; for *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *Romeo and Juliet* are so intimately connected by parallel passages with the Sonnets, that no atom of doubt remains that he who wrote the Sonnets wrote also these plays; and if these earlier plays, why not parts of the later plays also, for there are evident traces of the same immortal genius in them all, as they have been handed down to us in their last *revised* and first collected edition—the folio of 1623. Moreover, if Shakespeare really wrote *Lucrece*, why on earth should Francis Bacon want to hide his name at the beginning or end? These are just the places where Bacon would hide his name if he had written *Lucrece* himself. I admit that to the fullest, but that is a very different statement, and makes strongly for my contention.

Bacon gives us this hint himself. He calls the Foreword or Preface of a book its "Vestibule," and the Conclusion or Epilogue he calls its "Back Door," and remarks that many matters may be properly discussed and mentioned in these parts of a book which could not be fitly grappled with in the body of the work; just as a man may say and do many things at the front door or at the back door which he would not permit inside the house. Now certainly the front and back doors have been used in *Lucrece*, and I think Bacon is the man who used them—for himself and posterity solely—leaving the dedication of the Poem to be signed by Your Lordships in all *duety* WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

CHAPTER XVII

CERTAIN UNUSUAL CIRCUMSTANCES AND HINTS CONNECTED WITH THE POEMS AND PLAYS OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

It is worthy of remark that none of Shakespeare's Plays is dedicated to any person or patron. The Poems dedicated to Southampton seem the sole exception. They were the first works to which the name of Shake-speare was given, and afterwards no other Mæcenas was addressed. The general custom of those days was very much in favour of dedications, and gross flattery and ridiculous obsequiousness abounded everywhere in such productions. Neither player nor poet felt it below his dignity to have recourse to fulsome dedications, generally with the view to enrich his pocket with the gifts from his patron.

But Bacon has left plainly on record that he was strongly against this degradation of learning. He says:

"The gross and palpable flattery whereunto many (not unlearned) have abased and abused their wits and pens, turning (as Du Bartas saith) Hecuba into Helena and Faustina into Lucretia, hath most diminished the price and estimation of learning. Neither is the moral [*i.e.* customary] dedications of books and writings, as to patrons, to be commended: for that books (such as are worthy the name of books) ought to have no patrons but truth and reason; and the ancient custom was to dedicate them only to private and equal friends, or to intitle the books with their names; or if to kings and great persons it was to some such as the argument of the book was fit and proper for." *

This we see Bacon carried out in practice in his poems of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece;* for Southampton was a private friend, and his "sugred sonnets" were for his

* *Advancement of Learning*, iii. 281, ed. Spedding.

"private friends," and the poems bore the name of the friend.

Now we should like to know more about young Francis Bacon's private friends when he was at Gray's Inn in his early days, the kind of "set" he was connected with, and how he spent his evenings. There can be no doubt that he was a close student, and kept to himself and to his books very much. As we should say at Cambridge, "his oak was often sported"; and the very few notices we have of Bacon's early London days point in that direction. But there were fast young lawyers about town in those Elizabethan times. That rare tract by Thomas Middleton, entitled *Father Hubburd's Tales*, tells us what a rich young squire from the country ought to do on coming to town:

> "He must acquaint himself with many gallants of the Innes of Court, and keep rank with those that spend most; . . . after dinner he must venture beyond sea, that is, in a choise paire of Noble-mens Oares to the Bankside where he must sit out the breaking up of a Comedie, or the first Cut of a Tragedie, or rather (if his humour so serve him) to call in at the Black-fryers, where he should see a neast of Boyes, able to ravish a man."

Is it likely that Francis Bacon ever spent his evenings in this dissipated way? I think so; and remembering what Aubrey said his humour was, I have no doubt it sometimes served him to call in at the Blackfriars and see the young boy-actors in their nest. Do we not remember that curious expression in *Hamlet*, an "aery of children, little eyases"? That referred to boy-actors, and "aery" was the word for a nest of hawks, and the "eyases" were the young birds in it. So perhaps Bacon had watched them with an eye of interest, for it is Bacon and not Shakespeare who is so frequently referring to the aristocratic pursuit of hawking and using its technical terms in the Shakespeare Plays; at least that is our view, as it also is that Bacon was one of the two friends who were the Damon and Pythias of the Bankside and had "one drab" between them.

Lady Anne had great fears about her son Francis, and hinted pretty plainly in her letters to Anthony what her opinion was. She thought he was averse to taking good advice, and was producing his "own early discredit"; and this was in 1593, when Francis was at the discreet age of thirty-two. So, though we may assume that Francis was a devoted student and thinker in the days of his youth, we must not, I think, also assume that he was a perfect Joseph in matters of the moral law. *Noscitur a sociis* is a good rule in such matters, and as Perez, Essex, Southampton, and Pembroke were all far from being Sir Galahads, it may be fairly assumed that Francis Bacon, the intimate companion of such pleasure-loving grandees, was not an unlikely person to figure in those strange adventures that are depicted to us so dimly in the Sonnets.

He was certainly a much more likely person for the part than William Shakespeare, and although the Bacon of middle and later life was apparently a man of serious, learned, and philosophic tastes, we should not therefore assume that in his youth he must have been a kind of Elizabethan John Stuart Mill—a mere "book in breeches," as Mill's enemies called *him*. We may far more justly assume that his three years in France after he left college were spent in the fashionable pleasures that were usual with gay young men of position; and that though a lover of learning, he was neither a hermit nor a saint, but was qualifying himself by his social surroundings for the production of that wonderful original play *Love's Labour's Lost*, which I cannot help thinking was his first dramatic sketch, and perhaps partly autobiographical as well.

Another very singular circumstance connected with William Shakespeare is, that when he died there were no *epicedia* or *lacrymæ*, or any of the laudatory laments that were wont to be bestowed on the illustrious dead. The greatest genius of the age left the world without a word of comment for good or ill from any one. Surely there is something mysterious here. It is not even known for

certain when his memorial tomb in Stratford Church was erected. There is no mention of it until the issue of the first folio in 1623, and it and its inscriptions may have been only then recently erected in view of the outcoming folio edition of his Plays.

Such a great and popular dramatist deserved *some* notice from his contemporaries when he left the great theatre of the world for ever;—why then this singular conspiracy of silence? Was it because he was shrewdly suspected of being only a successful broker of other men's plays, and therefore the less said the better? But just now we are more concerned with the early days of Bacon than with the last days of Shakespeare, so we will consider him for a moment under his Ovidian domino, as I believe Ben Jonson depicted him in the *Poetaster*.

Bacon, like Milton, began by being a lover of Ovid. The "first heire" of his invention in poetry was of Ovidian descent, and of the "Amorous Latin" school. There was no slur on a man's breeding because he wrote poems. On the contrary, it was a proof of cultured and courtly wit. The aristocratic young bloods tried their hands at it—Pembroke, Essex, and others; and to be able to write verses for the maids of honour to sing to their virginals was in a gallant's favour. It was play-writing that was decreed to be impossible for a courtly gallant. So Bacon, who from his earliest days always aimed at the greatest and highest "births of time," did not begin with any short lyrics, but attempted a grand poem on an Ovidian subject, and enriched by such "native wood-notes wild" as never came from Ovid's lips. Who would have thought that Bacon, beginning so, should become within a few years the author of *Hamlet?* What a contrast, what a gulf between the two! It seems almost incredible that both should come from the same pen; but in *Venus and Adonis* we see the author of *Hamlet* when young, we see there the Bacon of the Sonnets and of the Master-Mistress of his passion. And in *Hamlet* we see the same personality older and wiser, having passed through a dark period

of slander and disappointment which might have wrecked a weaker man.

In the Sonnets and the Poems may we not say that Bacon, like Goethe and Schiller, was in his *Sturm und Drang* period, and that in *Hamlet* he had passed beyond it, even as *Wallenstein* succeeded the *Robbers*, and *Wilhelm Meister* blotted out *Werther?* The amorous ecstasy of youth had changed to the philosophic contemplation of maturer experience. Venus had yielded her sceptre to Philanthropia, but her subject and worshipper remained an aristocrat throughout.

"Aristocrat indeed!" exclaim the Shakespearians; "why, the frequent coarse remarks of the Plays show that he was a man of the people." This reply seems to me very weak. In an age of extreme coarseness, the immortal Plays were much more free from this defect than the majority of contemporary dramas. The penny and twopenny public had to be considered, and certain comic scenes and broad allusions were expected by a certain class of the audience; and Bacon, aristocrat as he was, still was quite equal to supplying the need, for we are told, on good authority, that Bacon could talk with all sorts of people in their own jargon. So the occasional coarseness of the dialogue tells in Bacon's favour rather than not.

But I must here repeat that I do not hold the extreme theory that Bacon wrote the whole of the wonderful dramas from beginning to finish, including all the excellent stage arrangement and all the subsidiary parts and scenes, and that we have not a word or a character which is due to Shakespeare the player. I think such a theory will not stand for a moment, and is absolutely impossible when we consider the contemporary attitude towards Shakespeare taken by his fellow-players, friends and enemies. Even his enemies never said he was a mere puppet in other people's hands—they gave him credit for "locks of wool" and "shreds," though the whole fleece was not his in their belief. There are some Warwickshire places and characters here and there in the Plays,

and some of the names of the roystering *dramatis personæ* are well-known Stratford names which appear in municipal documents, and in the proceedings against recusants in Shakespeare's father's time. I should attribute such scenes and incidents of the Plays to Shakespeare rather than to Bacon. It seems far more likely that Shakespeare, being a broker and reviser of old stage property, and an expert at it, should touch up and arrange extra stage business for Bacon's plays, rather than that he should put them on the boards just as they came neatly written from the scrivener's clerk or the scriptorium at Twickenham, and make no alteration whatever. Indeed, I see plain evidence of Ben Jonson discriminating between Bacon the dramatist and Ovidian poet and Shakespeare the player—the Luscus who rants with his buskins on, and swears "by the welkin," and is after all only a Poet-ape, and a parcel-poet with an unrestrained flow of words at times that makes him ridiculous rather than sublime. But he was not a bad fellow, had a good flowing stream of language, and a facetious grace to go with it. So, it seems, thought Ben Jonson, Henry Chettle, and others who knew him.

However, Shakespeare had no share in the writing of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, we may be pretty sure of that; they were from the hand of Francis Bacon, and he has left his mark upon them. There is also a remarkable circumstance connected with *Venus and Adonis* which points strongly to Bacon, although no Baconian has availed himself of it yet. It is this. *Venus and Adonis* was enrolled on the Stationers' Register under the special authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Now the poem is not of a nature to be gathered for protection under an Archbishop's wing, and especially such an Archbishop as Dr. Whitgift was, who took severe steps against questionable and improper books, and was the strict ecclesiastical dignitary who closed the register against Hall's *Satires*, Marlowe's *Ovid*, and several other books of the same licentious character as *Venus and Adonis*. Why this unfair favouritism, as it must have appeared

to be to all who took notice of it? If Bacon wrote it we have a good reason to give, but if Shakespeare, then it becomes much more difficult to explain. The Archbishop was very friendly to Francis Bacon, and knew him as a lad intimately, for he was his tutor when young Bacon came up to Trinity, his college. He knew nothing of Shakespeare, and would be against an actor who wrote licentious poetry, which would be a double offence in clerical eyes.

This incident, then, of the Archbishop's special favour towards *Venus and Adonis* points to an antecedent friendship with the author; and in that case the author would be Bacon, and not Shakespeare. Or we, perhaps, may put it in this way; Bacon asked his old tutor for his sanction to William Shakespeare's first attempt, and the Archbishop took Bacon's word for it, and granted his request.

The Sonnets, too, are Bacon's entirely. They were early work, and in them he practised his "pupil pen." They were only for his private friends, and not intended for the general public's eye or ear, and therefore we find they were used by him as a safe storehouse to draw from, at least up to the year 1609, when they were published (as I think) without the author's knowledge. The proof of this is in the numerous parallelisms found between the Sonnets and the early plays, such as *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *Romeo and Juliet*, all before 1598. After this date the parallel passages are few and far between, so we conclude that the Sonnets and these early plays were being composed about the same time, and that the author boldly plagiarised from himself in the Sonnets, because he thought they were not generally known, and never would be. They were only his exercise-book, the work of his "pupil pen." A good example of this appears in the Earl of Pembroke's letter to Robert Cecil, written very shortly after his release from the Fleet Prison, where he had been placed temporarily on Mary Fitton's account. In this letter (dated 1601) we find many striking phrases

and turns of thought which are evidently borrowed from one of the Sonnets. Now, this letter is supposed to have been *concocted* by the author of the Sonnets, or at least suggested to Pembroke by that author. So here we have Bacon in 1601 borrowing from his own "exercise-book" or pupil verses, as yet unpublished except in MS. to private friends. It was also hence a possible inference that Robert Cecil was *not* one of the favoured private friends who had a copy. This last inference is also on several other grounds not unlikely; and indeed if the Cecils had an author's copy it would most likely have been preserved at Hatfield House, and we should have heard something about such a precious treasure before now. An original MS. of the Sonnets in the author's handwriting, if found in the cupboard of a lumber-room at Hatfield House, would have beaten even the "record" find of Elizabethan rarities at Lamport Hall.

Another point is this:

The Shakespeare Plays were being constantly revised. No one has ever ventured to contradict this certain fact. Indeed, Mr. Fleay, the great authority on the Chronology of the Plays, says "there is not a play that can be referred even on the rashest conjecture to a date anterior to 1594, which does not bear the plainest internal evidence of having been refashioned at a later time." * No other contemporary plays were habitually recast in this way. Ben Jonson, Marston, Dekker, and the rest had their quartos published and there was an end of them, as far as any touching up was concerned. If a prologue or epilogue or some libellous allusion were prohibited in the first publishing of a play of theirs, it might appear in a later edition with a few extra remarks. This happened in some of old Ben's hard-hitting plays, and in other writers too; but there was no deliberate revision as in the Shakespeare Plays—in *Love's Labour's Lost*, in *Hamlet*, and in others.

My point is that this constant revising and altering was distinctly Baconian. In his letters to Tobie Matthew,

* Fleay, *Life of Shakespeare*, 1886, p. 128.

his most intimate friend, Bacon refers to this habit of his own as well known to his friend, and we find also that he wrote and re-wrote his philosophical works, or some of them, at least four or five times over. And perhaps the *Essays* afford the best instance of all. Their successive alterations and revisions remind us of nothing so much as of the Shakespeare Plays; and they received their final revision only just a year or so after the final revision of the Plays in the first folio. Take only one or two examples from the "Contents" page of almost any modern edition; we have:

2 Of Death, 1612, enlarged 1625.
11 Of Great Place, 1612, slightly enlarged 1625.
28 Of Expense, 1597, enlarged 1612, and again 1625.
55 Of Honour and Reputation, 1597, omitted 1612, republished 1615.

The "real Shakespeare" of Ben Jonson, whose utterances "flowed with that facility, that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped," and whose manuscript was so clean because "in his writing (whatsoever he penn'd) hee never blotted out line," certainly does not seem to be the kind of writer who would be always revising, touching up, and tinkering his first rapid inspiration. But Bacon seemed to enjoy this rather tedious literary labour, and on this account I think the constant changes, and the various readings and revisions on which critics have bestowed such astonishing pains, are all in favour of the Bacon theory of their origin.

As to Shakespeare's MSS. with never a line blotted out, I take *their* origin to be, either the scrivener's office or the scriptorium at Twickenham or elsewhere, where Bacon kept his "pens" (penmen). I add one extract from a letter dated Gray's Inn, 17th February 1610. Bacon says (to Tobie Matthew): "My great work (the *Wisdom of the Ancients*) goeth forward; and after my manner I alter ever when I add: so that nothing is finished till all be finished." Nor must we forget that the great folio of 1623 was itself an immense work of

revision. The early quartos were altered, passages excised, and the Plays made better for reading in the *study* than by any improvement as acting plays. If Shakespeare had done this work, it must have been at least seven years previously, for he died in 1616. Why this delay? The revision is far more likely due to Bacon, who in conjunction with Jonson is thought to have arranged the literary prefaces.

It may fairly be said that the evidence in favour of the *author* having revised several Shakespeare Plays in or about the year 1623 is too strong to be put aside. But the author had been dead seven years, and although even in this twentieth century "he being dead yet speaketh," he does not speak quite in this peculiar manner, and has never since, as far as I have heard, added 160 new lines to one of his Plays. But this remarkable occurrence took place among many similar ones in 1623, and the play was *Othello*. This play had never been printed in any form during the lifetime of Shakespeare the player. It was first published in 1622, six years after Shakespeare's death, in quarto form, and in 1623 it was published a second time in the first folio with 160 additional lines, evidently from the hand of the author. As Bacon showed his head in *Lucrece*, so also I believe he showed his hand here. For from what other source did these lines come? "Oh," replies the orthodox believer, "they came clearly from the original MS. at the playhouse, which the managers and possessors had supplied to the editors of the folio." But there are several things against this supposition. Why were not the additional lines printed in the quarto of the year before? If it be said that was an imperfect and pirated copy, we still are at a loss to know why it was not printed long before, when other quartos were being issued with or without authority. Moreover, these added lines have a very Baconian allusion about the

> "Pontic sea
> Whose icy current and compulsive course
> Ne'er feels retiring ebb;"

which was one of Bacon's scientific facts which he referred

to in a treatise on Tides written about the time of Shakespeare's death. Here Bacon mentions the "Pontus" and "Propontis," and the words "Pontic" and "Propontic" occur in the lines added to *Othello*.

The case of the play of *Richard III.* is even stronger. There was a sixth edition of this play (quarto) in 1622, and in the folio edition of 1623 there were nearly 200 new lines added and nearly 2000 retouched, and as there were several printer's errors peculiar to the quarto of 1622 which reappeared in the same form in the folio of 1623, it looks as if the additions and alterations were made upon the sixth edition in quarto, that is, were made six years after Shakespeare's death. There is much more evidence of a similar kind with regard to other plays, and the solution that Shakespeare the player left all this mass of corrections and additions in MS. when he died in 1616, appears to be in the highest degree unlikely, when we examine what really happened in the two last editions of *Othello* and *Richard III.*, not to speak of others.

As to the *fons et origo* of all this constant revision, both early and late (but especially late), my impression is that it was mainly due to the changing and progressive philosophical conceptions of Francis Bacon. Originally the Plays may have been the Works of Recreation of his "great mind," but from a very early period it was his New Method of Philosophy which was the darling of his intellect, and other literary projects became subservient to this more important one. It was not long before some of the earlier plays were revised and brought into closer accordance with his philosophical views. *Love's Labour's Lost*, *King Lear*, and *Hamlet* seem the best examples of this; while other plays, such as *The Tempest* or *Macbeth*, would be originally written to further or to illustrate the great conceptions of the New Method which so possessed his mind. But he would revise all again and again, even as he revised his *Novum Organum* every year for a long time, and the final revision took place for the great folio of 1623, when he had practically finished those

parts of his philosophical method he intended for the public.

Again, was Bacon or Shakespeare the more likely man to depict accurately and to the very life the many aristocrats by birth and intellect that figure so frequently in the unrivalled dramas? If we think of their early experiences and opportunities, their respective positions and surroundings from the ages of seventeen to twenty-one—perhaps the most impressionable years of a man's life—we shall, I think, give but one answer, and that a most decided one:—Bacon has everything in his favour; Shakespeare little, if anything.

Hepworth Dixon sums up this early part of Bacon's life very well:

> "In the train of Sir Amyas Paulett, he rides at seventeen with that throng of nobles who attend the King and the Queen-mother down to Blois, to Tours, to Poictiers; mixes with the fair women on whose bright eyes the Queen relies for her success, even more than on her regiments and fleets; glides in through the hostile camps; observes the Catholic and Huguenot intrigues, and sees the great men of either Court make love and war."*

This was surely a better *seminarium*, a more productive seed-plot, for the future everlasting flowers of courtly and cultured fancy that spring up before us in the Shake-speare Dramas, than young Shaxper of Stratford-on-Avon could possibly have access to.

Again, there is that well-known incident of Yorick's skull in *Hamlet*. I do not think that it has ever been noticed how this points to Bacon much more than to Shakespeare. The dates here evolved are most troublesome to the orthodox Shakespearians, and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt, in his last work on Shakespeare (Quaritch, 1902), has to invent a journey of young Shakespeare to London when he was about ten, on which occasion he rode on Yorick's back, as stated in *Hamlet* (!); for "Yorick the King's jester" was the famous Tarlton the clown, and

* Hepworth Dixon, *Personal Life of Lord Bacon*, p. 13.

court jester to Elizabeth. He died in 1588, when Shakespeare was about four-and-twenty, and in the first quarto of *Hamlet* it is said that Yorick had been buried "this twelve year," which would just be about 1588 if *Hamlet* were written in 1600 or 1601, as is generally supposed, and so points pretty clearly to Tarlton, who was the only famous court jester it could refer to.

As is well known, Hamlet refers to knowing this jester well, and being carried in play on his back, and to having kissed him often, and to having heard his jokes, which "were wont to set the table on a roar,"—at Court presumably. But supposing that Shakespeare's father did bring young William to town in 1574, when the boy was about ten, what likelihood would there be of his being carried pick-a-back by Tarlton or hearing his jokes among the diners at Court? But Bacon when a boy was well known at Court, and was called by the Queen, who often used to talk with him, in a half-playful manner, "My young Lord Keeper," and had much greater chances of meeting the Queen's jester Tarlton than ever Shakespeare had. For as Fuller tells us: "When Queen Elizabeth was serious, I dare not say sullen, and out of good humour, he (Tarlton) could undumpish her at his pleasure. Her highest favourites would in some cases go to Tarlton before they would go to the Queen, and he was their usher to prepare their advantageous access unto her." * But the more Hamlet is read and understood, the more clearly does John Bright's vigorous Anglo-Saxon seem to be written across every page: "Any man who believes that William Shakespeare of Stratford wrote *Hamlet* or *Lear* is a——" H'm! *Bona verba quæso.*

* Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 312.

CHAPTER XVIII

WHY DID FRANCIS BACON CONCEAL HIS IDENTITY? SUMMARY OF DIFFICULTIES AND OBJECTIONS

I DO not think that sufficient attention has been given to the constant withdrawal of Bacon's name from his own writings in his earlier days. He was nothing if not anonymous, and was, so to speak, nurtured in an atmosphere of secret or concealed authorship. His father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, is supposed to have made use of a living contemporary mask to hide his authorship of a certain political treatise. His mother, Lady Anne Bacon, made several learned translations from Latin and Italian, but withheld her full name. His brother Anthony, who was so clever with ciphers that he was asked to compose one, had many correspondents known well enough to him, but their signatures were very often altered, and other names assumed. The letters of Standen to Anthony Bacon are preserved at Lambeth, and he writes under two names in addition to his own.

But young Francis Bacon preferred at first to write under no name at all, and to manage, if possible, so that his productions, chiefly at that time political, might be attributed to some greater celebrity. There was that early *Letter of Advice to Queen Elizabeth*, written in 1584–5, thought for a long time to be Lord Burghley's work, but known now to be written by Bacon. There was the letter to Monsieur Critoy, Secretary of France, written, to all appearance, by Sir Francis Walsingham, the English Secretary, about the year 1589, but now, after many years, shown to be drawn up by Bacon, who indeed used a great part of it almost word for word in his *Observations on a Libel* about three years afterwards. This "repeating

himself" Spedding calls "conclusive" evidence of Bacon's handiwork; what say the Shakespearians to this?

It is known too, and mentioned more fully elsewhere in this book, that Bacon was often writing letters *from* other people *to* other people, and even *from* other people *to* himself, and was indeed ready for any other variation of epistolary correspondence that might serve his turn.

I have often thought that Bacon was the "brown Ruscus" of Marston's first Satire; at least I can think of no one who suits it better. I will, however, give the critics a chance of finding one:

> "Tell me, brown Ruscus, hast thou Gyges' ring,
> That thou presumest as if thou wert unseen?
> If not, why in thy wits half capreal
> Lett'st thou a superscribèd letter fall?
> And from thyself unto thyself dost send,
> And in the same thyself thyself commend?
> For shame! leave running to some satrapas,
> Leave glavering on him in the peopled press;
> Holding him on as he through Paul's doth walk,
> With nods and legs and odd superfluous talk;
> When he esteems thee but a parasite.
> For shame! unmask; leave for to cloke intent,
> And show thou art vain-glorious impudent."
>
> —*Satire*, II. 5–18.

The date of the above would be 1597–8, when Bacon was still looking forward to Essex, the Queen's satrap, doing something for his advancement in office. But whether Bacon be Ruscus or not, there is undoubted evidence that he lived in an atmosphere of fictitious letters, masked authorship, and general literary concealment in the earlier part of his career. He was a very hard worker too, and "sported his oak" as persistently as a Johnian sizar in his first year. Nicholas Faunt lets us know this, for he made a grievance of it when writing to his friend Anthony, Francis's brother. In 1584 Faunt called on Francis Bacon at Gray's Inn—a friendly call to exchange news about Anthony, who was abroad. Bacon's man-servant answered the door, and presently came back to say that his

master was too much engaged to see any one, but would Mr. Faunt leave his message? No, Mr. Faunt would not, and went away rather in a huff, for he writes off at once to Anthony and tells him about what occurred at the door: "Neither was I so simple to say all to a boy at the door, his master being within. This strangeness hath at other times been used towards me by your brother," &c. I am afraid no excuse can be offered for this repeated discourtesy of young Francis. But if he were occupied with *Venus and Adonis*, or was reading or pondering over some early play, I for one would forgive him.

But to return to the question we started with—the atmosphere of concealment with regard to authorship in which Bacon habitually lived in his earlier days—we must not forget that this private literary work *under a mask* was a maxim of Bacon's which he adhered to and stated openly in his later days. Thus in his treatise *De moribus interpretis* * he says: "*Privata negotia personatus administret*," *i.e.* "Let him do his private business under a mask." Spedding has a footnote to this: "I cannot say that I clearly understand the sentence." That is rather Mr. Spedding's manner when he meets anything not coinciding with his own fixed views. The sentence seems clear enough, especially with our present knowledge.

In fact, Bacon had learned by experience. When he came back from France with all the enthusiasm of youth and literary daring, he soon found that the envious critics, and his own relations too, were all inclined to depreciate and laugh to scorn his bold youthful attempts, his *Greatest Birth of Time* and other "phantasticall" conceits, as they would call them. So he imitated the "policy" of Aristotle, the very policy that in his dedication to Lord Mountjoye of *The Colours of Good and Evil* he gives to the Stagirite as a possible reason for the obscurity of some of his Greek writings. Aristotle, he says, may have wished "to keep himself close, as one that had been a challenger of all the world, and had raised infinite contradiction." This was just Bacon's case, and we find that throughout his

* Spedding, vii. 367.

life he tried as much as possible to avoid causing any violent opposition or contradiction.

But why did Francis Bacon so carefully conceal his share in the Plays of Shakespeare? This question has been asked for more than forty years, and the answers generally given are: (1) That it was beneath his dignified birth and position to have anything to do with play-writing at all. The men who devoted themselves to that class of literary composition were a scurvy, needy, and loose-living lot, and both writers and actors were under the conventional ban of polite and serious society.* (2) Bacon's mother, Lady Anne, was a strong Puritan and a determined opponent of such things, and had much influence over both her sons, even when arrived at comparatively mature age; they dreaded her scorn and displeasure. The answer has generally been confined to these two points only; but there is a reason which seems to me stronger than either, and that is, that it was a *dangerous* matter for a man with Bacon's hopes of advancement in life, and possible future political influence, to be mixed up with such plays. From their historical character many of them lent themselves of necessity to deep political and religious questions. The charge of heresy or treason could easily be brought by enemies, and as we know from the case of *Richard II.*, actually was brought. Nor is that the only instance. There is the case of the play of *Henry IV.* and Sir John Falstaff. Sir John was, when the play was first produced, not Falstaff, but Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, the Protestant martyr. The contemporary Lord Cobham strongly objected, and the play was revised—the first part in 1598, and the second in 1600, expunging Oldcastle and putting Falstaff in his

* This is well borne out by the evidence of Th. Lodge, who before 1589 had taken an oath

> "To write no more of that whence shame doth grow
> [Nor] tie my pen to pennie-knaves delight."

Lodge was the second son of Sir Thomas Lodge, Lord Mayor of London, and was about three years older than Bacon. The pennie-knaves were the groundlings of the theatre.

place, and concluding with an epilogue saying, "Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man."

The Elizabethan age was one when treasons, plots, and conspiracies were matters of almost everyday occurrence. There were, metaphorically and actually, dangerous powder-mines in political circles which only required the falling of a spark to produce a most dangerous explosion. Elizabeth and some of her ministers evidently thought that the play of *Richard II.*, for instance, was a spark of this kind. It was first published in 1598, with "W. Shakespeare" on the title-page, but it had been often acted before, and was once in the Northumberland MS. (1594), but had been afterwards torn out.*

Queen Elizabeth had conceived great suspicion against this play of *Richard II.*, and when Hayward's *Henry IV.* came out in 1599 with an extravagant dedication to Essex, her suspicions became still stronger, and she was seriously annoyed. Dr. Hayward barely escaped torture, and those who had procured the players to give the old play of *Richard II.* just before the attempt of Essex risked their lives for the deed at the trial. And yet not one single word was said during the whole long trial about William Shakespeare, the author of the play considered so suggestive and dangerous by the Queen, though his name was given at full length on the title-page. There is designed concealment here for some now unknown purpose. Was it that Bacon was the author of *Richard II.* and had turned Queen's evidence and made his peace with Elizabeth by attacking his former patron and friend? and was it Alleyn who wrote and informed the authorities? † And then under pressure, did Bacon's name come out and his "cheveril" yielding conscience permit him to take the part he did. But the *Poetaster* has given us some hints already about this matter.

* We are reminded of:

> "Who has a book of all that Monarchs do,
> He's more secure to keep it shut than shown.
>
> —*Pericles*, I. i. 94.

† *Cf.* p. 89 (*ante*).

The little volume of Essays was the first book that bore the name of Francis Bacon on the title-page, although he was already thirty-seven years old and of great knowledge and experience. This, according to the dedication, appeared 30th January 1598. Shakespeare's first acknowledged Play was also published this same year—perhaps in the same month, but certainly at no great interval.

The Essays of Francis Bacon, 1598, were dedicated to his brother Anthony, and this dedication is a very suggestive one, if well looked into in connection with the mystery of the Shakespeare Plays. He says first that he is acting now "like some that have an Orcharde il neighbored that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to prevent stealing." He goes on: "These fragments of my conceits were going to print: to labour the stay of them had bene troublesome, and subject to interpretation; to let them passe had bin to adventur the wrong they might receive by untrue coppies, or by some garnishment which it might please any that shold set them forth to bestow upon them. Therefore I held it best discretion to publish them myselfe, as they passed long agoe from my pen. . . ." Then he informs his brother that he "did ever hold there might be as great a vanity in retyring and withdrawing men's conceits (except they be of some nature) from the world, as in obtruding them."

Surely all this semi-obscure phraseology suggests to the reader concealed and "retyred" writings; copies sent to press without author's revision; retouching and "garnishment" by other hands than the author's; and lastly, injunctions to "stay the printing" of some of these pirated books—although this "stay" is admitted to be a troublesome matter, and likely to rouse suspicion and false comment. Does not all this suggest that the author of the Essays had lately experienced troubles connected with publishers and the press-pirates, although this was ostensibly his first work?

But it may be asked, Why should Bacon write for the theatres at all if it was so fraught with danger to himself and his prospects? There seems to be at least two reason-

able replies to this objection. One is, that Bacon was by no means well supplied with ready money in his early days, or indeed at any time, for he was of lavish and extravagant habits, and a constant borrower; and so, when at Gray's Inn, and having time on his hands, he occupied himself in the agreeable task of "invention," and prepared plays, partly because it was his hobby (and he generally took a good deal of trouble about the Masques at Gray's Inn), and partly because he could dispose of them to the theatres, and so earn something to help his present wants, and could arrange such matters without publicity. The plays could be anonymous, and the early ones were all published [or pirated] without any author's name; and when, later on in 1598, circumstances arose which required *Richard II.* or other historical plays to be fathered by some one, William Shakespeare, as is supposed, either stepped into the gap, for a consideration, or allowed his name to be used for the plays, as it had been already used for the dedication of the Poems to Southampton a few years before.

The general opinion that all the Shakespearian Plays were pirated and purloined from stage copies, is, I believe, quite a mistake. Money could be made by publishing any plays that were popular or had made a reputation, and we know that Ben Jonson used to get paid twice for his work, once for the stage manuscript, and once more from the stationer to whom he gave it for publication. Sometimes stationers had to pay a good long price for important works. Mr. Sidney Lee wants to make us believe that in Shakespeare's time there was no such thing as copyright. This assertion will not stand, or at any rate is misleading. Members of the Stationers' Company who had agreed to purchase a manuscript copy of an author's work were undoubtedly protected in their sole rights to it, and thus pirates could be baffled by the author or proprietor of an MS. selling his rights to a duly authorised publisher. Bacon, who wanted money, and knew the law well enough, would certainly adopt the best plan for his own interest.

Another reason was, there being no daily papers or

periodicals in the Elizabethan times, the stage was one of the best and readiest means for publishing opinions on any subject. A large public could be reached; many people who never opened a book could have their minds opened and their views modified while listening to the sentiments uttered by the characters on the stage. There was a fine chance for instilling lofty thoughts and inspiring principles by means of what was seen and heard on the boards of the theatre—and the author of the Shakespeare Plays used his opportunity well, as we must admit. Now Bacon was a man who would use such an opportunity well for the common good of humanity, for there was in Francis Bacon by nature a serious and lofty philanthropy, a desire to make the world better than he found it, which all the students of Bacon who know him best are the first to acknowledge.

The author of the Plays has been thought to be self-revealed in many of the characters of his Plays, and, amongst others, especially in the melancholy Jacques of *As You Like It*, who exclaims:

> "Invest me in my motley; give me leave
> To speak my mind, and I will through and through
> Cleanse the foul body of th' infected world."

If this be Bacon, as I believe it was, it will help us to a good reason why he wrote the Plays.

Nay, has not Bacon revealed his secret pretty plainly to those who can read between the lines in his last beautiful Prayer: "I have hated all cruelty and hardness of heart; I have, *though in a despised weed, sought the good of all men*." Now, this word *weed* had then ordinarily the meaning of a garment—it yet survives in our "widows' weeds"—and in the Baconian and Shakespearian use of the word there seems generally a half-meaning of a garment or dress that *disguises* the wearer. Thus in Sonnet LXXVI.:

> "Why write I still all one, ever the same,
> And keep invention in a noted weed,
> That every word doth almost tell my name,
> Showing their birth, and whence they did proceed?"

In both cases I believe Bacon is referring to the same things—to the works of his "invention," or, as he sometimes phrased it, "works of his recreation." He means that in his Plays he had sought the good of all his audience. He means, I think, that he had sought to influence his countrymen for their good in politics, national history, and patriotism, as represented vividly before their eyes in the theatres, and by the despised companies of vagrant actors, men indeed contemned by serious culture (Sir Thomas Bodley, to wit) and Puritanical self-righteousness, but still members of a profession and practisers of an art whose increasing future influence on the general public Bacon's keen eyes would not fail to detect.

To me, that very word "invention" seems to point directly to "plays" and "masques" and "long poems" like *Venus and Adonis*, that "first heir of my invention," as its author called it.

We have good proof that about this very time—viz., the year 1580—this word was so applied: "I confesse that ere this I have bene a great affecter of that vaine art of Plaie-making, insomuch that I have thought no time so wel bestowed, as when my wits were exercised in the *invention* of those follies." This is taken from "*A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and theatres . . . set forth by Anglo-phile Eutheo*," 1580, 16mo, p. 49. Herein is a very strong indictment of the Elizabethan theatres of the year 1580. It would, I judge, be a book dear to the heart of Lady Anne Bacon and all who thought as she did on this subject.

The theatres during Bacon's time were the resort of many profligate and noisy persons. Halliwell-Phillipps gives many instances proving from contemporary writers that the theatres were sinks of iniquity, with a very bad reputation for brawling, low company, and general debauchery. Girls of good character would be afraid of risking their reputation by visiting such places, or if they did they would be masked. It is to be feared also that the custom (which was universal then) of dressing up men and boys in women's clothes was sometimes an incentive

to perverted or Italianated instincts, and Italian morals were probably more known and imitated among the followers and patrons of the theatrical companies than in any other class of society. The University men who came to town to make a living somehow among people of this grade of society, were nearly always loose and profligate livers. Ben Jonson boasted that he could brand all his opponents in the Theatre War so deeply that no barber-surgeon could get the damning mark from their skin. It seems from what is said elsewhere in this book, that Bacon was one of this company in Jonson's eyes, and that probably Bacon himself thought he was aimed at, and sued for legal protection to shut Ben's virulent mouth. When we consider the very mixed and partly disreputable company before whom the plays of *Hamlet*, *Lear*, *Macbeth*, and the rest were acted, the author deserves great credit for the endeavour to elevate the rough groundlings and stinkards who formed so large a part of the audience. The constant revision, too, and improvement of the plays—a real improvement and not merely *ad captandum vulgus*, nor yet *ad captandam pecuniam*—all this seems to point away from the money-getting player and part proprietor who hailed from Stratford, and to point in the direction of Francis Bacon, the great literary workman, who in his high philanthropy used a despised weed for the good of all men.

The Shakespeare Plays are superior in moral tone and decency to the ordinary plays of the period. This is generally admitted, and is a credit to the author. Certain free passages here and there would be much better omitted, but they may be due to the work of an ill-advised collaborator at the theatre, or may have been put in for the benefit of the groundlings, stinkards, and prostitutes who crowded the open space where they had standing room at a penny a head. But even in their best aspect they would have been an abomination to Lady Anne and her preachers, and after reading her letters to her son Anthony about his brother's shortcomings, his wastefulness, his "cormorant seducers," and his filthy Welsh knaves, we may well

imagine that her ladyship would not be sparing of her invective if she had been told that Francis often went to Blackfriars to see the young eyases, that nest of boys "fit to ravish a man," to use Thomas Middleton's Italianated expression. This would indeed have roused her ire, for if Lady Anne hated one thing more than another, it was riotous living, and sinful Popish practices and corrupt ways of life.

It seems from what we read in the second Act of *Hamlet* that these little boy-actors, this "aiery of children," became quite the fashion among the smart set of court gallants, and "so berattle the common stages (as they call them) that many wearing rapiers are afraid of goose quills, and dare scarce come thither." What harm the goose quills could do except write scandalous libels or vilifying ridicule, I know not. The passage is not quite clear to me. However, in the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, where three of the boy-actors were struggling with each other for the usual cloak for the Prologue, we see plain enough that these children were old in the ways of the world. "What!" says the third child to the other two, "will you ravish me? . . . I'd cry a rape but that you are children." Ben Jonson knew his Italianated courtiers well enough.

There is a general impression with regard to Bacon's prose style which deserves to be removed, for it is a primary cause by which many people are led to refuse any hearing whatever to the Bacon-Shakespeare question. Bacon is really very little read nowadays, even by fairly educated people; and the general impression gained by turning over the leaves of his voluminous works is that he is dreadfully dry, prosy, and dull—a superficial view only, but it remains with many as a permanent one. Therefore, when it is suggested that Bacon wrote Shakespeare, such people, recalling their impression of Bacon's style, reject the idea as not worth further consideration. But thorough students of Bacon speak of the "marvellous language in which Bacon often clothes his thoughts. His utterances are not unfrequently

marked with a grandeur and solemnity of tone, a majesty of diction, which renders it impossible to forget and difficult even to criticise them." They say that "whenever he wishes to be emphatic, there is a true ring of genius in all that he says. There is no author so stimulating. Bacon might well be called the British Socrates." * If such a description be true, and its high authority forbids doubt, why should Bacon's style be an *insuperable objection* to his being the author of Shakespeare?

Bacon then, it seems, was a "British Socrates." Now Shakespeare was called *a Socrates* in the epitaph at Stratford Church. Which was really a *Socrates?* Surely not Shakespeare. Whoever *could* have put up such an inappropriate inscription with such a howling false quantity as that which now greets the eye of the Shakespeare pilgrim:

> "Judicio Pylium Sōcratem ingenio, arte Maronem
> Terra tegit, populus mœret, Olympus habet"?

Besides, it suits Bacon so much better. But I deal with this point in my chapter on Jonson and Shakespeare.

Nor are we justified in saying that since Bacon's prose style seems in general so heavy and so often quite unillumined by any brightness of wit and fancy, that therefore he had not the qualification necessary for a great poet or dramatist. Dulness of treatment in a prose work on politics, philosophy, or religion, and page after page unillumined by any light of wit or fancy, is by no means a certain proof that the author cannot excel in the high poetic treatment of a congenial theme. Take Milton, for instance. We might parody Mr. Spedding, and say, "Whoever wrote the *Colasterion* and the *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, of this I am quite sure, it was *not* the author of *Comus* and *Paradise Lost*." But we should be utterly wrong. One sublime intellect wrote both the dull and the lofty subjects. And may not the same be true of the lofty tragedies of Shakespeare, abounding in poetic conceptions of the highest order, and the excellent but somewhat

* *Nat. Dict. Biog.*, *s.v.* Bacon.

dull and tedious philosophy of Francis Bacon? And just as Milton had purple patches of echoing thunder and rhythmical charm in the midst sometimes of his most prosaic discourse, so we find that Bacon too was not wanting in these unexpected variations. We often meet in his solid and scientific prose the imagery of a true poet, combined sometimes with a rhythmic cadence that seems as involuntary as it is beautiful.

And besides we have the speeches of the Hermit and others in the "Essex Device"—now acknowledged to be Bacon's work—speeches full of lofty imagination, and abounding in the deep-brained similitudes for which Bacon declared he had a kind of natural talent, and which we also meet with so often in the Poems and Plays.

But let us hear another great authority on Bacon's style—I mean Dr. Abbott—and we shall find that many difficulties of the Bacon-Shakespeare theory vanish entirely. He says:

"Bacon's style varied almost as much as his handwriting; but it was influenced more by the subject-matter than by youth or old age. Few men have shown equal versatility in adapting their language to the slightest shade of circumstance and purpose. His style depended upon whether he was addressing a king, or a great nobleman, or a philosopher, or a friend; whether he was composing a State paper, pleading in a State trial, magnifying the Prerogative, extolling Truth, discussing studies, exhorting a judge, sending a New Year's present, or sounding a trumpet to prepare the way for the Kingdom of Man over Nature. It is a mistake to suppose that Bacon was never florid till he grew old. On the contrary, in the early Devices written during his connection with Essex, he uses a rich exuberant style and poetic rhythm; but he prefers the rhetorical question of appeal to the complex period. . . . The Essays, both early and late, abound in pithy metaphor as their natural illustration. . . . It would seem that Bacon's habit of collecting choice words and phrases, to express his meaning exactly, or ornately, had from a very early date the effect of repelling some of his hearers by the interspersion of unusual expressions and metaphors. . . . He seems gradually to have succeeded, with the aid of friendly

critics, in shaking off his early tendency to 'spangle his speech' with fit and terse, but unusual, expressions. But that he felt any pride in, or even set a just value on, his unique mastery of the English language, there is scarcely any indication."

As is well known, one of the most curious of Bacon's literary opinions is his view that the English language was not permanent, and that only works written in the learned Latin tongue would descend to distant posterity. Hence he was more proud of his Latin works than his English ones—at least that was his view in his last years; and he took great pains to have his acknowledged works, and his Essays especially, translated into Latin. What induced him eventually to hold this view seems very hard to discover. Clearly he did not hold it in his younger sonneteering days, as we know by those beautiful lines addressed to his "lovely boy":

> "Nor shall Death brag thou wander'st in his shade,
> When in eternal lines to time thou grow'st;
> So long as men can breathe, or eyes can see,
> So long lives this, and this gives life to thee."

But in any case, the strange fact remains that this most wonderful intellect, this "wisest of mankind," was apparently so careless of his literary reputation that he did not publish anything till he was nearly forty years old. He seems, by his letter to his uncle, Lord Treasurer Burghley, in 1592, to have determined to put his "care of (public) service" before the care of his books and "inventions," although in after life he admitted with sorrow how that his soul had long dwelt among such things as were enemies to his peace—*multum fuit incola anima mea*—or, as he paraphrased it in his last Prayer and Confession, "I may truly say my soul hath been a stranger in the course of my pilgrimage." That was his frequent cry. Bacon, like Milton, was not ignorant of his own parts; he knew better than most men how much there needed to be done in the world, and in his "vast contemplative ends" he no doubt often thought that he was the man to do it. But he also knew that no man could

effect much without power, and means, and interest, and so he set himself to obtain those *fulcra* for moving the world as his first object. He allied himself so closely to Essex because he thought power lay in that direction rather than with the humdrum and commonplace policy of the Cecil party, although he was allied by blood to the Cecils. Indeed, in this letter to Burghley of 1592, Bacon opens his mind more than he had ever done before in writing. He says, "I have taken all knowledge to be my province"; and adds that if he could get rid of certain "rovers," who by "frivolous disputations, confutations, and verbosities" in one part of the province, and by "blind experiments" and "impostures" in another part, had done so much damage, that then he hoped that he could "bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries; the best state of that province. This, whether it be curiosity or vainglory, or nature, or (if one take it favourably) *philanthropia*, is so fixed in my mind as it cannot be removed."

It never was removed, and all his life long this marvellous and mysterious * man could have truly said of the "Cup of Knowledge" in a line of his own Sonnets (CXIV.),

"And my great minde most kingly drinkes it up."

And with him it would not have been a vain or foolish boast. If ever there was a great and kingly intellect, it was that of Francis Bacon, the "broad-brow'd Verulam."

That intellectual *philanthropia* never was removed while he was one of the breathers of the world, and when the inevitable hour came, and he had to meet the

"Barren rage of death's eternal cold,"

he could again say truly, "*I have, though in a despised weed, sought the good of all men.*" And wrapping himself round with his virtues as with a cloak, he glides away,

* *Cf.* Ben Jonson's Epigram on Bacon's sixteenth birthday in 1621 :

"And in the midst
Thou stand'st as if some *mystery* thou didst."

still a mystery, from the knowledge of his generation, and leaves his fame and his secret to the generations to come.

In prose Bacon wrote only one important work of the imagination, and that but a fragment—*The New Atlantis*; but he has put into it more of himself, his aims, his desires, his tastes, and his ideals, than into any other prose work we have from him, and we see there the manner of man he was at heart. As Dr. Abbott well remarks:

"Rising from the perusal of this little book we can better understand Bacon's whole life and character, and especially his unbounded self-respect, and the self-confidence which was the source of some of his best literary efforts, and some of his worst political errors. . . . He always regarded himself as a philanthropist on a large scale, a true Priest of Science, after the manner of the Father of Salomon's House, having in his heart that true *philanthropia* which is 'the character of God Himself.'"

In my opinion we are not far from the time when our fellow-countrymen and the English-speaking peoples throughout the world will unanimously admit that the most wonderful genius that ever spoke and wrote the English language was the man who combined in *one brain*, and produced from *one brain*, the Essays and Philosophy of Francis Bacon and the Plays, Sonnets, and Poems of William Shake-speare—undoubtedly the greatest miracle of intellect the world has ever seen, and a most extraordinary termination of the greatest literary mystification that ever passed unchallenged for nearly three hundred years. That Bacon and Shakespeare should live for years in the same city and neither know nor mention each other—being such men as they were—is an astonishing fact. That two men should write such an enormous amount of original literary matter, matter so unlike and so superior to what their contemporaries could produce, is an acknowledged marvel in the case of each of them. But that one of them, viz., Bacon, wrote his own works and the other man's as well, is next door to a miracle, and has been voted an impossibility by millions. And how could Bacon, whose last and supreme poetical effort was a doggerel translation of a few of the Psalms, by any

possibility write *Venus and Adonis*, the Sonnets, and that marvellous poetry of the highest order of expression contained in the Plays?

Such things do seem impossible when first stated in their bare simplicity; and that is why so many people are orthodox and follow their fathers' and grandfathers' beliefs on the subject, and why so few are heterodox or Baconians. But the more the matter is looked into, the more difficult does the Shakespeare hypothesis become, and the more easy the Baconian. Insuperable difficulties seem to disappear, or to be so modified as to be almost negligible. I hope it will not be thought egotism if I give a part of my own case.

I was orthodox like my forebears for many years. I heard occasionally of the Baconian heresy, but I had an "insuperable difficulty" which quite prevented me becoming a heretic. I thought some of the heretical arguments very forcible, but my "insuperable difficulty" effectually prevented me from following up such arguments. This was my difficulty: I could not believe that Bacon, whose highest and most serious effort in poetry seemed to have been reached in his translation of a few of the Psalms in his old age, could have possibly produced, at any time of his life, the Sonnets, the Plays, or the Poems. However, one day I bought from an old bookstall a little book of Greek Epigrams, with Latin translations, for the modest sum of sixpence, being attracted by a very pretty printer's mark (Felix Kyngston) on the title-page. On looking into it at home I found to my surprise an English poem in it, translated into similar rhyming Greek verse by Thomas Farnaby the famous schoolmaster, who attributed the English Poem to Lord Verulam. The first verse was:

"The world's a bubble and the life of man lesse than a span,
In his conception wretched, from the wombe so to the tombe;
Curst from the cradle, and brought up to yeares with cares and feares
Who then to fraile mortality shall trust
But limmes the water, or but writes in dust."

I remember that I thought the last two lines rather good, and that Farnaby's authority was contemporary and sufficient. This made me read Bacon's Psalms again, and they seemed more passable; and the thought struck me that as Bacon was known to have in a high degree the faculty of throwing himself into the character he wished to represent, and to adapt his literary expression to the peculiarities of the person represented, so he had proceeded here, and had attempted the Psalms in the popular manner of Sternhold and Hopkins and the other writers of the old version of the Psalter. The Elizabethan Psalms were written down to the level of the people, and if they had been more poetically translated, and finer or loftier language used, they would not have been so acceptable to the class of people for whom they were mainly intended. There was an archaic roughness of metre which those people expected and preferred. I thought therefore that Bacon had most probably adapted his Muse to those same ends, and hence the apparently low standard of poetry. Thus did I leap over my "insuperable difficulty," and it has not troubled me since. Besides, I know that Bacon, to use his favourite expression, would always wish to "chalk a door" for his reception rather than try to enter by force, "pugnacity, or contention."

But some one may object to me that after all I have said as to the reasons why Bacon did not acknowledge his dramatic works, such as—(1) fear of offence to friends and relations, especially his mother; (2) damage to his own political reputation and prospects; (3) danger of associating his name with the public exposition on the stage of historical incidents and characters, whereby charges of treason and heresy might be incurred—that still I have given no good reason why Bacon should not have acknowledged the immortal dramas *either by his will or just before his death*. There was no Lady Anne then to fear, no political prospects to damage, no danger of a charge of treason then.

This has seemed another "insuperable objection" to many people, and is undoubtedly a strong argument against the Baconian authorship. The only reasons that struck me (and I think I have mentioned them somewhere in this volume) were that this "last confession" would call attention to the scandal of the Sonnets, and Southampton and other parties concerned were still alive. That was one grave and forcible reason; and another might be that Bacon still hoped, even to his dying day, to take his seat in the august assembly of the House of Lords, and felt that the acknowledged authorship of the actor's plays would be a decided bar to that. Or again, it has been supposed that his great admiration for Natural Philosophy, and his devotion to it in his later years, had made him undervalue the former fruits of his invention, which after all he always considered as works of his "recreation," and not as the serious business of his life. In his great mind eventually they did not bear comparison with his *Instauratio Magna*, his *Novum Organum*, and his other philosophical treatises, which he was so careful to have turned into Latin so that they might "live" to future ages. The "recreations" and the poems might die for any *Resuscitatio* that should ever come from his living lips; but he must have known that some of them, perhaps many more than we know, bore his private mark stamped on their head and tail, and that was left to the next ages and to the eyes of future generations to discover. If, however, these reasons seem insufficient for such a tremendous difficulty, I will add another which has lately come under my notice, and seems sweetly reasonable, for I firmly believe that our greatest Englishman died a truly religious man.

I will introduce it by quoting Henry Vaughan from the preface of his *Silex Scintillans*, 1655.

"It is a sentence of sacred authority that he that is dead is freed from sin; because he cannot in that state which is without the body, sin any more; but he that writes idle books makes for himself another body in which he lives and sins after death as fast and as foul as ever he did in his life: which consideration

deserves to be a sufficient antidote against this foul disease. . . . I myself have for many years languished of this very sickness; and it is no long time since I have recovered. . . . The first that with any effectual success attempted a diversion of this font and ever-flowing stream (of vain and vicious books) was the blessed man Mr. George Herbert, whose holy life and verse gained many pious converts, of whom I am the least; and gave the first check to a most flourishing and admired Wit of his time."

What if Francis Bacon was the greatest of these "pious converts" of whom Vaughan professed himself the "least"? Many things are more unlikely, for Bacon, we are told, "put such a value on" George Herbert's judgment, "that he usually desired his approbation before he would expose any of his books to be printed, and thought him so worthy of his friendship, that having translated many of the prophet David's Psalms into English verse, he made George Herbert his patron by a public dedication of them to him, as the best judge of divine poetry." *

What if one of the greatest masters of varied poetic expression made a renunciation of that most excellent gift in his later years, and put all his best thoughts on other objects, and despised comparatively that immortal possession and inheritance of his, that κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί, the Plays of Shake-speare? Well, he did, there is really no question about it at all. Hear his own words in the *De Augmentis Scientiarum* (1623). "Poesy is as it were a dream of learning: a thing sweet and varied and fain to be thought partly divine, a quality which dreams also sometimes affect. But now it is time for me to become fully awake, to lift myself up from the earth, and to wing my way through the liquid ether of philosophy and the sciences."

This is a pathetic renunciation, contained in, and surrounded by, the prose of a scientific work; but had not the same master-mind some years before, under the

* *Life of Herbert*, by Izaak Walton.

guise of Prospero, in that last great semi-masque *The Tempest*, expressed the same resolve:

> "But this rough magic
> I here abjure.
> I'll break my staff,
> Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
> And deeper than did ever plummet sound,
> I'll drown my book."

And then his "dainty Ariel" is dismissed somewhat regretfully. "I shall miss thee," he says, but his decision is to devote himself to his only daughter, the adorable Miranda.

I must admit that all this last reasoning about Bacon's renouncing the vain delights and dreams of Poesy is hardly consistent with the preparation of the first folio for publication in co-operation with Ben Jonson, which is my assumption throughout; but it may partly account for the folio not being claimed by its rightful author, and in any case Bacon's view of Poesy in 1623, and no doubt earlier, is, I think, worthy of record. I owe it to an Essay on Shakespeare-Bacon, which is anonymous, but has a postscript signed "E. W. S.: Rome, March 1899." It is one of the best contributions to the controversy that I know.

Most people think that the very fact of Shakespeare's name being signed in full to the dedication of *Venus and Adonis* quite settles the authorship, and that to attempt to upset such plain evidence is the work only of self-deluded cranks. But the fact is, that the majority of Shakespeare readers are unable properly to grasp the situation. Concealed and feigned authorship was not an unheard-of thing in those days by any means. Greene tells us this in his *Farewell to Folly* (1591). "Others—if they come to write or publish anything in print—which for their *calling and gravity* being loth to have any profane pamphlets pass under their hand, get some other to set his name to their verses. Thus is the ass made proud by this underhand brokery." I certainly think there was

"brokery" at work in the matter of the Shakespeare Plays and Poems.

One reason for the determined and obstinate opposition to the Bacon hypothesis is the way in which the heresy is stated. Often enough, indeed far too often, it is put in the bald form "Bacon wrote Shakespeare"; which is almost like a blow in the face to devoted Shakespearians of all degrees. It is an irritating way of stating the case, especially to many who, like myself, think it an incorrect and loose statement. If people would only set forth the heresy in the way I am now going to suggest, it would be much less annoying, much more likely to be listened to and accepted, and, in my opinion, much nearer the truth. Don't say "Bacon wrote Shakespeare," for at first blush it sounds absurd both to the learned and unlearned, but invert the proposition thus: "There seems strong evidence that Shakespeare, the shrewd actor-manager, was always ready to use up for his stage purposes any suitable plays, new or old, that came into his hands; he would 'take up all' and think no particular harm of it. He was in the habit of 'gagging' as well; Ben Jonson hints at that practice being used in one of his plays, and Ben took the trouble to exclude the actor-manager's stage additions from the printed copy. But with so many book-pirates about, it was impossible for Bacon to exclude the stage gag, and so no doubt it forms *part* of the immortal plays; but only a small part fortunately. There is also strong evidence that very many of the Plays that Shakespeare took up, and which passed under his name, really came in the main from Francis Bacon. Putting aside many suspicious circumstances connected with their production both first and last, which rather tell against the Stratford man, the Plays possess a language, a philosophy, and a learning which preponderantly point to the great Francis Bacon, as against any other writer of that period."

Shakespeare's friends and fellow-actors must have known very well whether Shakespeare was equal to writing something for the stage, or whether he was

unequal to such an effort altogether. No doubt Shake-speare could gag if required, could touch up and add to old plays and arrange them for the stage. All his friends must have known that, or supposed it, and that is why his productions were received as a rule without comment or derision. He was a "broker" of plays, and managed to get some first-class work into his hands; we must give his fellow-actors Burbage and Kemp, and Lewin and Arnim, and such-like persons "behind the scenes," credit for being sharp enough to know *that*. But he was a "shrewd fellow" and honest in his dealings, and could send out scrip that beat all the University men's work; and he was a peaceable, good-natured fellow, was gentle Shakespeare, and patrons of the drama and men of worship spoke well of him; and he had a facetious manner of writing, and quick natural talent too. And so Shake-speare's Plays were a success, and Shake-speare deserved it, they said. Somehow thus must we account for the attitude of the age.

It has been possible to use this statement for many years now, and if the heresy could have confined itself to such statements and to the proofs of them, and if also the cranks and fanatics and "frauds" had been kept out of the controversy, then I think the world of literature would have turned Baconian long before now. Moreover, if the present writer be thought worthy of notice, a stronger statement can now be made in addition to the above. It can, I hope, now be said: "There is also apparently good external, internal, and direct evidence that Francis Bacon wrote *Venus and Adonis*, *Lucrece*, and the Sonnets, and since it is an admitted axiom that the man who wrote the Shakespeare Poems and Sonnets also wrote the Plays, we must now give up the Stratford Shaksper with the best grace we can, and allow Bacon his glorious seat wellnigh on the highest peak of Parnassus."

The facts that Shakespeare's name appeared on the title-pages of his Plays and was never objected to at the time, that no one of his contemporary playwrights ever claimed the Plays, that his authorship of them was gene-

rally admitted by the public, have always been held by the orthodox party to be facts that could not possibly be put aside or denied. But these facts are always taken to be much stronger than they really are. If properly weighed as evidence they are very light. We must not estimate them according to modern literary standards. Authors and printers alike, in Elizabethan days, were constantly deceiving people as to the authorship of the books that were published, and were often "hand and glove" together in managing it. Authors frequently put on the mask of their printer, especially on the threshold, or in the vestibule of their books. Gervase Markham and others are well known to have done this, and also to have joined with other authors in producing plays, and the joint production would go before the public in the name of one author only. Consequently, in many cases people could never be sure who had helped in the work besides the man whose name was on the title-page. Curiosity was rather repressed than stimulated by this collaboration of authors, for if there was little chance of finding out what special parts each author wrote, what was the use of making curious inquiries about them?

So when William Shakespeare's name began to appear on the printed Plays in 1597 and 1598, no one had anything particular to say about it. There was no literary enthusiasm, no great discovery of a new genius. William Shakespeare was, I suppose, pretty well known as an active *factotum* who had to get somehow or other as many plays for the theatre as he could. They appeared under his name; there was nothing strange to people in that, and so long as Shakespeare's Plays were attractive no one troubled much as to where they came from. That was Mr. Shakespeare's business, not theirs. A fellow-player or critic, here and there, might hint, and did hint, that this active *factotum* of the stage did not supply all the wool for the new materials offered to the public, but only a few shreds; or again hint that "his feathers might be very fine, but were they his own?" But for the general public, whether against plays or fond of them, whether

Puritan or gallant, the authorship or qualifications of Shakespeare troubled them not for one moment. For these and other reasons I hold that the "otiose assent" of contemporaries to Shakespeare being the man who wrote the Plays, is not a proof of much importance.

One favourite argument against the Baconian authorship of the Sonnets is, that they are so thoroughly unlike, in tone and manner, the staid and learned philosopher of Gorhambury. But look at the case of the learned and religious Giles Fletcher, D.D.; who would have expected that he would write such a collection of amatory sonnets as *Licia* (1593, 4to)? They were anonymous, and no one suspected the real author till a few years ago, when he was found out by some one noticing an allusion in the ninth stanza of the First Piscatory Dialogue, written by his son. This divine did not, like Bacon, show his own head, but his son showed it for him.

Moreover, it was not at all unusual for a man in Francis Bacon's position at Gray's Inn to be mixed up with stage matters and dramatic pageants and court interludes. Indeed, it was to a man who almost in all things held a similar position in life to Francis Bacon that we owe the beginnings of the historic drama. Ferrers, a lawyer, who maintained himself in court favour under Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, was noted as a director of dramatic pageants, and he it was who composed the first English historic legend in the *Mirror for Magistrates* in 1559. There were nineteen legends, from the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., &c., and Ferrers was responsible for three. If one lawyer —Ferrers—laid such a good foundation for the historic drama, why should not another lawyer—Bacon—build upon it?

Only a few years later another novelty was added to the drama. This too came from the lawyers, and was carried out amongst them. In 1566, George Gascoigne translated from Ariosto, for representation at Gray's Inn, the prose comedy *Gli Suppositi*. This, acted under the title of *The Supposes*, is the first comedy written in English

prose, and was thought good enough to be borrowed from in the underplot of the *Taming of the Shrew*. And who was George Gascoigne? We are told he was "well-born, tenderly-fostered, and delicately accompanied." He was sent to Cambridge, and thence proceeded to the Inns of Court. Entering into the fashion of the time, he wrote love-verses which gained him no credit with the graver sort. Aspiring to political distinction, he sat some time as a burgess for Bedford. When play-writing became the rage he at once figured in the front of playwrights. He was very extravagant; and being disinherited, he sought to retrieve his fortunes by marrying a rich widow. So far his biography is very like that of Francis Bacon, but afterwards he came to grief socially, and went to fight under the Prince of Orange, and the end of his days was not fortunate. However, his early biography shows that there was no bar or boycott if a man of good birth and position wrote for the stage.

Why then, it may be asked, was there so much concealment in Bacon's case? Surely Lady Anne's rooted objection to the play-houses would not sufficiently account for it; and granting this as for the plays, why should Bacon have all his life long been a concealed poet, and professed "not to be a poet" at all? May not his early love-poems to young men, the peculiar circumstances connected with them, and some current vulgar scandal to boot, all have tended to make Bacon renounce any open profession of poetry, and to try to conceal his identity and connection with this kind of literature altogether—nay, more, to pass it off under another's name?

My arguments throughout are chiefly concerned with the Sonnets and Poems, which are comparatively new ground for the Bacon theory. As may be supposed, I strongly hold that Francis Bacon wrote at least the finer passages of the Plays, and that the frequent revisions and additions were due to his habit of constantly rewriting and altering his work. But it must not be thought that I consider Shakespeare a mere mask for Bacon and

nothing more. I know some hold this view. I cannot support it for a moment.

I think it is a great mistake to depreciate Shakespeare's professional and business capabilities. He could hardly have been the successful man he was without possessing them in a high degree. Mere money gifts by Southampton or Bacon would never have permanently enriched an incapable or ordinary playwright. By the year 1594 Shakespeare had served, as it were, a seven years' apprenticeship, and a most "industrious apprentice" he had, without doubt, been; one worthy of the canvas of a contemporary Hogarth. From this year he takes his place as one of the chief actors in the principal company in London, and he is the acknowledged writer of the most popular love-poems of the time. This last qualification was by far the most esteemed by all people. *Lucrece* and *Adonis* were far above any plays. Poems were, it was thought, fit work for a prince, but plays were connected with strolling vagabondism only.

I do not profess to be a critic of the Plays or of their assumed dates. With our present bibliographical knowledge the latter subject is too intricate and obscure to handle with any confidence. But I submit that we give many of the Plays far too late a date for their original conception and production. Especially is that the case for many of the Plays which appeared for the first time in print in the first folio of 1623. Such plays as *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *As You Like It*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, and others not published till 1623, may well have been written about the time that Shakespeare first came to London, or a year or two later. Indeed, this has seemed so probable with some Shakespearians that they have suggested that young William brought several of these MS. plays up to town with him, carefully stowed away in his pocket when he first left Stratford for good.

Such views undoubtedly favour the Baconian authorship. For Francis Bacon was the elder of the two men, both in years and experience of life; he had far greater educational facilities, and considerably more leisure time

at Gray's Inn for writing and thinking and seeing the fashionable world, so admirably depicted in the early plays, than ever Shakespeare had. And so it seems far more likely that these precious and immortal MSS. were lying roughly sketched and ready for revision and enlargement in *his* desk, rather than in Shakespeare's pocket. Besides, if they were really safely packed under the Swan of Avon's wings when he took flight for London town, why did he not bring them out in his own name at once? They would not have disgraced him. He had no strong-willed mother of whom he stood in awe. He had no reputation to lose, but everything to gain. In fact, there was only one thing to prevent him from offering them at once to his fellow-townsmen then in London, and that one thing was—he had not got them. However, they came in course of time, and a very good thing he made out of them. I know this is rather a vulgar way of putting it, but sometimes the " man in the street " blurts out a conviction in his own tongue which effectually breaks through the elegant and finely-spun meshes of *doctrinaire* arguments.

There is the intuitional argument as well as the logical one. It may be more liable to error, it may be the special argument of the weaker sex and of the uneducated, but it sometimes goes straight to the bull's eye which logic, with all its artillery, fails to hit. Logic is of course by far the safer weapon of the two, and I have tried to make the best use I can of it in this present work. The other weapon, the woman's weapon, is apt to be sometimes very erratic ; it will even seem to turn round at times and shoot the person who uses it. Some Baconians, I fear, have suffered in this way ; it is then called literary suicide or literary self-effacement. The man who states publicly that Shakespeare could only write his own name, and hardly that, is a case in point. The men and women who write voluminous and ridiculous romances which they read letter by letter or word by word from Bacon's printed works are other cases in point ; they are literary self-effacers or something worse. Such are the necessary evils of unsupported and unrestrained intuition. Delia

Bacon suffered originally from an attack of this kind which developed into something much more pitiable. It has been said of the commentators on the last book in the Bible, that "the Apocalypse either finds men mad or leaves them so." I pray that there may never be cause to apply this remark either generally or specially to those who meddle with the Bacon-Shakespeare question. To me it is one of the most interesting and curious questions that we meet with in the whole domain of literary history, and when people say, as has been said frequently to me, What *does* it matter whether Bacon or Shakespeare is the author? I can give no other answer but a stare of amazement. I feel I *could* give an answer, but that it would be lost on such questioners.

I know that he who writes on this subject poses as "a crank" before the great majority of educated people; so it is not an inviting field of literature by any means, and publishers say it means a dead loss. Well, it is a pleasure to me, and we must, I suppose, sometimes pay for our pleasures. But in self-defence I may be allowed to say this, that I have endeavoured to use the safe weapon of logic and reason wherever that weapon was available; but I submit that the more dangerous weapon of intuition cannot be wholly dispensed with in this contest. We must deal with the *probable*, the *possible*, and with what seems *likely* to have occurred judging from the facts before us. Here intuition, the historic conscience, and some acquaintance with the lights and shadows of the literary atmosphere of the Tudor period must go hand in hand with bare logic, or the whole controversy becomes stiff and lifeless. Probability is one great guide of life, and intuition sometimes helps us to what is really probable better than logic does. When intuition takes the form of a predominant and overmastering idea, then—that way madness lies.

However, I feel pretty sane when nearing now the end of my book, and if I have had an attack, it has been a very mild one. For I have certainly no predominant idea, which my mind would steadfastly refuse to give up, on this vexed question. With me it is an intensely

interesting and difficult problem—a kind of literary chess problem, where there are very many possible moves, and much foresight and general knowledge of the game is necessary to become a good player. I have studied the game because it interests me, and therefore I feel that I am somewhat more capable of making a fairly correct move than an ordinary policeman or detective, or even Sherlock Holmes himself, and certainly more capable than the city men who go down first-class or in a Pullman car to their daily business; for from my own experience they seem to have, as a rule, no knowledge of the game and no interest in it. But perhaps I have travelled in the wrong carriage and conversed with the wrong people.

Finally, then, I wish this work to be considered tentative, and not the creature of a predominant idea. I would give up my Rival Poet and my Dark Lady, would renounce Mary Fitton and all the Adonis-like young damsels with their doublet and hose, and the codpiece which may have taken Bacon's curious fancy; I would renounce them all, or any other false or irregular moves I may have made in this difficult game;—nay, I would suffer fools gladly and take a checkmate from wise critics with a joyful countenance, if they will only treat the matter seriously and play fair.

I have already made this appeal in the Preface or Vestibule of this House of Controversy, and having passed through various chambers I have now arrived at the back door or exit. I here repeat my appeal, make my bow, and leave my literary card:—

So, Reviewers, save my Bacon,
O let not Folly mar Delight;
Here my name and claim unriddle,
All ye who fix the italics right.
The discoverer in the middle
My last book will to me unite.

APPENDIX

OF

LITERARY CURIOS

CONNECTED WITH

THE BACON-SHAKESPEARE PROBLEM

APPENDIX

THE "TEMPEST" ANAGRAM

AMONG the curiosities of the literature of the Bacon-Shakespeare theory, there is hardly a more remarkable one than what is called the *Tempest* Anagram. Who the ingenious discoverer was, and when it was first given to the public, I know not. I first met with it in *Notes and Queries*, and I think it worthy of reproduction here outside the body of my evidence.

The anagram is formed from the last two lines of the Epilogue to *The Tempest*, viz. :

"As you from crimes would pardon'd be,
Let your indulgence set me free."

ANAGRAM.

"Tempest of Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam,
Do ye ne'er divulge me ye words."

This *Tempest* anagram is, to say the very least in its favour, a remarkable coincidence. Take the supposition that Bacon, or the editor of the folio collection of printed and unprinted plays in 1623, wished to insert a cryptic distich which contained anagrammatically the key to the real authorship of the volume—then I say no more suitable and likely place could be found, for it was the concluding distich of the first play in the book, and of the last play that had been produced by the author. It was in exactly the same position as the two concluding lines of *Lucrece*, which gave us BACON as the author of that poem by the singular device we have already noticed. It was the *Envoy* (l'envoi) or last two lines of the Epilogue, and this *Envoy* was generally supposed in sonnets or similar short poems to have a peculiar significance, and if anything was to be specially conveyed it was, so to speak, relegated to this last distich, which was set back a little, in the letterpress, from the preceding lines of the sonnet or poem. And this was the case in the *Tempest* epilogue, and in all the Shakespeare Sonnets in their original edition of 1608.

And there is this curious extra fact in the original edition of the Sonnets, that the famous Sonnet CXXVI., beginning "O thou, my lovely boy," a sonnet supposed to be the *Envoy* sonnet of the whole first series (I.–CXXVI.), has of itself no *Envoy* at all, but only a blank space enclosed in brackets, as a sign that the *Envoy* was either never written, or else had been blotted out or erased by the author for some purpose known best to himself. Possibly, and I think very probably, this missing distich or *Envoy* contained some statement or allusion which would have proved a key to the whole series, and therefore too dangerous to be set down in black and white, or left to the tender mercies of a piratic or indiscreet copyist. In fact, the *locale* of the *Tempest* anagram is exceptionally appropriate, and the anagram and its *programma* are both fairly suitable, and as to sense and meaning are consonant with the supposed purpose. For the anagram to be defective by one letter is no great objection in one of that length. And the chief objection, viz. that Francis Bacon was not yet created Lord Verulam when the play was originally written, is hardly a valid objection at all; for the very assumption that we have taken is that this *Envoy* (and perhaps the whole epilogue) was *added* of set purpose when *The Tempest* was edited and printed and put in the forefront of the famous folio, some years after its first production on the stage, and *then* Lord Verulam was a correct title of Francis Bacon.

THE FIGURE ANAGRAM

This is another ingenious discovery in connection with our subject, called an anagram by a misnomer; for it is really only a progressive spelling out of names, beginning at stated points of a poem or paragraph, and ending exactly at the last letter or letters of the same.

The discoverer, who gives himself no other name but that of a "Shake-spearian," takes Ben Jonson's Address to the Reader facing the famous Droeshout engraving, and extracts from it, beginning always at the letter F or f, the following keys, which sufficiently, as he thinks, unlock the difficult mystery of authorship.

Beginning with the first F of the word Figure in the first line he gets:

(1) Francis Saint Albans his Booke . . . . (F_1)

in this way: beginning with F he next proceeds to look for the

nearest letter *r*, and then for the next *a*, and so spelling steadily on and not turning back, he goes on till he gets Francis; and then still proceeding in the same way to the very last letters of Ben's poetical address, he gets the decisive statement as above.

Then he takes the second *f* in the word *for*, in the second line, and proceeding as before right to the end he gets again:

(2) Francis Saint Albans his Booke . . . . . (F_2)

There being three more *f*'s he treats them in the same way and gets:

(3) Francis Saint Alb. his Booke . . . . . (F_3)
(4) Francis Saint Alb. his Booke . . . . . (F_4)
(5) Francis his Booke
or
(6) Francis B his Booke } . . . . . (F_5)

But these apparently decisive readings do not satisfy our persistent solver of enigmas. He starts again with the fourth *f* and gets:

(7) Francis Bacon his Booke . . . . . (F_4)
From the third *f*—
(8) Francis Bacon his Booke . . . . . (F_3)
From the second *f*—
(9) Francis Bacon his Booke . . . . . (F_2)
From the first *f*—
(10) Francis Bacon his Booke . . . . . (F_1)

These last two spellings end on the word "looke." In order that my readers may conveniently test the results of F_1, F_2, F_3, &c., I reproduce Ben Jonson's famous address in the Folio:

TO THE READER.

This Figure that thou here seest put
It was for gentler Shakespeare cut;
Wherein the Graver had a strife
With Nature to out-doo the life:
O, could he but have drawne his wit
As well in brasse, as he has hit
His face; the Print would then surpasse
All, that was ever writ in brasse.
But since he cannot, Reader, looke
Not on his Picture, but his Booke.

I will not leave this feast of literary ingenuity ἀσύμβολος, and therefore supply as my own contribution an additional F formed on the same principle from the capital letters only of Ben Jonson's lines above, which spells out FR.B. or the very head which Bacon shows in the first lines of *Lucrece*, F$^{R}_{B}$. And besides this, notice the care and ingenuity that has been displayed in working up this literary device. It is truly Baconian, for it takes the vestibule or foreword, and the endlines or last distich, as the places he determines on for the concealment of his head. This was exactly the device in *Lucrece*, where we had a moiety in the foreword or vestibule, and he "saved his bacon" till the last couplet. As in *Lucrece* he drew attention to the device by an artfully concealed phraseology in the dedication, so here he draws attention (as I suggest) by a good downright *N.B.* in the last line—the *N* being in the first word and the *B* in the last word of the concluding line of the whole poem.

I am no believer in Mrs. Gallup, nor yet in her ciphers—or any one's ciphers much; but I will back my bi-literal N.B. against hers any day. It starts well, runs straight, and comes in by a head at the finish; what more can a backer want? However, I will not back it as a bookmaker, and therefore it is not jotted down in the body of my book, but is put with the rank outsiders in the appendix. But in a fairly arranged "freak" handicap, with nominations limited to *four litteraires* only, I would nominate N.B. if they would take me as qualified, and would nominate FR.B. as well, and declare to win with FR.B., and back N.B. for a place.

WHO WAS MR. HEWS?

Sonnet xx.

In this Sonnet, which may be called the "Master-Mistress" Sonnet, both from its using this very expression, and also from its general tone, there is at line seven the following description of that lovely youth to whom the Procreation Sonnets and many other early ones were addressed:

"A man in hew all *Hews* in his controlling."

This line has exercised the critics and expounders very considerably, and mainly for this reason, that the word *Hews* is put into italics, and begins with a capital letter. This evidently looks

primâ facie as intending some hidden allusion, and I believe that is the correct view to take, although I fear that I can add little or nothing of an elucidatory character.

But for the amusement of those who have not troubled to make many researches into the Sonnets, I will give a few of the solutions, partly on account of their being literary curios.

Almost the first solution given was that we had here the full name of the mysterious Mr. W. H., who was the "sole begetter" of the Sonnets, and that he was a Mr. W. Hews or Hughes. But as no one ventured to fix upon any Mr. Hughes who would suit the required conditions, the suggestion fell to the ground, at least for some time. Some one then thought of Hughes the friend of Chapman, but he too was clearly out of court. Then came the ingenious Mr. Gerald Massey, who holds the record for having devoted more pages to the puzzling Sonnets than any two men living or dead. He said: "It is EWES that was aimed at by the *double entendre*, which leads us beyond the mere name to a person of importance; for EWE was a title of Essex! The earldom was that of "Essex and Ewe." Thus Mr. Massey takes the line to mean that Southampton's "comeliness and favour were far superior" to those of Queen Elizabeth's favourite Essex, and thus he was in the position to get the upper hand at court. "Such punning upon names was a common practice of the time, and had been done before on this very name." We are then given a quotation from Peele in his *Polyhymnia*, speaking of Essex:

> "That from his armour borrowed such a light,
> As boughs of yew (=Ewe) receive from shady stream."

This seemed to Massey to settle the matter, and also to exclude Herbert from being the man addressed, for "Herbert came too late for any rivalry with 'Essex and Ewe'; his rivalry was with 'young Carey,' a much later favourite."

Ingenious as this was, it would not, however, satisfy a writer in *Blackwood* (May 1901), who was a pronounced Herbertite, and was not going to have his theory spoilt by any Ewes, or courtesy titles of Essex. He had a courtesy title of Herbert, Earl of Pembroke that would put all the Ewes out of the running, and that was the title Lord Fitzhugh or Fitzhew, which belonged to William Herbert through one of the baronies of the Earls of Pembroke. So his solution was:

> "A man in hew—the Lord Fitzhew,—the lord of all the sons of Hew—all the Hews."

What could be plainer? But it is a hopeless task to please everybody, and very soon up starts a "wild" theory that the man meant was the *William Hughes* who always took women's parts in Shakespeare's Company, and that from the force of circumstance and from Shakespeare's (?) "sportive blood" this William Hughes became the master-mistress of that intense passion—so wondrous, so un-English, so semi-pagan and Italianated;—that passion that appears to us clothed in such a robe of beauty and with such an exquisite texture of interwoven words and rhythm in the Sonnets of the ever-living Poet. The discoverer backs up his theory by quotations and illustrations from other Sonnets. Thus in Sonnet LIII. we have Willie Hughes described in terms that would most suitably represent a quick-change female impersonator. Willie Hughes is a perfect Proteus:

> "What is your substance, whereof are you made,
> That millions of strange shadows on you tend?
> Since every one hath, every one, one shade,
> And you, but one, can every shadow lend."
>
> —*Sonnet LIII.*

What can this last line mean, asks our wild Œdipus, unless it refers to him who had all Hews or Hughes or hues in his "controlling"? And does not this same Sonnet proceed to call him "Adonis" in one line, and then in the next lines "a painted Helen"? Ergo, Mr. Willie Hughes as a female impersonator used the hare's-foot with splendid effect (*splendide mendax*), and was a handsome young man to boot.

Nor is this all the evidence. Sonnet LXXVIII. gives us a most convincing piece of proof, all the stronger because it is so artfully hidden from the reader's view. The poet is here evidently addressing "Willie Hughes," and says in the third and fourth lines:

> "As every *alien* pen has got *my use*,
> And under thee their poesy disperse."

This undoubtedly refers, though the ordinary reader would hardly have suspected such a thing, to Willie Hughes leaving Shakespeare's Company for the rival theatre of Alleyn (= alien) and Henslowe, the inducement being, most likely, better pay. The reference is "as plain as a pikestaff" as soon as it is revealed to us. The words *my use* = my Hughes = my Willie. They have to rhyme with *Muse* in the first line, and *Hughes* is a far

better rhyme than *use*, and explains the italicised *alien* (= Alleyn) and the whole sad separation of the lovers much better than *my use*, which is a very bald expression, and indeed one hardly capable of a rational explanation.

And again there is the famous Sonnet LXXXVI. concerning the "Rival Poet," or Chapman as most good critics hold him to be. The "ever-living" author of the Sonnets declares here that he was not afraid of the Rival Poet's verse, but when it was declaimed by his beloved "Willie" at a rival theatre the flow of his own Muse was stopped. The words of the Sonnet are:

> "I was not sick of any fear from thence:
> But when your countenance fil'd up his line,
> Then lack'd I matter; that enfeebled mine."
> —*Sonnet LXXXVI.*, lines 12–14.

As the ingenious discoverer tells us, "Willie Hughes left Shakespeare for Alleyn and Henslowe's rival company of actors, and played a part in Chapman's plays, which were then being produced there. Willie's countenance filled up, or filed up, as another reading has it, the Rival Poet's lines. This was too much for Shakespeare, and went near to silencing his Muse altogether. Looked at in this light the Sonnet becomes free from haze or obscurity."

This attempt, of which only 200 copies were privately printed, is, as all must allow, a clever pretence for unravelling a skein of mystery. It is unfortunately marred by one defect, and that is, that Willie Hughes the beloved female impersonator only exists in the "wilde" imagination of the discoverer. However, if we are enthusiasts, that is a mere detail. We can look such facts boldly in the face, take their measure, brush them aside, and go on our old paths with unabated confidence. The true enthusiast will alway have the courage of his convictions; and a true Shakespearian (as the discoverer was) would be the last to allow that Willie Hughes, or Willie Shakespeare, or any Willie whatever, could exist *only* in his imagination. *Ex nihilo nihil fit.* Ergo, if Willie Hughes existed in my imagination, he could not exist *only* there, but must have existed somewhere else previously; he could not have been nowhere or non-existent, for *ex nihilo nihil fit* is incontrovertible; he could not therefore be the simple product of my brain, and only to be found there; he must previously have been somewhere else, and why not possibly in the *Hews* of the Sonnets? When enthusiasts,

whether Baconian or Shakesperian, tackle you in this manner, what are you to say or do? My advice is, go out for a little fresh air, and have a quiet talk with the policeman at the nearest corner. He, at least, is not likely to be a metaphysician. A conversational tonic of this kind will be found to be a great relief. *Crede Roberto experto!*

Another explanation is by a gentleman who claims Sir Philip Sidney as the author of the Sonnets, and holds that this particular Sonnet is addressed to Sidney's great friend, Sir Edward Dyer. The line is an evident punning allusion to his name, for a Dyer can control all hues. This ingenious solution comes from America, and its author's name is J. Stotsenburg; so it looks as if we had here a good "blend" of German research and American smartness.

It appears also that there was a contemporary William Hughes, a musician, but there is nothing to connect him with the Sonnets. Also, by a singular coincidence of name, a Mrs. Hughes, who was Prince Rupert's mistress, was the first woman to take female parts on the stage, playing Desdemona in 1660.

Another explanation is that *Hews* stands for a faithful retainer of the Earl of Essex, who had great influence with the Earl, and the meaning of the line is that the young Adonis, Southampton, the Child of State, the world's fresh ornament, and coming favourite of the court, would soon take the place of *Hews* and control him and the Earl as well. I believe there was a man of such a name in the Earl of Essex's household, but that is about all that is known.

I have collected these comments on this line of Sonnet XX. more for amusement than for any critical purpose. Perhaps all that we can really say with any confidence is, that the "sweet boy" (Southampton, as I think) had a complexion of the *hue* of "rose-cheeked Adonis." In Sonnet CIV. this hue is again referred to as "your sweet hue," and the ever-living Poet declares after "three winters' cold" and after:

> "Three beauteous springs to yellow autumn turn'd,"

this fine complexion, this special beauty, this sweet hue "methinks still doth stand."

Elizabeth was wont to choose her favourites for their youthful grace and high complexion, and no one would know better how suitable in this way young Southampton was, than those who associated with him intimately at Gray's Inn.

The author of the Sonnets seems to lay a good deal of stress on this rosy beauty of his own sweet "Rose," and to consider it a valuable asset for a young man to possess. It strikes me that Francis Bacon is far more likely to have thought and said such things than William Shakespeare. I go no further, and I leave Mr. W. H., Mr. William Hughes, Mr. William Hall, for the next writer who feels inclined to thoroughly tackle the question of "Who's who in the Sonnets," and will leave this title at his own service if he wants to choose one. Sometimes an author would give his last penny for a really catching title.

HAMLET AND PLATO'S CAVE

It has been thought that in the first scene of the second Act of *Hamlet* the author had the seventh book of Plato's *Republic* in his mind. For Hamlet is described as coming to Ophelia while sewing in her chamber "as if he had been unloosed out of hell," and from the description of his appearance it would seem that he had come forth from some prison or dungeon. Now, in Plato's remarkable allegory the world is represented as a subterranean cavern where men are kept prisoners, and so fettered and bound that they can only look to the rear of the cave and see the shadows cast on the inner wall from the light at the cave's entrance. Objects pass by the entrance, but the prisoners see them not; they see only their shadows cast on the wall. That this allegory was alluded to in *Hamlet* seems further shown by a passage later on in the play, where it is said, "Then are our beggars' bodies and our monarchs and outstretched heroes the beggars' shadows." Now Plato had described (*Rep.*, vii. 521) evil consequences which would ensue if the government of the state were seized by beggars or persons destitute of appropriate qualifications. So the curious expression about beggars and heroes quoted above from *Hamlet* seems to mean that the monarchs and heroes of the world are as the shadows of such beggars. Moreover, that most difficult expression, "*outstretched* heroes," becomes perfectly clear if Plato's allegory is meant, for then their shadows would be *lengthened* on the wall. We should also be able to account for another difficulty—that of Hamlet being thirty years old when intending to resume his studies at Wittenberg (Act. V. sc. 6), for Plato (*Rep.*, vii. 539) fixes the age of thirty as the age when the serious study of dialectic or philosophy should be commenced.

Mr. Th. Tyler was the first to draw attention to this abstruse reference to Plato in the *Academy*, June 25, 1898, but it did not, as far as I know, call forth any further remarks. It seems not unlikely, and certain passages of the Sonnets rather bear it out, *e.g.* Sonnet CXX. :

> "For if you were by my unkindnesse shaken,
> As I by yours, y'have pass'd a hell of time";

also Sonnet LVIII. :

> "I am to wait, though waiting so be hell";

and *Lucrece*, 1286 :

> "And that deep torture may be called a hell
> When more is felt than one hath power to tell."

Hamlet no doubt had "pass'd a hell of Time" before he thus made his appearance to Ophelia,

> "His doublet all unbrac'd,
> No hat upon his head, his stockings fouled,
> Ungartered, and down-gyved to his ancle."

"Down-gyved" is an odd word to explain, if we will not think of Plato's fettered prisoners.

By the time that *Hamlet* was written Bacon had come to see that if he or the world in general were to embrace the new philosophy, the new method, the *Novum Organum* that was developing in his mind, then all the fallacies and false appearances, all the "Idols of the Cave," must be stripped off or escaped from, and the fetters of the prison-house unshackled. The ordinary conventional dress of the schools must be disarranged or thrown aside; "no hat" and "doublet all unbrac'd," and stockings "down-gyved to the ancle," if we are to escape from the "confines, wards, and dungeons" of our "goodly prison" in this world below. In Scene ii. of the same Act, a little farther on, Hamlet gives his philosophy of the world's prison-house in his finest pessimistic vein; but enough has been adduced to show that we have Bacon's language all through, and not that of Shaksper the Player.

SOME ECCENTRIC CRITICS OF THE SONNETS

The interpretations given to the Sonnets have been almost endless, and no two commentators have ever thoroughly agreed with each other.

For eccentricity I think a gentleman named Heraud carries off the palm. The poet's "Two Loves" were the Roman Catholic and

Reformed Churches, and there is not a single Sonnet addressed to any individual at all. In the later Sonnets we are to think of the author as having his Bible open before him, and reading the Canticles. There he finds that lady "black but comely," who is the spouse of his celestial friend and himself too. M. Fernand Henry, who has lately edited the Sonnets in a French translation, is reminded by this eccentric expositor of Father Hardouin the learned Jesuit, who held the opinion that the Odes of Horace were written by the monks of the Middle Ages (13th century), and that Lalage the poet's mistress was but a symbol of the Christian religion.

This same M. Fernand Henry is much disgusted with those English critics who will not hear a word against the morality of their great literary idol—who will have it that their national poet was a faithful husband and a devoted admirer of the sex in the highest and purest bonds of affection, and a man who lived all through his London life in a singularly gentle and pure way, and joined his dear wife in his country home to end his days with her and his family in peace—a respectable and ideal Englishman.

No, our French critic will not stand this. "Il n'est que la pruderie et le cant anglais capables de s'offusquer à si bon marché." No, Shakespeare had his moral weaknesses, and we must admit them; but they are not to blast his character or his reputation. He holds that his very avowal of them, and the way he makes it in the Sonnets, carries forgiveness with it, and induces pity for that wonderful intellect, that it should be fated to ride so "sorry a beast" as was at times no doubt that mortal body that carried him. Our complaisant Frenchman finishes thus: "On ne trouve pas dans Saint Augustin un aveu plus humilié, et combien le contraste est plus frappant si l'on rapproche les sonnets des *Confessions* où Jean-Jacques révèle, avec une sorte d'ostentation, les secrets les plus cachés de sa vie, poussant le cynisme jusqu'à inventer parfois des choses qui ne sont rien moins que certaines!"

Another Frenchman, M. Louis Direy, who prints his contribution at Poverty Bay, New Zealand (1890), holds the view that the Sonnets of Shakespeare are the "lyrical drama of his inner life." In brief, "The Orpheus is alone on the stage. He there evokes two personages—his Friend and his Mistress. Who are they? His Friend is his heavenly spirit, his immortal; his Mistress is his earthly passion, his perishable. There is

besides 'the Beast that bears him'—his body. This trio is himself."

This Frenchman from the Antipodes is quite an enthusiast in his way, and has somewhat the temper of a prophet of Israel. He ends with a

"QUOUSQUE TANDEM!"

"For now three centuries of fiery ordeal our twin stars, William and Anne,* been jointly defamed, nay divorced, as it were, before the world by the infamous verdict of worser England, even such as Shakespeare's biographers and the Shakespearian Judases, who in recent times having failed to filch the thorn-and-laurel crown from Shakespeare's seraphic head, for to clap it on Bacon's barren brow, are nowadays viciously, insidiously attempting in Christian England, in the native country of gentle William, the Poet of poets, to erect altars to Baal, under the lurid meteor of Goth Goethe and his Mephistopheles.

"It is for you, fairer, better, truer England to quash now that odious verdict, and to piously celebrate the trieval jewel-wedding of William and Anne, in Shakespeare's spiritual Church of the Future, singing in unison the chaste Canticle of Canticles, the song of the Swan of Avon, as once sung by 'the bird of loudest lay.' Thus will the eye of the living God smile on the inauguration of the promised Jerusalem."

We are generally taught that French writers are distinguished for their lucidity. Perhaps the climate of the Antipodes has not been favourable to this quality, or else it was the English language that did not give him a fair chance.

Among the curiosities of the Sonnets the following is too good to be left out. A Mr. Samuel Smith Travers, who hails from Tasmania, published in 1881 at Hobart Town a small work, entitled *Shakespeare's Sonnets. To whom were they addressed?* On the leaf before the preface we have:

TO · J.O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPS
THESE · INSVING · LINES
ARE · DEDICATED
BY
THE · WELL-WISHING
ADVENTVRER · IN
SETTING
FORTH. —S. S. T.

* Why is it that the New World will persist in bringing in Mistress Anne Hathaway? At home we seldom, if ever, connect her with the Sonnets.

Page 13 gives his answer. "They were addressed to his [Shakespeare's] son. Not a son by Anne Hathaway, but to an illegitimate son by some other woman—as evidence would go to show, by some woman of high rank. . . . Can we imagine that any mere woman could resist him?" The proof takes twenty-four pages altogether.

DID SHAKESPEARE WRITE BACON'S WORKS?

The next Bacon-Shakespeare curio that seems to me worthy of preservation here, is an elaborate article by an American named J. Freeman Clarke, who shows to his own satisfaction that it was far more likely that Shakespeare wrote all the great philosophical works of Bacon than that Bacon, being the man he was, should have been able to write the Plays and Poems of Shakespeare. This essay appears in *Nineteenth Century Questions* (Cambridge, Mass., 1898), and I have reduced it in compass considerately, but have not omitted, I believe, any important point.

I may say, first of all, that I believe each man wrote his own works as we have had them from the beginning. I regard the monistic view that one man wrote both Bacon and Shakespeare as in the last degree improbable, not merely a marvel, but a miracle. But if we are compelled to accept the view which ascribes a common source to the Shakespeare Drama and the Baconian Philosophy, I think there are good reasons for preferring Shakespeare to Bacon as the author of both.

It will not be sufficient to say that Shakespeare could not have acquired the necessary knowledge, for we cannot understand now the rapidity with which all sorts of knowledge were imbibed in the period of the Renaissance. It was the fashion of that day to study all languages, all subjects, all authors. Thus speaks Robert Burton, who was forty years old when Shakespeare died: "What a world of books offers itself, in all subjects, arts, and sciences to the sweet content and capacity of the reader!" A mind like that of Shakespeare could not have failed to share this universal desire for knowledge. After leaving the grammar-school at Stratford, he had nine years for such studies before he went to London, and when he began to write plays, or dress up old ones, he had new motives for study, and would have to keep up his classics for his own interest.

Look at Ben Jonson's case; that furnishes the best reply to those who think that Shakespeare could not have gained much knowledge of science or literature, because he did not go to Oxford or Cambridge. What opportunities had Ben? A bricklayer by trade, called back

immediately from his studies to use the trowel; then running away and enlisting as a common soldier; fighting in the Low Countries; coming home at nineteen, and going on the stage: sent to prison for fighting a duel—what opportunities for study had he? He was of strong animal nature, combative, in perpetual quarrels, fond of drink, in pecuniary troubles, married at twenty, with a wife and children to support. Yet Jonson was celebrated for his learning. He was master of Greek and Latin literature. If then Ben Jonson, thus handicapped, could manage to acquire this vast knowledge, is there any reason why Shakespeare, with much more leisure, might not have done the like?

But my position is that if either of these writers wrote the works attributed to the other, it is much more likely that Shakespeare the Poet wrote the works of Bacon the Philosopher than that Bacon the Philosopher wrote the poetical works of Shakespeare. For where can you find any good examples of philosophers becoming supreme poets? But, on the other hand, authors whose primary quality is poetic genius have often been eminent as philosophers. Milton, Petrarch, Goethe, Voltaire, Coleridge, were primarily and eminently poets; but they turned out very excellent metaphysicians, men of science and philosophers as well.

But what instance have we of any man like Bacon, chiefly eminent as lawyer, statesman, and philosopher, who was also distinguished as a supreme poet? What great lawyer ever became eminent as a dramatic or lyric author? Cicero tried it, but his verses are doggerel. If Bacon wrote Shakespeare, he is the one exception to an otherwise universal rule.

Again, this assumption that Shakespeare wrote Bacon will explain at once the insoluble problem of the contradiction between Bacon's character and conduct and his works. In Bacon's writings he is calm, dignified, noble. In his life he was an office-seeker through long years, seeking place by cringing subservience to men in power. To gain and keep office he would desert his friends, attack his benefactors, and make abject apologies for any manly word he might have incautiously uttered. . . . How was it possible for a man to spend half of his life in the meanest of pursuits, and the other half in the noblest? We cannot marry his low conduct to his high philosophy. But we are really not required to do so, for the difficulty is quite removed if we suppose that Bacon, the pushing courtier and lawyer, with his other ambitions, had also the desire to be a philosopher, or at least the fame of it, and so induced Shakespeare, then in the prime of his powers, to help him to write the prose essays and treatises which are his chief works, and to allow Bacon's name to appear on the title-pages. In fact, Bacon, writing to Tobie Matthew, his one great friend to whom he was least reserved, in 1623, says that he was then making his writings more perfect "by the help of some good pens which forsake me not." If Bacon used other people's

pens then, why not earlier in life, when Shakespeare was alive? We also can explain on this assumption that very curious fact that Shakespeare seemed to leave no books or MSS., or even to mention them in his Will. This is quite accounted for—he had let Bacon have them all before he died, and Bacon went on working at this material till he finished his (Shakespearian) *Novum Organum*, and the rest. No doubt Ben Jonson gave Bacon considerable help too—he would be one of his "best pens"; and since in 1613 Shakespeare bought a house in Blackfriars, where Ben Jonson also lived, these two great men would be very conveniently situated for co-operating with Bacon in writing his *Novum Organum*. There can be very little doubt that from Bacon's character and court-attendance and busy official life, he had neither time, nor inclination, nor ability for such laborious moral and philosophical work—Shakespeare and Ben Jonson did it for him, and he took the fame and glory.

Another writer (W. D. G.) in the Aberdeen *Alma Mater*, Jan. 12, 1898, mentions a friend who was so ultra-Shakespearian that he claimed Bacon's Essays to be the work of the poet Shakespeare. They bore the stamp of the Bard of Avon on their very first line, it being a fine example of an English hexameter; only some interpolator had inserted a bloated epithet, making the line a Heptameter:

"*What is truth said* [*jesting*] *Pilate, and would not wait for an answer.*"

The Shakespeare Anniversary, 1902

I confess I am not a very great reader of newspapers, but as St. George's Day of this year (April 23, 1902) was also the Shakespeare anniversary day, and beginning now to be honoured much more than in my College days, when we hardly noticed it, my attention was drawn to several matters akin to my book.

(1) The Sonnets of Shakespeare were quoted in the House of Commons. This, I believe, is an almost unique instance. Stranger still, it was in connection with the Beer Bill introduced to help the use of barley and prevent sugar and chemical products being too freely used in the brewing. Mr. Fletcher Moulton, the well-known K.C. and expert in patents and commercial matters, delivered an eloquent and well-argued speech against prohibitive legislation in this matter. He asked the House to consider the injury that would be effected by Parliament putting a stop to the development of industry. The proposal of the Bill reminded him of Shakespeare's lines, "Art made dumb by authority and folly controlling skill?" (Cheers.)

It is to be hoped that his quotation was a little more accurate than the above, otherwise he certainly did not deserve the cheers. It seems to have been a little bit too much for the reporters to grapple with, for the *Times*, which gives much the longest report, and the *Daily Chronicle* and many other papers, do not mention the quotation at all—my authorities being only the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily News*, which both agree verbally, and consequently, I suppose, obtained the quotation from the same reporter. I need hardly tell lovers of the Sonnets that the orator was referring to the pessimistic Sonnet LXVI. and the lines:

> "And art made tongue-tied by authority,
> And folly (doctor-like) controlling skill."

But whether Mr. Fletcher Moulton uttered them correctly with the loving intonation of an enthusiast, or mangled them on the spur of the moment, it is rather a pleasing novelty to have the Sonnets in Parliament at all, and deserves a record.

(2) On the same day the *British Weekly* in its long primer leading critique on Dr. Cheyne and his *Encyclopædia Biblica*, or "The Bible in Tatters," as the paper preferred to call it, tried to make out that the learned D.D. was the victim of a craze, and that his arguments were no better than those of the Baconians. "We have," it says, a precise parallel to the Bacon-Shakespeare craze. Of course no real man of letters who knows Shakespeare would ever give the theory a thought. There is nothing in the evidence that has even the smallest force, and yet, speaking from a fair acquaintance with the books, we confidently affirm that the argument is far more plausible than many arguments used by Biblical critics; in fact, if the advocates of Bacon had been dealing with some book in the Bible they would have been enthusiastically supported by all the Professors of Leyden, by Dr. Cheyne, and by a good many more."

(3) In an evening paper (same day) the following met my eyes: "Yesterday was Shakespeare's day, the birth day and death day, according to repute, of the late Mr. William Shakespeare, a gentleman who is stated to have been the author of a large number of elegant quotations. I did not, however, notice any one immersed in the notable tome attributed to him, and the city continued at its usual gallup. For my part, I rose betimes, and thinking not of Shakespeare, contented myself with bacon."

The subject thus seems to go

"From grave to gay, from lively to severe";

and ends in a business-like manner with the following newspaper announcements of "Publications received":

The Mystery of William Shakespeare: a Summary of Evidence. By his Honour Judge WEBB. Longmans, 10s. 6d. net.
The Early Life of Lord Bacon. Newly studied by PARKER WOODWARD. Gay & Bird, 2s. 6d. net.

Altogether the Shakespeare Anniversary Day of 1902 was the most notable one that I remember.

THE AUTHOR'S OWN CURIO
HIS SOLUTION OF THE FAMOUS EXPRESSION—
SWAN OF AVON

I have at end of Chapter VI. referred ironically to a Baconian solution of the well-known words *Swan of Avon*, for, seriously speaking, I cannot accept the Cheltenham solution. But if we may allow our imagination sometimes to lift us from *terra firma* into the realms of hypothesis, I would rather search for the solution among the Swans which Bacon mentions in his *De Augmentis*, lib. 2, cap. vii., and which he had taken from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, Bk. xxxv. 14. I allow myself in imagination to overhear Ben Jonson and Francis Bacon discussing together the rough draft of the famous vestibule of the 1623 folio. "What title shall I give him?" says the obliging Jonson. "Oh," says the great man of mystery, "call him the Swan of Avon, for he flew away from London to his native Avon with my medal in his mouth, and he is the swan who is to take it to the 'temple consecrated to immortality.' But the medal has my name and cipher impressed on it all the time, if people would only look in the right place."

What Bacon says about the swans is as follows: "He [Ariosto] feigns that at the end of the thread of every man's life, there hangs a little medal or collar (*monile*) on which his name is stamped; and that Time waits upon the shears of Atropos, and as soon as the thread is cut, snatches the medals, carries them off, and presently throws them into the river Lethe;

and about the river there are many birds flying up and down, who catch the medals, and after carrying them round and round in their beak a little while, let them fall into the river; only there are some swans which if they get a medal with a name, immediately carry it off to a temple consecrated to immortality." *

* Spedding, *Bacon's Works*, iv. 307.

INDEX

INDEX

ABBOTT, Dr., and the squabble between Bacon and Coke, 41; and Lady Anne Bacon's complaints against Perez and Francis Bacon's male servants, 51; his *Bacon and Essex*, ib.; his solution of Bacon's character, 63, 258; and Bacon's humour, 127; and Bacon's style, 332

Actresses, absence of, from the Elizabethan stage, 61

Adagia, Erasmus's, account in, of the "Gardens of Adonis," 69

Adonis, the counterfeit of Southampton in the Sonnets, 57; the "gardens" of, 69; of the Sonnets, 137

Advancement of Learning, Bacon's, and Sonnet CXXV., 233; his remarks on poetry in, 268; difference between Bacon's views expressed in the edition of 1605 and those in the revised one of 1623, 269.

Advice to Queen Elizabeth, Bacon's, and the Pallas-Shake-speare question, 291

Alasco, Alberto, honour paid to, at Oxford, 219

Alleyn, the actor-manager, allusions to, in the Sonnets, 220; his silence as to Shakespeare, 235; and the authorship of *Richard II.*, 324

All's Well That Ends Well, date of the publication of, 346

Alma Mater, the Aberdeen, a writer in, and the authorship of Bacon's Essays, 367

A Lover's Complaint, suggestive passages in, of Bacon's authorship, 58

Andrewes, Bishop, and Bacon's authorship, 271; Bacon's view on a man's writings expressed to him, 304

Angelo, Michael, his relation to Tommaso de' Cavalieri a parallel to the attitude of the author of the Sonnets towards William Herbert, 257

Anthologia Polyglotta, Dr. Wellesley's, 71

Antonio and Mellida, Marston's, 30

"Apologetical Dialogue," the, prohibition of, 88; vicious allusions in, 89

Apology Concerning the late Earl of Essex, Bacon's 141, 188; and his travels and studies, 208

Apophthegms, Bacon's, proof of his philosophic spirit in, 105

Arcadia, Sidney's, and the Sonnets, 143, 201

Archer, William, and the "Dark Lady," 146

Arena, the, opinions of distinguished men in, on Shakespeare-Bacon problem, 118

"Aretine," the appellation, applied to Bacon, 24; applied to Nash, 25

Aristotle, the policy of, imitated by Bacon, 322

Art of Poesie, Puttenham's, 30

Ashurst, R. L., his remarks on W. H. Edwards's *Shaksper not Shakespeare*, 282

Astrophel and Stella, Sidney's, traces of similiarity between, and some of the Sonnets, 202

As You Like It, and Vincento Saviolo's Book, 186; the disguise of Rosalind in, 263; alleged self-revelation of the author in the character of Jacques, 327; date of the publication of, 346

Aubrey, John, the value of his literary records, 36

Authors and Printers in Elizabethan days, 343

Avisa, Willobie's, called in, 15; date of its entry at Stationers' Hall, 290; interest taken in *Lucrece* by the author, 291

BACON, Anthony, his intimacy with Antonio Perez, 44; letters to, from Lady Anne, complaining of behaviour of Francis Bacon's male servants, 49

Bacon, Francis, monogram of, in dedication to *Rape of Lucrece*, 3, 4; his signature to his letters written to Lord and Lady Burghley, 5; his authorship of the Shakespeare Poems known to Marston and Hall, 11, 12 *et seq.*; known to contemporaries to be the author of *Venus and Adonis*, 14; the "Labeo" of Marston and Hall, 17, 20; and the cynic of Hall's *Satires*, 18; his motto, 21; and the appellation "Aretine," 24; his early licence of love, 25; scandals about, ib.; the author of the Shakespearian Poems and

Bacon, Francis—*continued*
Sonnets, 29; allusions to, in Marston's *Satires*, 29–31; his connection with the "scandal" of the Sonnets, 35; John Aubrey and his moral character, 36; and the treatment of official records, 38; his connection with masques at Gray's Inn, and devices for the Earl of Essex, 38, 276; a great literary fabricator, 39; peculiarities of his literary life, 38, 39; his squabble with Attorney-General Coke, 40–42; protection of, by Cecil, 41; the youth of, 43; his associates, ib., 78, 88; letter to, from a Mr. Standen, 45; letters written by him for others, 47; his want of authority over his male servants, 48; reason why he concealed his authorship of *Venus and Adonis*, 49; pecuniary difficulties of, 49; his intimacy with Mary Fitton, 55; evil reports of, 62; Pope's false judgment on, 63; Dr. Abbott's solution of his character, ib.; the last five years of his life, 64; and the "gardens of Adonis," 70; his power of paraphrasing other men's phraseology, 73; his character as portrayed by Sir Toby Matthews, 75; his qualifications for the authorship of the Shakespeare Plays and Poems, 76; Ben Jonson's early attitude towards, 81; portrayed in Ben Jonson's *Silent Woman*, 84; in the *Poetaster*, 85; his dislike of his profession, 88; his connection with *Richard II.*, 89, 155, 166, 180, 324; his predicament at Essex's trial, 90; under a cloud, ib.; his friendship with Ben Jonson, 93; one of his favourite literary devices, 112; as we know him, 120; date of his greater works, ib.; on love, 121; his early levity and his later life, 123; and the love scenes in the Shakespeare Plays, ib.; a natural humorist, 127; his intimacy with Southampton, Pembroke, and Essex, 129; and the "Procreation Sonnets," 136; proof that he wrote Sonnets, 141; his alienation from Southampton, 142; a remarkable letter from, to Southampton, ib.; in his early Gray's Inn days, 145; probability of his authorship of *Venus and Adonis*, 145; his opportunities of meeting Herbert and Mary Fitton, 148; his intimacy with Mary Fitton, 149; depicted in *The Silent Woman*, 152; allusions to, by Ben Jonson, 155; his views as to the value of our plantations in America, 160; a true patriot, ib; depicted in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, 161; his correspondence with Essex and Southampton, 169; the probable author of Pembroke's letter from prison to Cecil, 171; and of Essex's letters, 173; poem

Bacon, Francis—*continued*
composed by him when Essex was in danger of losing the Queen's favour, 176; his letter to Lord Essex, 177; his breach with Southampton, 178; his letter to Southampton just before his release from prison, ib.; his personal relations with Southampton, 179; and the trial of Essex, ib.; reason why he never mentions Shakespeare or Jonson, ib.; his reason for avoiding open correspondence with Southampton, 180; on his own literary powers, 181; similarity between his letter to Lord Burghley and Sonnet II., 181; and the "Sonnet to Florio," 182; his connection with Florio, 185; and *As You Like It*, 186; poems attributable to, 187; and the "Farnaby" poem, 188; his identities of thought with Shakespeare, 189; his five concealed poems, ib.; his opportunities for visiting Italy, 200; and Sidney's *Arcadia*, 201; and *Astrophel and Stella*, 202; at Twickenham Lodge, 204; the "northern journey" of, 207, 217; dedication of his "Travels and Studies," 208; his period of depression, 210; his personal relationship with Southampton, 210; absence of correspondence between him and Southampton, 211; nature of his relationship with Southampton, 213; his tardy success in mounting the ladder of ambition, 213; and the threatening of his life, 218; and Bruno's philosophy, ib.; possible connection between him and Bruno, 219; and Bruno's visit to Oxford, 219, 229; and the "eclipse" of the Queen, 225; odium incurred by him through taking part in the prosecution of Essex, 227; and Italian freethinkers, 229; his intimacy with Sir Fulke Greville, 230; his friendship with Sir Thomas Heneage, 234; possible reasons why he never mentions Shakespeare, ib.; his theory of the nature of fire, 243; probably the writer of Sonnets for Southampton and Herbert to send to their lady-loves, 249; his confirmed habit of writing letters for other people, 249; Ben Jonson's earlier and later view about him, 250; parallelisms between his acknowledged works and the Plays of Shakespeare, 251; the question whether he had a mistress, 253; his misogynism, 255; the mystery of his real character, 258; Mr. Abbott's view of his life, ib.; his prayers found after his death, 259; maligned by Pope, ib.; religious calm of his later life, 260; his "Confession of Faith," ib.; his wild oats, 261; the chosen companions of the early middle period of his life, 262; effect

Bacon, Francis—*continued*
on his personal character of the ill odour in which he found himself before and after the trial of Essex, ib.; a clue to the date when the adverse rumours against him were strongest, ib.; his connection with the authorship of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 264; his reason for concealing his authorship of Shakespeare, 265; his mistress, 266; as a poet, 267; true estimate of, ib.; his intimacy with Sir Tobie Matthew, ib.; the period of his life about which so little is known, 268, 293; his concealment of his real attitude to poetry and the drama, 268; his views in later life with regard to poetry, 269; the friends to whom he lifted off the mask, 271; his early genius, ib.; the period when he was laying the foundation of the Plays and Poems, 272; his admiration of Sir Philip Sidney, 272; evidence of his love of poetry, 273; his love for literature anterior to his passion for science, 274; seventeenth-century testimonies to the intimate relation between him and poetry, ib.; his connection with Pallas, 281 *et seq.*; reason why he called himself Shakespeare, 285; reason why he used the name of Shakespeare, 290; evidence of his connection with Shaksper, 291; his unparalleled activity, 293; his commonplace books, ib.; his belief in himself, ib.; his estimation of his later philosophical works, 295; his magnificence on the day of his wedding, 296; his far-reaching intellectual aspirations, 297; his facilities for producing the Shakespeare plays, &c., 298; rapidity of his work, 299; his peculiar facility for improving other people's language, ib.; the party in the Church of England to which he belonged, 299; his first pleading in the King's Bench, 300; his enormous vocabulary, ib.; unique words used by him, 301; the classification of his philosophical works, 302; his self-effacement in literary matters, 303; the view he held on a man's writings, 304; his private friends when at Gray's Inn, 308; under his Ovidian domino, 310; his habit of constant revision, 315, 345; reason why he concealed his identity, 320 *et seq.*; his lofty philanthropy, 327; parallel between his literary style and that of Milton, 331; his view upon the permanency of the English language, 333; reason of his close alliance with Essex, 334; his genius, 335; the reason why he did not acknowledge his dramas either by his will or before his death, 338; the value in which he held George Herbert's judgment, 339; his renunciation of poetry, ib.; contrast between his life and his writings, 366

Bacon, Lady Anne, complaint of against Lord Essex, 43, 79, 240; her alarm at Bacon's intimacy with Perez, 44, 79; and the dangers of London life, ib., 309; the letters of, 49; and the sale of "markes," 50; and Francis Bacon's religious views, 299; and her publications, 320; her objection to acting and writing, 323; to riotous living, 330

Bacon, Sir Nicholas, and the use of a contemporary mask to hide his authorship, 320

Bacon-Shakespeare Question, the, the evidence of dialect on, 77; Sir Theodore Martin on, 116; Professor A. R. Wallace on, 118; Sir Henry Irving on, 124; and the Earls of Essex, Pembroke, and Southampton, 129; curiosities of the literature of, 353

Bacon versus *Shakespeare*, Edwin Reed's, 130

Baconians, the, their neglect of the Sonnets and Plays, 1; their view of the scholarship of the author of the Shakespeare Plays and Sonnets, 68; and the Pallas-Shake-speare evidence, 281 *et seq.*; the extreme, 311; and the *British Weekly*, 368

Bacon's works, the theory that Shakespeare might have written, 365

Banbury, Earl of, the paternity case of, 238 (*note*)

Bandello's Tales, male impersonators in, 264

Bartholomew Fair, Jonson's exposition of the triangular love-picture of Bacon, Southampton, and the "Dark Lady" in, 161

Baynes, Professor, and Shakespeare's familiarity with Ovid, 92; and the authorship of the Sonnet to Florio, 182

Beeching, Rev. Professor, and parallels to the Platonism of the Sonnets, 257

"Better angel, the," the identity of, 247

Birch's Memoirs, and Antonio Perez, 51

Blackie, John Stuart, and Bacon's poetic faculty, 269

Blackwood's Magazine, a writer in, and the "Rival Poets," 221; and the identity of *Hews* of Sonnet XX., 357

Blount, Edward, and the Dedication and Address over the signatures of Heminge and Condell, 113; his knowledge of Bacon's authorship, 271

Bodley, Sir Thomas, and Bacon's later life, 123

Bonstetten, the Swiss, friendship of, with the poet Gray, 257

Bowden, Father, and Shakespeare's religion, 97

Boy-actors, the earliest mention of, 61; reference to, in Hamlet, 62, 330; and court gallants, ib.
Brandes, George, and the Italian scholarship of the author of the Shakespeare Plays, 72; and Bacon's visit to Italy, 200; and parallels to the Platonism of the Sonnets, 257
British Weekly, the, and the Baconians, 368
Brown, Charles Armytage, and the Herbert theory of the Sonnets, 138
Bruno, Giordano, traces of his philosophy in the Sonnets, 218, 226, 229; in London, 219; at Oxford, ib., 229; the date of his works, 230
Brydges, Mistress, and the Earl of Essex, 79
Burbage, John, and William Shakespeare, 77
Burghley, Lord, favourite cipher device of, 8; his objection to waste of time over Sonnets, &c., 86; similarity between a letter to, from Bacon, and Sonnet II., 181; and Giordano Bruno, 219
Burke's Bible, 21
Bushell, Thomas, 52
Butler, Samuel, and the Sonnets, 32; and the "Scandal," 33; and Mr. Sidney Lee, 247

Calendar of State Papers, letter in, from Ben Jonson to Lord Salisbury, 111
Campion, Thomas, and Bacon's poetic faculty, 274
Canaidos, use of the term by Marston, 25
"Canopy Sonnet," the. *See* Sonnet CXXV.
Capell and the "lameness" of Shakespeare, 223
Capias utlegatum, the old legal term, 42; its reference to Bacon, 263
Carew family, projected alliance of, with William Herbert, 203
Cecil, Mr. Secretary, two letters to, 41; his protection of Bacon, 41; striking phrases in the letter to, from William Herbert, shortly after his release from the Fleet Prison, 170, 313; and the scandal about Mary Fitton, 238
Chapman, reference to, in the Sonnets, 209, 220
Characteristics, Professor Minto's, and the authorship of the Sonnet to Florio, 184
Children of the Chapel Stript and Whipt, The, 61
Church, Dean, and Bacon's self-assertion, 295
Churchyard, T., contemporary court satire by, 150
Ciphers, biliteral, 7; and politicians of the Essex and Burghley parties, 8; Anthony and Francis Bacon experts in, ib.; varied kinds of, ib.
Clarke, J. Freeman, and the theory that Shakespeare might have written Bacon's works, 365
Cobham, Lord, his objection to the introduction of Sir John Oldcastle into *Henry IV.*, 323
Cogitata et Visa, Bacon's, and the question of Bacon's lack of time for play-writing, 299
Coke, Attorney-General, his squabble with Bacon, 40–42.
Colours of Good and Evil, Bacon's Essay on, and the "woman coloured ill" of the Sonnets, 246
Concealed authorship in Elizabethan days, 340
"Confession of Faith," Bacon's, nobility of, 260; self-revelation in, 327
Copyright in Shakespeare's time, 326
Coriolanus, Baconian simile in, 241 (*note*)
Critoy, Monsieur, authorship of the letter to, 320
Cryptograms, worthlessness of, 7
"Cynthia," The address to, authorship of, 174, 175
Cynthia's Revels, attacks on Marston and Dekker in, 82

DAMON and Pythias, in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, 161
Daniel, Samuel, and the Sonnet to Florio, 184; reference to, in the Sonnets, 209, 220
"Dark Lady," the, Sonnets referring to, 131, 254; identified by Mr. Tyler as Mistress Fitton, 132; the last Sonnets to, 145; her intrigues, 146; evidence in the Newdigate documents identifying her with Mistress Fitton, 146; the chronology of the episode of, 195; allusions to, in Sonnets CXXVII. to CLII., 235; moral character of, 239; Massey and the love of the author of the Sonnets for her, 254
Davies of Hereford, John, testimony borne by him in a sonnet to Bacon of Bacon's poetic faculty, 275
De Augmentis Scientiarum, Bacon's remarks in, on Poetry, 339; the Swans mentioned in, and the expression "Swan of Avon," 369
Defence of Contraries, The, the translator of, and the Bacons, 291
Defiance to Envy, Hall's, 20
Dekker, Thomas, and the War of the Theatres, 82; his *Satiromastix*, 83
Delia, Daniel's, dedication of, 192; a model for the form of verse used in the Sonnets, 203

De moribus interpretis, Bacon's reference in, to the habit of working under a mask, 322
Device of the Indian Prince, The, similarity of, to the Sonnets, 187
Devices for the Earl of Essex, Bacon's connection with, 38; descriptions of, by Rowland White, ib.; evidence in, of Bacon's poetic faculty, 276; reminiscences in, of the Sonnets of *Hamlet*, the early Plays, and of *Promus*, 278; speeches of the Hermit in, 277, 332
Diana, Montemayor's, male impersonators in, 264; its connection with the authorship of the Shakespeare Plays, ib.; date of its translation into English, 265; English MS. versions of, ib.
Digges, Leonard, and the Stratford monument to Shakespeare, 105
Direy, M. Louis, and the Sonnets, 363
Dixon, Hepworth, on Bacon's magnificence at his wedding, 296; and the early part of Bacon's life, 318
Dowden, Professor, and Judge Webb's Baconian errors, 22; his triangular duel with Professor Tyrrell and Webb, 109; and the Earl of Southampton, 138
Drake, Dr., and the individual to whom the majority of the Shakespeare Sonnets were addressed, 131
Droeshout engraving of Shakespeare, the, 98, 101; Ben Jonson's address to the reader facing, 354
Dyer, Sir Edward, alleged dedication of Sonnet XX. to, 360

EDMONDS, Charles, discovery by, 192
Edney, or Enney, Francis Bacon's servant, 49; identity of, 52
Edwards, W. H., his effort to prove that Shakespeare could not have written the plays attributed to him, 281
Elizabeth, Queen, dinner to, at Oxford, 139; pleasures and recreations of, 144; allusions to, in the Sonnets, 225, 226; her suspicion of *Richard II.*, 324
Elizabethan age, the, one of treasons and conspiracies, 324; authors and printers in, 343
Elizabethan court, masques and revels of, 240
Elizabethan London, vice in, 216
Elizabethan maids of honour, 237; morality of, 240
Elizabethan stage, the, character of, 62
Emery, Abbas Jac. Andr., and Bacon's religious faith, 261
England's Helicon, the address to "Cynthia" in, 174
Envoy of Sonnets and poems, the, peculiar significance of, 353
Epictetus, Healey's, dedication of, 193
Epigrams, Ben Jonson's, dedication of, 6
Erasmus and the "Gardens of Adonis," 69
Essays, Bacon's, proof of his philosophical spirit in, 105; date of their publication, 120; successive alterations and revisions of, 315; the first book which bore the name of Francis Bacon on the title-page, 325; the dedication of, 325
Essex, the Earl of, and devices, 39; his friendship with Bacon, 43; his intrigues with Queen Elizabeth's maids of honour, ib.; Lady Anne Bacon's complaint against, 43; procures a pension for Antonio Perez, 44; amours of, 79; the trial of, and Bacon, 90; a hostile influence to Bacon and the Cecils, 137; rebellious uprising of, 142; scant allusions to, in the Sonnets, 166; references to, in the plays of Shakespeare, 166; execution of, 167; no evidence that he knew Shakespeare, 167; his friendship with Bacon, 168; his correspondence with Bacon and Cecil, 169, 172; resemblance of thought in his letters and two of the Sonnets, 173; his letter to the Earl of Rutland, ib.; letter from Bacon to, 177; mystery of the Sonnets known to, ib.; beheaded, 178; the part taken by Bacon in his trial, 179; dedication to, of Bacon's "Travels and Studies," 208; contemporary evidence that he had literary work composed for him by others, 249; and the remarkable paper discovered in the Lambeth Collection, 287
Essex's Device before the Queen, mention of the "Gardens of Adonis" in, 70; letter in, to the Queen, 288. *See* also Device
Essex Treason Case, the, breach in friendship between Bacon and Southampton caused by, 178
Examen de la Philosophie de Bacon, Count Joseph de Maistre's admission in, of Bacon's poetic genius, 273

Farewell to Folly, Greene's, and concealed authorship, 340
Farmer, Dr., and the identification of H. S. in Florio's *A Worlde of Wordes*, 184
"Farnaby" poem, the, authorship of, 188, 336
Father Hubbard's Tales, Thomas Middleton's, and rich young squires from the country, 308
Faunt, Nicholas, his complaint of Francis Bacon's refusal to see him at his chambers, 321

Ferrers, the lawyer, and dramatic pageants, 344; his *Mirrors for Magistrates*, ib.
Field, Richard, date of his publication of *Venus and Adonis*, 266
Figure Anagram, the, 354
Fitton, Mistress, her acquaintanceship with Shakespeare, 9; her possible connection with the "scandal" of the Sonnets, 55; and William Herbert, 55; identified by Mr. Tyler as the "Dark Lady" of the Sonnets, 132; the number of people who believe her to be the "Dark Lady," 146; Bacon's intimacy with, 149; allegation that she was Shakespeare's mistress, 151; and William Herbert, 156; birth of a child by, 156; Mr. Tyler's researches into her history, 163; her marriage with Captain Polwhele, 164; Sarrazin's view that she is not the lady of the Sonnets or early Plays, 195; and the question of the robbery of the mistress of the author of the Sonnets, 214; apparent allusion to, in Sonnet CXXI., 228; her *liaison* with the Earl of Pembroke, 238; MS. pedigree of, 240; improbability that she was Bacon's mistress, 253; possible reason why she went to meet Pembroke with her clothes tucked up like a man, 264
Fitton family, the, punning line on the monument to, 246
Fletcher, LL.D., Giles, sonnet by, 248; parallel between his authorship and Bacon's, 344
Florio, John, and the Earl of Southampton, 183, 185; dedication to, 193
Florio, the Sonnet to, probable author of, 182; the date of, 203
Folio of 1623, the, passage withdrawn from, 58; mystery surrounding the production of, 101; an immense work of revision, 315, 316; the preparation of, for publication, and Bacon's renunciation of poetry, 340
Forest of Fancy, the, the author of, and the writing of poems for others, 249
Furness, Howard, and the dates of Shakespeare's Plays, 140

GALLUP, Mrs., cryptograms of, 7, 356; and the parentage of Bacon, 216; and the reason why Bacon concealed his authorship of the works of Shakespeare, 265
"Gardens of Adonis," the, allusion to, in *Henry IV.*, 69
Garnett, Richard, C.B., and the Baconian authorship, 272
Gascoigne, George, and the writing of Sonnets for others, 249; his comedy *The Supposes*, 344; his career, 345
Gawsworth, monument to the Fitton family at, 246
Genius, the power of, 126
German Shakespeare Society, the, and criticism of the Shakespeare Plays and Sonnets, 243
Gesta Grayorum, Francis Bacon's, 17, 18; evidence in, of Bacon being brought into public connection with Shakespeare, 291
Gibson Papers, rough drafts in, of speeches in the devices in Bacon's writing, 39
Gray, the poet, friendship of, for Bonstetten, 257; his letters to Nicholls and Bonstetten parallels to the feelings phrased in the Sonnets, ib.
Great Assizes at Parnassus, George Wither's, and Bacon's poetic faculty, 274
Greatest Birth of Time, Bacon's, 210; his magnificence in, 295
Greene, Robert, his jealousy of Shakespeare, 124
Greville, Sir Fulke, 96; Essex's letter of advice to, 174; and Giordano Bruno, 219; his intimacy with Bacon, 230
Grosart, Dr., and Hall's poems, 16; and the interpretation of *The Phœnix and the Turtle*, 167

HALL, Joseph, his use of "Labeo," 14; his literary war with Marston, ib.; burning of his *Satires*, 15; his *Virgidemiæ*, ib.; Bacon's authorship of *Venus and Adonis* known to, ib.; his attack on "Labeo," 20; a moral satirist, 24; allusions to Shakespearian drama in his satires, 27; his knowledge of Bacon's authorship, 271
Hall, W., suggested as W. H. by Sidney Lee, 151; name of, in front of the Shakespeare Sonnets, 192
Halliwell-Phillips, H. O., and the theatres in Bacon's days, 328
Hamlet, Marston's imitation of, 22; lines struck from, in the last revision of the Plays, 58; reference to boy-actors in, 62; French scholarship of the author of, 73; the date of, a clue to the date of the adverse rumours about Bacon, 262; the personality of Bacon in, 310; revision of, 317; and boy-actors, 330; and Plato's *Republic*, 361
Harris, T. L., parallel between his literary history and that of Bacon, 279
Harvey, Sir William, and W. H., 197
Hatton, Lady, her contemplated marriage with Wm. Herbert, 149
Hayward, Dr., allusion to in *The Silent Woman*, 155
Hazlitt, W. C., his *Shakespear* (*sic*), 59; his knowledge of Elizabethan litera-

Hazlitt, W. C.—*continued*
ture, ib.; and Shakespeare's journey to London when a boy, ib.; and Jonson's "eulogy" on Shakespeare in the *Poetaster*, ib.; and "the scandal," 60; and the author of *Venus and Adonis*, ib.; and Thorpe's estimate of Shakespeare, 193; and Bacon's poetic faculty, 269; and the incident of Yorick's skull in Hamlet, 318
Heminge and Condell, the Dedication and Address over the signature of, 112
Heneage, Sir Thomas, and Bacon's promotion, 205, 234; his connection with the theatres, 234
Henry IV., Lord Cobham and the character of Sir John Oldcastle in, 323
Henry IV., Dr. Hayward's, the dedication in to Essex, 324
Henry V., French scholarship of the author of, 73; references to Essex in, 166
Henry VI., scholarship displayed by the author of, 69
Henry, M. Fernand, and the Sonnets, 363
Henslowe, his theatre, 233; his silence as to Shakespeare, 235
Henslowe's Diary, reference in to Dekker and Chettle's *Troilus and Cressida*, 83
Herbert, George, evidence borne by to Bacon's poetic faculty, 274; the value Bacon placed on his judgment, 339
Herbert, William, Earl of Pembroke, acquaintanceship of, with Shakespeare, 9, 129; friendship with Bacon, 43; and Mary Fitton, 55; date of his first intimacy with Shakespeare, 133; his presence at the dinner given at Oxford to Queen Elizabeth, 139; his *liaison* with Mistress Fitton, 146, 238; one of the three *Wills*, 146, 236; his visit to London in 1595, 148; marriage contemplated between him and Lady Hatton, 149, 262; his frequent appearances at court, ib.; depicted in *The Silent Woman*, 152; and the blandishments of Mary Fitton, 156; Sonnet by, ib.; one of the true founders of the United States, 160; lack of evidence of friendship with Shakespeare, 165; analogies with the Sonnets in his letter to Cecil, 170, 313; resemblance between the wording of the letter and that of the Sonnets, 171; dedication to, 193; project of marrying him into the Carew family, 203; the fugitive in Sonnet CXLIII., 242
Herand, John A., and the Shakespeare Sonnets, 131; and the "two loves" of the author of the Sonnets, 362
'Herbertites," the, their battle with the "Southamptonites," 8; and the intimacy between Shakespeare and young Herbert, 133
Hero and Leander, Marlowe's, dedication of, 193
Hertzberg, Herr, and the original source of the last two Sonnets, 70
Hews, "Mr.," the identity of, in Sonnet XX., 356 *et seq.*
History of Felix and Philomena, The, the performance of, and the date of the production of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 264
History of King Henry VII., allusion in, to treatment of official records, 38; allusion in, to the "eclipse" of the Queen, 226; allusion in, to Bacon's theory of the nature of fire, 244
Howard, Lady Mary, and the Earl of Essex, 79
Howard, Lord Henry, Bacon's reference to the threat on his life in his letter to, 218
H. S., in Florio's *Worlde of Wordes*, identification of, 184
Hughes, Mrs., and female parts on the stage, 360
Hughes, William, and the *Hews* of Sonnet XX., 358; description of him in Sonnet LIII., ib.; his leaving Shakespeare's company for Alleyn's, 358, 359
Hughes, William, the musician, 360

Iliad, Chapman's, allusions to, in the Sonnets, 220
Informer, The expression, used in Sonnet CXXV., 56, 232
Instauratio Magna, Bacon's, proof of his philosophical spirit in, 105; and his earlier aspirations, 270
Interpretation of Nature, The, Bacon's, autobiographical passage in, 181
"Invention," the word, significance of its use by Bacon, 328
Irving, Sir Henry, and the Bacon-Shakespeare question, 124
"Isham Reprints," The, a dedication in, 192
Italian free thinkers, Bacon's fondness for meeting, 229
Italian Renaissance culture, the refined Platonism of, 257
Italian morals, imitated by patrons of the theatrical companies, 329
Italian Sonnets, and the study of Plato, 214
Italy, improbability of Shakespeare having visited, 200; Bacon's opportunities for visiting, ib.

JAGGARD and the printing of Sonnet CXXXVIII., 241
Jonson, Ben, ingenious prevarications of, 29; his early attitude towards Shakespeare and Bacon, 81; his in-

Jonson, Ben—*continued*
timacy with Pembroke, ib.; his satirical comments on actors having arms from Heralds' College, ib.; concealed personalities in his plays, 82; his enmity and friendship with Marston, 83; his friendship with Bacon, 93; his view of Shakespeare, 94; his respect for Shakespeare's genius, ib., 97; misleading character of his laudatory verses of Shakespeare, 98; his reconciliation to Bacon, 101; Shakespearians and his testimony, 111; letter from, to Lord Salisbury, 111; allusions by, to Southampton and Bacon, 155; his knowledge of the scandal of the town, 157; his knowledge of Mary Fitton's character, 157; mystery of the Sonnets known to, 177, 180; his earlier and later view about Bacon, 250; the reason why he did not divulge Bacon's authorship of Shakespeare, 266; the "real Shakespeare" of, 315; the money made by him over his Plays, 326; and his opponents in the war of the theatres, 329; his address to the reader facing the Droeshout engraving, 354; his opportunities for culture, 365

KEATS, what is known of, 125; his works not a parallel case to those of Shakespeare, ib.
Kemp, Will, one of the three *Wills*, 146, 150, 236; dedication of his *Nine daies Wonder*, 150
Kind Hartes Dreame, Chettle's, references in, to topical jests, 62
King Lear, revision of, 317
Knight, Charles, and Bacon's poetic faculty, 269
Knights of the Helmet, the order of the, 17
Knollys, Sir William, the *Informer* of Sonnet CXXV., 56, 232; his admiration for Mary Fitton, 146, 232, 237; one of the three *Wills*, 146, 236; and Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honour, 237

"LABEO," the character, in Marston's *Pigmalion's Image*, 12 *et seq.*; in Hall's *Satires*, 13 *et seq.*; his identity, ib.; and Bacon—one person, 17; in the *Reactio*, 21
La Jessée, Jean de, Sonnet addressed by, to Bacon, 284; overlooked by Birch and Spedding, ib.; his acquaintance with English court life, 285; clue to his reference to Pallas, 286
Lee, Sidney, and ciphers in the folio Shakespeare, 7; and Shakespeare's acquaintanceship with Wm. Herbert and Mistress Fitton, 9, 132; and the Earls of Pembroke and Southampton, 147; and W. H., 151; and *The Phœnix and the Turtle*, 167; and the three *Wills* in the *Fortnightly Review*, 239; his change of opinion as to Mr. W. H., 247; and the colour of Southampton's hair, ib.; appeal to, 249; his knowledge of Shakespeare's times, 249; and copyright in Shakespeare's time, 326
Lee, Sidney—*continued*
Leicester, Lord, with Alasco and a company of court notables at Oxford, 219
Letter of Advice to Queen Elizabeth, the, authorship of, 320
Licia, Giles Fletcher's, Sonnet in, 248
Life and Letters of Francis Bacon, letters in, accepted as Bacon's by Mr. Spedding, 171; and the personal relationship between Bacon and Southampton, 210
Life of Bacon, Montagu's, 142
Lives of Eminent Persons, John Aubrey's, 164
Long Meg of Westminster, 216
"Loose-legged Lais," the, in Marston's *Satyres*, 215; Dr. Brinsley Nicholson's suggestion as to, 216
Lougher, Capt., and Mary Fitton, 240, 241
Lover's Lament, The, 145
Love's Labour's Lost, the work of a highly educated genius, 29; signs of the "Dark Lady" episode in, 195; revision of, 196; date of, 199; intimately connected with the Sonnets, 306, 313; possibly Bacon's first dramatic sketch, 309; revision of, 317
Love's Martyr or *Rosalind's Complaint*, Robert Chester's, 167
Lucrece, resemblance between the dedication of, and Sonnet XXVI., 2, 206; the dedication of, 3, 143; cipher device at the beginning of, 4, 7, 356; value of the cipher in, as proof of authorship, 8; date of the registration of, 207; date of the dedication to Southampton, 209; first appearance of William Shakespeare in, 289; date of its entry at Stationers' Hall, 290; proof of Baconian authorship in, 305; the author of, also the author of *Venus and Adonis*, 306; Shakespeare had no share in writing, 312
Lucy, Sir Thomas, 96
Lytton, E. Bulwer, and Bacon's poetic faculty, 269

MACAULAY, Thomas Babington, afterwards Lord, and Bacon's poetic faculty, 269
Macbeth, the writing of, 317
Magistrates' Mirror, the, 20
Maistre, Count Joseph de, his attack on Bacon's philosophy, 273

"Man right fair, The," identity of, 247
Manes Verulamiani, the, testimony in, to Bacon's poetic faculty, 275
Markes, Francis Bacon's estate, sale of, 49
Markham, Gervase, and the publication of his works, 343
Marlowe, Kit, and Marston's "Tubrio," 216; and the "Rival Poets," 220
Marston, John, his use of "Labeo," 14; his literary war with Hall, ib.; suppression of his *Pigmalion* and *Scourge of Villanie*, 15; Bacon's authorship of *Venus and Adonis* known to, ib.; his appreciation of Shakespeare, 22; a moral satirist, 24; allusion to Shakespearian drama in his *Satyres*, 27; allusions to Bacon in, 29–31; and the War of the Theatres, 82; commencement of his literary career, 208; reference to, in Sonnet XXXII., 209; contemporary evidence by him that certain aristocrats had literary work composed for them, 249; his knowledge of Bacon's authorship, 271
Martin, Sir Theodore, and the view of Shakespeare's contemporaries as to the authorship of the Shakespeare Plays, 116
Masculus Partus Temporis, Bacon's, 218
"Master-mistress" Sonnet. *See* Sonnet XX.
Masque of the Indian Prince, Bacon's, 159
Masques and revels at the court, and morality, 240
Masques at Gray's Inn, Bacon's connection with, 38; descriptions of, by Rowland White, ib.
Massey, Gerald, his work on the Sonnets, 9; and Sonnet CIX., 54; his view of the scholarship of the author of the Shakespeare Plays and Sonnets, 67; and the Earl of Southampton, 137, 166; and the alleged allusions in Sonnet CXI. to Shakespeare's profession as an actor, 228 (*note*); and "The Dark Lady," 255; and the *Hews* of Sonnet XX. 357
Masson, David, and the Shakespeare Sonnets, 190
Matthew, Sir Toby, his account of Bacon's character, 75; his intimacy with Bacon, 267; his knowledge of Bacon's authorship, 271; the part taken by him in playing "Lord Essex's Device" at Cambridge, 276
Meautys, Sir Thomas, 52
Menaphon, Greene's, phrase used by Nash in his preface to, 210
Meres, Francis, and Sonnet LV., 217; and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 264; and the Pallas-Shakespeare question, 292
Midsummer Night's Dream, A, intimate connection of, with the Sonnets, 306, 313
Milton's vocabulary, 72; his expressed views on love, 121; parallel between his literary style and Bacon's, 331
Minto, Professor, and the authorship of the Sonnet to Florio, 182; and allusions to Chapman in the Sonnets, 220
Miracles, Literary, 279, 305
Mirror for Magistrates, Ferrers's, the first English historic legend, 344
Moll Cutpurse, 216
Montaigne's Essays, Florio's translation of, 185
Morgan, Appleton, and the provincialisms in Shakespeare's Plays and Poems, 77
"Mortal Moon, The," allusion to the eclipse of, 225
Moulton, K. C., Mrs. Fletcher, and a quotation from the Sonnets, 367
Mystery of William Shakespeare, The, Judge Webb's, 107; lucidity and arrangement of, 284

NASH, branded with opprobrium in the *Scourge of Villanie*, 25; phrase used by him in his preface to Greene's *Menaphon*, 210; the nobleman addressed in his *Pierce Penilesse*, 212
New Atlantis, The, Bacon's only important prose work of imagination, 335; evidence in, of his aims and tastes, ib.
Newdegate, Anne, evidence in Sir William Knollys's letters to, of his admiration for Mary Fitton, 237
Newdegate family, the, documents of, bearing on the identification of the "Dark Lady," 146; the records of, and the morality of the Elizabethan maids of honour, 240
New method, Bacon's, and his earlier aspirations, 270
Nichol, Professor John, and Bacon's unparalleled activity, 293
Nicholson, Dr. Brinsley, and the "loose-legged Lais" of Marston's *Satyres*, 216
Nine daies wonder, dedication of Will Kemp's, 150
Nomentack, the Indian, the personality of, 159
Northumberland MS., the, almost the only piece of evidence connecting the names Shakespeare and Bacon, 5; Mr. Spedding and, 6; zodiacal devices in, 8; rough drafts in Bacon's handwriting of speeches in the devices, 39
Notes and Queries, and Shakespeare's facial expression, 12

Novum Organum, proof of Bacon's philosophic spirit in, 105; and his earlier aspirations, 270, 272; difficulty in believing that the author was also the writer of the Plays, &c., of Shakespeare, 279; revision of, 317

Observations on a Libel, Bacon's, use of a portion of the letter to Monsieur Critoy in, 320

Official records, the treatment of, 38

"Of Love," Bacon's Essay, analogy between and the "syren tears" of Sonnet CXIX., 228

Othello, use of the word *preposterous* in, 54; date of its publication, 316; additions to, ib.; Baconian allusions in, ib.

Ovid's Banquet of Sense, Chapman's, allusions in the Sonnets to, 221

PALGRAVE, Francis Turner, and the Sonnet-scandal, 62

Palladis Palatium, William Wrednot's, and Bacon's commonplace books, 294

Palladis Tamia, Francis Mere's, and Bacon's commonplace books, 294

Pallas, connection of, with Bacon, 285; La Jessée's reference to, 286; reference to, in a paper found in the Lambeth collection, ib.; first appearance of, 289

Pallas Shake-speare evidence, the Baconians and, 281 *et seq.*; and Ben Jonson, 289

Passionate Pilgrim, the, probable date of, 243

Pembroke, Earl of. *See* Herbert, William

Percy, Francis Bacon's man-servant, 50

Perez, Antonio, friendship of, with Bacon, 43; suspected of the murder of Escovedo, 44; his intimacy with Lady Rich, 45; his baseness, 46

Phœnix and the Turtle, The, 167; and "the alone Queen," 288

Pickering, Lord Keeper, and Bacon's allusion to the "eclipse" of the Queen, 225

Pierce Penilesse, the nobleman addressed in Nash's, 212

Pigmalion's Image, Marston's, the character "Labeo" in, 12 *et seq.*; reference to *Venus and Adonis*, 12, 19; the spelling of, 19; an imitation of *Venus and Adonis*, 23; date of the publication of, 208; similar line in and Sonnet XXXII., 209

Platonism of the Sonnets, the, parallel cases to, 257

Plays, money made by the publication of, 326

Poems of Shakespeare, Mr. Wyndham's edition of, 191

Poems, the writings of, not a slur on a man's character in Elizabethan times, 310

Poetaster, Ben Jonson's, "Crispinus" in, 13; attacks on play-writers in, 54; references in, to topical jests, 62; his allusions in, 84; light which it throws on the authorship of the Shakespeare Plays, 85; Bacon depicted in, ib., 310; threatened with a prosecution, ib.; main points of, as aiming at Bacon, 86; Shakespeare depicted in, 93

Poetical Rhapsody, Francis Davidson's, 165

Poetomachia, the. *See* War of the Theatres

Polwhele, Captain, his marriage with Mary Fitton, 164

Polyhymnia, Peele's, the allusion in, to Essex, and the identity of *Hews*, 357

Pope, Alexander, his false judgment on Bacon, 63, 259

Posthumous Letters, William Huntingdon's, 248 (*note*)

Preposterous, use of the word, 53, 54

"Procreation Sonnets," the, 132; the Earl of Southampton in, 134; and Bacon, 136; the subject of, 191, 202

Promus, Bacon's, mention of the "Gardens of Adonis" in, 70; allusion in, to Bacon's theory of the nature of fire, 244; a storehouse for subsequent literary edifices, 294

Psalms, Bacon's, the standard of poetry in, 337; the dedication of, 339

RALEIGH, Sir Walter, one of the true founders of the United States, 161

Randolph, Thomas, evidence borne by, to Bacon's poetic faculty, 274

Rape of Lucrece. See *Lucrece*

Rawley, William, and Bacon's power of paraphrasing, 73; and Bacon's character, 259; the reason why he did not divulge Bacon's authorship of Shakespeare, 266; and Bacon's facility for improving other people's language, 299

Reactio, Marston's, 20; "Labeo" in, 21

Recusants, the, search for, 96; characters of the Shakespeare Plays amongst, ib.

Reed, Edwin, and Bacon's poetic faculty, 269

Remusat, C. de, and Bacon's "Confession of Faith," 260

Renaissance literature, and young girls attiring themselves as pages, 264

Returne from Parnassus, the, Burbage and Kemp in, 82

Rich Lady, her intimacy with Antonio Perez, 45; identified by Gerald Massey with the "Dark Lady," 255

Richard II., allusion to, by Ben Jonson, 85; performance of, 89 (*note*); allusion to, in *The Silent Woman*, 155; and the rising of Essex, 166; its connection with the rising of Essex, and Bacon's silence about Shakespeare, 180, 324; date of its publication, 324; Queen Elizabeth's suspicion against, ib.
Richard III., revision of, and additions to, 317
"Rival Poets," the, allusions to, in the Sonnets, 209, 220, 359
Romeo and Juliet, a clever parody on, 91; signs of the "Dark Lady" episode in, 195; intimate connection of, with the Sonnets, 306, 313
"Rose," the, Henslowe's theatre, 233
"Rose," the term of endearment, possible reason for the use of, in the Sonnets, 233
Ruscus, the identity of, 321
Russell, Mistress Ann, marriage of, 149, 231
Russells, the, and masques before the Queen, 43, 55; and the Earl of Essex, 79
Rutland, the Earl of, Lord Essex's letter to, 173

SANFORD, John, and the Earl of Southampton's beauty, 139
Sarrazin, Gregor, and the "Dark Lady," 195
Satiromastix, Dekker's, light which it throws on the authorship of the Shakespeare Plays, 85
Satyres, Marston's, light which they throw on the authorship of the Shakespeare Plays, 85; allusions to Southampton in, 215; the "loose-legged Lais" in, ib.
Saviolo, Vincento, book by, and *As You Like It*," 186
"Scandal," the, in the Sonnets, 25, 32 *et seq.*; in contemporary Satires, 26; Bacon's connection with, 35; less repulsive than generally considered, 40; what it really was, 40 *et seq.*; compromising letters, 49; references to, in Sonnets CXX., CXXI., 53; possibility of its connection with Mary Fitton, 55; W. C. Hazlitt on, 60
Schmidt, Alexander, and the "Gardens of Adonis" in *Henry VI.*, 69
Scourge of Folly, John Davies's, 27
Scourge of Villanie, Marston's, suppression of, 15; evidence in, of Bacon's authorship of *Venus and Adonis*, 22; Nash branded in, 25; the passage in, concerning "Luscus," 28; Shakespeare depicted in, 93
Second Frutes, Florio's, 183
Secret Drama of Shakespeare's Sonnets, The, Gerald Massey's, 9; view expressed in, on the author's scholarship, 67; and the "Procreation Sonnets," 134
Sejanus, Ben Jonson's, the production of, 27; gags inserted in, 28
Shadow of Night, Chapman's, allusions to, in the Sonnets, 220
Shakespeare and His Times, Drake's, and the individual so affectionately addressed in the Sonnets, 131
Shakespeare Anniversary of 1902, the, 367
Shakespeare, John, 96
Shakespeare, William, the facial expression of, 12; his over-editing of plays, 27; his lack of classic art, 28; his true position, 29; his breaches of the moral law, 34; absence of biographical hints that he was a universal scholar, 72; his vocabulary, ib.; his lack of qualifications for the authorship of the Shakespeare Plays and Poems, 76; his inability to have written *Venus and Adonis*, 77; Ben Jonson's early attitude towards, 81; his familiarity with Ovid, 92; his love of the stage, 93; a busy actor-manager, 94; his hand in the Shakespeare Plays, 95; his religion, 97; and the ghost in Kyd's *Ur-Hamlet*, 123; Robert Greene's jealousy of, 124; improbability of his being closely intimate with the court, 148; his signature to *The Phœnix and Turtle*, 167; want of evidence that he knew Essex, 168; and Italian dialogues and aphorisms, 185; Thorpe's estimate of, 193; his opportunities for visiting Italy, 200; and Bruno's philosophy, 218; the "lameness" of, 223; allusions in the Sonnets to his profession as an actor, 228; courtly favour in which his theatrical company was held, 234; possible reasons why he is never mentioned by Bacon, 234; silence of other contemporaries as to him, 235; lack of evidence implicating him with the scandal about Mary Fitton, 238; resentment of his dethroning pure idol-worship, 260; and Montemayor's *Diana*, 265; the hyphen in his name, 283, 286, 288; his lack of facilities for producing the plays, &c., 296; absence of laudatory laments at his death, 309; his memorial tomb in Stratford Church, 310; the conspiracy of silence about him, ib.; and the authorship of *Hamlet* or *King Lear*, 319; the date of his first acknowledged play, 325; the supposition that he allowed his name to be used for the plays, 326; the signature of his name to the dedication of *Venus and Adonis*, 340; the

Shakespeare, William—*continued*
first appearance of his name on the printed plays, 343; his professional and business capabilities, 346; the acknowledged writer of the most popular love-poems of the time, ib.; why his name as the author of the plays was not given out at once, 347; the theory that he wrote Bacon's works, 365; reason why he left no MSS. or mentioned any in his will, 367
Shakespeare-Bacon, essay on, and Bacon's view of poetry, 340
Shakespeare Monument, the, 102; Latin inscription on, 103; the composer of the inscription, 105
Shakespeare Plays, the, Welsh characters in, 50; historical rather than autobiographical, 57; Italian scholarship of the author of, 72; French scholarship shown in, 73; proof of authorship of, inferred from contemporary assent, 94; the love scenes in, 123; the dates of, 140; continual alteration of the early, 196, 314; parallelisms and identities between the Plays and the acknowledged works of Bacon, 251; strange love ideals in the earlier plays, 255; frequent dwelling upon certain changes of sexual appearance in young lads and girls, ib., 263; loftiness of the infused religious element in, 261; and the argument that Bacon had no time to write them, 293; unique words in, 301; not dedicated to any person or patron, 307; the coarseness of the dialogue in, 311; news of the extreme Baconians on, ib.; scenes and incidents attributable to Shakespeare, 312; origin of the constant revision of, 317; the opinion that all the plays were pirated, 326; supposed self-revelation in, of the author, 327; the superiority of their moral tone over that of ordinary plays of the period, 329; reason for the opposition to the Bacon hypothesis of, 341; supposed dates of, 346
Shakespeare Plays and Poems, scholarship of the author of, 66; views of the Shakespearians on author's scholarship, ib., 67; Sir Theodore Martin and the view of Shakespeare's contemporaries on the authorship of, 116; view of Professor A. R. Wallace on the authorship of, 118; view of Sir Henry Irving on, 124; signs in, of depression caused to Bacon by his breach with Southampton, 178; date of publication of Poems, 194; unusual circumstances connected with, 307 *et seq.*; the poems dedicated to Southampton, ib.
Shakespeare's MSS., the absence of revision in, 315
Shakespeare's Purge, 83
Shakespeare's Sonnets, Samuel Butler's, 33
Shakespeare's Sonnets, Samuel Smith Travers's, 364
Shakesper not Shakespeare, W. H. Edwards's, 281; R. L. Ashurst's remarks on, 282
Shelley, Percy Bysshe, and Bacon's poetic faculty, 272
Sidney, Sir Philip, his influence over the author of *Venus and Adonis* and the Sonnets, 143, 201; and Giordano Bruno, 219
"Silent Name," the, in Marston's *Scourge of Villanie*, 23
Silent Woman, Ben Jonson's, Bacon portrayed in, 84, 152; Herbert portrayed in, 152; date of, 154; allusion to *Richard II.*, 155; allusion in, to a work on Tacitus, 155
Silex Scintillans, the preface to, 338
Some Elizabethan Cipher Books, 7
Sonnet, by William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, the "blushing rose" in, 156, 157
Sonnets, the, autobiographical character of, 1, 55, 190; the real keys to the Bacon-Shakespearian question, 1; and Plays, the work of the same author, 1; labour devoted to the elucidation of, 9; the "scandal" of, 25; external evidence of, 32–52; internal evidence of, 53–65; which deal with the "bewailed guilt" of the author, 55; aristocratic and refined atmosphere of, 56, 191; original source of the last two, 70; the great majority addressed to a high-born young man, 130; references to the "Dark Lady" in, 131; the William Herbert theory of, 132; date of the earliest, 133; the Adonis of, 137; the "Wills" in, 146, 236; intimacy of Shakespeare and Pembroke revealed in, 147; resemblance between their wording and that of Lord Pembroke's letter to Cecil, 171; the mystery of, known to Essex and Southampton and Ben Jonson, 177; signs in, of the depression caused to Bacon by his breach with Southampton, 178; subject of the earlier, 191, 202; the dedication of, 192; the printer of, ib.; not intended for the public eye, 194; enigmas in, 195; date of the first seventeen, 201; and Sidney's *Arcadia*, ib.; traces of similarity in, with *Astrophel and Stella*, 202; date of, 202; allusions in, and parallels to, *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, ib.; a likely date for, 204; melancholy feeling in the author of the earlier, 205; platonic relationship between Bacon and Southampton revealed in, 211;

Sonnets, the—*continued*
clue to the reason why the mystery of, was never revealed, 211; chronological order of, 214; traces of Bruno's philosophy in, 218, 226, 229; allusions to Chapman, Daniel, and Marston in, 209, 220; allusions in, to Queen Elizabeth, 225, 226; and German critics, 242, 243; hidden allusions (in the second series), to the author's "infection of nature," 244; admission in, by the author, of his folly in being attracted to a wanton, 246; the practice of writing for others, 249; the probability that some were written by Bacon for some one else, ib., 250; the possibility that some of those which seem to connect their author with the "Dark Lady" or Mary Fitton were written by Bacon for Pembroke, 253; the two loves of the author, 254; nature of the love of the author for the "Dark Lady," ib.; depreciatory remarks about the love of women in, 255; the ideal of, ib.; reason why they were called "sugred," 276 (*note*); self-assertion in, of the author, 295, 296; numerous parallels between them and the early plays, 306, 313; parallel to the Baconian authorship of, 344; some eccentric critics of, 362; quoted in the House of Commons, 367

Sonnets, the, autobiographical, abrupt close of, 248; nature of the last two, 248; scholarship of, ib.

Sonnets, the last two, scholarship shown in, 70; source of, ib.

Sonnets XVIII.–XXVI., date of, 203

Sonnet XX., the love referred to in, probably Platonical, 256; the "Mr." Hews of, 356

Sonnet XXVI., reveals the name of the hidden author, 2; remarkable resemblance of, to the dedication of *Lucrece*, ib., 206; the date of, 207

Sonnets XXVII.–XXVIII., allusion to the author's journey to the North, 217; their striking parallelism to *Lucrece* and *Romeo and Juliet*, 205; subject of, 207

Sonnets XXIX.–XXXVII., reference in, to a period of disgrace, 208

Sonnet XXXII., reference to Marston in, 209

Sonnet XXXVI., supplies the answer to the reason why we do not hear of any personal relationship between Bacon and Southampton, 211

Sonnets XXXVIII.–XXXIX., period of, 213

Sonnets XL.–XLII., importance of, with regard to the relations between the author and the friend who robbed the poet of his mistress, 214

Sonnets XLVIII.–LI., allusion in, to a journey taken by the author, 217

Sonnets LII.–LV., and Southampton, 217

Sonnets LVII. and LVIII., and Pembroke's letter to Cecil, 217

Sonnets LIX.–LXXIV., pessimistic philosophy of, 217; hint of assassination in, 217; ideas and phrases in, pointing to Bacon, 218

Sonnets LXXV.–LXXXVI., the "rival poets" referred to in, 209; prospect of death referred to in, 210

Sonnets LXXV.–LXXXVII., excuses in, for the author's verse being "barren of new pride and tongue-tied," and allusion in, to rival poets, 219; legal allusions in, 222

Sonnet LXXVIII., reference in, to Willie Hughes leaving Shakespeare's company, 358

Sonnet LXXXII., the first line of, 222

Sonnet LXXXVI., and the "rival poet," 359

Sonnets LXXXVIII.–CV., references in, to Southampton's life at court, 223; to the "lameness" of the author, ib.; chronological allusion in, 225

Sonnet LXXXIX., and the reason why Southampton was ignored by Bacon, 211

Sonnet CVII., date of, 225; allusion in, to the eclipse of "the mortal moon," ib.

Sonnets CIX.–CXXV., self-accusation in, by the author, 53; use of the word "*preposterouslie*" in, ib.; date of, 226; allusion in, to a threefold charge hanging over the author's head, 227; apparent allusion in, to Mary Fitton, 228; allusions in, to Shakespeare's profession as an actor, ib.

Sonnet CXXIV., Baconian character of, 230; the author of, a man of quality, ib.

Sonnet CXXV., the expression *informer* in, 56, 232; and the marriage of Mistress Anne Russell, 149; suggested dates of, 231

Sonnet CXXVI., forms a break in the Sonnets, 233; part played in, by a certain *Will*, ib.; absence of an *envoy* from, 354

Sonnets CXXVII.–CLII., allusions in, to the "Dark Lady," 235; play on the word *Will* in, 236

Sonnet CXXXVI., enigma of the closing distich of, 238

Sonnet CXXXVIII., and the moral character of the "Dark Lady," 239; the printer of, 291; probable Baconian authorship of, ib.

Sonnet CXLIII., similarity between simile in, and one in Bacon's letter to Fulke Greville in 1595, 241; one of the *Will* Herbert series, 242; alleged allusion in, to the Earl of Southampton, ib.

Sonnet CXLIV., the "Two Loves" of, 191; hints in, 243; limit of date in, for the *Passionate Pilgrim*, ib.; allusion in, to Bacon's theory of the nature of fire, ib.; identity of "the man right fair" of, 247
Sonnets CXLV.–CLII., the questionings and meditations of the author in, 247
Sonnet CLI., moral unworthiness of, 244; allusion in, to misconduct of the author with a lady of rank, 246; the difficulty of believing Bacon to be the author, 250; diversity of its spirit from that of Sonnet CXLI., ib.
Sonnet CLII., self-accusation of the author in, 248
Southampton, Earl of, his friendship with Bacon, 43, 123, 129; his first appearance at Gray's Inn, 120; his friendship with Shakespeare, 129; addressed in the Sonnets, 134: his proposed marriage, 135, 202; beauty of, 139; alienation of, from Bacon, 142; improbability of his being intimate with Shakespeare, 143; allusions to, by Ben Jonson, 155; one of the true founders of the United States, 160; mystery of the Sonnets known to, 177; his breach with Bacon, 178; imprisonment of, 178; release of, ib.; Bacon's letter to, ib.; and the earlier Sonnets, 191; Sonnets sent to, 203; personal relationship with Bacon, 210; anagrams of his name, 212; and the robbery of the mistress of the author of the Sonnets, 214; the youth of, 215; allusions to, in Marston's *Satyres*, ib.; references in the Sonnets to his life at court, 223; allusions in the Sonnets to his imprisonment, 226; his influence in advancing or favouring theatrical companies, 234; alleged allusion to, in Sonnet CXLIII., 242; the colour of his hair, 247; contemporary evidence that he had literary work composed for him by others, 249; the poems dedicated to him, 307
Southampton theory of the Sonnets, the, opponents of, 138
Southwell, Elizabeth, and the Earl of Essex, 79
Southwell, Robert, printing of a poem by, 192
Spedding, Mr., and Bacon's style, 46; and Lady Anne Bacon's letters, 51; and Bacon's "Confession of Faith," 260; and the absence of poetic fire in Bacon's writings, 267
Stage, the, in Queen Elizabeth's time, as a means of publishing opinions, 327
Standen, Mr., letter from, to Francis Bacon, 45; his letters to Anthony Bacon written under different names, 320
Stationers' company, members of, and the purchase of MSS. in Queen Elizabeth's time, 326
Stopes, Mrs. C. C., and the "Dark Lady," 197; and W. H., ib.; and Bacon's mistress, 266
Strange's players, Lord, and Henslowe's theatre, 233
Stratford tomb, the, the head of Shakespeare on, 102
Supposes, The, and the *Taming of the Shrew*, 345
"Swan of Avon," the, a possible allusion to Bacon, 106; suggested solution of the expression, 369
Swinburne, Algernon Charles, and the "lameness" of Shakespeare, 223
Sydney, Sir Robert, letter to, from Rowland White, 148
Sylva Sylvarum, Bacon's, 21

TACITUS and Bacon, 155
Taming of the Shrew, the, source of the under plot of, 345
Tarlton, the Clown, the improbability of Shakespeare meeting, 56, 319
Teares of the Isle of Wight, &c., The, anagrams in, 212
Tempest, The, the writing of, 317; expression of the author's resolve to abjure poetry, 340; the *anagram* in, 353
Theatres in Elizabethan days, 91; the resort of profligate people, 328
Thorpe, Thos., and the dedication of the Sonnets, 192; other dedications by, 193; his estimate of Shakespeare, 193
Toothless Satires, Hall's, publication of, 14; suppression of, 15
"Trask" Lecture, the, by Sir Henry Irving, 124
Travers, Samuel Smith, and Shakespeare's Sonnets, 364
Troilus and Cressida, use of the word *preposterous* in, 54; Shakespeare's Purge, 83; light which it throws on the authorship of the Shakespeare Plays, 85; the preface to, 193
"Tubrio," Marston's, and Kit Marlowe, 216
Two Gentlemen of Verona, The, signs of the "Dark Lady" episode in, 195; the Proteus in, 215; Thurio and the writing of sonnets for others, 249; strange love ideals in, 255; its connection with Montemayor's *Diana*, 264; aristocratic atmosphere of, ib.; intimately connected with the Sonnets, 306, 313; date of the publication of, 346
Tyler, Thomas, his work on the Sonnets, 9; and the individual addressed in the Sonnets, 132; his

Tyler, Thomas—*continued*
researches into the history of Mrs. Fitton, 163; his exposition of the Sonnets and the Pembroke theory, 191; and the W. H. of the dedication, 192; and allusions to Chapman in the Sonnets, 220; and the reference to Plato in *Hamlet*, 362
Tyrrell, Prof. R.Y., his triangular duel with Dowden and Judge Webb, 109; and the authorship of the Plays, &c., of Shakespeare, 279

UNITED STATES, the, true founders of, 160
Ur-Hamlet, the production of Kyd, 262

Valerius Terminus, the earliest type of Bacon's *Instauratio*, 302
Vanini, the Italian, in London, and Bacon, 229
Vaughan, Henry, the *Silex Scintillans* of, 338
Vautrollier, Jacquinetta, suggested as Bacon's mistress, by Mrs. Stopes, 266
Venus and Adonis, the authorship of, 14, 20; the Latin distich prefixed to, 18; the author of, under a Latin veil, 21; reason for concealment of the authorship of, 49; Shakespeare's inability to have written, 77; absence of dialect in, ib.; dedication of, 143, 145; the last stanzas of, 145; and Chapman's *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*, 221; date of the publication of, 256; first appearance in, of William Shakespeare, 289; the licensing of, 300; the author of, also the author of the Shakespeare Sonnets and earlier Plays, 306; the author of *Hamlet* visible in, 310; the Bacon of the Sonnets visible in, ib.; Shakespeare had no share in writing, 312; enrollment of, on the register at Stationers' Hall, 321; the signature of Shakespeare's name in the dedication and the question of the authorship, 340
Virgidemiæ, Hall's, 15; lines from, quoted by Dr. Grosart, 16

WALLACE, Alfred Russell, and the authorship of the Shakespeare Plays and Poems, 118; and the proof of the authorship, 281
Walsingham, Sir Francis, and the letter to Monsieur Critoy, 320
War of the Theatres, the, 81; duration of, 82; authors involved in, ib.
"Waters of Parnassus," the, Bacon's allusion to, in his letter to Essex, 177, 273; in writing to Lord Henry Howard, 273
"Waverley Novels," the, lesson to be learnt from, 113
Webb, Judge, and the "noted weed," 23, 107; his work *The Mystery of William Shakespeare*, 107; his triangular duel with Professor Tyrrell and Dowden, 109
What You Will, Marston's, 24
W. H., Sidney Lee and, 151; a clue to the words "sole begetter," 164; Mr. Tyler and, 192; and Mrs. C. C. Stopes, 197; and the *Hews* of Sonnet XX.
White, Richard Grant, and the "gardens of Adonis" in Henry VI., 69
White, Rowland, his descriptions of masques and devices, 38; and William Herbert's first appearance in London, 133; his letter to Sir Robert Sydney, 148
Whitgift, Archbishop, and the burning of Marston's and Hall's works, 15; and the licensing of *Venus and Adonis*, 300, 312; and the refusal to license Hall's *Satires* and Marlowe's *Ovid*, ib.; his friendship for Francis Bacon, 313
Willobie, interest taken by him in *Lucrece* and its author, 291
"Wills," the three, in the Sonnets, 146, 236; Mr. Sidney Lee on, in the *Fortnightly Review*, 239
Wilson, Thomas, his English MS. version of Montemayor's *Diana*, 265
Wisdom of the Ancients, Bacon's, alterations in, 315
Wither, George, and Bacon's poetic faculty, 274
"Woman Coloured Ill," the, meaning of the words, 246
Worlde of Wordes, A, John Florio's dedication to, 183; the copy of, belonging to Dr. Farmer, 184

YONGE, Barth, his English MS. version of Montemayor's *Diana*, 265
Yorick's skull, the incident of, 59, 318

Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co.
Edinburgh & London

Against the fading of [illegible] as [illegible] this
to the fading of the corrections + additions