

the Latin accident, and his ignorance of all languages but his own, has a far greater number of classical allusions than occur in all the Shakespeare plays.

In his determination to deny the possibility of any use of translations by an Elizabethan dramatist, Mr. Greenwood, like Mr. Collins, falls into complete misapprehension and distortion of an opponent's statement. He thus represents me as having found a cheap "solution" for the small element of classical knowledge in the LUCRECE :

Shakespeare, "having decided to write a LUCRECE as contrast to the VENUS,"¹ may have "had a translation made for him"! In this easy manner difficulties are jauntily disposed of *per saltum*.

Now, what I actually wrote was: "It is *not impossible, indeed,*" that Shakespeare may have had a translation made for him ". . . *but that hypothesis is unnecessary.*" The "indeed," one would suppose, must have led any reader, however hasty, to note the waiving of the possible plea. In the passage from which Mr. Greenwood quotes, I expressly proceed to indicate that, according to one testimony, there *was* a translation of the FASTI, published in 1570, and that there certainly were three "ballads," which might mean poems, or even plays, of any length. Of all this Mr. Greenwood's readers could have no notion from the kind of account he has given of my argument.

In this connection Mr. Greenwood endorses another of Mr. Collins's arguments which, upon any other issue, he would have seen to be worthless. Whereas I had spoken of "the many manuscript translations then in currency" of Latin poetry, he cites Mr. Collins's statement that in the British Museum MSS. "there are only two versions from *classical dramatists* which can be assigned to the sixteenth century," and that "this seems proof positive that classical translations could not have *circulated on a large scale.*" Mr. Collins's language might

¹ Ref. to *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. p. 314.

almost have been specially chosen in order to obscure the problem. The reason for believing that MS. translations of Latin poetry were numerous in Shakespeare's day are manifold ; and I confess to being astonished that any one, even in the ardour of an *idée fixe*, should doubt the likelihood. The argument from the lack of *preserved* MSS. is surprisingly uncritical. Lady Lumley's translation of the IPHIGENEIA IN AULIS, made about 1530, might well be preserved by her family ; but who would lay store by a contemporary manuscript version of the FASTI made about 1590 ? That actual versions even of Greek plays were not all preserved we do know. Mr. Collins ought to have been aware that Peele translated one of the two IPHIGENEIAS of Euripides, and that *that* translation is not extant. But translations from Ovid, if not by noted poets, or if unmarked by special merit, would be much more likely to be let go as old scribblings.

It is a question of supply and demand. I have seen a number of French MS. versions, made in the eighteenth century, from the works of English deists, of which translations were printed. The MS. versions, which were fair copies, may, for aught I know, have been made either before or after those actually printed ; in those days even printed deistical books soon became scarce through seizures and destructions ; and fresh versions might readily be made by enthusiastic readers for their friends. Of the genuine and complete TESTAMENT DE JEAN MESLIER a good many MS. copies are known to have been current in the eighteenth century, but not till late in the nineteenth was one recovered for a printed edition. The MSS. seen by me were not in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but in a Paris bookseller's shop. If such MSS. translations from English into French were current in France in the eighteenth century, why should any one doubt that the habit of doing MS. versions of Latin poetry, certainly common since, was common in Shakespeare's day ? Did Mr. Greenwood, I wonder, never

do such translations in his youth ; and, if so, has he preserved them ?¹

The question of the source of the COMEDY OF ERRORS moves Mr. Greenwood to further exclaim against all who suggest that the author of the plays ever used a translation, though he is perfectly well aware that North's Plutarch was "certainly" used for the composition of the three Roman plays. Not content with insisting that Warner's translation of the MENÆCHMI is not to be traced anywhere in the COMEDY,² he protests against the natural surmise that the play is founded on the old HISTORIE OF ERROR recorded to have been played before Elizabeth "by the children of Powles" in 1576-77. "Nothing at all," says Mr. Greenwood, "is known about this early play." After all, we do know that there was such a play, and Mr. Greenwood should let that count for something. He has committed himself to a theory of the authorship of the plays by a man of whom he professes to know not even the name. Is all the latitude of hypothesis to be one way ? But the question is otiose ; and in the interests of rational Shakespeare-criticism I will simply indicate what seems to me the reasonable view of the genesis of the early play, as to which Mr. Greenwood appears to halt oddly between two opinions.

It is really not in the least necessary to find a given original for the COMEDY. The essential point is that it is a composite work. Any one who will carefully scan the first two scenes will note that in the first, which has 152 blank-verse lines, the double-endings are only 2 per

¹ I can remember doing, in my early teens, a punctilious translation of the Life of Hannibal (then my favourite hero) from Cornelius Nepos ; and in my later teens, versions from Catullus, Horace, Boileau, &c. Three hundred years hence, doubtless, even those humble performances might be catalogued if they should then exist. But they certainly will not !

² This, of course, is no proof that Warner's version had not been used. I may point out to Mr. Greenwood, who is so contemptuous of any "manuscript" suggestion, that the printer's

n.

cent; while in the second, with 103 blank-verse lines, the double-endings number 25—over 24 per cent. I know no theory of verse evolution which would ascribe the two scenes to the same hand in the same period. But whereas Shakespeare, like the preceding poets, can broadly be seen to have *increased* his proportion of double-endings as he progressed in his art, the first scene of the COMEDY, which has only three double-endings, is much better and more pregnant in style than the shorter second scene, which has twenty-five. No such diffuse verse as that is to be found in any unquestioned work of his at the time at which he used any such large proportion of double-endings.¹ The verse of the second scene, with all its double-endings, is mostly end-stopped—a sure mark of early work. Then the second scene is not Shakespeare's, to begin with; and the disparity of styles is to be noted throughout the play.

Two alternative inferences are open. The play may have been one of collaboration, or it may have been an adaptation by Shakespeare of a previous work. There is certainly no trace of versification in the style of 1576: the double-endings in the second scene could hardly be dated earlier than 1591 for any author; and the theory of collaboration is therefore the more likely one. But on either theory we are relieved of the problem of the classic "source"; for the collaborator may have known his Plautus without resort either to Warner or to the HISTORIE OF ERROR; and it is the collaborator (or previous writer) who begins the Plautine work of the play.

By this strictly inductive line of inference we reach a view of Shakespeare's early work which clears up other advertisement to Warner's translation (entered in 1594) expressly states that it had been circulated for some time in MS.

¹ His share in *Richard III*, where the double-endings are so numerous, has long been in dispute. I have always held that play to be but a partial recast of other men's work—Marlowe's and Kyd's, for choice.

mystifications. For my own part, I have always insisted on a loyal acceptance of Shakespeare's own express declaration that *VENUS AND ADONIS* was the "first heir of his invention";¹ and I have never been able to believe that he would have kept such a work by him for years unpublished. The only justifiable interpretation of his phrase is "the first work *planned and composed* by me." Standing to that interpretation, I have always argued that the dramatic work done by him before 1593 was but collaboration or adaptation. But I never held, as Mr. Greenwood so strangely assumes in his *SHAKESPEARE PROBLEM RESTATED*, that Shakespeare had done no dramatic writing before 1593. Mr. Greenwood puts the case thus :²

Mr. J. M. Robertson, too, roundly asserts that we must take Shakespeare strictly at his word, and believes, since *Venus and Adonis* was the first heir of his invention, *that all the plays were written subsequently to that date*. If so, these eleven, twelve ["the Meres list"] or more dramas must have been composed by Shakespeare, and brought upon the stage (if not also published) between 1593 and 1598. If Mr. Robertson can believe this, he has indeed great faith, which seems to be reserved for the Stratfordian Gospel only, *Credat Judæus, non ego!*

I regret to observe that my friend, who is always so scrupulously respectful to the wildest theses of the Baconians, resorts to his "Credat Judæus" only when he is exclaiming at a "Stratfordian" thesis which he has entirely misunderstood, or at some point where his own view is demonstrably the irrational one.³ It is his indiscriminating zeal for his own thesis of an absolutely unknown and untraceable author—in regard to whom his "faith" is truly transcendental—that has led him so hopelessly to misconceive me. Yet his own footnote to the very passage I have quoted shows him to have

¹ As to this see *Did Shakespeare write "Titus Andronicus"?* pp. 22-23.

² Work cited, p. 517.

³ See above, p. 177.

had the facts in view. To the words above italicised by me he has appended the note :

With this *alternative*, however, viz. that "Shakespeare for the best reasons would not regard as heirs of his invention plays in which he used other men's drafts or shared with others the task of composition" (*Did Shakespeare write 'Titus Andronicus'?* p. 29). It is suggested therefore that he had collaborators [I wrote "collaborators or draughtsmen"] for *The Two Gentlemen*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *the Dream*, *Richard II*, and other early plays.

Thus Mr. Greenwood had my real opinion before him. What he oddly calls an alternative is the substantive thesis. Why then did he leave standing in the text his complete misconception of it? Apparently a fling at "the Stratfordian Gospel" could not be foregone. If Mr. Greenwood could only get his "Stratfordian" troubles out of his head, he would, with his power to recognise the non-Shakespearean character of TITUS ANDRONICUS, soon realize that the loyal construction of "first heir of my invention" brings everything into line. The only plays commonly dated before 1598 which we have good ground for pronouncing wholly Shakespearean in style are THE MERCHANT OF VENICE and HENRY IV. With Fleay, indeed, I am willing to date the first draft of TWELFTH NIGHT as early as 1594, agreeing with him that the play was certainly revised or rewritten later. It may, in my opinion, have been the LOVE'S LABOUR'S WON of Meres' list, though it only imperfectly answers to that title. But whether we assign that title to TWELFTH NIGHT or to MUCH ADO or to ALL'S WELL, and date the first form of any one of them before 1598; and whether or not we give Shakespeare the whole of the TWO GENTLEMEN¹ (I prefer to posit a foundation play by Greene), we have no difficulty about placing the plays in question between 1593 and 1598. On the other hand there can be no reasonable doubt that of the plays indicated by

¹ Some critics have doubted the genuineness of the entire play.

me as works of collaboration or adaptation a number were written before 1593, as were the HENRY VI group. I would only add that I see nothing of Shakespeare in TITUS, nothing in 1 HENRY VI, and next to nothing in the SHREW.

If the reader will keep in view these last propositions, he may be assisted in his scrutiny of the "classical" thesis, as put by Baconians and others. Quantitatively, the classical case, as regards direct classical allusions and quotations, points precisely to the most doubtful of all the plays published as Shakespeare's in the Folio. This alone is surely a reason for vigilant examination of the general ascription to the dramatist of a "wide knowledge of the classics." Mr. Greenwood, who is so confident about the Latin scholarship of the playwright, agrees with me in dismissing TITUS and most of the HENRY VI group; and I do not see how he can differ from the mass of critical opinion as to the SHREW; yet it is on these plays that the bulk of the classical case, which he supports, is founded. But it is only rarely that we need even recall this particular ground for demurrer. The Baconian case, as we have thus far examined it, and as it presents itself in the writers dealt with in the following sections, consists in imputing classical scholarship for every semblance of a classical allusion, and generally collapses on the first application of comparative tests.

(3) *Dr. R. M. Theobald*¹

Dr. Theobald follows up Mr. Donnelly in this as in other matters, naturally making the most of what had been said by idolatrous commentators, in particular Mr. and Mrs. Cowden Clarke, of the "miraculous" quality of the classical learning shown in the plays. Taking these and other pronouncements as unchallenged, taking Leigh Hunt's verdict (that Shakespeare's poetry is if

¹ *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light*, ed. 1904, ch. xiii.

anything "too learned") as one which "completely disposes of Milton's uncritical lines," and without saying a word of the old *ESSAY ON THE LEARNING OF SHAKESPEARE* by Dr. Farmer, he proceeds in the customary Baconian way to claim that Shakespeare, the actor, cannot have had the scholarship thus ascribed. "The poet was assuredly no untutored child of nature, but a scholar and a man of the world." "The unbiassed, uncritical [*sic!*] reader of the poems must inevitably conclude that the Poet *was* a learned man, and that neither genius, nor good fellowship, nor cribs can account for the classic element in his writings." "There can be no doubt that if there were no controversial necessity for maintaining that William Shakespeare was a very" [who said *very*?¹] "imperfectly educated man, if it could be proved that he . . . had had a university education and acquired a complete mastery of the classic languages and literature, . . . no one would hesitate to accept the very strong indications of scholarship in the poems as . . . entirely characteristic of such antecedents and training."

Such are the preliminary assertions: let us come to the proofs. After all his parade of asserted abundance of classic learning and allusion in the plays, Dr. Theobald dutifully proceeds to repeat,² after Mr. Donnelly and the rest:

I. The argument which we have fully dealt with above (p. 189), helplessly copied from Richard Grant White, as to the derivation from Plato of the passage in *TROILUS*

¹ Mr. Greenwood, noticing in his *Vindicators of Shakespeare* my demurrer to his assumption that the view opposed to his ascribed ignorance and complete lack of culture to the Poet, pleasantly observes that I "admit" I do not entertain such an idea; but adds: "Such an idea has been held and maintained by many" (p. 136). What I want to know is, who were they?

² For most of his references, he admits, he is "indebted either to Stapfer or Lewis Theobald." Work cited, p. 305. I take his selection as showing what Baconians are disposed to stand to.

about the eye not seeing itself. On that head, no further refutation is needed.

2. Next comes the other well-worn plea from the "most profound and philosophic discussion" in HENRY V (I, ii, 180-213), "of the mutual dependence of different offices and functions in a government, which is compared to the structure of a harmonic combination in music. This idea," we are dogmatically assured, "is taken from a portion of Cicero's long lost treatise DE REPUBLICA, a fragment of which is preserved by St. Augustine." Charles Knight is of course quoted, to the effect that "the lines of Shakespeare are more deeply imbued with Platonic philosophy than the passage of Cicero," so that Shakespeare had inferribly read Plato's REPUBLIC in the original.

We have here the standing illustration of the childish position that Shakespeare had read deeply in the Greek and Latin classics, only to produce a few references to commonplaces which had for centuries been themes of didactic writing. He is assumed on the one hand to have gone to Augustine for the fragment of Cicero, though he gives no other sign of having read the DE CIVITATE DEI; and he is held on the other hand to have read Plato's REPUBLIC, though he nowhere else seems to quote it. Knight solemnly averred that the passage "develops unquestionably the great Platonic doctrine of the Tri-unity of the three great principles in man with the idea of a State." It is all a futile mystification. The Baconians cannot even pretend that the passage is duplicated in Bacon: they do but take for granted that, being "classic," it must be from Bacon's pen. Obviously, the passage is ultimately traceable to Augustine's quotation from Cicero; and if Shakespeare *had* seen that in the original, his small Latin might suffice to translate it. But it is idle to make such an assumption in regard to a passage so likely to be dilated upon by divines and moralists. Richard Grant White, whose

far-fetched parallel between Plato and the TROILUS passage has fooled the Baconians to the top of their bent, swung to the other extreme when he wrote¹ that "it is more than superfluous to seek, as some have sought, in Cicero's DE REPUBLICA the origin of this simile; for that book was lost to literature, and unknown, except by name, until Angelo Mai discovered it upon a palimpsest in the Vatican, and gave it to the world in 1822." A professed commentator might have been supposed to know that Lewis Theobald in his notes on his edition cited the very passage in question from the DE CIVITATE DEI. "Cicero," adds White, "very probably borrowed the fancy from Plato; but it was not Shakespeare's way to go so far for that which lay near to hand." This opinion is ignored by the Baconians. They might indeed reply that the expressions "through high and low and lower, put into parts, doth keep in one concert . . . like music," do point specially to Cicero's "*Sic ex summis, et mediis et in infimis interjectis ordinibus, ut sonis . . . consensu dissimiliorum concinere; et quæ harmonia a musicis . . . in civitate concordiam.*" But the reasonable inference is that the passage had often been applied to politics by previous writers.

The passage cited from HENRY V is followed by the well-known one on the polity of the bees, which Malone long ago showed to be substantially derived from EUPHUES AND HIS ENGLAND. But there are other clues. The theme of "the state of man" is handled afresh in TROILUS, which the Baconians do not cite in this connection. But both passages suggest very distinctly reminiscences of Elyot's BOKE OF THE GOVERNOUR, or of some discourse or discourses which drew upon that and upon Lilly. Elyot insists on "degree," and "higher and lower," and he combines with his thesis the illustration of the bees' commonwealth. The first chapter of THE GOVERNOUR

¹ *Essay on Shakespeare's Genius*, pref. to ed. of Works, vol. i, p. ccxxv.

sets out with a pointed discrimination between "publike weale" and "commune weale," the latter term being condemned (with an obvious aim at Sir Thomas More) as suggesting "that every thinge should be to all men in commune." Elyot dwells on

the discrepance of *degrees*, whereof proceedeth ordre. . . . Moreover, take away *ordre* from all things, what should then remayne? Certes nothyng finally, except some man would imagine eft soones *Chaos*. . . . Where there is any lacke of ordre needs must be perpertuall conflicte; and in thynges subiecte to Nature *nothyng of hym self only may be norisshed*; but when he hath destroyed that wherewith he doth participate by the ordre of his creation, he himselfe of necessite must then perisse, whereof ensueth universal dissolution. . . .

Hath not [God] set *degrees* and estates in all his glorious workes? Fyrst in his heavenly ministres, whom . . . he hath constituted to be in divers *degrees* called hierarchies. Beholde the four elements whereof the body of man is compacte, how they be set in their places called spheris, *higher or lower*, . . . so that in every thing is ordre, and without ordre may be nothing stable or permanent, and it may not be called ordre, except it do conteyne it in *degrees, high and base*. . . . And like as . . . the fire which is the most pure of elements . . . is deputed to the highest sphere or place. . . .

In the second chapter follows an account of the life of the bees :

lefte to man by nature, as it seemeth a perpetuall figure of a *just governance or rule*, who hath among them one principall Bee for their gouverneur, who excelleth all other in greatness, yet hath he no prick or stinge. . . . The capitayne hym selfe laboureth not for his sustenance, but all the other for him; he only seeth that if any drone or other unprofitable bee entreth into the hyve . . . that he be immediately expelled from that company. . . .

Compare Shakespeare :

While that the armed hand doth fight abroad
The advised head defends itself at home.
For government, through *high and low and lower*
Put into parts, doth keep in one concent. . . .
Therefore doth heaven divide
The state of man in divers functions. . . .

To which is fixed, as an aim or butt,
 Obedience ; for so work the honey bees,
 Creatures that *by a rule in nature*, teach
 The act of *order* to a peopled kingdom.
 They have a king. . . .
 Who, busied in his majesty surveys
 Delivering o'er to executors pale
 The lazy yawning drone.

Henry V. i. 2.

When that the general is not like the hive,
 To whom the foragers shall all repair,
 What honey is expected ? *Degree* being vizarded,
 The unworthiest shows as fairly in the mask.
 The heavens themselves, the planets and the centre,
 Observe *degree*. . . .

And therefore is the glorious planet Sol
 In noble eminence enthroned and sphered. . . .

O, when *degree* is shaken

Which is the ladder to all high designs,
 Then enterprise is sick ! How should communities,
Degrees in schools, and brotherhoods in cities. . . .

But by *degree*, stand in authentic place ?

Take but *degree* away, untune that string

And hark, what discord follows ! each thing meets
 In mere oppugnancy. . . .

Great Agamemnon,

This *chaos*, when *degree* is suffocate,

Follows the choking. . . .

Troilus and Cressida, i, 3.

It does not follow that Shakespeare had Elyot directly in mind when he wrote : the general topic is obviously likely to have been commented often between Elyot's day and his. Long before Elyot and Lilly, Bartholomew had discoursed imaginatively of the bees in his cyclopædia *De proprietatibus rerum* ;¹ and a hundred homilists must have handled the theme. But *some* line of connection between Elyot and Shakespeare there surely was ; and there is no need to make the latter resort to Augustine for ideas so certainly current in his own tongue, whether

¹ See the extracts from Berthelet's ed. (1535) of Trevisa's trans. in Dr. Seager's *Natural History in Shakespeare's Time*, 1896, pp. 32-33.

written or spoken. The Baconians should be the last people to dispute that Shakespeare had read and remembered either Elyot's treatise or others which drew from it and from Bartholomew. Had they found any such "echoes and correspondencies" between Shakespeare and Bacon, they would have been glad to rest their whole case upon them. For the rest of us it is sufficient to say that Shakespeare certainly did thus utilise English books and discourses; and that, this being clear, it is worse than idle to ascribe to him Greek and Latin erudition to account for his knowledge of a few classical commonplaces. And still more futile, in this connection, is the Baconian hypothesis. Dr. Theobald does not make out one verbal coincidence between Shakespeare and Bacon in respect of the "Platonic" passages, familiar as were the commonplaces they set forth.

3. Dr. Theobald reproduces the parallel between Hamlet's

Lay her i' the earth,
And from her fair and unpolluted flesh
May violets spring!

and Persius'

Non nunc e manibus istis,
Non nunc e tumulo, fortunatâque favilla,
Nascentur violae?

As I have elsewhere¹ pointed out, the second and third lines cited from Persius are quoted by Montaigne in his essay OF GLORY, and are duly translated by Florio (1603). As there are a number of clear echoes of Montaigne in HAMLET, the reasonable presumption is that Shakespeare found them there. But

4. Shakespeare speaks of "method in madness" in HAMLET, II, ii, 207; M. FOR M., V, i, 63; and LEAR, IV, vi, 178-9. This Dr. Theobald refers to Horace:

Insanire paret certâ ratione modoque,
Sat. II, iii, 271;

¹ *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. 1909, section on "The Learning of Shakespeare," p. 329.

citing in this connection Bacon's "cum ratione quâdam et prudentiâ insanirent" (NOV. ORG. pref.), and an extract in the PROMUS from Horace, SAT. II, iii, 120. This item Shakespeare might very well have known with "small Latin." But the first two Books of the Satires had been twice translated in English—by Lucas Evans in 1564, and by B. L. in 1567; and the whole of the Satires, with the Art of Poetry and the Epistles, by Thomas Drant in 1567.

5. As might have been expected, the "undiscover'd country" lines in HAMLET are by Dr. Theobald as by his predecessors affirmed to be "evidently taken from Catullus"; though Dr. Theobald does not repeat Mr. Donnelly's exploit with the "brief candle" rendering of *brevis lux*. I must repeat here, what I have pointed out elsewhere, that the old commentators cited for the line in question the phrase in Sandford's translation of Cornelius Agrippa (*circa* 1570: described by Steevens as "once a book of uncommon popularity"): "The countrie of the dead is irremeable, that they cannot return"; and the parallel in Marlowe's EDWARD II:

Weep not for Mortimer,
That scorns the world, and as a *traveller*,
Goes to *discover* countries yet unknown.

The Catullus derivation is thus one more delusion.

6. Dr. Theobald, however, undertakes to show "many other quotations from Catullus." He cites from 2 HENRY IV, I, i, 47, the phrase "devour the way," claiming to be the first to refer it to "its classic source" in Catullus (xxxiii):

Quare, si sapiet, viam vorabit.

The variorum edition would have informed him that Blackstone and Malone between them traced it to Nemesian—

latumque fuga consumere campum.

But it would further have referred him to Job xxxix:

“ He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage,”
and to Ben Jonson’s SEJANUS (v, 10, near end) :

With that speed and heat of appetite
With which they greedily devour the way
To some great sports.

It was evidently a current trope, like Ariel’s “ I drink the air.”

7. Parallels between Miranda’s “ I am your wife ”
speech (TEMPEST, III, i, 83) and Ariadne’s cry in Catullus’
EPITHALAMIUM PELEI ET THETIDOS (158 sq.) :

Si tibi non corda fuerant connubia nostra, &c. ;

and again between Catullus’ *lenta vitis* lines (IN NUPTIAS
JULIÆ ET MANLI, 106 sq.) and Adriana’s

Thou art an elm, my husband, I a vine,
(*Comedy of Errors*, II, ii, 176 sq.)

are really not worth discussing. The image is of universal
vogue, *e.g.* :

As the Vine married unto the Elme
With strict embraces.

Daniel, *Complaint of Rosamond*, 1592, ll. 829-30.

And it is nearly always those universally current tropes
that are cited to prove Shakespeare’s classical scholarship.

8. Of course the lines :

What stronger breastplate than a heart untainted?
Thrice is he arm’d that hath his quarrel just
(*2 Henry VI*, III, ii, 232),

must be derived from the equally familiar lines :

Illi robur et aes triplex
Circa pectus erat.

Horace, *Carm.* I, iii, 9-10.

In vain did Malone point out that in LUST’S DOMINION,
an old play probably in part by Marlowe (*circa* 1588)
occur the lines :

Come, Moor ; I’m arm’d with more than complete steel,
The justice of my quarrel.

Those cited from 2 HENRY VI are almost certainly

non-Shakespearean. In any case they are *not* the equivalent of the Horatian phrase.¹

9. Dr. Theobald naturally affirms that the allusion to Roman lachrimatories in ANTONY (I, iii, 63) is "very remarkable" for its "classic learning," "referring as it does to usages not likely to be familiar to an unlearned writer." It is as likely to have been known to English readers in Shakespeare's day as the Roman usage of burning the dead.

10. "When Aegon begins the story of his life with :

A heavier task could not have been imposed
Than I to speak my griefs unspeakable "

(*Com. Ev.* I, i, 32),

says Dr. Theobald, "the poet *must* certainly have had in his mind the well-known line of Virgil :

Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem."

And if he had, he was only referring to one of the most hackneyed lines in Latin literature, which he had paraphrased to his hand in Marlowe and Nashe's DIDO, 1594 :

A woeful tale bids Dido to unfold,
Whose memory, like pale Death's stormy mace,
Beats forth my senses from this troubled breast.

But in neither case do we have a close resemblance.

11. "In the same speech," adds our Baconian, "when he says :

For what obscured light the heavens did grant
Did but convey unto our fearful minds
A doubtful warrant of immediate death.

¹ In discussing many other passages of plays which I believe to have been only worked over, adapted, or collaborated-in by Shakespeare, I make no attempt to meet the Baconian argument by suggesting other authorship. To such a consideration Baconians seem to be impervious ; and in nearly every case they can be easily confuted even on their own lines. But as I have in some cases pointed out the non-Shakespearean character of passages stressed by them, I think it well to explain that omission to say the same thing in other cases where it would apply does not mean acceptance of the passage discussed as really Shakespearean.

the poet is reproducing Virgil's

Praesentemque vires intentant omnia mortem."

It is not necessary to discuss such a "reproduction."

12. The allusions to "Sybil," Xantippe, and the swelling Adriatic in the *SHREW* (I, ii, 70), prove to Dr. Theobald that the poet's mind is "full of classic illustration"; and we are reminded that Bacon refers to "Sybilla"¹ in his essay on *DELAYS*. All this is truly remarkable classical learning! The fact that most good critics are of opinion that the *SHREW* was *not* by Shakespeare will naturally have no influence with Baconians.

13. The references to the "many-headed multitude" in *CORIOLANUS* (II, iii, 17) and to the "blunt monster with uncounted heads" in *2 HENRY IV* (Induction, 18) are of course declared to be "derived from Horace—*Bellua multorum es capitum.*" The Baconian is as usual unaware that in Elyot's *GOVERNOUR* (1531) occurs the remark that the Athenian democracy "moughte well be called a monstre with many heedes" (B. i, c. 2); and that "many-headed multitude" occurs in Sidney's *ARCADIA* (B. ii). Yet he might have learned the latter fact from Bartlett's *FAMILIAR QUOTATIONS*. Without going to either Elyot or Sidney, Shakespeare could have got the tag from a previous play. It occurs in the first part of Marlowe's *TAMBURLAINE* (Pt. I, iv, 3)

A monster of five hundred thousand heads ;

also in *THE TROUBLESOME RAIGNE OF KING JOHN* :

The multitude, a beast of many heads,
Hazlitt's *Shakespeare Library*, Part II, vol. i, p. 290 ;

and in Daniel's poem (1595) on *THE CIVIL WARS* (ii, 12) :

This many-headed monster Multitude ;

¹ Bacon of course wrote "Sibylla." Shakespeare in the *Merchant* (i, 2) spells "Sibilla"; and in *Othello* (iii, 4) "Sybill." But in the non-Shakespearean *Shrew* also (i, 2) we have "Sibell" and "Zentippe"; and in *Titus* (iv, 1) "Sibel."

to say nothing of the later plays which show it to have been a common expression. And Bacon quoted Horace too!

14. Juliet's lines :

Thou may'st prove false : at lovers' perjuries
They say, Jove laughs,

"may have been taken either from Tibullus or Ovid," says Dr. Theobald, with comparative moderation. The implication is that when Shakespeare puts a "they say" into the mouth of a girl he is writing something which he does *not* know to be a common saw, and is importing a classical quotation from his own reading. Dr. Theobald admits that "in Marlowe there is a metrical version :

For Jove himself sits in the azure skies
 And laughs, below, at lovers' perjuries."

This he learned from one commentator, and, being convinced that Bacon wrote Marlowe, is willing to mention it. From Malone he might have learned that the phrase occurs also in GREENE'S METAMORPHOSIS. And if he had read Lilly's ENDIMION he would have noted (i, 2) :

If the gods sit unequal beholders of injuries, or laughers at lovers' deceits, then let mischief be as well forgiven in women as perjury winked at in men.

15. The same inveterate unwisdom is shown in the citation of Lewis Theobald's note to the jocular direction of Launcelot in the MERCHANT OF VENICE (II, ii, 42) : "Turn upon your right hand at the next turning, but at the next turning of all," &c. The commentator suggested that it "seemed to be copied" from Terence's ADELPHI, iv, 2. It is simply *not* copied. It is a piece of such fooling as spontaneously goes on in all countries, at all times. Those who thus strive to credit the dramatist with classical learning make him a pedantic fool, who from wide reading harvests only commonplaces and trivialities. Such was neither Shakespeare nor Bacon.

16. Proceeding on his own learning, Dr. Theobald writes that the "sentiment" of the passage:

If our virtues
Did not go forth of us, 'twere all alike
As if we had them not,

M. for M. I, i, 34,

"appears to have originated" in Horace's

Paullum sepultæ distat inertiae
Celata virtus.

Od. iv, 9.

The sentiment in question is the same as that put in the mouth of Ulysses in *TROILUS* (III, iii, 96 *sq.*) and it "originated" before Horace. It is substantially put by Cicero, *DE AMICITIA*, 19. It is developed afresh by Seneca, *DE BENEFICIIS*, B. v. And if Shakespeare had not met with it—as probably he did not—in the current translations of those treatises, he had it all to his hand, with a thousand other classic saws, in Florio's translation of Montaigne.¹ But it would be folly to suppose that such a maxim as *Frustra habet qui non utitur*, given in the *ADAGIA* of Erasmus, had not been a thousand times quoted before Shakespeare. The argument that "nothing is seen here to be made for itself . . . the noblest creatures have need of the basest, and the basest are served by the noblest," is elaborated by De Mornay in his treatise on the Truth of the Christian Religion, translated by Sidney and Golding in 1587 (ed. 1604, p. 18); and must have been many times employed. In this passage, be it noted, we have the argument found in *HENRY V*, with the phrase, "so many and so divers pieces . . . so coupled with one another, making one body, and full of so apparent *consents* of affections." The general sentiment that men are not made for themselves is a standing theme:

As learned men have remembered, saying, we be not borne solely to ourselves, but partely to the use of our Countrey, of our

¹ See *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. pp. 95-104.

Parentes, of our Kinsfolkes, and partly of our Friendes and Neyghboures. . . .

Stafford, *Brief Concept of English Pollicy*, 1581, N.S.S. rep. p. 15.

How certaine it is, both by the tradition of ancient and moderne judgments avowed, that everie man is not borne for himselfe. Ford, *Honor Triumphant*, 1606, first sentence.

The same Ciceronian maxim is employed twice over by Northbrooke in his TREATISE AGAINST DICING, DANCING, &c. (1577)—in the Epistle Dedicatory and in the text (Sh. Soc. rep. p. 57); with the addition of a similar saying translated from Plato, *Homines hominum causa esse generatos*. It was evidently a familiar exordium.

17. And this is the fitting comment on the set of parallels cited to Horace's *Extinctus amabitur idem* and *Virtutem incolumen odimus*. The phrase "I shall be loved when I am lack'd" (CORIOLANUS, IV, i, 15) is flagrantly proverbial. Such things are said everywhere by unlearned men who never read a line of Latin or even a translation of a classic. It is the very ecstasy of error that moves Dr. Theobald to write: "It is curious to note how frequently the word *lack'd* is used in the Shakespeare passages: it is the equivalent of *Extinctus*." Bacon's PROMUS, where the quotation is found, is a mere garner of proverbial and colloquial sayings.

18. "Catullus," says Dr. Theobald, "again turns up in the following:

Be now as prodigal of all dear grace
As nature was in making graces dear,
When she did starve the general world beside,
And prodigally gave them all to you.

L. L. L. II, i, 9.

"In the 84th [should be 86th] Epigram, Lesbia is similarly complimented:

Quae cum pulcherima tota est,
Tum omnibus una omnes surripuit Veneres."

It would be hard to cite a sentiment more completely run to death in the whole world of amorous poetry.

Surrey's "Praise of his Love," developing this theme, is the type of a hundred Elizabethan lyrics.

19. Following his namesake, Lewis, Dr. Theobald refers the opening lines of *TROILUS* :

I'll unarm again.

Why should I war without the walls of Troy,
That find such cruel battle here within,

to Anacreon : "'Tis in vain I have a shield," &c. Once more we are dealing with a poetic commonplace. *E.g.* :

Why fearest thou thy outward foe,
When thou thy selfe thy harme doste feede ?

Tottel's Miscellany, Arber's *rep.* p. 204.

It is mostly to such familiar sentiments that the Baconian references point, making "scholarship" a mere means of access to common metaphor. And we have the same thing in the deducing of Pandarus' comment on the Trojan warriors from Homer's episode of Helen on the walls of Troy, copied by Euripides and Statius and a score of poets more. Chapman's translation of the first seven books of the *ILIAD* appeared in 1598.

20. Following Lewis Theobald again, our Baconian refers Hamlet's "large discourse" (*IV*, *iv*, 36) to Homer (*ILIAD*, *iii*, 109 ; *i*, 343 ; *xviii*, 250) ; and notes that "the profound philosophical expression 'discourse of reason'" is "used by Bacon." The expression in question, as I pointed out long ago, occurs four times in Florio's translation of Montaigne, demonstrably read by Shakespeare while he was writing *HAMLET*. It is also found in Sidney and Golding's translation of De Mornay on the Christian Religion (1587) ; repeatedly in Fenton's translation of Guicciardini (1579) ; four times in Holland's translation (1603) of one essay ("Of Moral Virtue") in Plutarch's *MORALIA*, and frequently in other essays ; to say nothing of Hooker (1594) and earlier writers such as Jewel and More. "Discourse" is an absolutely normal word in Tudor literature :

Discourse of state and government.

Fenton's ep. ded. to trans. of Guicciardini.

By the light of natural discourse.

Hooker, *Eccles. Polity*, B. I, ch. xiv, § 1.

If you desire to see me beat my breast. . . .

Then you may urge me to that sad discourse.

Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West*, v, 1.

The mind, which in discoursing reacheth far beyond all sensible things.

Sidney and Golding's trans. of De Mornay.

Ed. 1604, p. 7.

The manner of his [man's] discourse is but to proceed from kind to kind.

Id. p. 42.

The word occurs scores of times in Florio and Holland.

21. "The classic scholarship shown in TITUS ANDRONICUS is very remarkable," says Dr. Theobald. "This play is crowded with classic allusions." All scholarship seems to Dr. Theobald "very remarkable." But TITUS is not Shakespeare's work; and the allusion to Hecuba's killing of Polymnestor (I, i, 136) is from the hand of Peele.¹ If Lewis Theobald and Steevens, who dwell on the classic knowledge exhibited in the allusion to the burial of Ajax (I, i, 379), had done their work properly, they would have noted that the very phrase "wise Laertes' son" occurs in Peele's TALE OF TROY (1589, l. 362), where the quarrel and suicide of Ajax are lengthily described.

So much for Dr. Theobald's selection of classical parallels to prove the Baconian case. "The list," he writes, "might be very easily extended; but it is needless to do so." It would be useless: the whole "classical" case is hollow, the work of men with preconceived notions, seeking to buttress them by any semblance of proof. On the foregoing series of miscarriages there follows a final attempt to prove "classical knowledge" in the playwright from an alleged use of Latin idioms and

¹ See the point discussed in *Did Shakespeare write "Titus Andronicus"?* pp. 226-7.

grammatical forms, as set forth in Dr. Abbott's SHAKESPEREAN GRAMMAR. Such forms as "the mightiest Julius," "without all bail," "after" = *secundum*, "mere" = sheer, "my very friends," "your," as in

Your serpent of Egypt is bred now of your mud by the operation of your sun ; so is your crocodile.

Antony, II, vii, 29 ;

such forms as

What with your help, *what with* the absent king ;

What with the injuries of a wanton time,

I *Henry IV*, v, i, 49

—these and other universally used idioms of the period are seriously cited as "classic footprints." The argument is not worth discussion. Even if such forms had all been classic in origin—which they were not—they had become part and parcel of common English speech, built up as that so largely was by men schooled in Latin, in ages when priests wrote interludes for the people, and preachers quoted from the Vulgate. The "your" form is put by Shakespeare in the mouths of carters and grave-diggers, and we are asked to suppose that it stood for familiarity with Latin.

"Verray," which comes through French *vrai* and not by imitation of Latin usage, is already completely established in Chaucer, who uses it scores of times in BOECE alone : "Verray tears," "a more verray thing," "thilke selve welefulnesse" and "thilke verray welefulnesse," "verray blisfulnesse," "verray and parfit good," "false goodes . . . verray goodes," "verray good," "right verray resoun," "verray resoun," "no more verraye thing," "verray light," &c. &c. The usage remained fixed till Shakespeare's time. "Very" is a normal usage in Elyot in 1530, as in "my very son Esau." "Very God" was a standing term in the creeds ; and thus "very," with somewhat the force of "sheer" or "absolute," was constantly used in theology. It could be cited twenty times from one popular book : e.g. "very

corruption," "in very deed," "in very truth," "a very man," "verie goodness and wisdom," &c. (Sidney and Golding's trans. of De Mornay, ed. 1604, pp. 93, 97, 264, 271, 272, 273, 282, 295, 298, 329, &c. &c.). "Mere" = "pure" or "sheer" was in equally universal use, as will be shown in the next chapter. *Solvuntur tabulæ.*

Uneasily conscious that there are some notoriously awkward facts which he must face, Dr. Theobald avows:

In writing these plays, it is probable that English translations were used *as a matter of convenience*, even though the writer *might have been (sic)* capable of going to the original sources. *My conviction is* that any unbiassed reader will not easily lose the impression that a poet who could so faithfully reproduce the spirit and *entourage* of classic events and persons must have studied them carefully in their most authentic setting. But when this impression does not arise, or is resisted, *I have no means of enforcing it by argument.*"¹

Quite so. After all the confident bluster we have examined; after all the "certainlys" and "undoubtedlys"; after all the procession of quotations and sources in regard to which it is claimed that only one inference is open, we have the inept conclusion that the dramatist "probably" used translations "for convenience"—that Bacon, who so often wrote and so constantly quotes Latin, found it inconvenient to translate for himself. And in fine we have, *pro ratione*, the proposition: "My conviction is. . . . I have no means of enforcing it by argument." That is my case.

§ 4. *Mr. William Theobald*

In 1909 there was posthumously published, under the editorship of Dr. R. M. Theobald, *THE CLASSICAL ELEMENT IN THE SHAKESPEARE PLAYS*, by his cousin, the late Mr. William Theobald. In the editorial preface there is cited a particular coincidence (non-classical) of idea and phrase between Shakespeare and Bacon, with which I

¹ Work cited, pp. 308-9.

shall deal in the next chapter; and there is advanced an argument in regard to the "integration of a number of small or doubtful resemblances," which will there also be discussed on its merits. I mention it here by way of noting that even Dr. Theobald perceived the "faint and probably accidental" character of some of the "resemblances" alleged by his relative, concerning which he claims, however, that they are "not entirely valueless." As to this the reader can decide for himself when he has perused the series of alleged classical parallels examined hereinafter. I have gone through one entire chapter of these, ignoring nothing. But before coming to them it may be well to note how Mr. William Theobald in his Introduction deals with the general question of Shakespeare's scholarship.

He begins by accepting the existence of one Shakspeare or Shaksper, for whom he accepts as properly applicable the epithets of "poet-ape," "Johannes factotum," and "upstart-crow," which, it is alleged, "two of his contemporaries, who knew him personally," apply to him. The second and third epithets are those of Greene, concerning whose personal acquaintance with Shakespeare Mr. Theobald offers no evidence whatever; and who in any case wrote as his enemy. The first is from Ben Jonson's epigram, which might fitly be applied to any one of three or four of Jonson's enemies; which is absolutely incompatible with Jonson's express praise of Shakespeare; and concerning which also Mr. Theobald makes no attempt to prove that it was directed at Shakespeare. Then the theorist proceeds to accept the testimony of Ben Jonson that "Shakspeare" [*sic*] had "small Latin and less Greek," saying nothing of the significance of the fact that this testimony is part of a panegyric upon Shakespeare of Stratford as one of the great dramatists of all time.

Beyond this Mr. Theobald's exposition consists in affirming that the author of *HAMLET* "certainly" knew

Greek ; and in charging " unblushing dogmatism " upon Sir Sidney Lee and others who claim that, beyond rational dispute, Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon wrote the plays which we cherish as his. On the point of the " non-Shakespearean " character of some of them, Mr. Theobald is as uncritical as the rest of the Baconians and some of the orthodox, merely arguing that the editors of the Folio " should have known the author of the plays included therein," and that Jonson " must have known also." All the while he assumes that the plays assigned to Shakespeare were written by Bacon, to whom he has no scruple in ascribing TITUS ANDRONICUS.

In so far as he argues that " all writers are, consciously or unconsciously, indebted for ideas, facts, allusions, and, in a word, literary material, to previous writers," he is forcing an open door. The purpose of his book is to prove that Shakespeare did his borrowing largely at first hand from Greek and Latin writers ; and it is in this undertaking that Mr. Theobald fully reveals his incapacity to draw rational inferences from literary evidence. Dr. Furnivall's deliverance, that

Chaucer, George Gascoigne, Holinshed's *Chronicle*, Lyly's *Euphues*, Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, and other collections of novels, Greene's prose tales, Montaigne's *Essays*, are the main books we trace in [Shakespeare's] works,

Mr. Theobald pronounces a " preposterous utterance." We shall see in due course the value of his opinion.

At one point Mr. Theobald's argument becomes so incoherent that it is difficult to understand how even a careless editor could pass it without comment. He accuses of gross misrepresentation an anti-Baconian writer who first remarked on the folly of the thesis that Bacon would choose as his mask " a rude unlettered fellow " ; and later observes that " the Baconians had to prove that Shakespeare was a scholar." Obviously the writer meant that they had to prove that the *playwright* was a scholar. But after thus fiercely denouncing

a mere ellipsis, Mr. Theobald in his own person reasons thus :

The true reason why the writer of the plays (Bacon) did not care to bring too prominently forward his knowledge of the Greek tragedies, was probably the risk thereby incurred of jeopardising his cherished incognito ; as his literary stalking-horse, Shakspeare, was too well known to be readily credited with deriving materials from the works of Sophocles, Æschylus, or Euripides. *Even at second-hand, through Seneca, the risk was too great to be encountered.*

I invite attention to this piece of reasoning. It affirms (1) That the man Shakespeare was too well known (*i.e.*, by implication, to be no scholar) to permit of the real author introducing into the plays any signs of knowledge of the Greek classical drama, or even of a dramatist so widely read in those days as Seneca. But it is involved in this proposition (2) that Shakespeare *could* pass among those who knew him not only as the author of all the poetry and eloquence in the plays, but as having scholarship enough for what scholarly touches there *are* in them. That is to say, those who knew Shakespeare would see no reason for doubting that he was able to write all the plays and poems he signed—this by the admission of the Baconian.

Be it now noted (3) that Mr. Theobald in his opening chapter undertakes to show that the *plays* reveal not only a “good,” a “thorough,” nay, even a “pedantic” knowledge of Latin literature in general, but a knowledge of Aristotle, Euripides, and Homer ; and (4) that in subsequent chapters he claims to prove, still from the plays, a knowledge not only of these writers but of Æschylus, Anacreon, Aristophanes, Athenæus, Ælian, Appian ; Plato, Theocritus, Tyrtæus, and Apollonius Rhodius, to say nothing of such out-of-the-way Latin writers as Alanus, Ausonius, Avienus, Fracastorius, &c. &c. Bacon, then, could safely let his unlettered mask figure as possessed of all that classical reading, while forced to withhold all signs of knowledge of “Sophocles, Æschylus, or Euripides,” or even Seneca !

After this sample of his mental processes, it is perhaps superfluous to explain that when Mr. Theobald undertakes to convict Farmer of gross ignorance he merely exhibits entire failure of comprehension. Farmer remarked that Taylor, the "Water Poet," has "more scraps of Latin and allusions to antiquity than are anywhere to be met with in the writings of Shakespeare." Upon this Mr. Theobald thus explodes: "To understand the audacity of this assertion, it is sufficient to quote the authority of Taylor himself," citing the poet's avowal that he could never get beyond *possum* and *posset*. Of this fact, Farmer was not only perfectly aware: he had given the very clue which Mr. Theobald takes! In his preface¹ he had mentioned the passage about *possum* and *posset*; and in the text he had expressly quoted Taylor's avowal that "he never learned his Accidence, and that Latin and French were to him heathen Greek"; going on: "*yet, by the help of Mr. Whalley's argument, I will prove him a learned man, in spite of everything he may say to the contrary.*" The whole point of Farmer's argument was that an English poet avowedly ignorant—in the scholarly sense—of any language but his own could nevertheless make hundreds of classical allusions in virtue of his English reading, and could even use many scraps of Latin.

I do not accuse Mr. Theobald of gross misrepresentation: his infirmity appears to have been intellectual rather than moral. But when he proceeds to pretend that Farmer, in pointing to the English books where Shakespeare could have found his "classical" matter, in positing something harder of belief than the "classical" thesis itself, Mr. Theobald exhibits a fairly low standard of candour. He actually names French writers without mentioning that Farmer had referred to English translations of them. But he probably could not understand

¹ To the second edition, in which first occurs the passage above cited and denounced by Mr. Theobald.

that in pointing to the English currency of the classical items in dispute Farmer did not mean to claim that Shakespeare had necessarily read every one of those books—though he very well might—but simply to show that the knowledge in question was current for English readers without resort to Greek and Latin. The rationale of the whole problem is hidden to a writer of Mr. Theobald's intellectual habits.

This is finally made clear by his handling of the point of the parallel, pressed by himself, between the declaration in the *SHREW* that "'Tis death to any one in Mantua, To come to Padua.'" For this Mr. Theobald was bound to find a classic original; and he fathers it on Aulus Gellius' story (vii, 10) of the decree of the citizens of Athens against those of Megara. In the eighteenth century, George Colman had traced a character in the *SHREW* to the untranslated *TRINUMMUS* of Plautus; whereupon Farmer pointed out, in his *ESSAY*, that both the character and the part of the plot in question had been borrowed from the previous comedy of *SUPPOSES*, a translation by George Gascoigne from Ariosto's *SUPPOSITI*. Colman was convinced on this head, though he held out on others. Not so Mr. Theobald. He decides (p. 167) that "as the work of Gascoigne was published without date, Farmer's argument does not carry conviction." Farmer, I fancy, would not have been concerned to carry conviction to Mr. Theobald. But in the interest of minds more permeable to reason it may be well to mention that Gascoigne's *SUPPOSES* was published as having been "presented" at Gray's Inn in 1566. It would thus have been known to actors apart from publication; but it is known to have been published by Jeffes in 1587.

Since Farmer's day, the critical examination of the *SHREW* has been carried far enough to make us sure that Shakespeare had no hand in its framing, but at most touched it up and inserted some passages. This, of course,

is not a matter to be put to Baconians ; but it is one the consideration of which may save some brands from their burning. Mr. Theobald is not an investigator of historic fact, but a myth-maker. In his pages, I suppose, are to be found all the standard mares' nests of his sect. He duly enshrines the "*Honorificabilitudinitatibus*." He has read in the *Athenæum* the sentence on it from the CATHOLICON of Giovanni da Genova ; and then, in the true Baconian manner, he pronounces (p. 170) : " Whether Bacon was the more likely man to have had recourse to the pages of that work, or Shakespeare, I confidently leave to the common sense of my readers." Mr. Theobald is truly a precious authority on common sense. The old variorum edition could have informed him that the " word " is to be met with in Nashe's LENTEN STUFF, in a passage (WORKS, ed. McKerrow, iii, 176) which shows it to have been quite familiar in that day. We are dealing with perhaps the most impossible of all the Baconians.

None the less his entire chapter on " Classical Allusions Generally " shall be examined in detail. I hesitate to express my opinion of its general critical quality before the reader has had a full opportunity of judgment ; and thereafter he may be more moved to compassion than to censure. Let him but note that in a number of instances Mr. Theobald coincides in his claims with Dr. R. M. Theobald ; and that in these cases I refer back, or forward to the next chapter.

1. Captious (ALL'S WELL, I, iii, 193).

See below, Ch. VIII, p. 283.

2. Lethe'd (" a Lethe'd dulness " : ANTONY, II, i, 27).

" Simply the Latin *Lethæus* in an English dress," says Mr. Theobald, " as when Statius uses the expression *Lethæum vimen*, a rod dipped in Lethe (or Lethe'd rod), *Thebais*, ii, 30."

There was no need to resort to Statius. " Lethe " had the current force of " oblivion." Ascham in THE

SCHOLEMASTER notes (Arber's rep. p. 75) that Plato "doth plainelie declare that pleasure . . . doth ingender in all those that yield up themselves to her, foure notorious properties," the first being *λήθη*, "forgetfulness of all good things learned before." In the drama and in poetry the word was in common use :

I have drunk Lethe.

Webster, *The White Devil*, iv, 2.

His memory to virtue and good men
Is still carousing Lethe.

Id. *Appius and Virginia*, iv, 1.

To drown the pain it did abide
In solitary Lethe's sleepy tide.

Kyd, *Cornelia*, Act ii.

Drinking of the Lethe of mine eyes,
He is forced forget himself.

Daniel, *Complaint of Rosamond*, 1592.

3. **Exigent** (ANTONY, IV, xiv, 62).

See below, p. 310.

4. **Prosecution** (= following up : same passage).

"Used precisely as in Latin," says Mr. Theobald. But also precisely as in many English writers :

Cæsar . . . also prosecuted them [his enemies] with such celerity and effect. . . .

Elyot, *The Governour*, i, 23 ; Dent's rep. p. 100.

He with his army did prosecute after.

Latimer, *First Sermon before Edward VI.* Dent's rep. p. 73.

To prosecute their purposes.

Ascham, *Scholemaster*, Arber's rep. p. 69.

Our intent is not so exactlie to prosecute the purpose.

Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, Arber's rep. p. 127.

The King . . . prosecuted still in questioning.

Greene, *Penelope's Web*, 1587 : Works, v, 232.

I will prosecute what disgrace my hatred can dictate to me.

Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, v, 2.

Left then to prosecute her.

Lilly, *Love's Metamorphosis*, i, 2.

but the word
here is the
adjective

Whose bodies are followed in the world with lust, and prosecuted in the grave with tyranny.

Id. ib.

Prosecuting of this enterprize. Prosecute the cause.

Sir John Oldcastle, Pt. I, iii, 1; v, 10.

Go prosecute the Senate's will.

A Knack to Know an Honest Man, 1596, l. 516.

One of Cæsar's captains which was sent to Rome to prosecute his suit.

North's trans. of *Life of Cæsar*. Skeat's *Sh. Plutarch*, p. 70.

5. The Ablative Absolute :

My music playing far off, There, I will betray, &c.,

Antony, II, v, 10.

Such constructions were perfectly normal in English—the natural result of Latin culture. Latimer has :

Those premises considered, I would have you, &c.,

Fifth Sermon before Edward VI.

Elyot has many such constructions.

6. Percussion (CORIOLANUS, I, iv, 59).

"Not an English word," says Mr. Theobald, on the score that Richardson gives only this and instances from Bacon.

The Oxford Dictionary gives instances from Phaer, REGIMENT OF LYFE, c. vii, and Holland's PLUTARCH, p. 1348.

Compare :

Salute me with thy repercussive voice. *well?*

Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, i, 1 (1601).

7. Progeny (= ancestry. CORIOLANUS, I, viii, 11).

"Used not in *its English sense*," says Mr. Theobald, "but as the equivalent of ancestry and of the Greek word *progenêtôr*. It is occasionally used in this sense of 'ancestry' in Latin by Cicero and Terence, but I make bold to say it would not have been so used by a man who was not a good classical scholar and aware of the authority he had for so *uncommon a use of the word*." No man who

knew anything of Tudor English could have advanced such an assertion. The sense of "ancestry" was if anything more common than that of offspring or posterity. The Oxford Dictionary gives instances from Wiclif, Gower, Higden, Fabyan, and Cranmer. Add :

They descend of famous progeny.

Roye, *Rede me and be nott Wrothe*, 1528.

Whittingham's rep. p. 101.

His name is Person, and his progeny,

Now tell me of what ancient pedigree ?

Greene, Lacena's Riddle, in *The Tritameron of Love*, 1584.

Honour'd for his parentage and progeny [said of an unmarried youth].

Id. Mirror of Modesty, 1584 : Works, iii, 9.

Whose [Danae's] parentage and progeny [before bearing children].

Id. Tritameron of Love, 1587 : Works, iii, 69.

I therefore dissent because the destinies have appointed my progeny from such a peevish parent.

Id. Planetomachia, 1585 : Works, v, 40.

My parents and progeny.

Id. Menaphon : Works, vi, 110.

The honour of thy house and progeny.

Peele, *David and Bethsabe*, ii, 2.

Neither noble progenie, succession, nor election be of such force that. . .

Elyot, *The Governour*, B. ii, c. 1 ; Dent's ed. p. 117.

In a horse or good greyhound we praise that we see in them and not the beauty or goodness of their progeny.

Id. B. ii, c. 5, p. 130.

Born of worshipful progeny.

Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses*, Collier's rep. p. 42.

Wot ye not how great lord I [Pride] am,

Of how noble progeny I came ?

Medwall, *Nature*, in Farmer's *Lost Tudor Plays*, p. 66.

8. Microcosm (CORIOLANUS, II, i, 57).

"The word 'microcosm,'" remarks Mr. Theobald, "occurs in Bacon, SYL. SYL. Cent. x, introd., which was not published in Shakespeare's lifetime. Also in Sir

Walter Raleigh's HISTORY OF THE WORLD (B. i, ch. 2); but this was not published when the play was written (the first volume being published in 1614)." Mr. Theobald does not expressly say that these were the first uses of the word in English books apart from Shakespeare, but unless he means that he is saying nothing. Let us then supplement somewhat his literary information :

Microcosm, as the Oxford Dictionary notes, occurs in Lydgate (1426), Norton (1477), Dee (1570); the First Part of THE RETURN FROM PARNASSUS (1597), and Florio's Montaigne (1604). Compare the following :

That is to say, *Macrocosmus* and *Microcosmus*, which is to say, the greater world and the lesser world.

Gascoigne, *Viewe of Worldly Vanities*: Works, ed. Cunliffe, ii, 234.

Let us make Man ; that is, a wonderful creature, and therefore is called in Greek *Microcosmos*, a little world in himself.

Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583, Ep. Ded.

For our English *Mikrokosmos* or *Phenician Dido's* hide of ground.

Nashe, *Lenten Stuffe*, 1599. Works, ed. McKerrow, iii, 186.

No my harts, I am an absolute *Microcosmus*, a pettie world of myself.

Lilly, *Endimion*, 1591, iv, 2.

In 1603 John Davies of Hereford published a long poem entitled MICROCOSMUS. It would thus appear that the word was attainable without resort to consultation with Bacon or Raleigh.

9. *Illustrious* (CYMBELINE, I, vi, 108).

"Who but a classical scholar, nay, a very pedant; would have used the word 'illustrious' in place of dim?" asks Mr. Theobald—after explicitly arguing that Bacon dared not indicate his scholarship in the plays put out by him under the name of Shakespeare. As it happens, we do not know that Shakespeare ever did this. The Folio reads "illustrious"; and as there is no warrant for giving to *that* word the sense of "dim," some editors

have substituted "illustrious." Rowe put "unlustrous," and that reading is adopted in the Globe edition. So that "Shakespeare's" pedantry is still to prove.

The Oxford Dictionary, as it happens, does not include the word "illustrious" at all. This is surprising, for that word does actually appear in Shepherd's edition of Chapman's MINOR POEMS AND TRANSLATIONS, in the prose JUSTIFICATION OF "PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA" (1614) p. 194, col. 2, in the phrase "their present doctrinal and illustrious purposes." Unless Shepherd gives a false reading, the Dictionary has fallen into a sin of omission. The word appears again, however, with the meaning "illustrious," in Shepherd's edition of Chapman's translation of the ILIAD, viii, 182. Here the bare scansion calls for three syllables, though four could pass. On the whole, the presumption is that the word had some currency, and that Shakespeare did *not* coin it.

10. Eager (HAMLET, I, ii, 68).

"The word 'eager,'" Mr. Theobald informs us, "is here used in its classical or root sense of sharp, from the Greek *ἀκίς* (!), a sharp point, whence metaphorically sharp in the sense of acid, which none but a scholar would have so introduced. The commoner word acid is not used in the plays. '*Posset*' here is introduced, too, into the language for the first time."

Such folly "strieth a man dead," as the Elizabethans would say. Mr. Theobald is unaware that "eager" is simply the French *aigre*, and is so used by scores of writers between Chaucer and Shakespeare. He does not even know that "the commoner word acid"—then very *uncommon*—is found in Bacon; or else he ignores the point, as not serving the Baconian purpose. His remark as to "posset" is astounding even to a reader of the Baconians. It was an every-day word in every English household. Heywood puts it twice in the mouths of farmer-folk in the First Part of his EDWARD IV,

published in 1600. Ben Jonson in the preliminary matter to *EVERY MAN OUT OF HIS HUMOUR* (1599) has (List of Characters: Carlo Buffone):

A slave that will swill up more sack at sitting than would make all the guard a posset.

It occurs in *BLURT, MASTER-CONSTABLE* (1602, iii, 3) assigned to Middleton; and thrice in Webster and Marston's *MALCONTENT*, published in 1604.

A posset, the commentators explain, was "wine boiled with milk." The dialogue in *THE MALCONTENT* illustrates this description.

11. Implorators (*HAMLET*, I, iii, 129).

Mr. Theobald's note on this word must be cited in full, to do it justice: "The word 'implorators' is neither Latin nor English, though it might conceivably have been formed (as *amator* is from *amare*) had the metre required it. But the metre forbids it, and Lewis Theobald was therefore justified in treating the word as a printer's error for implorers. If, however, the word 'implorators' was the poet's own word, it clearly shows how the classical bias of his mind *was so strong as to overpower elementary requirements*, in this case of prosody." Q. E. D.

Most modern editors, recognising, *pace* Mr. Theobald, that prosody does *not* reject "implorators," retain the word. They happen to know that there was a French legal word *implorateurs*, which probably was Anglicised long before Shakespeare by the lawyers.

12. Green Wound (2 *HENRY IV*, II, i, 93).

Mr. Theobald impressively notes that Bacon in the *Essay OF REVENGE* speaks of a man keeping his own wounds green. "It was also," he explains, "a classical usage, as Euripides applies the term *chloros*, green or fresh, to blood" (*HECUBA*, 129). So that Shakespeare had appropriately put a Greek expression in the mouth of Mrs. Quickly, the better to reveal his scholarship!

This perhaps deserves to rank, even in competition with the assertion about "posset," as the last word in Baconian wool-gathering. The phrase must be about as old as English. In the *MORTE D'ARTHUR* we read how Sir Tristram "in his raging took no keep of his green wound that King Mark had given him" (B. viii, ch. 14). In Surrey's first poem in *TOTTEL'S MISCELLANY* (1557) is the line :

Of mine old hurt yet feel the wound but green.

And in Sackville's *COMPLAINT OF BUCKINGHAM*—part of his *Induction to the MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES* (1563)—is the line :

And feeling green the wound about his heart.

Sackville's Works, ed. 1859, p. 135.

It may be well to add, in a world in which Baconians flourish, that the phrase was current in the Elizabethan drama :

Lest he dismount me while my wounds are green.

Kyd, *Soliman and Perseda*, i, 4.

That wound yet too green.

Chapman, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* (1596) i, 1.

Wounds must be cured when they be fresh and green.

Greene, *Alphonous King of Arragon*, iii, ed. Dyce, p. 236.

And for your green wound . . .

Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, iii, 2.

That [comfort] which green wounds receive from sovereign balm.

Dekker, *The Honest Whore*, Part I, v, 2, near end.

13. *Absque hoc* (2 *HENRY IV*, V, v, 28).

See above, p. 72.

14. *Cæsar and his Fortune* (1 *HENRY VI*, I, ii, 138).

Mr. Theobald, in a lucid interval, admits that the phrase "is almost too familiar to quote," but proceeds to point out that "the epithet 'insulting' applied to the ship, is used . . . in its purely Latin sense." As to this *see below*, p. 321.

15. *Proditor* (*Id.* I, iii, 31).

This, Mr. Theobald explains, "is a Latin word and not an English one," quoting Cicero and Horace. It will be shown below, p. 337, that the word *was* in English use.

16. *Simular* (*LEAR*, III, ii, 54).

See below, p. 348.

17. *Virtue* (*Id.* V, iii, 104).

"Here the word 'virtue' is used in its primary classical sense, without any reference to moral goodness: that is, trust to thy 'valour' alone to save you."

The word in this sense was perfectly familiar, and there is absolutely no innovation in the matter. Elyot in his *GOVERNOUR* has the saying:

A man is called in Latin *vir*, whereof, saith Tully, vertue is named.

B. iii, c. 9. Dent's rep. p. 229;

and he has the phrase:

A semblance of vertue or cunning (B. i, c. 20).

About the same date, Tyndale in his translation of the *ENCHIRIDION* of Erasmus has the expression:

Christ, the virtue or strength of God;

and in the first chapter of Sir Thomas North's translation of Plutarch's *Life of Coriolanus*, read by Shakespeare, we have the sentence:

Now in those days valiantness was honoured in Rome above all other virtues: which they called *virtus*, by the name of virtue itself, as including in that general name all other special virtues besides. So that *virtus* in the Latin was as much as valiantness.

Skeat's *Sh. Plutarch*, p. 2.

On the stage we have:

And, valiant with a forced Vertue, longs
To die the death.

Hughes, *Misfortunes of Arthur*, IV, ii, 206-7.

One is moved to ask whether Mr. Theobald, at the

height of his hallucination, could suppose that the gospel phrase, "Virtue had gone out of him," and such a constantly used phrase as "the virtue of herbs," were classic mysteries for common folk?

18, 19, 20, 21. Epitheton, Festinately, Pernicious, and Sequent, all previously put forward by Dr. Theobald, are dealt with below, in ch. viii.

22. Laus Deo, bone intelligo (L.L.L. V, i, 24).

"The author," declares Mr. Theobald, "must have been a fair scholar to know that there is no such word as *bone*, but only *bene*." It would be interesting to know what Mr. Theobald would regard as "small Latin." For the rest, the context is corrupt;¹ and "bone" does *not* occur in the original, being merely an editorial guess.

23. Perge (L.L.L. IV, ii, 50).

"This is not a word that would be picked up in any translation," says Mr. Theobald. It might, however, have been picked up at school! Mr. Theobald, with ripe learning, points to Seneca, THYESTES, i, 23; Virgil, ECLOGA, vi, 13; Claudian, DE BELLO GILDONICO, 201, from which it "*may* have been borrowed." Several other instances of the use of the word *may* be found in Stephanus. With all of the writers named, says Mr. Theobald, "the author of the plays was familiar." "Paper is patient," say the Germans—borrowing from the Latin.

24. Deformed (L.L.L. IV, ii, 50).

"Your beauty . . . hath much deformed us." The word is "here used in its classical or root sense, which does not necessarily involve the idea of ugliness as the English word does; and its use in this place is, I consider, a clear indication of the scholarly mind of the author," says Mr. Theobald. Unluckily, the word had been used

¹ See above, p. 3.

in the "classical or root sense" by English authors long before Shakespeare :

His hair and beard deformed with blood and sweat.

Kyd, *Cornelia*, Act iii.

He shall not reform himself, but rather deform his conscience.

Hooper, *Declaration of Christ and His Office*,
Parker Soc. rep. p. 29.

To rip up all our deformities I mind not here.

Foxe, *Four Considerations*, pref. to *Martyrs*.

Now over and beside this deformity of life.

Id. *Exordium*. Cattley's ed, i, 12.

Joys that deform us with the lusts of sense.

Chapman, *The Gentleman Usher*, iv, 1.

A . . . jester that . . . with absurd smiles will transform any person into deformity.

Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour* : List
of Characters ; CARLO BUFFONE.

Where they shall see the time's deformity

Anatomized in every nerve and sinew.

Id. *Ib.* Induction.

25. Receipt (= receptacle : MACBETH, I, vii, 66).

"The word . . . in this sense is very classical," says Mr. Theobald, referring to Cicero's TUSCULANS, I, xx (should be xxii), 52, for "receptacle." The astonishing thing is that there is no reference to Bacon, who in the Essay OF GARDENS (No. 46) speaks of two kinds of fountains of which one is "a faire receipt (= pool or basin) of water." How comes it that the Baconians had not detected such a "coincidence"? Of course, as Bacon's phrase shows, the word was in common use in that sense. It was so long before. Hoccleve has :

My . . . greedy mowth, (receite of swich outrage).

La Male Regle de T. Hoccleve, l. 114.

Lydgate has :

The thought, resceyt of wo and of complaynt.

Complaynt of the Black Knight, l. 226.

Roye has :

The prestes of Babilone . . .
 Had an ydole called Bell.
 Outwardly made all of bras,
 And inwardly of earth it was,
 Having a *resceyte* so devised
 That the ydole semed to devowere
 An C shepe with wine and flower
 Daily unto it sacryfised.

Rede Me and be nott Wrothe, 1528.

And Heywood uses the word twice for the "capacity" or "holding power" of a theatre in his APOLOGY FOR ACTORS. Compare his line :

Of all the houses for a king's receipt.

2 *Edward IV* (1599), iii, 2.

26. Multitudinous—Incarnadine (II, ii, 62).

Not content with "incarnadine," Mr. Theobald announces, *more suo*, that "multitudinous" is "here used for the first time." Enlightened from within, the Baconian dreams not of consulting the variorum edition, where he might learn that the word is used by Dekker in THE WONDERFUL YEAR, 1603, in the phrase, "the multitudinous spawn." As to incarnadine, see below; p. 361.

27. Way of life (MACBETH, V, iii, 22).

Some one having expressed perplexity over this phrase, Mr. Theobald pityingly observes that it is "an example of how the eyes of critics, commentators and editors are sealed by the absurd assumption that the author of the plays was a poor classical scholar." He confidently points to "*secretum iter et fallentis semita vitæ*" in Horace, EPIST. I, xviii, 103, as "probably the source whence the phrase 'way of life' was derived." The puzzle is, how came Shakespeare to be able to speak English at all save through Latin?

Not for the Baconian is the old leisurely debate over "way" and "May." Colman gave two instances to

justify Johnson's emendation, "May," that word being a common poetic figure for the period of youth, as Steevens further proved by seven more instances. But, as it happens, other poets and dramatists *did* write "way of life" for "course of life"—*e.g.* Massinger in *VERY WOMAN* and *NEW WAY TO PAY OLD DEBTS*; and in *PERICLES*, i, 1, that simple form occurs, as in *HENRY VIII* we have "the way of our profession." And even apart from such usages, it seems sane to infer that English people could think or speak of the path or the journey of life without getting the idea from Horace.

28. *Wicked Hannibal* (M. FOR M. II, i, 170).

Mr. Theobald with profound learning shows that Hannibal was a name for detestableness among the Romans. He is convinced that Bacon-Shakespeare studied the classics thus to illuminate the dialogue of contemporary clowns!

And he would doubtless give the same explanation in the case of Ben Jonson:

Your maids too know this, and yet would have me turn Hannibal, and eat my own flesh and blood.

Every Man in his Humour, iii, 2.

"Hannibal" for "cannibal" was a standing tag.

29. *Loss of Question* (M. FOR M. II, iv, 90).

Mr. Theobald takes joy in the explanation, given so long ago as 1852, that "loss of question" stands for *casus questionis*. He does not explain why Shakespeare should translate *casus* by "loss." The passage is in all likelihood corrupt. Johnson's suggested emendation, "toss of question," flouted by Grant White, would make it clear enough.

30. *Delighted spirit* (M. FOR M. III, i, 122).

This old crux gives Mr. Theobald another opportunity. His cousin, Dr. Theobald, is all for "delated": he him-

self prefers to read "delighted" as *de-lighted* = deprived of light, because Homer (ILIAD, xviii, 6) uses the phrase "to lose the light" as the equivalent for "to die." And yet probably Shakespeare just wrote "delighted" and meant "delighted" in the sense of "hitherto full of the delight of life"! Anyhow, "de-lighted" is not classical.

31. On p. 40, whether of artistic intent or by the skill of his editor, Mr. Theobald has the oracular passage:

In *Hamlet* Polonius says (II, ii, 105) "Perpend,"

making no comment. On p. 48 we have a similar intimation with reference to THE MERRY WIVES, II, i, 19. Here Mr. Theobald censures an editor for saying that "perpend" was "an affected term." This hits Dr. R. M. Theobald, who noted that in Shakespeare "the word is used only by pedantical speakers or professional fools." "There was no affectation in its use in the time of Elizabeth," says Mr. W. Theobald, "as it was a word used in all seriousness by Bale, Burnet, Fox, and Brown." The general proposition is quite true. But only the Baconian can follow Mr. Theobald in proceeding to connect Shakespeare's use of it with Lucretius. It was current English. See below, p. 330.

32. *Evitate* (MERRY WIVES, V, v, 215).

The word, says Mr. Theobald, "is rarely used in English, but Bacon was one of the few who adopted it," and this in "a work not published in Shakespeare's lifetime."

See below, p. 308, as to another source of vocabulary open to poor Shakespeare in this matter.

33. *Thrice-blessed* (M.N.D., I, i, 74).

"The use of 'thrice,' as an intensitive," says the indefatigable Mr. Theobald, "was a peculiarity of Shakespeare's style"; and "this is very suggestive of the Greek," and also of the Latin. It was even such a

peculiarity as the taking of salt with meat. Every dramatist of the period did it :

Thrice-happy. Thrice dreadful. Thrice mighty. Thrice noble.

Thrice royal. Thrice sacred. Thrice almighty. Thrice sacred.

Chapman, Shepherd's vol. of *Minor Poems*, &c., pp. 4, 10, 16, 49, 128, 243, 255, 342. A dozen more instances could easily be found in the same poet.

Thrice reverend (thrice). Thrice valiant (twice). Thrice haughty. Thrice worthy. Thrice honourable.

Peele, Dyce's vol. of Greene and Peele, pp. 365, 366, 367, 377, 380, 462, 543, 547.

Thrice-renowned.

Kyd, *Soliman and Perseda*, i, 3.

Thrice-renowned.

Daniel, *Cleopatra*, l. 704. (III, ii).

Thrice fortunate.

Lilly, *Endimion*, iv, 3.

"Nothing hath made my master a fool but flat scholarship," says Epiton in the last-cited play.

34. By lifting a lost passage from p. 40 to p. 49 we realise that Mr. Theobald finds "peculiarity" in Shakespeare's use of "liberal" in HAMLET (IV, vi, 171) as well as in OTHELLO (II, i, 164; V, ii, 223). "In both these instances the word 'liberal' is used in one of its classical senses, which it *never* bears in English, though the synonymous word 'free' does." Mr. Theobald's monotony of error approaches the miraculous. "Liberal" was in Elizabethan use in all of the senses in question :

To declare his mind in broad and liberal speeches.

Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, Arber's rep. p. 234.

Thus when her fair heart-binding hands had tied
Those liberal tresses.

Chapman, *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*, 1595. Shepherd's ed. of *Minor Poems and Translations*, p. 31.

Fair Phillis wore a liberal tress.

Chapman, *Phyllis and Flora*, 1595

Committing their bitterness, and liberal invectives against all estates, to the mouths of children.

Heywood, *Apology for Actors*, 1612.

Their breasts liberal to the eye.

Sidney, *Arcadia*, B. iii, ed. 1627, p. 235.

35. Generous (OTHELLO, III; iii, 284).

See below, p. 355.

36. Infection (RICHARD II, II, i, 44).

Mr. Theobald is "certain" that we should here read "infestation," because that enables him to impute classicism, albeit "the word is itself corruptly formed from *infesto*, and is the Englished form of *infestatio* . . . shortened for the sake of the metre into infestation." Thus is scholarship demonstrated! All the while, the actual reading is "infection." Those who stand for *infestation* = *invasion* make a tautology, the line being "Against infection *and* the hand of war."

37. Beat your breast (RICHARD III, II, ii, 3).

"The idea of 'beating the breast' as a sign of grief is, I think"—thus Mr. Theobald—"more likely due to classical literature than to personal observation of the poet either in Warwickshire or in Middlesex." So that the Baconian is for the moment "Stratfordian." But as beating of the breast figures as an English usage in fifty Elizabethan poets and dramatists, it is not clear why Mr. Theobald should bar either Warwickshire or Middlesex.

38. Gallop apace (ROMEO AND JULIET, III, ii, 1).

"Fiery-footed steeds," Mr Theobald reminds us, "is the classical epithet for the horses of the Sun," as in Ovid and Statius. But why not also cite "bright Phoebus" and "chaste Diana"?

39. Aristotle's Checks (SHREW, I, i, 32).

Mr. Theobald endorses the argument of some one

("the same writer"—no one being mentioned in this connection) in 1853, to the effect that "checks" must be the right reading, because any tiro might have written "ethics," "but no person except one well read in the philosophy itself would think of giving it such a designation as 'checks.'" Thus again is a man's scholarship to be demonstrated.

40. **Piece.** ("Thy mother was a piece of virtue": TEMPEST, I, ii, 56.) Mr. Theobald interprets this to mean *pars virtutis*. "It illustrates the author's habit of thinking in Latin, as when writing 'piece' he had the Latin equivalent *pars* in his mind"—as in Horace, *partem animæ* (CARM. II, xvii, 5).

If Mr. Theobald could only have been as consummately ignorant of all English literature as he was of the pre-Shakespearean, he might have furnished us with commentaries on living writers for which the comic press would have been grateful. As it is, the foregoing will be appreciated by those who know that "piece" was a standing figure (usually laudatory) for a woman (sometimes it is applied to a man) in Elizabethan poetry and drama:

Have won . . . a peece that hath no peere.

Gascoigne, *Adventures of Master F. J.*, 15: Works, ed. Cunliffe, i, 414.

Behold here a peerelesse piece.

Id. *The Glass of Government*: ii, 6 (Cunliffe, ii, 41).

A pece surely of price.

Id. *Hemetes the Heremyte*: ii, 481.

Make such another piece as Scudmore is.

A Woman is a Weathercock (c. 1606), i, 1.

So fair a piece.

Spenser, Sonnet 14.

A beautiful and brave attired piece.

Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, i, 1.

In fine, a piece, despite of beauty, framed
To show what Nature's lineage could afford.

Greene, verses in *The Tritameron of Love* (1587).

Dyce's *Green and Pede*, p. 285.

Fair Helena, that brave and peerless piece.

Peele, *Tale of Troy*, l. 112.

Touched with the rape of this reproachful piece.

Id. l. 218.

To paint the colours of that changing piece.

Id. ed. 1589. Dyce's ed. p. 555, note.

To intimate that even the daintiest piece

And noblest-born dame should industrious be.

Chapman, *Hero and Leander*, 5th Section : *Tale of Teras*.

The sweet Armida . . . a tender piece.

Fairfax, tr. of Tasso's *Jerusalem*, 1600, B. iv, st. 27.

This figure of man's comfort, this rare piece.

Chapman, *An Humorous Day's Mirth*, 1599,
(Shepherd's ed. of Plays, p. 32).

41. Pole-clipt Vineyard (TEMPEST, IV, i, 68).

"This is a poetic reflection of Homer's description of a vineyard *surrounded by a ditch encompassed by a fence—that is, pole-clipt* (ILIAD, xviii, 564)." Q. E. D.!

42. Scarcity ("Scarcity and want shall shun you" : TEMPEST, IV, i, 116). "This impersonation of 'scarcity,' and her inability to remain where 'plenty' was to be found, recalls the PLUTUS of Aristophanes. . . ." Similarly, doubtless, it was classical training that enabled the early English to propose to "drive away dull care" and "banish sorrow."

43. Sea of wax (TIMON, I, i, 47).

"This," says Mr. Theobald, "is a classical allusion to the use of wooden tablets, covered with wax, to write on—the tablet used by the poet for the praises of Timon being so large as to suggest the idea of a sea of wax." It may be so, though the interpretation has been flouted. In any case, Mr. Theobald might have learned from the commentators that the same practice existed in England as late as the end of the fourteenth century. But a non-Baconian can conceive that Shakespeare heard of the Roman practice at school.

44. Remotion (TIMON, IV, iii, 338).

Remotio, Mr. Theobald informs us, "is a rare Latin word used by Cicero, and *not used by English writers before Shakespeare's time.*" For the literary facts, see the next chapter, p. 372. Dr. R. M. Theobald, who had learned from Judge Willis's "Baconian Mint" that the word *was* current before Shakespeare's time, writes a preface to his cousin's book in 1909 without any attempt to rectify his ignorant assertion.

45. Pantheon (TITUS, I, i, 240).

"This reference to the great temple of Jupiter . . . infers a considerable knowledge of Roman archæology." More knowledge, certainly, than Mr. Theobald had of Tudor literature. "The name of Lavinia, too . . . !"

46. Palliament (TITUS, I, i, 179).

"Here we have a word, 'palliament,' wholly unknown to the English language, but derived from the Latin word *pallium*, a cloak." Mr. Theobald has for once the excuse that the commentator Steevens knew of no previous use of the word. But it was previously in print, like so many other words unknown to Mr. Theobald. *See above*, p. 121.

47. Candidatus (*Id. ib.*).

"Representing" for Mr. Theobald, of course, "an idea which would be familiar only to a *thoroughly* classical scholar." The word is Peele's, not Shakespeare's, who in CORIOLANUS shows that he did *not* know what *candidatus*¹ meant; but what a truly Baconian basis for a certificate of scholarship!

48. Assubjugate (TROILUS, II, iii, 185).

"A word which could only have been coined by a classical scholar, as it is assuredly derived from no transla-

¹ Though its significance had been noted in Puritan controversy. Marsden's *Hist. of the Early Puritans*, ed. 1853, p. 26.

tion." Mr. Theobald's assurance on this head is truly valuable. But as we have "assubject" in Fenton's Guicciardini, and "assecured" and "assiege" (after Chaucer) often in Daniel, the non-Baconian reader must reluctantly doubt.

49. Sacred (TROILUS, IV, v, 132).

Steevens is responsible for Mr. Theobald's conviction that in "my sacred aunt" Shakespeare betrayed the knowledge that *theios*, "sacred," was "used as a noun for a father's brother, or uncle," and that the poet, "by a daring stretch of orthography transferred the expression in its adjectival sense from uncle to aunt." But Mr. Theobald does not mention Steevens' inference that TROILUS is not wholly by Shakespeare. The open-minded reader will want to know how a *misapplication* of an alleged Greek usage proves deep scholarship.

50. Galathe : Sagittary (TROILUS, V, v, 14, 20).

These allusions to items *not* mentioned in Homer move Mr. Theobald to assert that "the writer was familiar with the *medieval* versions of the tale of Troy." As the old commentators pointed out, they are both derived from Lydgate and THE THREE DESTRUCTIONS OF TROY, printed by Caxton.

51. Tears of joy ("sorrow wept . . . for their joy waded in tears" : WINTER'S TALE, V, ii, 44).

"This idea of joy producing tears is very classical, as in the case of the Herald, who returned safe to his native Argos—AGAM. 541; ILIAD, vi, 482." So our profound scholar. As Shakespeare thus demonstrably could not have had the notion from personal knowledge, we must take refuge in the hypothesis that he had been electrified by previously meeting the phrase "tears of joy" in Peele's EDWARD I, i, 1.

With that theorem about "tears of joy" Mr. Theobald's first chapter appropriately ends. I have dealt with every

item in it, and leave to the reader the characterization of its merits. I will not ask them to follow any such detailed examination of the follies which follow. A few samples will indicate how effectually they maintain the level reached in the opening chapter.

52. The proverb, "Smooth runs the water where the brook is deep" (2 HENRY VI, III, i, 53) is declared (p. 58) to refer "to a fable of Absternius, which shows that there is more to be apprehended from a silent than from a noisy enemy!" Why did not Mr. Theobald cite instead Quintus Curtius, who has: *Altissima quæque flumina minimo sono labi* (vii, 4, 13)? Unhappily for our Baconian, the line he quotes as Shakespeare's belongs to the old CONTENTION.

53. The "Mouse-hunt" passage in ROMEO AND JULIET (IV, iv, 11) is alleged (p. 59) to display "a thorough acquaintance . . . with some of the nicer points of classical idiom," inasmuch as "we learn from Ælian the unsavoury sense the word bore in amatory phraseology."

54. The lines in JULIUS CÆSAR (III, i, 106)

And let us bathe our hands in Cæsar's blood
Up to the elbows, and besmear our swords

—which may be paralleled in twenty rants in previous Elizabethan plays—are gravely referred (p. 63) to the passage in the SEPTEM CONTRA THEBAM which describes the ceremonial cutting of a bull's throat, and the touching of the blood by the seven chiefs!

55. The identity of Shakespeare with Bacon is proved (p. 91) by the fact that, among other things, both held by the common error that snails voluntarily cast their shells.

56. Lady Macbeth's "fate and metaphysical aid" is declared (p. 91) to be the phrase of "a thorough scholar, versed in classical idioms," in the face of the cited fact that Marlowe previously made Faustus speak of "these

metaphysics of magicians." Of course, Bacon wrote Marlowe. It follows, then, presumably, that he wrote THE PURITAN, since there we have :

You see I know your determinations, which must come to me metaphysically, and by a supernatural intelligence.

(Act ii, Sc. 1.)

And he must previously have written Marston's SCOURGE OF VILLAIN (1599), where we have (l. 10) :

My soule—an essence metaphysicall.

57. The phrase, "lurched all swords of the garland" (CORIOLANUS, II, ii, 99), is declared (p. 108) to be "a metaphorical use of a word derived from the Latin *lurco*, to devour; an uncommon word, and one it is hardly credible Shaksper (sic) could ever have come across," but which was known to Bacon, who, by implication coined "lurcheth" (Essay 45). It has been given to few, even in the Baconian camp, to flaunt such evidences of arrogant ignorance as are multiplied by Mr. Theobald. From the variorum or a school edition he might have learned that Ben Jonson in THE SILENT WOMAN has the phrase :

You have lurched your friends of the better half of the garland; that in Florio's Italian Dictionary, 1598, the phrase *Gioco marzo* is defined, "A maiden set, or lurch, at any game"; and that in Cotgrave *Bredouille* is defined "a lurch at cards, at tables"; and *Lourche* "the game called Lurche, or a Lurch in game." The vernacular phrase "left in the lurch" might indicate even to a Baconian the common use of the term. In the sense of filching or over-reaching, "to lurch" was a common Elizabethan word. In the MERRY WIVES (ii, 2) Shakespeare puts it in the mouth of Falstaff, talking to Pistol. Nashe, in CHRIST'S TEARES OVER JERUSALEM, speaks of courtesans "laughing at the punies they had lurched" (Works, ed. McKerrow, ii, 150). Lilly in ENDIMION (ii, 2) has :

Is not love a lurcher, that taketh men's stomacks away, that they cannot eate?

and the old interlude of William Roye, REDE ME AND BE NOTT WROTHE (1528) has the lines :

Yea, but thorowe falce lorchers,
And unthryfty abbey lobbbers.

Whittingham's rep. p. 108.

Shakespeare is fortunate in his foes !

58. Many-headed beast. Mr. Theobald, going halves in this as in so many other mares' nests with his cousin, Dr. R. M. Theobald, cites the phrase *in English* from Buchanan's *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, c. 27, proceeding to explain that Buchanan copied Horace. Buchanan actually quotes the words of Horace. Apparently this is supposed to strengthen the claim that Shakespeare drew the phrase hence. Mr. Theobald, like his cousin, has not an inkling of the fact that Shakespeare could have found the phrase in Elyot even if it were not already current on the stage. *See above*, p. 211.

59. Falstaff's "If the rascal have not given me medicines to make me love him, I'll be hanged," is explained to be "an allusion to the classical belief in the efficacy of love-potions," though in the next breath it is avowed that such potions were traded in by witches "ancient and modern." That is to say, the idea was known in every English village.

60. A notable sample of the method of learned ignorance is furnished in Mr. Theobald's assertion that the line in MUCH ADO (I, i, 226) :

In time the savage bull doth bear the yoke,

is "paraphrased from a line of Ovid—

In time the unbroken steers come beneath the yoke,

Ars. Amat. 471."

In so well-known a play as THE SPANISH TRAGEDY (ii, 1) he might have found it in English :

In time the savage bull sustains the yoke ;

and from the commentators he might have learned that

the passage is an almost literal transcription from Watson's *HECATOMPATHIA*, Sonnet 47, which in turn is adapted from a sonnet by Serafino d'Aquila. It was one of the most hackneyed quotations of the age, in English.

61. Of course Mr. Theobald repeats (p. 298) the stock Baconian argument that "the eye seeing not itself" is from the *FIRST ALCIBIADES* of Plato¹ (this after positing at the outset the view that Bacon did not dare indicate his scholarship in works to be ascribed to Shakespeare); and, following previous speculators, is sure that the "To be" soliloquy is derived from Plato, Parmenides, and "the Eleatic fragments." The items in the soliloquy have been traced to many sources, often unnecessarily enough. The "sea of troubles" continues to be traced to the *κακων πελαγος* of Æschylus, in disregard of the words "of troubles" and "by opposing end them," which point to the old story of the Celts rushing into the sea to fight it—a story made current in English by the translation of *THE REGYSTRE OF HYSTORIES* of Ælian, published in 1576. The simple idea of "a sea of troubles" was a current poetical commonplace in Shakespeare's day, as it doubtless was in that of Æschylus. Lewis Theobald admitted that it "grew into a proverbial usage." A metaphorical use of "sea" was in fact one of the very commonest tropes in the language.² "A sea of evils," as Steevens pointed out, is found in Morysine's translation of Ludovicus Vives' *INTRODUCTION TO WYSEDOME*, 1544; and Malone cited "seas of guiltless smart" from Higgins's *MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES* (1575). There also we find "seas of care" (*Induction*, st. 5), which is repeated as "seas of never-ceasing care" in *SELIMUS*, l. 1761 (1594). We have "sea of blood" in Fairfax's *Tasso* and in *MUCEDORUS* (1598); "sea of bloody tragedy" in *A KNACK TO KNOW AN HONEST MAN* (1598); and "seas of heinous faults" in

¹ See above, p. 189.

² See below, ch. ix.

Gascoigne's *JOCASTA*, i, 1, (1566). In Florio's Montaigne, again, we have (Essay OF PHYSIOGNOMY) "tide of mischief," after "arm myself to expel or wrestle against" "unpleasant conceits." In the fortieth essay, again, we have Montaigne's citation and translation of Augustine's *malam mortem non facit, nisi quod sequitur mortem*, which may be said to be the gist of the whole soliloquy. The reference to Plato is idle; as perhaps is that to Cardan's *DE CONSOLATIONE*, translated by Bedingfield into English in 1576. If Socrates' Apology be a source for part of the soliloquy, it lay to Shakespeare's hand, substantially reproduced in Montaigne (iii, 12), Florio's translation of which we know him to have read, and parts of which he may well have seen, as we know others did, before it was printed.¹ The *theme* is one that must have been often discussed in Shakespeare's day as in every other; and there is not an idea in the soliloquy that would not readily arise in such discussion.

62. And this is the best of Mr. Theobald's matter: the rest, which we have sufficiently sampled, runs to such follies as the derivation of "Time tries all" from Pindar:

Future days forsooth are the wisest witnesses.

It was a trite English saw, and is found in the interlude *Respublica*, 1553:

Yet time trieth all, and time bringeth truth to light.

Farmer's *Lost Tudor Plays*, 1907, p. 180.

63. In an Appendix, with suicidal industry, Mr. Theobald busies himself to show, among other things, what everybody knows, that the author of the plays freely used the English Chronicles and borrowed from Lilly and Florio's Montaigne—as if "the Stratford actor" could not even read English. But in the same Appendix we are informed that the common proverb "two may keep counsel when the third's away" (*TITUS*, IV, ii, 144) is "borrowed from the Seventh Fable in the *HITOPADESA*." It was simply

¹ See *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. pp. 40, 77, 161, 139.

a standing English proverb, and is to be found in Greene's *MAMILLIA* (1580) : Works, ii, 30 ; and in Lilly's *MOTHER BOMBIE* (1589), ii, 1. The other recondite proverb about the man born to be hanged was a household word.

64. In one case Mr. Theobald is able to cite a distinguished critic for "an absolutely conclusive proof that the author of the plays knew Italian." Georg Brandes had pointed to the "prophetic fury" passage in *OTHELLO*, and its derivation from the *ORLANDO FURIOSO* (Canto 46, Stanza 80), adding :

The agreement here cannot possibly be accidental. And what makes it still more certain that Shakespeare had the Italian text before him is that the words *prophetic fury*, which are the same in *Othello* as in the Italian, are not to be found in Harington's English translation, the only one then in existence. He must thus, whilst writing *Othello*, have been interested in *Orlando*, and have had Berni's and Ariosto's poems lying on his table.¹

The reference to Berni has regard to the passage beginning "Who steals my purse steals trash" ; concerning which Mr. Theobald affirms that "Grant White remarks that this" [the opening phrase] "is taken from the *ORLANDO INNAMORATO* of Berni." If Grant White said so, he erred. There is nothing about "stealing trash" in Berni, whose lines are cited in full by Brandes : it is the rest of the passage that points there. But the critic's confident conclusion that Shakespeare read Berni and Ariosto is a notable instance of unwarranted induction. He has overlooked (1) the question whether *OTHELLO* is a first-hand play ; (2) the fact that the allusion is remote, Ariosto naming Cassandra whereas Shakespeare does not, but speaks of a "sybill" ; while the poet tells of a canopy and the dramatist of a handkerchief ; (3) the endless possibilities of translated passages of Italian poetry coming in Shakespeare's way ; and (4) the *English* books in which the "steals my good name" thesis is explicitly put forth. Hunter cited from Wilson's *Rhetorique* (1553) the

¹ *William Shakespeare*, 1898, ii, 123.

suggested argument "that a slanderer is worse than any thief, because, . . . the loss of money may be recovered; but the loss of a man's good name cannot be called back again"; and Mr. Hart in his excellent edition of *OTHELLO* adds from Humphrey Gifford's *POSIE OF GILLOFLOWERS* (1580: ed. Grosart, p. 8) the sentence:

Such as take men's purses from them undesired, passe often by the sentence of a cow; and shall such as rob men of their good names undeserved be supposed to escape scot-free?

To these instances may be added earlier:

First of all it [lust] pulleth away from thee thy good fame, a possession far-away most precious.

Tyndale's trans. of Erasmus' *Enchiridion*, 1533, ch. 32.

After he [the merchant] hath put his honest reputation of good report that is sprung of him, his life, his soul, in a thousand jeopardies.

Id. ch. 11.

We will appear religious in such using of meats, and in hurting men's fame we be bold and hardy.

Id. Pref. Epist.

But Shakespeare, if he needed a hint on such a well-worn topic, had it much nearer home, in Ben Jonson:

When no malicious thief
Robs my good name, the treasure of my life.

The Poetaster, iii, 2.

In the face of all this, it is a strain upon common sense to be referred to Berni for the simple sentiment in question. And it is hardly less precipitate to take it for granted that any slight verbal parallel in *OTHELLO* to an Italian classic must be an original adaptation by Shakespeare, who took so much other Italian matter at second-hand. The phrases "prophetic fury" and "poetic fury," be it added, are very common in Elizabethan literature.

This summary handling of critical problems in regard to authorship is one of the blemishes of Brandes' comprehensive book on Shakespeare. It affects his treatment of *TITUS ANDRONICUS*; still more his handling of *THE TAMING OF THE SHREW*, in regard to which he does not

even notice the doubts of many preceding critics as to Shakespeare's share. Thus he allows Gremio's description of an Italian interior (Act ii, *end*) to count in favour of the hypothesis of Shakespeare's visiting Italy; when the hypothesis of Greene's hand in the play would dispose of the other; to say nothing of the fact that the "Arras counterpoints" occur in the old TAMING OF A SHREW. Gremio's speech is expressly assigned by Boswell-Stone to the pre-Shakespearean hand.

With similar precipitance, Brandes has assigned the Jack Cade scenes in 2 HENRY VI to Shakespeare, here accepting the untenable theory of Shakespeare's part authorship of the old play; and like other Shakespeareans he has played into the hands of the Baconians by uncritically adopting the thesis that "Shakespeare shows a quite unusual fondness for the use of legal expressions. He knows to a nicety the technicalities of the bar, the formulas of the bench,"¹ and all the rest of it. He has thus given with one hand while taking away with the other in his use of the demonstration that Lilly's EUPHUES and not Bruno is the source, if source be needed, for Hamlet's bitter dialogue with Ophelia.²

The error of such a critic as Brandes is a very different thing from the divagations of the Baconians. Mr. Theobald knew Brandes only by quotation at second-hand. It is fitting in this connection to note what Brandes says of the "ignorant and arrogant attack" of the "wretched group of *dilettanti*" who have "been bold enough, in Europe and America, to deny William Shakespeare the right to his own life-work, to give to another the honour due to his genius, and to bespatter him and his invulnerable name with an insane abuse which has re-echoed through every land."³ And since

¹ Work cited, i, 109.

² *Id.* ii, 18-19.

³ Work cited, ii, 413. Compare i, 104 *sq.* Brandes at the close avows that the Baconian attack was one of his two motives for writing his book.

the Baconians have also made use of Grant White, it may be well to keep under view *his* remark that "every man of common sense and even a little knowledge of the literary and dramatic history of the times of Elizabeth and James I, has the right to feel aggrieved and injured when the productions of the two greatest minds of modern times are made the occasion of a gabble of controversy, the sole foundation of which is a petty parade of fiddling, perverted verbal coincidences, which have no more real significance than the likeness of the notes of two cuckoos or of two cuckoo-clocks."¹

We have had enough, I think, of the general Baconian argument from the alleged "classical scholarship" of the plays. Founded on the fallacies of many orthodox Shakespeareans, it has been carried by the Messrs. Theobald to lengths which might have given pause to the most idolatrous of the orthodox. In all stages alike, it breaks down utterly upon critical investigation. We are left, as before, to the conclusion that Jonson knew whereof he spoke when he declared, in the midst of his splendid panegyric, that his dead friend had "small Latin and less Greek." Those who maintain the contrary have simply ignored or been ignorant of the mass of contemporary Elizabethan literature in which the "classical" matter of the plays is scattered broadcast, and in which we can so often find the *ipsissima verba* founded on.

¹ "The Bacon-Shakespeare Craze," in *Studies in Shakespeare*, 1885, p. 153.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ARGUMENT FROM CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP

ii: DR. R. M. THEOBALD'S LIST OF WORDS

§ I

AFTER giving the "examples of Latin construction" already dealt with, Dr. Theobald compiles a chapter "the object of which is to show that Shakespeare's vocabulary was in the highest degree classic, . . . that his English contains *very large augmentations from the Latin*. It shows him *constantly making linguistic experiments*, endeavouring to enrich his language by *coining new words, derived from the Latin*; and that even ordinary English words often became plastic and elastic in his speech, carrying a larger import than their vernacular employment can account for."¹

The claim is not Baconian in origin. So judicious a critic as Hallam suggested that Shakespeare's vocabulary showed "a greater knowledge of Latin than had commonly been ascribed to him. The phrases, unintelligible and improper, except in the sense of their primitive roots, which occur so copiously in his plays, seem to be unaccountable *on the supposition of absolute ignorance*. In the *MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM* these are much less frequent than in his later dramas. But here we find several instances. Thus, 'things base and vile, holding no *quantity*,' for value; rivers that 'have overborne their *continents*,' the *continente ripa* of Horace; '*compact of imagination*'; 'something of great *constancy*,' for consistency; 'sweet Pyramus, *translated there*'; 'the

¹ Work cited, p. 318.

law of Athens, which by no means we may *extenuate*.' I have considerable doubts whether any of these expressions would be found in the contemporary prose of Elizabeth's reign."¹ Hallam goes on to say that "could authority be produced for *Latinisms so forced*, it is still not very likely that one who did not understand their proper meaning would have introduced them into poetry"—a proposition which is not likely to be disputed. Unfortunately Hallam, like so many later and less erudite critics, had unduly trusted to his memory and general knowledge, and has here, as we shall see, half-claimed uniqueness for a number of Shakespearean words which were more or less fully current before 1590. It is particularly surprising to find that Hallam hesitated over "compact," which occurs often in Elyot's *GOVERNOUR*; ² that he should have seen any novelty in "continents" = bounds or banks; and that he should have had no recollection of the common pre-Shakespearean use of "translate" ³ in the physical sense. Such slips by eminent critics make for harm. Hallam's qualified *obiter dictum* has been adopted, without scrutiny, by Mr. G. G. Greenwood, as a support to the "classical" theory; ⁴ and the Baconians, mostly devoid of general knowledge of Tudor literature, make wholesale assertions

¹ *Introd. to Lit. of Europe*, ed. 1872, ii, 280.

² See above, p. 205; and Elyot, B. i, chs. 13, 26; B. iii, ch. 28.

³ See below, p. 351. *Constancy* for *consistency* is likewise precedented. The Oxford Dictionary gives:

A death constant and agreeable to a life honestly and godly led. Baret's *Alvearic*, 1580.

But the Dictionary takes "constancy," in the passage cited by Hallam, to mean "certainty" (for which use again it cites a precedent in 1563), not "consistency." *Extenuate* is dealt with below in Dr. Theobald's list, No. 74, p. 312.

⁴ Mr. Greenwood insists, in obvious error (p. 125), that Shakespeare's allusions to the river's "continents" is "exactly" Horace's *continente ripa*. It is simply a normal use of the English word. But if it *were* a reminiscence of Horace, it would count for little.

where Hallam, possessing wide though not philologically specialised knowledge, ventured only to advance "considerable doubts." Thus we attain to the wholesale declaration above cited from Dr. Theobald. The writer who would have counted the Baconian theory insane becomes a stepping-stone thereto.

It is obvious that in Dr. Theobald's sweeping proposition there might be contained a grain of truth. If we simply rest rationally on Ben Jonson's verdict that Shakespeare had "small Latin and less Greek," we are not debarred from the assumption that what Latin he imbibed at the grammar-school had some shaping influence on his diction. A man with a genius for utterance must be supposed to reflect on the formation as well as the significance of words. Some touches of etymology must necessarily have entered into grammar-school teaching; and questions of word-values and word-forms could hardly miss being debated at times among the company at the Mermaid, to say nothing of the greenroom. To reject such possibilities would be to revert to the miracle-mongering conception of Shakespeare which has prepared the way for the aberrations of the Baconians. It would be quite compatible with such a non-academic culture, on the basis of an ordinary middle-class schooling, that a born master of speech, such as our playwright unquestionably was, should innovate in language within certain limits; and it would be interesting, if possible, to trace any such innovation in his work. But the tracing is obviously the task of a trained English philologist: a mere random groping, in terms of a mere general knowledge of Latin and late English literature, can yield only guesses and chimeras. Where Hallam slipped, Baconians must fall painfully.

As all English scholars are aware, all words of Latin or French derivation bore in the sixteenth century a closer relation to their source than they do now. They were then, so to speak, nearer to their roots, even as were

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 the native words, which also have since undergone much mutation. Words which have now become specialised in narrow senses had then their larger primary significance, or something near it. "Corpse" or "corse" was still *corpus*, "body," and was commonly applied to the living body, so that "dead corse," as in HAMLET (also in Gascoigne, as often before in Sackville), was no tautology. "Success" had still much of its primary force, of "sequence"; so that we constantly meet with such phrases as "fortunate success," "good success," and "vile success" in the poets and dramatists. "Courage" could still mean "the state of the heart," so that men could significantly speak of "good courage" and "vile courage." For a time they kept the noun "discourage." Such a phrase as "detract [=sunder] our vows" (SIR CLYOMON) was still possible to writers for the stage in Shakespeare's day; though "detraction" was already an established term in the modern sense. "Rest" still had the force of "remain," as in "it resteth." "Painful" meant painstaking. "Presently" could still mean "now" in England, as it yet does in Scotland. "Censure" meant "judgment," not "blame": "enormities" were still "departures from the norm," not necessarily atrocities; and "enormous times" were times of tumult or disorder. They had the word "radicate" as well as "eradicate"; "confer" (the "cf." of our footnote references) meant for them, as in Latin, "compare." "Edify" still meant "build" or "construct" as well as "instruct"; "reduce" commonly or often meant "lead back": we can see its modern sense of "subdue" coming in from the French side. "Admire" often meant simply "wonder"; "continent"—one of Hallam's erring instances—"that which contains"; "include" could mean "bury"; and "prevent" had the force of "anticipate," as still in the Prayer-Book and in the daily prayers of the House of Commons. A thousand words of Latin de-

rivation were still "unpolarised," as Dr. Holmes would say; and many words were used in a sense in which they are now never applied, as when Latimer, thrice in a page, has the phrase "evacuate the cross of Christ," "evacuate Christ's death."¹

The period of Elizabeth's reign was specially given to Latin formations. Some of Chaucer's constructions had missed acceptance in the illiterate period between; but whereas Gower² had thought it necessary to explain that "Ire" (freely used by Chaucer) is "that in our english Wrath is hote" [=hight], the earlier preachers of the sixteenth century used "ire" frequently in the pulpit. It is noteworthy that the Authorised Bible of 1611, conservative as it is of older English, never employs the word at all. Many old words, however, were dropped for good. Where Pecoek had said "overer" and "netherer," all English writers would say "superior" and "inferior." Many less common Latin formations were added to the language between More and Bacon; but the period of early Protestant controversy was perhaps as fruitful in them as the later age of Shakespeare. They abound in the old Interludes. Preachers naturally employed both Latinic and vernacular forms, giving us such sentences as: "Our understanding and spirit is depressed with the gross lump and dungeon of the corruptible body."³ They used "erudition" for "teaching" or "instruction," and spoke of David as "the Psalmographe"⁴; but they would use also such simple vernacular as: "Thou art pinched and nipped by the shins for thy misdoings."⁵ The common folk were thus in some degree accustomed to both vocabularies.

Further, the first age of printing was bound to be a

¹ *Sermon of the Plough.*

² *Confessio Amantis*, B. ii, 19-20.

³ Roger Hutchinson, *The Image of God*, 1550, end.

⁴ *Id.* Second Sermon on the Lord's Supper, 1560.

⁵ *Id.* Second Sermon of Oppression, &c.

period of new word-making. It was so in France. Rabelais, himself a very free-and-easy neologist, presents, in the person of the Limousin student, a type of the more extravagant word-maker, who, arising later in Elizabethan England, is satirised in its drama. Jonson,¹ Dekker, Webster,² and Shakespeare, alike hold him up to ridicule. In *LOCRINE* (*circa* 1587) it is probably Greene who makes the comic personage say to the audience: "If any of you be in love, provide ye a cup-case full of new-coined words" (i, 3). In *PATIENT GRISSIL* (by Dekker, Chettle, and Haughton, 1599) there is presented "one of those changeable silk gallants" who "chew between their teeth terrible words, as though they would conjure, as 'compliment' and 'projects,' and 'fastidious,' and 'capricious,' and 'misprision,' and 'the sintheresis of the soul' and such like raise-velvet terms." This character in due course coins also "condolement," "collocution," "oblivionize," "incongruent," "delinquishment," "vapulating," "vulnerated," and other extravagances (ii, 1; iii, 2); but as the "terrible words" ascribed to him in advance mostly found acceptance, it would appear that even the fantastical neologists may have played their part in enlarging the common tongue. It was so in the case of a number of Marston's words selected by Jonson for special derision in *THE POETASTER*; and many words in the old Interludes can be seen to have been rather reckless coinages.

The expansion of the language was of course not accomplished without resistance. There is extant a letter of the great scholar Sir John Cheke, stringently condemning the whole process, while in effect admitting, and indeed illustrating, its inevitableness. "I am of this opinion," he writes³ "to his loving frind mayster Thomas Hoby,"

¹ E.g. Fastidious Brisk in *Every Man out of his Humour*, ii, 1.

² E.g. the lawyer in *The White Devil*.

³ Letter printed at end of *The Courtier*, 1561; rep. in Arber's ed. of Ascham's *Scholemaster*, introd. p. 5.

that our own tung should be written clean and pure, unmixt and unmangeled with borrowing of other tungen, wherein if we take not heed bi tijm, ever borowing and never paying, she shall be fain to keep her house as bankrupt.¶ For then doth our tung naturallie and praisable utter her meaning, when she bouroweth no counterfeitnes of other tungen to attire her self withall, but useth plainlie her own with such shift as nature, craft, experiens and folowing of other excellent doth lead her unto ; and if she want at ani tijm (*as being unperfight she must*) yet let her borow with suche bashfulnes, that it mai appeer that if either the mould of our own tung could serve us to fascion a woord of our own, or if the old denisoned words could content and ease this need, we wold not boldly venture of unknowen wordes.

It is clear that the eminent scholar had very inadequately considered the nature of the previous growth of his native language, and was indeed vacillating while he wrote. What he first forbids and then allows was substantially what took place, before and after him, save that his mistaken counsel about forming new English words on old roots was put aside in favour of formations from Latin and French, as had happened in the past.²

Cheke's pupil, Roger Ascham, repugns in a like vein at the diction of Hall's Chronicle, "where moch good mater is quite marde with Indenture Englishe," desiring that some one should "first change strange and inkhorne tearmes into proper and commonlie used words." Edward King, in his Epistle prefatory to Spenser's SHEPHEARD'S CALENDER, writes in a similar key, complaining that his countrymen have let slip many good old English words and "patched up the holes with pieces and rags of other languages, borrowing here of the French, there of the Italian, everywhere of the Latin." All this stands for the due revolt of the cultured "natural man" against neology and archaism alike or in turn. So did Cæsar, greatest of "men of the world," contemn the antiquarian

¹ Mem. Bacon's use of the same term in the same connection.

² *E.g.*, the old "spousebreaking" had long been superseded by "adultery."

or century?
x

faddists of his day. So did Favorinus, with his maxim, *Vive moribus præteritis, loquere verbis præsentibus*. Neology is indeed less resistible and on the whole less open to criticism than is archaism; and neology went on perforce. Could the scholars have recovered the whole vocabulary of Chaucer, they might have been spared much trouble. But educated England between More and Bacon read much more of Latin and translated theology than it did of Chaucer or Lydgate. In 1540 the English of 1400 was grown so strange and "northern" that Tyndale thought fit to modernise the record of the examination of the Lollard martyr William Thorpe,¹ putting it mainly into "the English that now is used in England for our southern men." Spenser, indeed, deliberately reverted to the northern speech in his SHEPHEARD'S CALENDER, and used many of its terms in the FAERIE QUEENE; but while the lovers of poetry were mostly complaisant, Sidney and others demurred; and the great stream of English flowed on through the new fields, receiving a multitude of rills from Latin literature and the Latin lands. Sidney could not have his way as to drama. He had it as to dialect. The readers of Puritan sermons and treatises could not be at home in Wiclif;² the ordinary readers of Shakespeare and Jonson must have had hard work to construe Chaucer and Gower.

Men wont to read alike classic and post-classic Latin simply could not help Latinising if they had any turn for diction. Sir Thomas More was so fastidious about

¹ See the Advertisement to his Examination, in Bale's Works, Parker Soc. rep. pp. 62-63.

² It is a singular fact that in a sixteenth century reprint (1531) of the old *Praier and Complaynte of the Ploweman unto Christ* it is thought necessary to put "desert" in the glossary, with the equivalent "wilderness." (See rep. in *Harleian Miscellany*, ed. 1808, i, 155.) In this case, a Latin word has gone out of vogue and a Saxon one come in. Poetic instinct had taken back the more sonorous term, and it finally kept both.

the correct use of the vernacular that he took Tyndale lengthily to task, in the midst of a bitter theological controversy, for not discriminating properly between "Yes" and "Yea," "No" and "Nay"; and in his Dialogue OF COMFORT AGAINST TRIBULACION he is evidently concerned to write simply for simple folk. But he cannot refrain from such terms as "uncogitable," "experimental," "medicinable," "prerogative," "enterpausing between," "enterparlying," "fatigacion," "recreation," and so on. He writes of "an estimacioun of the incomparable and uncogitable joye that we shall have," "the right ymaginacioun of colours," "the greate physicion God, prescribing the medicines himselfe, and correcting the faultes of theyr erronyous receyptes," "the rebellion of sensualitye"; and so forth; and in the page in which he translates: "And also he that overcometh shall be clothed in whyte clothes," he writes of "the very substance essentiall of all the celestially joye," "natural possibilitie," "carnall fantasy," "fruicion of the blisse of heaven." Quoting and translating the Vulgate, he gives a lesson in new terms: "I wil give hym a whyte suffrage,¹ and in his suffrage a new name written." . . . "They used of olde in Grece (where S. John did write) to elect and chose men unto honorable rowmes, and every man's assent was called his suffrages: whiche in some place was by the voices, in some place by handes. And one kinde of those suffrages, was by certayn thinges that are in latine called *calculi*, because that in some places they used thereto round stones."² And throughout the treatise he translates texts from the Vulgate, first giving the original, as the divines constantly did in the pulpit.

Even Latimer helps the Latin evolution. "If I should preach in the country," he remarks in the Sermon of the Plough, "among the unlearned, I would tell what

¹ This word occurs repeatedly in Roye's dramatic satire *Rede me and be nott Wrothe*, 1528.

² Dialogue cited, B. iii, c. 26.

propitiatory, expiatory, and remissory is ; but here is a learned auditory ; yet for them that be unlearned I will expound it." And it was chiefly his discourses to such audiences that were printed, to be read by thousands in the next generation. Bale is much more Latinic in his vocabulary, as is Hutchinson : and the whole of that generation of Protestant churchmen, like Latimer, were zealous for the promotion of university life. That, after all, was one of the main factors in the cultivation of the Latin element in English. At no time in English history had there been so large a proportion of college-bred men as in the age in which printing and the habit of reading alike extended in the ratio of the general activity of the intellectual renaissance. Tyndale, writing in 1530, asks : "Remember ye not how in our own time, of all that taught grammar in England, not one understood the Latin tongue ? How then came we by the Latin tongue again ? . . . Out of the old authors." ¹ Elyot, writing about the same time, declares that "Grammers of greke . . . now almost be innumerable ;" ² and if that were so, Latin must have been still more widely taught, for the reasons which still prevail. Ascham, writing forty years later, while complaining as did Elyot of imperfect teaching, testifies to a much extended study of the classics.³ The influence and example of Cheke had wrought effectually in that direction, and the generation of Camden was far more widely learned than any that preceded it. Interest in the Chronicles and interest in theology alike promoted the resort to Latin ; and Foxe, going about his monumental work on the martyrs in the 'fifties, felt himself withdrawn by that urgent undertaking from what he would have preferred to be doing—writing in Latin.⁴ His vocabulary, naturally, abounds

¹ *Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, Parker Soc. rep. p. 55.

² *The Governour*, 1531, B. i, c. 10.

³ *The Scholemaster*, Arber's rep. p. 25.

⁴ Epist. Ded. to Queen Elizabeth, 2nd. ed. of *Acts and Monuments*.

in Latin formations. But so does that of John Heywood and the other scholarly writers of Interludes, who naturally were followed in this respect by the first academic writers of regular drama. Thus on all hands the scholarlike amplification of the English tongue was furthered ; so that Hooker and Bacon, writing about the close of the century, come into the use of a copious and sonorous speech, stately and almost stiff with Latinisms.

The sixteenth century, then, was in a manner Latinist even in respect of much ordinary English ; and to surmise classical knowledge on the part of every writer found to use a word in a classical as against a modern sense would obviously be mere wool-gathering. At the very outset, the " classicist " thesis commits its advocates to nonsense, even as does the " legalist." The latter involves the constant imputation to the dramatist of the folly of making his characters use a legal phraseology declared to be unintelligible to his audience ; the latter similarly presents him as putting classical neologisms in the mouths of his personages of all grades. What Bacon did not do in his books, written to be read at leisure, he is represented as doing in plays written for the stage. It is of course arguable that the very nearness of so much current English to Latin would facilitate the formation of new terms—a process which must have gone on rapidly between 1500 and 1600—and that Shakespeare was likely to participate in such an enterprise. It has to be remembered too that there survived in Shakespeare's day the pulpit practice of quoting and translating Vulgate texts and classic phrases—a usage to be noted even in such a " preacher to the people " as Latimer. Even with " small Latin " of his own, Shakespeare might thus be led to a certain amount of word-making on his own account. We may thus freely concede to Dr. Theobald ground for speculation.

But we have only to read Dr. Theobald to be warned that in this as in all other regards nothing can save us

from hallucination save vigilant scrutiny upon scholarly lines. The first page of Dr. Theobald's instances of Shakespeare's "classic vocabulary" contains these four: *abruption*, *Academe*, *accite*, and *acknown*. All four, in terms of his definition, he takes to be instances either of augmentation or of expansion of the English vocabulary. A proposition of this kind one would expect to rest upon some little investigation, some research into previous and contemporary English. So far is Dr. Theobald from having made any such preparation, he had not even consulted the New English Dictionary, as regards two of the four words. Concerning "acknown" he has the egregious note that it is "probably an attempt to bring the Latin word *agnosco* into the language." Such a deliverance convicts the Baconian once for all of unfitness for his task. "Acknown" has absolutely nothing to do with *agnosco*: it is an old English formation, akin to "acknowledge"; and the Oxford Dictionary, had he turned thither, would have furnished him with a full outline of its history. Had he read Chaucer's translation of Boethius he would have seen (B. I, *prosa iv*; B. IV, *pr. iv*) the phrase, "that I confesse and am aknowe;" and the glossary would have told him that it meant "I acknowledge." The word lingered long.¹ We have dropped "be acknow" and preserved "acknowledge," just as we have dropped the verbs "to custom" and "to knowledge" (=acknowledge) extant in the sixteenth century, and preserved "to accustom."

As to "accite," Dr. Theobald is in no better case. The Oxford Dictionary shows this word to have been in common and non-professional use long before Shake-

¹ Gower (also Chaucer) has the forms "am beknowe" and "wol beknowen," *Confessio Amantis*, ed. Morley, pp. 147, 57. Pocock has *aknowe* ("be aknowe us"; "is aknowe to") four times in his *Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy* (circa 1455). In *Piers Plowman* we have the form "bi-knowen" (ll. 407, 1422, &c.)

speare. It had very much the legal force of "cite," and was spelt (and pronounced, if not always) at times "assite." Dr. Theobald's abstention from such a facile source of information is the more astonishing because, in his controversy with Mr. Judge Willis, contained in the preface to the 1904 reissue of his book, he actually implies that he takes the earliest date given for any word *or phrase* in the Oxford Dictionary to be the date of its first use. This is presumably his ground for ascribing to Shakespeare the first use of "abruption." But if the New Dictionary was to be consulted for "abruption," why not for "acknown" and "accite?"

Even to the inexpert reader, however, it is hardly necessary to explain that the Dictionary does not profess—and, in regard to words of the sixteenth century could not possibly pretend—to give the first instance of use.¹ Old forms can be closely traced in the com-

¹ Mr. Harold Bayley, whose useful compilation, *The Shakespeare Symphony* (1906), might serve to explode the Baconian delusion, albeit he speaks of it with surprising sympathy, unfortunately gives countenance to Dr. Theobald in respect that he falls into that writer's misconception of the nature of the testimony supplied by the *New English Dictionary*. He describes it as recording not only the "birthday and parent, so far as known, of every English word" (p. 208), but, by every entry, either a "newly coined" or "newly used" word (p. 209). The latter claim is very far astray. Myriads of the entries in the Dictionary do but serve to trace the history or *continued use* of words, and stand for no "new use" whatever; and Mr. Bayley's calculation that "we are indebted to the poet Shakespeare for enriching our English tongue with the astonishing total of 9450 newly coined or newly used words" is a mere midsummer night's dream. An examination of his lists will reveal this to any reader. The great majority of the words there cited had been in use long before the dates given; and in the instances noted there can be no really new application. Let me give one illustration. Under "Ben Jonson" we have, among other words, "expulsed, 1603." This must refer to the phrase "the expulsed Apicata" in *Sejanus*, v, 10. But there is no novelty here: the word has its ordinary force, and is simply noted to show continued use. So, when Mr. Mr. Bayley credits Shakespeare with two new uses of "except,"

paratively scanty literature before Chaucer; and in the case of "acknown" this is carefully done; but as regards Tudor English the great Dictionary gives only illustrations, not complete historical lists. The more need that any one going about Mr. Theobald's undertaking should do a little reading on his own account. He might, for instance, have turned to Chaucer before making his astounding assertion that "*perdurable* is not really an English word at all"—implying that it was invented by Bacon-Shakespeare. It occurs at least ten times in Chaucer, who uses it five times in the translation of Boethius alone, and also has "perdurably" and "perdurabletee" several times. At least a glance at the Chaucer glossary would seem to have been worth Dr. Theobald's while. He, as we have seen, has not even regularly consulted the Dictionary.

What can come of even following it, on the assumption that its first dates for words are always cases of first use, two of "excellent," two of "exalted," four of "exchange," four of "exercise," six of "get," ten of "go," and twelve of "go" in combination, as in "go before," "go off," "go round," and so on, we are witnessing mere moonshine. At this rate, every one of us achieves "new uses" every day.

Again, Mr. Bayley writes (p. 128) that "According to Dr. Murray, until Massinger revived it in 1622 the word 'colon' [the intestine] *had not been used in England since 1541.*" Who, on a moment's reflection, can possibly believe this? Dr. Murray would never dream of asserting it: the Dictionary merely indicates continued use by instances in successive generations. The whole of Mr. Bayley's theorem must simply be excised.

Even Mr. Pearsall Smith, in his charming little book on *The English Language* (1912), goes too far in relying on first entries in the Dictionary. Thus he gives Shakespeare "multitudinous," whereas Dekker used the word in 1603; and it is impossible to prove that *Macbeth* is earlier than that. Mr. Smith states (p. 114) that Shakespeare has "more new words than are found in almost all of the English poets put together." This is an extravagant error. Mr. Smith admits (p. 117) that Nashe, Greene and Chapman "provide *immense* lists of words that are only used by their own creators." Quite so. There are many more new words, surely, in Chapman than in Shakespeare.

may be seen from a "supplementary list," compiled for Dr. Theobald by Mr. Stronach, of fourteen "words the first known use of which is in Shakespeare."¹ They are: Abruption, Antic, Assubjugate, Cerements, Conflux, Credent, Deracinate, Derogate, Dolours, Evitation, Extern (as a noun), Festinate, Fluxive, Incony. Will it be believed that in a list thus professedly fathered on the Oxford Dictionary the second word is a blunder? The Dictionary gives for "antic" two instances from Marlowe (1590) and one from Drayton (1594), all in senses in which Shakespeare uses the word. These senses are but variants of the meaning of the word as used by Spenser (F. Q. II, vii, 4) in the phrase "woven with antickes and wild imagery"; which again is but a special development of "antique." Any reader with the least judgment in word history would see at a glance that the word *could not* be new for Shakespeare. And while speculation might be natural as to "abruption" and "assubjugate," which are certainly not common forms, it is again astonishing to find any professed student assuming that Shakespeare invented "cerements," "conflux," "credent," "deracinate," "derogate," "dolours," and "incony." "Deracinate" is not a classic word at all: it is simply an adoption of the French *desraciner*, found in Cotgrave. It has not, I believe, been traced before Shakespeare; but it is highly likely to have been used. Is it remotely likely, to begin with, that a dramatist would in serious speeches present entirely new words on the stage? Supposing him to invent "conflux" and "credent," or even "deracinate," he might indeed expect educated hearers to divine at once his meaning; but how could he expect comprehension of "cerements" if the word had never been used before? "Credence," a word of Chaucer's, is used in Elyot's GOVERNOUR (iii, 6) as a common term, and constantly appears in later Tudor writers. "Credent" would

¹ *Shakespeare Studies*, p. 385.

be an easy coinage from that ; but what scholar would believe that it was left for Shakespeare to coin ? Knowing that "dolorous" was an old word, what reader could suppose "dolours" to be a new one about the close of the sixteenth century ? And what sensible student would infer that "conflux," stated to be used by Drayton in 1612 and by Selden in 1614, was first coined by Shakespeare, merely because the Oxford Dictionary gives no earlier instance ? Jonson has "confluctions" in the Induction to EVERY MAN OUT OF HIS HUMOUR (1599) : is it to be supposed that the singular was not also current ?

In this connexion it may suffice to give a few more illustrations.

1. "Incony" was a common Elizabethan term, of the same force as "coney," in vulgar use. The variorum edition mentions that it occurs in THE TWO ANGRY WOMEN OF ABINGTON (1599), in DOCTOR DODYPOLL (1600), in Jonson's TALE OF A TUB, in Marlowe's JEW OF MALTA, and in BLURT, MASTER-CONSTABLE (1602). Could any rational reader, with these facts before him, suppose that the term was first put in currency by LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST ? He who will may find "coney," in the sense in question, four times over in RALPH ROISTER DOISTER (*ante* 1553. Arber's rep. pp. 27, 50, 56, 87).

2. Dolour and dolours were common and familiar English words long before Shakespeare ; and the Oxford Dictionary of course shows as much. "Dolour," which came in with the Normans if not earlier, occurs at least twice in the COVENTRY MYSTERIES (Sh. Soc. ed. pp. 147, 388), which date from about 1450 ; and it remained in constant use. It is used in the third book of the FAERIE QUEENE (c. ii, st. 17), published in 1589, and repeatedly in Spenser's minor poems. It also occurs (*sp. dolor*) in the first line of Nashe's CHRIST'S TEARES

OVER JERUSALEM (1593) and again in the next paragraph (sp. *dollour*). The Oxford Dictionary cannot be supposed to deny these facts. And the word was equally common on the stage. It is to be found at least three times in the archaistic rhyme-play SIR CLYOMON AND SIR CLAMYDES, ascribed to Peele (but probably collaborated-in by Greene), apparently first printed in 1599, but certainly written before 1592. (Dyce's ed. of Peele and Greene, pp. 512; 527.) The word is used twice on one page. It is also to be found thrice in Greene's MAMILLIA (1580-83), and in at least four other places in his works (ed. Grosart, ii, 115, 120, 243; iii, 83, 221; iv, 14; ix, 22). In one place we have the phrase, "spent his doleful days in dumps and dolours" (CARD OF FANCY, 1587: iv, 14). The word occurs also in Puttenham's ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE, 1589 (Arber's rep. p. 167). If the good Baconian on learning this feels bound to conclude that Bacon wrote the FAERIE QUEENE and Nashe and Puttenham's book (some of them claim as much), and also all the works of Greene and Peele, let him turn to Bishop Bale's BRIEF CHRONICLE of the case of Lord Cobham (1544); where he will soon find "dolour" (Parker Soc. rep. p. 12, &c.). Or let him peruse Bishop Hooper's DECLARATION OF CHRIST AND HIS OFFICE (1547. Parker Soc. vol. p. 60); or Latimer's Seventh Sermon before King Edward, 1549 (Dent's rep. pp. 192, 193, 199); or the Epistle Dedicatorie to George Gascoigne's STEEL GLAS (1576); or the same writer's VIEWE OF WORLDLY VANITIES, 1576 (Cunliffe's ed. of Works, ii, 261); or his FLOWERS (*Id.* i, 55); or his DAN BARTHOLOMEW OF BATHE (*Id.* i, 112); or Holinshed's Chronicle of Richard III (Boswell-Stone's SH. HOLINSHED, p. 378), and he will find it often. Or let him turn, once for all, to Sackville's Induction to THE MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES where (including the COMPLAYNT OF BUCKINGHAM) he will find "dolour" and "dolours" five times. (Works ed. 1859, pp. 101, 103, 104, 131, 156). He will also find several

instances of "dole" and "doleful." A perusal of the whole performance, which, dating as it does from 1563, can scarcely have been written by Bacon, may help him to realise that the English language, broadly speaking, existed before the Armada. He may chance to note, in passing, the lines (p. 133) :

Much like a felon that, pursued by night,
Starts at each bush, as his foe were in sight,

which will doubtless recall to him those :

Suspicion always haunts the guilty mind :
The thief doth fear each bush an officer.

3 *Henry VI*, V, vi, 12 ;

and the useful question may occur to him whether it was Shakespeare or Bacon or a third penman who thus utilised a familiar commonplace. There may thus open up for him a more profitable path of inquiry than the Baconian.

3. **Derogate** was in use long before Shakespeare.

See below, p. 303.

4. **Antics** occurs, in the secondary sense, in Stubbes's *ANATOMIE OF ABUSES* (1583) : "Then have they [in the train of the Lord of Misrule] their hobby-horses, dragons, and other antiques" (Collier's reprint, p. 142) ; and in Drayton and Sir John Davies in 1599 :

Making withal some filthy antic face.

Idea, Son. 31.

Such toyes, such *antikes*, and such vanities.

Nosce Teipsum, st. 32.

It is thus unnecessary to suppose that Ben Jonson, who uses the word thrice in one play (1600) :

How antic and ridiculous soe'er.

Cynthia's Revels, i, 1, end ;

O, most antick. . . .

Id. v, 2 ;

An antic gesture. . . .

Id. ib.

—had got it from Shakespeare—or Bacon. Marlowe has it twice, as aforesaid :

And point like antics at his triple crown.

Doctor Faustus, iii, 1.

Shall with their goat-feet dance the antic hay

Id. Edward II. i, 1.

Chapman uses it repeatedly :

And have an antic face to laugh within.

Fourth Sestiad of *Hero and Leander*, 1598.

Of all his antic shows.

Id. Sixth Sestiad.

Off with this antic.

The Widow's Tears, v, 3.

And it occurs in A LARUM FOR LONDON (published 1599) :

Shall as an antic in thy sight appear.

Simpson's rep. p. 61 ;

and twice in A WOMAN IS A WEATHERCOCK (*circa* 1606) :

One here, one there, making such antic faces.

I was almost frantic

A modern knight should be so like an antic.

Act iv, sc. 2 (Mermaid ed. pp. 393, 398).

Of course Dr. Theobald ascribes Marlowe's plays to Bacon ; but why not also Ben Jonson's—and all the rest ?

5. Cerements is probably a variant of " cerecloths ;" but the quartos have " ceremonies " ; and in JULIUS CÆSAR (i, 1) we have " decked with ceremonies," in the sense of religious or honorary ornaments, so that the actuality of the word is uncertain.

6. Extern (as a noun : Sonnet 125). The word occurs only once elsewhere in Shakespeare (OTHELLO, i, 1); and there is an adjective,—on a par with " eterne " and many other common formations.

Other words in the list described as of " first known use in Shakespeare " are dealt with hereinafter, in the course of an examination of Dr. Theobald's list of words

of "classic" formation of which the origin is ascribed by him to Shakespeare—that is, Bacon.

The confutation of that list as a whole has been accomplished by the late Judge Willis in a work of the most patient and assiduous research.¹ wherein the normal pre-Shakespearean currency of nearly every word cited is proved. So far as the leading Baconians are concerned, the only effect has been a determined forensic evasion by Dr. Theobald of the whole demonstration. In the preface to a reissue of his book in 1904 he does not scruple to write :

I give [in ch. xiv] a list of words in which there is a classic sense or a classic aroma, which *could not easily arise* unless the writer was a *good* classic scholar. When Mr. Willis points to other writers who have used the same classic phraseology, that only proves that other writers besides Bacon and Shakespeare had their minds saturated with Latin. It does not prove that these words or phrases were *not* classic, and therefore *does not touch my argument in the faintest degree*. Nearly the whole of Mr. Willis's 110 pages is therefore entirely pointless and superfluous.

We here enter on a new phase of the Baconian controversy. Hitherto we have contemplated all manner of fallacy and imperfect induction : now we are faced by equivocation. Dr. Theobald had expressly undertaken to show "expansion or augmentation" of the English vocabulary in the plays of Shakespeare. The effect of Mr. Willis's book is to show that the "classic" words in question were almost all *part of the established English language in what Dr. Theobald declared to be their classic sense* ; so that the claim that that sense or aroma "could not easily arise unless the writer was a good classic scholar" is shown to be simply false. Any Englishman of Shakespeare's day, whether he knew Latin or not, necessarily used those words in the so-called "classic" sense, if he used them at all, simply because

¹ *The Baconian Mint : its Claims Examined*. By William Willis, One of the Masters of the Bench of the Honourable Society of the Temple. Printed by Order of the Masters. . . 1903.